Searching for Causes:

Entitlement and Alienation as Precursors of Unethical Police Behaviour

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Executive Summary

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The goal of this research is to understand the causal chain that links environmental conditions to two sets of mediating attitudes and the connection between these mediating variables to tolerance for unethical behaviour. While the ultimate object of this research is to understand unethical police behaviour, for methodological reasons, the tolerance for such behaviour was used as a proxy.

The first of the mediating variables is a sense of entitlement. Having a sense of entitlement implies feeling that one occupies a special position and therefore has a right to preferential treatment. The second is alienation or a feeling of hopelessness and mistrust or what has often been referred to in the police literature as cynicism.

The underlying causal chain posits that the harsh conditions that are inherent to operational policing and the enervating organizational conditions found in many police organizations cause officers to feel victimized and thus entitled to special treatment as compensation. These same conditions are hypothesized to cause officers to become alienated from the wider society, their employing police services and from the police role. The data collected by this research provide empirical support for the hypothesized relationships between the environment and the sense of entitlement and alienation.

This research observed that associated with a strong sense of entitlement is a tolerance for unethical police behaviour. The one exception to this was the sense that police were entitled to professional status. Feeling this way caused officers to be intolerant of noble cause corruption in operational settings.

Feeling alienated from the general public, one's police service and from the police officer role was also found to be damaging to an officer's ethical standards. Officers who were estranged from society, their police service and the police role were more tolerant of unethical behaviour than officers who remained connected.

This research identified and addressed various forms of unethical police behaviour. These included noble cause corruption, both in operational and organizational settings, self interested corruption that saw officers improperly exploit their police service resources and behaviour that is self-indulgent and ego-rewarding at the expense of others.

If there is an overall conclusion one can draw from this research it is this. Inherent to policing are forces that can destroy the high values that bring recruits to policing and it is insufficient to rely on the good character of these recruits to protect them from the hazards of a police career. Management must accept that they have a responsibility, and have it within their power, to intervene when subordinates lose contact with those very values that caused them to become police officers.

Searching for Causes: Entitlement and Alienation as Precursors of Unethical Police Behaviour

Introduction

We can search for the causes of unethical police behaviour in two places. We can search for it in the character of officers, those enduring personal traits that shape behaviour. This is the approach that characterizes current police practices. Indeed the question of character is embedded in Canadian police legislation. Police legislation in Canada requires that officers be ". . . of good moral character and habits" (s. 3(1)(f) Saskatchewan Municipal Police Recruiting Regulations ,s. 13(1)(e) Royal Newfoundland Constabulary Act, s. 43(1)(d) Ontario Police Services Act).

When we recruit new officers, we focus on character. Police services subject applicants to psychological tests, investigate their backgrounds for questionable behaviour and interview referees. We look for personal traits such as impulsiveness, immaturity and prejudice. We examine the character of applicants because this is all we have. We know nothing else about these potential officers. Applicants have yet to experience the rigours of police work and the police community and so recruiting focuses on character as reflected in past behaviour.

Once having been welcomed into the police community and experienced the rigours of police work, we can begin to investigate the forces that turn officers of good character into unethical workers. And this is the focus of this study. We look at the process of becoming unethical. We look into the experiences of police officers to see how the treatment accorded them by the public and their employers shape their attitudes towards unethical behaviour.

In this study we investigate the process of becoming unethical. And in doing so, we provide an explicitly social-psychological explanation of behaviour[1]. We adopt this approach because we accept that unethical behaviour is no different from any other form of behaviour. It is a function of the external forces that impinge on officers that cause attitudes and values to change, which in turn causes officers to alter their behaviour.

The following report was based on data collected from four major police services in Canada. For a more detailed description of the study's research methodology, please see Appendix 1.

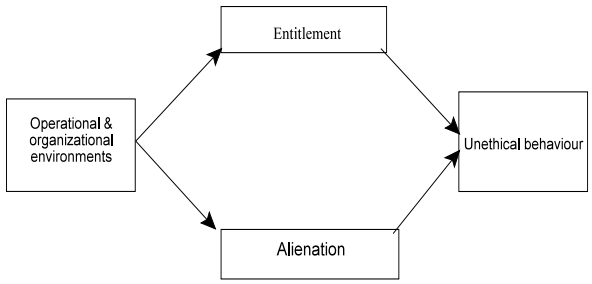
The Model of Unethical Behaviour

In the current study we begin with an explanatory social-psychological model that links an officer's experience with his or her operational and organizational environments to the development of a set of problematic attitudes which in turn can cause the officer to become more accepting of unethical behaviour. Figure 1 provides an overview of the processes that this research examines.

[1] An earlier theoretical report "A Social-Psychological Model of Unethical and Unprofessional Police Behaviour" by the author outlined the theoretical model for this research. The current research does not address all the hypotheses presented in this earlier wok. A copy of this report is available on the Canadian Police College web site www.cpc.gc.ca.

The process examined by this research begins with police officers' experiences with their operational and organizational environments. The operational environment includes the treatment accorded them when performing their duties as a peace officer and their satisfaction with this treatment. This operational environment, however, extends well beyond the face-to-face contacts made by police officers. It includes the vicarious contacts police officers have with the public as represented by the media and the officers' own perceptions of how the public views police. That is, the operational environment includes the officers' own perception of the

Figure 1
A Social Pyschological Model of Unethical Behaviour



public. While this perception may be biassed at times, there is little reason to believe that police officers' beliefs and perceptions are totally groundless. There is a kernel of truth in these beliefs that captures the more objective nature of the public's treatment of police officers.

The aversive nature of the operational environment has been frequently researched and discussed. Not as frequently discussed, except in the literature on stress, is the organizational environment, the superior-subordinate, collegial, administrative and cultural climate of the employing police service (Liberman et al. (2000), Lee and Stoneham (1993)). The current research gives equal attention to the organization as being a potentially aversive environment with the ability to shape attitudes and values that in turn mould behaviour.

The following discussion looks first at the upper pathway in Figure 1, the Environment → Entitlement → Unethical Behaviour connection. The organization of this discussion makes the concept of entitlement the central focus. Doing so, I feel holds the greatest promise for policy development. The street environment is, and probably will continue to be, harsh and inhospitable. Changing how this environment treats police is beyond the control of police and therefore beyond the reach of policy driven manipulation. Therefore, we must look elsewhere to affect change. Similarly, focussing primarily on the unethical behaviour provides little scope for constructive policy development. Focussing on the wrongdoing, as we do in our disciplinary systems, is to adopt an entirely reactive stance. The harm has already been done and we can only hope that discipline and good management will keep the officer's untoward behaviour in check. Only by understanding and beginning to recognize the immediate precursors of unethical behaviour, such as the sense of entitlement, can police organizations intervene in a timely way to prevent the aversive quality of the police environment from translating into unethical behaviour.

Before proceeding, it should be noted that the following discussion does not report on all the research findings concerning the forces that appear to contribute to unethical behaviour. Many, if not most of these forces, are not addressed in the current report. The focus of this report is limited to the antecedents of alienation and entitlement and the effect that

these two variables have on the forms of unethical behaviour introduced below.

