

**INFORMAL LEARNING IN THE POLICE SUBCULTURE:
A CASE STUDY OF PROBATIONARY SPECIAL AGENTS
OF A FEDERAL CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE AGENCY**

by

Richard Gregg Dwyer

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APPROVED:

A. K. Wiswell, Chairperson

H. W. Stubblefield

J. K. Nespor

R. L. McKeen

L. A. Blevins

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(ABSTRACT)

Law enforcement professionals bear responsibility to maintain order, to prevent and solve crime, and to protect life and property. In performing such tasks, they possess a unique and significant burden, the authority to deprive others of their liberty and, in extreme cases, their lives. Preparation for such duties and responsibilities has evolved to include formalized training. A review of the literature revealed a perception that the academy curriculum is insufficient preparation for the realities of the field. As a result, the new graduates must learn the ropes while on the job.

This study focused on how new investigators contended with discrepancies between what was formally prescribed and what was required of them in the field during their first year on the job. The types of sources and means of learning were explored along with the reasons for their selection or avoidance.

Subjects for the study were the graduates of the 1991 Agents' Basic Training Class of the Naval Investigative Service who were assigned to the Washington D.C. area, and their field training agents. A series of in depth interviews of each

subject was employed as the data collection vehicle and a grounded theory approach was taken as the framework for interpretation of the findings.

A model was developed depicting the formal learning process in individual, interpersonal, and impersonal components, shadowed by a parallel informal process activated when discrepancies arose. The results provide an understanding of the processes by which the new agents compensated for discrepancies between formal training and the realities of the field, what sources they used, and why. Additionally, this study helps describe the current state of affairs relative