Tolerance for Unethical Behaviour

It is extremely difficult to measure unethical police behaviour. The covert nature of unethical behaviour, police related or otherwise, makes official records and direct observation unreliable sources of information. In addition, asking police officers about their improper behaviour is clearly a self-defeating strategy. Few people, and probably even fewer police officers, would be prepared to answer such questions despite all the reassurances of confidentiality given by the researcher.

The current research takes an indirect approach to measuring unethical police behaviour. Rather than asking officers about their behaviour, the research asked officers to rate the seriousness of various forms of unethical behaviour.[2] To do this, a questionnaire posed 36 brief scenarios involving police unethical behaviour and then asked respondents to rate the seriousness of each scenario on a five-point scale. This was the approach adopted by Klockars et al. (2000). This strategy assumes that those who are tolerant of unethical behaviour are more susceptible to committing unethical acts.

In measuring tolerance for unethical behaviour, the goal was not to create scales that could be used to measure the ethical health of a police service. Nor was the goal to develop scales that could be used to judge individual officers. Rather the goal was to create scales that could be used to examine the processes by which officers came to be more or less tolerant of unethical behaviour. It is the process and not the officer or police service that is under investigation. Appendix 1 provides a brief explanation of the measurement technique used to develop our measures and the actual content of each of the scales used in this research.

The five classes of unethical behaviour discussed in this report are reviewed briefly below. All of these forms of unethical behaviour have been documented in past research.

Operational Noble Cause Corruption

The concept of noble cause corruption captures the long standing debate over means and ends. Specifically, noble cause corruption pertains to the use of improper means to achieve ends that are deemed to be valuable by the police officer (Klockars 1985). The coerced confession, deceptive testimony and the "tuning up" of wrongdoers are examples of operational noble cause corruption. Each of these actions represents the intentional violation of ethical standards committed in the hope of achieving an ostensibly valued end, whether that end is the conviction of an accused or the punishment of bad behaviour.

An earlier, theoretical paper, conceptualized the misplaced loyalty found in the police subculture as a form of self-interested corruption. In that paper I argued that unethical behaviour of this kind was essentially self-serving in that it served the private ends of the police. The data analysis conducted for this report does not support this contention. The factor analysis grouped ill-considered loyalty to other police officers with examples of operational noble cause corruption such as "testilying" and the manipulation of witnesses to obtain a conviction. The fact that misplaced loyalty

[2] A copy of the questionnaire is available from the author.

was grouped in this way may suggest that police officers equate loyalty to other officers as behaviour that serves the public good and not just the interests of the police. This inclusion of police officer loyalty with scenarios addressing operational noble cause is worthy of further investigation for it implies that officers feel that their interests and society's interests are the same. That is, "What's good for police officers is good for society."

Street Smarts and Ego-gratification

The second dimension of unethical behaviour revealed by the data analysis is the most difficult to characterize. Successful officers develop what has been labelled street smarts. This refers to the quick wittedness and somewhat black sense of humour that are used both as a defence and offence. It is knowing about the flexibility of rules, the relationship between necessity and invention and how to expedite. It is the reliable judging of character and intent. It is the skills and outlook learned through hard experience. Street smarts help get the job done. They protect and amuse officers. The war story is often a story of street smarts, of how the officer's savvy won the day.

But street smarts taken too far can slide into unethical behaviour, into unjustifiable manipulation, petty vindictiveness and using others for one's amusement. Its goal can be amusement or simply the ego-rewarding knowledge that one has bested the miscreant. Looked at from a different perspective, street smarts misapplied becomes vindictiveness that is rationalized as cleverness. And this is the aspect of street smarts that seems to have been captured in this research.

Self-interested Corruption

Self-interested corruption refers to unethical behaviour intended to promote the private ends of the person performing the action. Historically, this aspect of police misconduct has been conceptualized as actions that victimize the public and benefit the police officer. While the research posed scenarios that asked respondents to assess the seriousness of the kick backs and other gratuities, the subsequent data analysis failed to demonstrate that scenarios where the public was the victim shared a common underlying meaning to the respondents. This is not to say that such wrongdoing does not exist but rather that this research did not adequately tap into it. In the following discussions, self-interested corruption has the police service as its victim. The research revealed that respondents saw self-interested corruption that victimized the police service from two perspectives.

Financial Corruption

The first dimension of self-interested corruption addressed those situations in which there is a clear financial benefit being realized. It captures tolerance for unethical behaviour that lines officers' pockets at the expense of their police services. This form of unethical behaviour includes such acts as filing false expense, health and overtime claims. It does not address gratuities and other material benefits extracted from the public.

Personal Use of Police Service Resources

In the previous example of self-interested corruption, there was an unambiguous and improper transfer of money from the police service to the police officers' pockets. In the current example, there is not an actual transfer of money. Rather, the police officer

realizes an improper benefit through the improper use of police service resources and not an explicit transfer of cash. It entails the exploitation of non-monetary police service resources such as vehicles and time.

Organizational Noble Cause

An earlier discussion introduced the concept of noble cause corruption. In that discussion, the unethical behaviour took place in an operational setting and had a member of the public and due process as its victims. In the current discussion, the victim is the officer's own police service. Organizational noble cause corruption refers to officers engaging in questionable behaviour that is motivated by the desire to improve the operation of their police services. Perhaps the best known form of this behaviour is whistle blowing. Whistle blowers are those who reveal information concerning the organization's allegedly improper operations without the organization's approval. The whistle blower is motivated by the desire to stop the organization's misdeeds.

In this research, organizational noble cause corruption was measured by asking officers to evaluate the seriousness of two types of situations. The first concerned the seriousness of unauthorized discussions with the media and senior officers from other police services concerning internal mismanagement and coverups of the employing service. The second asked officers to evaluate the seriousness of undermining the management of their police services by making critical comments concerning management decisions.

Entitlement and Tolerance for Unethical Behaviour

Introduction

Having a sense of entitlement implies two things. It is first a claim to preferential treatment. A person with a sense of entitlement feels that he or she should be accorded benefits not available to others[3]. This differentiation between oneself and others is typically tied to personal qualities or experiences. For example, because a person has worked hard, he or she feels entitled to respect and consideration. From this person's perspective, those who have not worked as hard are not entitled to the same consideration.

The second dimension pertains to the legitimacy of this claim. Those who feel entitled see themselves as having a rightful claim, i.e., they feel they are claiming a right not a privilege. [4] Rights adhere to individuals and are not gifts granted by others. The person with a sense of entitlement is saying, "Because of who I am, what I have accomplished and what I have experienced, I have a right to this benefit."

The moral weight we assign to this sense of entitlement depends upon the object of our claim. If that object is a widely held moral value, then the sense of entitlement is a virtue. For example, as residents of Canada, our claim to equal treatment before and under the law is legitimate because equal treatment is a widely held moral value. A sense of entitlement becomes degenerate when the object of one's sense does not have this moral standing. Society commonly condemns those who feel entitled to luxury or other forms of special indulgence. Appendix 1 explains the techniques used in this research to measure the concept of entitlement.

In this part of the report we examine this sense of entitlement in the context of two roles police officers play: peace officer and public employee. In doing so we look at several dimensions of entitlement, their causes and their consequences for ethical

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[3] The concept of entitlement was introduced into the police ethics literature by Kevin Gilmartin and John J. Harris in 1998. The concept of entitlement has also been used to explain other forms of misconduct. For example, Hill and Fischer (2001) used the concept as a mediating variable between male gender roles and rape.

[4] While the current discussion focusses on the origins and consequences of police officers having a sense of entitlement, it should be noted that there is an extensive literature that addresses the consequences of being frustrated in one's attempt to secure a benefit. The literature on the so-called "frustration-aggression hypothesis" is clear in documenting the emotional and aggressive responses that flow from being frustrated in the pursuit of one's goals. This literature is relevant to the current discussion and to the police research literature on how the demeanor of citizens shapes the responses of police officers (Worden and Shepard 1996). If we conceptualize police officers as feeling entitled to public deference, the aggressive response to those commonly referred to in police street parlance as "ass holes" becomes readily understandable.

police work.

This discussion, does not comment on the legitimacy of any claim to entitlement. That is, no judgements are offered with respect to whether police are or should be entitled to any particular consideration. The issue under discussion here is not whether police are entitled to the treatment they seek but rather the causes and consequences of holding such beliefs.

Entitlement: The Police Officer Role

In the current discussion, we try to understand the sense of entitlement in terms of two different social roles played by police: peace officer and public employee. When we examine the sense of entitlement that is tied to the police officer role, we see that it too has two parts. The first pertains to the claim that police officers are entitled to professional status. This dimension captures the degree to which police officers feel entitled to being treated like professionals and being accorded privileges similar to those accorded to other professions.

Central to this sense of entitlement is the feeling that police officers, like doctors and lawyers, should play a more prominent role and have greater autonomy over the conduct of their work. In this research, 87% of the officers felt that police are professionals like doctors and lawyers. An identical percentage felt that police should have more influence when new criminal laws were under consideration. The majority also felt that police should have more control over the investigation of serious crimes (57%) and over revenues from fines and proceeds of crime etc. (61%).

In their public role as peace officers, police officers also make claims that are more personal and defensive in character. Along this dimension of entitlement, we distribute officers according to how entitled they feel to having the burden of public accountability and governance lightened. On this dimension of entitlement, a significant minority of officers (39%) feel they should be entitled to break minor laws when investigating serious crimes. Forty percent feel police should have more control over the public complaints process and almost one quarter (24%) feel police should have the authority to use greater force than the law allows today in their own defence. Unlike the claim to professional status, which is a claim being made on behalf of the entire police community, this second aspect of entitlement is a much more personal and defensive claim.

Peace Officer Entitlement: Its causes

Earlier, I commented people feel entitled because they feel they have had experiences, or possess qualities, that differentiate them from others. The following section discusses the experiences of police officers that can cause them to develop a sense of entitlement.

When a person is victimized, it is natural for that person to feel entitled to some form of compensation. An eye-for-an-eye, the sense of having paid one's dues, our notions of equity and justice, the norm of reciprocity all speak to this issue. The forms of entitlement discussed previously flow, in part, from the sense that police officers are ill-treated, both personally and professionally, and therefore have a right to compensation. That is, they feel entitled to some benefit in compensation for the harsh treatment accorded them.

This research reveals that officers commonly feel that their careers have damaged their health and personal lives. Seventy percent of the officers in this study felt their health had

been damaged and 79% felt that being a police officer was hard on a person's private life. In this research, **those officers who felt their health and personal lives were harmed by their police careers felt that police officers were entitled to professional status**. Those that felt victimized or injured by their careers sought compensation by being recognized as a professional.

The sense that police are entitled to professional status also flows from a number of other factors connected to the operational lives of police officers. The majority of police officers in this study (54%) felt dissatisfied with how they were treated by the public and those that felt this way were more prone to claim professional status. Conversely, those officers who felt they were doing useful work for a supportive public were less likely to feel entitled to professional status. In this regard, the majority of police officers (57%) felt their work had made a difference for the better, 80% felt it was worth making an extra effort to help the public, 70% felt that most Canadians had a high opinion of police and 71% thought that the public felt police were doing a good job**. Officers who held these positive attitudes were less likely to claim professional status for police and less likely to want to escape the burden of public accountability and governance.**

The perceived harm done to police officers was not limited to the damage their careers caused to their health and personal lives. The majority of police officers also felt that their professional lives had been harmed by the actions of various groups. Sixty-seven percent of the officers in this study felt their work was being undermined by the court and correctional systems[5]. Almost the same number (62%) felt a lack of support from politicians and 60% felt that special interest groups were trying to undermine the police. **Those officers who felt their work was not being supported as it should or was being undermined by outside groups felt entitled to a less onerous accountability regime**. That is, they felt entitled to greater control over the public complaint system, to use greater force in their own defence and to immunity if they broke minor laws when investigating serious crimes.

This study also revealed that it was not just the operational world that shaped officers' sense of entitlement. Their relationship with their employers also conditioned whether they developed a sense of entitlement.

A significant portion of police officers in this study cast their employers in a negative light. A strong majority (76%) felt those who set policy in their departments were out of touch with operational police work. A significant minority, 39%, felt that any suggestions for change they made would not get a fair hearing and 29% disagreed with the suggestion that most managers did their best to support the rank-and-file. A similar percentage (30%) felt their organizations were going in the wrong direction. Finally, 45% of the officers in this study felt that many managers looked after their own interests to the detriment of ordinary officers. **The officers who held these negative views were more prone to claim professional**

[5] Amongst rank-and-file police officers, Correctional Services of Canada institutions are derisively referred to as "Club Fed" and the Canadian Police Association circulated a petition critical of Correctional Services of Canada.

status for police than officers with more positive attitudes towards their employers.

The forces that play on police officers are not, however, entirely negative. How an officer is treated by his or her colleagues has important consequences for both forms of entitlement**. Officers who were satisfied with the treatment accorded them by their colleagues were disinclined to feel a sense of entitlement**. And it should be noted that a substantial majority (79%) felt this way. Those officers who were satisfied with how their colleagues treated them were less likely to claim compensation in the form of professional status. Similarly, those who held a positive opinion of their colleagues were more likely to accept the accountability regime under which they operate than were those who held a more negative opinion of the colleagues.

The current research reveals one additional common element that shapes an officer's sense of entitlement. **As police officers gain promotion, their sense of entitlement diminishes.** Senior officers were less likely than non-commissioned officers, who in turn were less likely than constables, to feel entitled to professional status or to reduced accountability. The most reasonable interpretation for this observation is that these officers feel rewarded by promotion and therefore feel no need for additional compensation in the form of professional status and reduced accountability.

The claim that police deserve to be treated as professional has a cause that distinguishes it from the claim for reduced accountability. And that concerns the officer's perception of himself or herself. **Those officers who reported that their opinion of themselves had gone up over their careers were less inclined to claim professional status for police than those whose opinions of themselves had remained the same or declined.** It would appear that these officers already feel compensated for their work and feel no need for additional rewards in the form of professional status.

Peace Officer Entitlement: Its Consequences

At the outset, I argued that the moral weight we assign to the sense of entitlement depends upon the moral value we assign to the object being claimed. In the present discussion, the moral value of the objects being claimed is not entirely clear. While the claim for reduced accountability runs contrary to basic democratic principles, and therefore is suspect, we cannot make the same statement about the claim to professional status. This ambiguity is reinforced when we take a more "consequentialist" stance and look at how these two aspects of entitlement affect officers' tolerance for unethical behaviour.

Officers who feel entitled to reduced accountability were more tolerant of unethical behaviour than those lacking this sense. **Those who felt entitled to reduced accountability were more accepting than others of noble cause corruption in operational settings.** By noble cause corruption we mean the use of illegitimate means to achieve ostensibly virtuous ends. The "noble ends" in question pertained to the protection of an officer engaged in improper behaviour and the manipulation of evidence to obtain a conviction. It should be noted before proceeding that when officers were asked to rate the seriousness of the five scenarios used to measure noble cause corruption in operational settings, the overwhelming majority, 85% to 88%, judged the actions described in the scenarios to be

serious.

The consequences of feeling entitled to reduced accountability also extended beyond the operational realm. These same officers were more tolerant of financial corruption directed against their police services. In the current study officers were asked to rate the seriousness of false expense, medical and overtime claims. **Those officers who felt entitled to reduced accountability rated the seriousness of these false financial claims less seriously than did those lacking this sense of entitlement**. Again, it should be noted that filing false financial claims was rated as serious or very serious by 85% to 90% of the officers in this study.

In contrast to the effect of feeling entitled to reduced accountability, the claim to professional status has beneficial consequences. **Those officers who felt that police should be treated more like professionals were intolerant of operational noble cause corruption.** They were more condemning of cover-ups, "testilying" and other forms of well-intentioned but misguided behaviours. Why this was the case is somewhat difficult to understand. It may be that those who claim professional status, in fact, act more professionally than others and that their heightened claim to professional status merely reflects a sense of indignation at being treated otherwise. This somewhat anomalous finding should be examined further for it may reveal conditions that have important policy implications.

Entitlement: The Public Employee Role

Entitlement is not limited to an officer's sentiments concerning his or her operational life. Officers can also feel entitled to special treatment in relation to their police services. And this finds expression in a number of forms. **One dimension of this is the feeling that the rank-and-file are the lynch pin, the critical player that determines the success or failure of the police service.** In the current study, over 70% of the respondents thought that only extra effort by the rank-and-file ensured the success of their police services and that the rank-and-file should have a greater say in the running of their police services. This self-image has the junior ranks playing a heroic role and, as a consequence, a role that is entitled to greater control over the operation of the police service.

Complementing the sense that only the rank-and-file stands between a police service's success and failure is the feeling that the organization exists to serve the needs of its employees. A large number of police officers think this way. Almost one half of the officers in this study (49%) agreed with the statement that "management's primary responsibility is to look after the members of the police service" and 42% felt that it was unreasonable for employers to expect officers to do general duty patrol for their entire careers. There is a peculiar sense of hierarchy and membership being expressed here. To a large number of police officers, management is their handmaiden and the organization exists primarily to meet their needs and not those of the public.

A third dimension of this employee-related sense of entitlement concerns the protection of officers' careers. A minority of officers (16%) felt officers should be guaranteed at least one promotion during their careers while 55% felt that police services should find a place for officers unable to do operational police work. Finally, 60% felt that their employers should do more to protect officers from public criticism.

Public Employee Entitlement: Its Causes

Some of the same forces that shaped officers' operational sense of entitlement also shaped their sense of entitlement towards their employers. **Officers in this study who felt that a police career injured an officer's health and personal life or who felt that special interest groups undermined their work were inclined to claim compensation in the form of being recognized as the key player in their organizations' success and deserving of a greater say in their police services' operations.**

Three additional variables shaped officers' sense that the rank-and-file represent the key player in the organization and are entitled to greater control over their police services' operations. **Male officers were more likely than their female counterparts to place police in this heroic and deserving central role. Similarly, officers who were disillusioned with their police service were more inclined to feel this way.** In this study, 38% of the respondents said that their opinion of their police service had gone down over the course of their careers. The one opposing force in this discussion was the treatment accorded officers by their colleagues. **Officers who were satisfied with their collegial relations were less likely to see the rank-and-file as the organization's key player and deserving of greater control over the service's functioning.**

Career protection represents compensation for having one's health and private life injured by a police career. **Those who felt that their health and personal lives were injured by their careers also felt that their employers' role was to protect the career interests of police employees.** By career interests we mean a right to promotion, employment if unable to perform operational police work and protection from public criticism.

Just as past injury contributes to the sense that career protection is justifiable, past rewards diminish this sense of entitlement. Officers in this study who had been rewarded by promotion were less likely to feel in need of, or deserving of, career protection. Senior officers were less likely than non commissioned officers, who in turn were less likely than constables, to feel entitled to having their careers protected.

Public Employee Entitlement: Its Consequences

Feeling a sense of entitlement towards their employers shapes officers' tolerance for unethical behaviour. **Officers who see the rank-and-file as being the organization's key player were more tolerant of noble cause corruption in operational settings than others.** That is, they were more tolerant of officers who commit improper acts intended to ensure operational success such as manipulating witnesses and misrepresenting evidence. **These same officers were also more tolerant of those officers who misuse the "street smarts" that officers acquire during their careers.** They were more likely than others to minimize the seriousness of intimidating teenage offenders, misusing their authority to obtain personal satisfaction and using CPIC for unauthorized purposes**.** In general, they were more tolerant of the "clever", but manipulative officer.

Just as those who saw the rank-and-file as a police service's key player were more tolerant of unethical behaviour, **those who felt entitled to having their careers protected were more tolerant of unethical behaviour.** These officers were more likely to minimize the seriousness of using their employers

resources for personal ends and using "street smarts" in a manipulative and exploitative manner.

The feeling that the employer exists to serve the needs of employees also leads to a tolerance for unethical behaviour that victimizes the employer. **Those officers who feel their employers' primary role was to support employees were prone to minimizing the seriousness of employees using their employers' resources for their own personal benefit.** Personal benefit was operationalized in this research as using police cars for personal errands and neglecting duties to study for promotion.

Summary

Claims of entitlement are directed towards both the larger society and towards the employing police service. From the larger society, officers claim recognition as a professional group and reduced accountability. From their employers they claim a louder voice in the operation of their police services and protection for their livelihood and careers. There also exists the expectation that employer will make the welfare of employees their central focus.

Like any set of attitudes, the feelings of entitlement exist amongst police officers in varying degrees. Those who have been more exposed to its antecedents will feel more strongly than those less exposed. A key antecedent condition is the degree to which officers feel victimized both personally and professionally. The perception that one has been victimized or injured contributes to this demand for compensation that we have labelled a sense of entitlement.

The connection between victimization and entitlement is readily understood. It can be thought of as balancing of benefits against the costs one has incurred. Ill-treatment, whether at the hands of the public or employer, sets the stage for officers demanding compensation. Since they have paid the costs of being a police officer, they feel entitled to some of the benefits (Pynoos et al. 1993).

Reinforcing the conclusion that feelings of entitlement reflect feelings of injury and victimization is the observation that the experience of rewards has an ameliorating affect. Those who have received rewards are less likely than others to feel they are entitled to compensation. And these rewards come in a variety of forms: promotion and the treatment accorded by the public, police service and colleagues.

With one exception, a sense of entitlement is associated with an increased acceptance of unethical behaviour. And this is understandable given the causes of entitlement. Entitlement flows from victimization and is a demand for compensation. And compensation comes in various forms of unethical conduct. The one exception to this is the feeling that police officers are entitled to professional status. Unlike other dimensions of entitlement, feeling entitled to professional status contributes to an intolerance for unethical behaviour. As was noted earlier, this observations is worthy of more detailed examination.

Alienation and Tolerance for Unethical Behaviour

Introduction

In the following discussion, we examine the Environment → Alienation → Unethical Behaviour path presented in Figure 1. And again we focus primarily on the attitudes and values that mediate between the environment and behaviour. In the current case we focus on the feeling of alienation that some officers develop.

A sense of alienation connotes a bleak detachment, a cynic's world view. To be alienated is to feel cut off from groups to which one would normally be attached, to which one would normally feel loyalty. Alienation carries with it a sense of hopelessness and mistrust. The alienated police officer is one who has lost faith.

The police officer as cynic has been the theme of numerous investigations (Graves 1996) . And typically, these discussions have focussed on cynicism as an expression of the officers' attitudes towards the public. This research adopted the perspective that to understand alienation or cynicism amongst police officers, we must look beyond the relationship between the police officer and the larger society. That is, it is not only the police-public relationship that must be studied if we are to understand alienation and the unethical police behaviour that can flow from it.

For analytical clarity, and to develop a more nuanced understanding of alienation and its consequences, we must examine alienation in three different realms. The first two pertain to two groups to which police officers would normally be expected to be loyal. Police officers are public office holders with sworn obligations to the public. As such, we expect police officers to be respectful of and loyal to the public. Alienation from the public, therefore, is the first issue addressed here. But police officers are also employees and in this role we expect them to be loyal to their employers. Alienation from the employing police service is therefore the second aspect of alienation under examination. As was done in the earlier discussion of entitlement, the research looks at the antecedents of officers' alienation from the public and employing police service and the consequence of this alienation for ethical police work.

This discussion also examines the origins and consequences of a third and much more personal sense of alienation. And that pertains to police officers who become alienated or detached from their role as police officers. That is, it addresses those conditions that cause police officers to lose their sense of purpose, to go through the motions of being a police officer without the sense of mission that initially brought them into police work. The research looks at the relationship between this disengagement from the police officer role and ethical police work.

Alienation: From the Larger Society

The police officer's alienation from the larger society has been a central issue in much of the research on unethical police behaviour. And this is understandable given the extraordinary powers police officers have under the law. Police officers who become estranged from the general public are assumed to be more prone to abusing their authority. And this abuse of authority has been a central problem addressed by those concerned with unethical police behaviour.

Police are routinely characterized as being alienated from the public. Numerous authors have commented on the black humour, cynicism and social isolation of police officers. And the current research suggests that hopelessness and mistrust are indeed characteristics of some police officers. There is a tendency, however, to present alienation as the defining characteristic of police. The picture is one of alienation as an almost universal quality. Before examining the roots and consequences of alienation, a brief digression is probably in order here to address this issue of alienation as the defining characteristic of police officers.

The current research does not support the commonly held picture of alienation as a nearly universal characteristic of police officers. The picture painted by this research is one where 80% of the police officers feel that it is worth making an extra effort to help the public, 70% feel the general public has a high opinion of police and 72% feel the public think police do a good job. These feelings, however, are tinged with a certain realism. When asked whether they felt their work had made a difference for the better, only 57% were in agreement. While this research cannot make comparisons with other occupations to determine the relative standing of police officers, the data do provide some reassurance. **The majority of officers remain attached to the society that they have sworn to protect. The blanket characterization of police officers as alienated and disengaged is not supported by this research.**

The current research captured feelings of alienation towards society by asking police officers their opinions on two issues. The first of these attempted to assess whether officers felt it was worthwhile making an effort to help the public. This provided a direct assessment of the officers' connection with the public. The officers who say that it isn't worthwhile have clearly rejected the larger society.

The second set of questions provided a more indirect assessment of the officers' relationship with the larger society. These questions asked officers whether they thought members of the public appreciated the efforts police made on their behalf. If we think of the relationship between police and society as an exchange where police provide a service and the public is expected to provide gratitude, seeing the public as ungrateful implies a breakdown in the relationship. The officer who thinks the public is not appreciative is, in essence, saying that the quid pro quo, the social contract between the public and the police has been broken. From the alienated police officer's perspective, the broken contract means police are released from their obligations to provide an effective and ethical service, that police are free to act in their own interests.

Alienation from the Public: Its Causes

The antecedents of alienation resemble the antecedents of entitlement, i.e., the treatment accorded officers by the public and their police services. **In general, ill-treatment by the public or the respondents' employers lies at the heart of the alienation observed in this research.** Those who said they were dissatisfied with how the public treated them were more prone to express sentiments indicative of alienation and estrangement. Dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded officers by their employers had the same effect. Officers who were dissatisfied with how they were treated by their police services were more likely to feel alienated from the general public.

The picture of negative treatment contributing to a sense of alienation is reinforced when we examine how the sense of alienation varies

across the rank structure. **Those who had been rewarded through promotion were less likely than their un-promoted colleagues to feel estranged from the public.** Constables were more prone to feel alienated than NCOs and those in the senior ranks.

The sense of victimization that causes officers to feel entitled to preferential treatment also causes them to become alienated from the general public. Officers who felt their police careers had injured their health and personal lives were more prone to feel a sense of detachment from the public.

Alienation from the Public: Its Consequences

Feeling detached from the public has harmful consequences for an officer's tolerance for unethical behaviour. **The research reveals that officers who feel detached from society are more tolerant of noble cause corruption in the operational world than those who have maintained their allegiance.** They were more tolerant of expedient actions that directly undermined the criminal justice system. These actions included giving incomplete evidence, improperly coaching witnesses and misrepresenting information to obtain a search warrant. They were also more tolerant of actions that covered up the criminal behaviour of other officers and actions ostensibly intended to ensure successful prosecution but at the cost of endangering public safety.[6]

The tolerance of alienated officers for actions that break the rules of the general society is matched by a parallel tolerance for actions that violate rules internal to their police services. **The research reveals that alienated officers were more tolerant of noble cause corruption internal to their police services than were officers who remained more closely tied to the general society.** Alienated officers were more tolerant of whistle blowing intended to stop internal waste and breakdowns in discipline. They were also more tolerant of those who undermine their superior officers. **Finally, they were more tolerant of financial corruption that victimized their employers.** These officers were more prone to minimize the seriousness of financial misconduct such as filing false overtime, medical and expense claims.

Alienation from the Police Service

Alienation from the employing police service found expression in a variety of forms. **At one level, alienation from the police service found concrete form in subordinate-superior relations. In this form, it captures a breakdown in trust.** The alienated officer is one who has lost faith in his or her superiors' ability to direct the organization and who no longer trusts superiors to treat subordinates with respect and consideration. For example, 45% of the

[6] Ironically, noble cause corruption is consistent with the high ideals that bring recruits into policing. Both recruits and the officers who engages in noble cause corruption see themselves as contributing to the welfare of society. Recruits serve society by becoming a police officer while officers who engage in noble cause corruption serve society by cutting through the complexities of due process and chains of command to root out criminals and wrongdoers in society and inside their police services.

respondents felt that managers were "too busy looking out for themselves and don't care about the ordinary officers." The research also revealed two other dimensions of alienation that have consequences for the ethical conduct of police officers. **Some officers no longer appear to value or perhaps even expect to be rewarded by the organization while other officers feel estranged from the role of police officer.** Forty-seven percent agreed with the statement that, "I do my job but don't expect any thanks from my boss." And almost one out of four officers (23%) agreed with the statement that, "Policing has become just a job to me and nothing more." That is, they no longer feel engaged by their duties. (In general, the level of alienation from the police service appears to be higher than the level of alienation from the public.)

Alienation from the Police Service: Its Causes

It should not come as a surprise that there is a clear connection between the treatment accorded officers by their employers and their alienation from the organization. Contrary to what one might expect, however, **a central aspect of this aversive employee-employer relationship has little to do with abusive supervisors or unfair treatment. Rather, it addresses the mundane and clearly enervating world of ever-changing and burdensome administrative rules and paper work.** Between twenty and twenty-five percent of the officers found the paper burden, rule changes and seemingly pointless administrative rules to be stressful. **Those who found the bureaucratic demands most stressful were more likely than others to become alienated from the organization.** That is, organizational stressors such as paper work and constant rule changes cause officers to become alienated from their police services.

Reinforcing this picture are two additional observations. **Those officers who were dissatisfied with how their employers have treated them and officers whose opinion of their employers has declined since they started their careers were more prone to feeling estranged from their employers.** Over half of the officers (54%) were dissatisfied with how they were treated by their police services and 38% said that their opinion of their employer had declined.

The experience of promotion appears to keep officers tied to their organizations. Non-commissioned and senior officers were less likely than their un-promoted subordinates to feel alienated towards their police services.

One final condition, and a condition that lies outside the organization, appears to cause officers to become disengaged from their employers**. Officers who felt victimized by external groups, i.e., who felt their work was being undermined by external bodies such as the courts, politicians and the correctional system, were more alienated from their employers than those lacking this sense of victimization.** The current research can only speculate on why this is the case. One possibility is that officers do not differentiate between external elites such as the judiciary and politicians and the elites in their own organizations. They may equate their own superiors and the external elites and tar both with the same brush.

One of the underlying themes revealed by this research is that positive experiences lead to a positive connection with the employer and negative experiences lead to estrangement. **There is some suggestion in this research that some officers see two central conditions of their employment, pay and personal recognition as unsatisfactory.** Over a quarter of the officers

(28%) feel that constables' salaries are unfair, and perhaps more critically, 47% do not expect thanks from their supervisors. The origins of this unhappiness can be found in both the operational and organizational environments. The stress of dealing with intractable problems, difficult members of the public and having to take actions that were of little long term benefit was one of the antecedents of this dissatisfaction with the rewards provided by the organization. **That is, the rewards were not commensurate with the frustrations inherent in operational police work. Similarly the perception that police are victimized by the courts, correctional system and politicians contributes to this dissatisfaction with the organization's rewards as does a general dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded by the public. Finally, those officers whose opinion of their police service declined from the time they were initially hired were more prone to cast the organization's rewards in a negative light.**

Alienation from the Police Service: Its Consequences

Shernock (1990) observed that officers frustrated by the oppressive administrative burdens imposed by their employers tended to direct some of this frustration outward by victimizing the public, victimizing the public being a safer career option than attacking one's employer. This observations finds support in the current research. **Officers who were alienated from the organization, i.e., who saw management as being out-of-touch and unsupportive were more likely than others to be tolerant of manipulative and exploitative behaviour on the streets.** These officers were more prone to minimizing the seriousness of using CPIC for personal ends, taking retribution against rude drivers, accepting gratuities and intimidating young offenders. Half of the officers felt using CPIC for personal reason was not serious. Sixty percent felt accepting discounted meals was not serious and 52% felt intimidating a young offender was not a serious act.

Estrangement from the organization also rebounds to affect the behaviour of officers towards their employers**. Officers who cast two basic conditions of employment, salary and appreciation, in a negative light were more tolerant of unethical behaviour involving the self-interested misuse of police service resources.** Twenty-six percent of the officers said it was not serious to use police vehicles to run personal errands and 26% said it was not serious to use office time to pursue personal advancement.

Alienation: From the Police Officer Role

Policing has been fortunate in its ability to attract highly motivated recruits (Crank 1997). People enter policing because they value the police officer role; they value public service. Experiences both on the street and within the police service, however, can erode this attachment to the police officer role. The current research presents a fairly consistent picture with respect to alienation from the police officer role. **The majority of police officers value being a police officer.** Eighty percent of the officers said they were still prepared to put in extra work to make their police service succeed and 57% rejected the suggestion that policing was just a job. Finally, 60% maintained that being a police officer was as important to the officer as it was when he or she first became a police officer.

Alienation from the Police Officer Role: Its Causes

At the outset of this section, alienation was

described as a sense of hopelessness. This research reveals one of the factors that cause police to lose hope and begin to de-value the police role**. The feeling that external elites undermine the work of police contributes to the de-valuing of the police role.** That is, those who feel police work is being undermined by the courts, correctional system and politicians were less willing to go the extra mile than they probably were earlier in their careers. They were more likely to view police work as nothing more than a job and to say that being a police officer was less important to them today than it was previously. It is easy to understand this connection between the perception of elites and the loss of hope. Why try to make a difference when you feel powerful forces are aligned against you?

The officers' immediate work environment also plays a part in the alienation of police officers. **Those officers who said their opinion of both their employers and colleagues had declined over the years were more inclined to de-value the police officer role.** Dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded them by their employers had the same effect while promotion kept officers attached to the role of police officer**. Finally, the simple passage of time erodes officers' connection with the police officer role.** As officers accumulate years of service, they become increasingly disengaged from their role as a police officer.

Alienation from the Police Officer Role: Its Consequences

The impact of being alienated from the police officer role on ethical behaviour does not appear to be as damaging as other forms of alienation**. Officers who have distanced themselves from the police officer role were more tolerant of behaviour involving the self-interested use of the police services resources.** They were more likely to minimize the seriousness of using police vehicles for personal errands and using office time for personal tasks.

Summary

This section of the report examined the processes that cause officers to become estranged from the public and their own employers and the rules that govern their relationship with these groups. The discussion revealed that alienation reflects officers' attitudes towards means rather than ends. It is clear from the discussion of noble cause corruption that the alienated officer is one who has given up on the rules that govern their conduct but have not necessarily given up on the goals of police work as they see them. Their tolerance of unethical behaviour is premised on the belief that violating procedural rules is necessary to achieve higher goals; goals that benefit the larger society and employing organization.

The metaphor of an economic exchange was introduced earlier in this discussion. From this perspective, police officers are in an exchange relationship with the public and their employers. For the exchange or relationship to be successful, each party must give and receive what is expected of it. There is clearly a perception amongst some officers that neither the public nor their employers has honoured its side of the bargain. And because they have failed, police officers are released from their obligations to society and their employers.

Discussion

To be a police officer means more than performing a set of official duties. It means having a job that can colour how one experiences the rest of one's life. It means, for some, seeing the world unlike others see it.

Unfortunately, the shadow cast by being a police officer is often damaging. Therefore, it should surprise no one that some officers succumb and display ethical standards that reflect rather than overcome the harsh and intrusive realities of being a police officer.

Obviously, central to most police officers is their operational life. The operational world is often abrasive with few rewards and many insults. Those on the street who are the raw material of police work are those whom the rest of society cannot or will not deal with (Bouza 1990). It is the experience with these people that is transformed into the defensive, and itself often abrasive occupational culture of police (Hunt and Magenau 1993). And by adopting this occupational culture officers begin to look at the world through a narrowly focussed lens, a lens that perhaps prevents them from seeing the rewards that are to be had.

But dealing with the public is more than dealing with society's criminal and marginalized. It is also dealing with public commentary on policing and this commentary can range from the expert and informed to the malicious and ignorant. It flows from ordinary, well-intentioned neighbours, perfect strangers, politicians, letters to the editor and talk radio. The sentiments of society's elites rarely fall on the side of police.

Life inside a police organization can also prove, if not harsh, at least enervating. Both because they are part of the criminal justice system and because of their para military ancestry, police services are often weighed down by seemingly endless formal processes. And again, as a legacy of their para military ancestry and as an operational necessity, police management has retained a command and control quality that often chafes. On top of this, and this may be a historical anomaly of the current research, the organizational changes caused by the financial shortfalls of the 1990s, have left officers anxious and frustrated. Finally, police organizations, probably more than most, make differences in status visible, and symbolically and materially important. And with this has come both real and alleged careerism and undeniable divisions.

It would be wrong to paint police life as uniformly bleak. In any occupation, a worker's relationship with his or her colleagues is important. For police officers, their relationship with their colleagues is no less important. Good collegial relations plays an important role in the lives of police officers.

Living and working in an environment where one's good deeds go unrewarded or are met with hostility has psychological consequences for officers. It shapes how they see themselves and their relationship with the public and their employers. Some officers begin to see themselves as heroic victims who, having fought the good fight, are entitled to treatment commensurate with their contribution to society and their police services. They begin to see themselves as occupying a special niche, one that comes with earned entitlements. One aspect of this sense of entitlement revealed by the current

research, is the feeling that the police should be treated like professionals and the second reflects the feeling that the rules that hold police accountable should be lightened.

Harsh, unsympathetic treatment by society or the police service can also cause police officers to become alienated from these two groups. That is, they become estranged and begin to reject these groups as moral reference points. No longer are the everyday rules of the game seen as applying to them. Instead, they adopt rules of their own making. Some of these rules apply to the very goals towards which police should be working while others pertain to how these goals are achieved. In both cases, however, the eventual outcome is destructive. Officers distance themselves from the rules and people that govern their professional lives. These rules and people become, if not ineffective, at least weakened defences against wrongdoing.

This study observed that unethical behaviour could not be treated as an undifferentiated or homogeneous set of behaviours. Rather it revealed that police officers treat various classes of behaviour as conceptually distinct.

Police officers saw unethical behaviour that targets the public as different from behaviour that victimizes the employing police service. Within the class of behaviours that targets the public, this research focussed on two different forms. The first is well-documented and has been labelled noble cause corruption. This form of unethical behaviour encompasses those actions where a police officer uses unacceptable means to achieve ostensibly desirable outcomes. Unethical behaviour that victimized the public assumed a second, and perhaps more insidious form. It saw police officers amusing themselves by using their skills and their street smarts to demean or manipulate others. Ego-gratification, rather than public service becomes the object of the officers' misbehaviour.

This research revealed that employing police service also were targets of unethical police behaviour. It revealed two general classes of misconduct directed towards employing police services. Police officers treated noble cause corruption, in the form of whistle blowing, as one class of misbehaviour. And the second form comprises acts intended to provide material benefits to the police officer. Interestingly, this second class of behaviour is itself divided into two categories, the first which sees the unambiguous and improper transfer of money into the officers' pockets and the second, and more easily rationalized set of behaviours, that entails using the employer's non-monetary resources for the officers' personal benefit.

This research found empirical support for the basic social psychological model proposed at the outset of this project. That is, the environment, whether defined as the officers' operational or organizational worlds causes them to become alienated and to develop a sense of entitlement. And alienation and entitlement, in turn, shape officers' attitudes towards unethical behaviour. With one exception, alienated officers and officers who feel entitled were more tolerant of unethical behaviour than other officers. The one exception to this being officers who felt that police were entitled to professional status.

Canadian police services make a great effort to recruit officers of the highest moral standing. And groups such as Interpol place careful recruitment at the forefront of their campaign against police corruption. Police services give far less attention, and spend far fewer resources on ensuring that officers, who were recruited because of their strong moral character, do not succumb to the corrosive effects of a police career.

Police organizations' existing defences against unethical behaviour, such as their discipline and public complaint systems, are entirely reactive. And they too do nothing to identify officers at risk. Police associations rationalize and deny the problems. And the timeworn and self-serving "rotten apple" explanation is proffered whenever police wrongdoing becomes undeniable. To say that the rotten apple explanation is untenable, however, does not imply that wrongdoing is organized or pervasive.

We must begin to accept that the experience of being a police officer undermines ethical behaviour. We must accept that a policing career places officers at risk and that it is insufficient to guard against unethical behaviour by recruiting the unsullied. This research reveals that the insults, demoralizing apathy, the negative commentary and the unsupportive organizational environment cause some to adopt a world view that is conducive to unethical behaviour. It is policing itself that nurtures the problem.

Police can create only minimal defences against the aversive character of operational policing. And most police services have already put some of these defences in place. For example, during recruit training, new officers are exposed to the abuse they are likely to confront on the street in the hope that this early exposure will innoculate them. Similarly, policy exists in many police services that limits the time officers may remain in the corrupting world of undercover work. Employee assistance programs are in place across the country. More can be done, however.

The embittered officer is not invisible. His or her presence is known to peers and ought to be known to supervisors. Given this fact, we must ask why is so little is being done to deflect these officers from a trajectory that has unethical behaviour as its end point. One answer to this may lie in the way we train, or more accurately, fail to train police supervisors and managers. If they receive any training at all, police managers are ill-trained to ensure their subordinates act ethically and to identify officers at risk. We have trained them as if they worked in the benign world of the private sector: in a world where insult and injury are the exceptions and where employee misbehaviour does not have profound implications for the rest of society. We have trained our managers as if their subordinates worked in office cubicles and at shop counters. We must develop managers and executives who perform their roles competently and with a keen awareness of how their actions can both strengthen and weaken the ethical standing of their police services.

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Appendix 1
Research Methodology

Sampling

Four major Canadian police services were asked to act as research sites for this project. Initially, each of the services was asked to provide a nominal role of their sworn members. Three of these lists that were provided contained the names of the officers while one contained only badge numbers. From these lists, the researcher systematically sampled, with periodic random starts, a 10% representative sample. This resulted in a nominal sample size of approximately 775 officers.

A package of materials containing a cover letter, a pre-coded questionnaire and a stamped, self-addressed envelope was prepared for each of the officers. These questionnaires were returned to the police services and distributed to the selected officers through their intra-office mail systems. The completed questionnaires were then returned directly to the Canadian Police College. For reasons of confidentiality, this research did not collect information that could be used to identify the employing police service.

The survey produced 352 useable questionnaires. This represents a response rate of 45%. Another 12 questionnaires were received after the data collection phase of the research was completed and the data analysis was begun. These questionnaires were not included in the data analysis.

Development of Scales

The first step in the data analysis involved the construction of scales to measure the key concepts of entitlement, alienation and tolerance for unethical conduct. The following discussion presents a brief description of how these scales were developed.

Factor Analysis

A two step process was used to develop scales. The responses made by the officers were subjected to a statistical technique known as factor analysis. This technique reveals patterns in the responses of the police officers. That is, it examines the responses of officers and identifies which questions elicit a similar response. The questions that appeared to cluster together beyond a given threshold were then interpreted by the researcher to identify their common, substantive content. Not all questions met the criteria for inclusion and thus did not become part of the subsequent data analysis. (A varimax rotation was used and a minimum factor loading of 0.5 was set for inclusion in a scale.) Once the items that fell into each cluster were identified, a single score was computed for each officer by adding up his or her scores.

Tolerance for unethical behaviour

To measure tolerance for unethical behaviour, the research factor analysed the police officers' responses to the 36 hypothetical scenarios posed in the questionnaire. Each of the categories of unethical behaviour reflects the common content of the groupings revealed by the factor analysis. The following lists the questions that were grouped together to identify the various categories of unethical behaviour.

Operational noble cause

a. A police officer responds to a domestic assault and learns that the husband is a police officer. He violates policy by not charging the other officer. Instead, he tells him to leave and to come back after he cools off.
b. A police officer gives incomplete testimony to ensure that an accused car thief is convicted.
c. A police officer is called to a domestic disturbance. He knows, from past experience, that the wife will not testify against her husband. The officer takes his time hoping that his slow arrival will frighten the wife into testifying.
d. A police officer encourages an unreliable witness to testify that he saw a street-gang member selling drugs.
e. To get a search warrant, a police officer misrepresents the information he has about a suspected crack house.
f.

Misuse of street smarts

a. A police officer catches a 15-year old boy spray painting graffiti. To frighten him, the officer handcuffs and pretends to arrest the boy before releasing him. The boy is not injured.
b. Once a week, a police officer accepts coffee and a discounted meal from a restaurant. He never asks for the discount or gives the restaurant special treatment.
c. When a speeder is rude to him, a police officer gives a ticket with the largest possible fine. If a driver is respectful, he issues a ticket with the smallest fine.
d. A police officer uses CPIC to find out where an old friend lives.

Self-interested financial corruption

a. A police officer attends an out-of-town conference and claims expenses he wasn't entitled to. The false claim cost his service $180.
b. A police officer breaks his eyeglasses at home but reports that they were broken by a prisoner.
c. To collect over time pay, an officer stays at work even though there is no work for him to do.

Organizational noble cause

a. A police officer suspects another officer of socializing with a known criminal. Fearing his own superiors won't act, the police officer tells a senior officer from a neighbouring police service.
b. A police officer thinks his superior is mishandling a major investigation. The police officer criticizes his superior's decisions in front of junior officers.
c. A police officer thinks thousands of dollars are being wasted on car repairs. After trying to go through channels to fix the problem, he tells a

friend who is a reporter.

Self-interested use of organization's resources

a. A police officer regularly uses an unmarked police car to run personal errands.
b. Even though the office is overworked, a police officer spends an hour every day studying for a promotion exam.

Entitlement and Alienation

This research captured the concepts of alienation and entitlement using the same statistical technique, factor analysis, that was used to create the various aspects of unethical behaviour.

Entitlement

The following presents the questions that were used to measure the two aspects of entitlement identified by this research.

Entitled to professional status

c. Police should have more say when new criminal laws are being developed
d. Police officers are professionals just like doctors and lawyers
e. Police should have more control over how they investigate serious crimes
f. Money from fines, proceeds of crime, police auctions etc. should go back to the police

Entitled to reduced accountability

a. Police should be able to break minor laws when investigating serious crimes.
b. Police should have more control over how public complaints are handled
c. When defending themselves, police should be able to use more force than the law allows today

Alienation

The following presents the questions that were used to measure the two aspects of entitlement identified by this research.

Alienation from the organization

a. The people who set policy in your police service are often out of touch with operational police work.
b. If I suggested changing a police service procedure, my ideas would get a fair hearing.
c. I think most managers do their best to support the rank-and-file.
d. The police service is moving in the wrong direction.
e. Many managers are too busy looking out for themselves and don't care about ordinary officers.

Alienation from the police officer role

a. I am willing to put in extra work to help the police service succeed.
b. Policing has become just a job to me and nothing more.
c. Being a police officers is as important to me today as it was when I first joined the police service.

Alienation from the public

a. I feel my efforts as a police officer have made a difference for the better.
b. It's worth making an extra effort to help people solve their problems.
c. Most Canadians generally have a high opinion of police.
d. Most people in Canada think that the police do a good job.

Alienation from select groups

a. The courts and the correctional system undermine the work of the police.
b. Politicians use "law and order" issues just to win more votes.
c. There are many special interest groups that try to undermine the police.

Identifying Relationships

An earlier report, "A Social-Psychological Model of Unethical and Unprofessional Police Behaviour" identified the theoretical linkages between environmental factors and entitlement and alienation. In addition to the variables specified in the earlier report, basic background variables such as gender, rank, years of service and primary duty were included in the analysis. The current research, however, does not examine all the hypotheses presented in the earlier paper.

Multiple regression was used to test the hypotheses and only those variables that were significant at $p <= 0.05$ were included in this report.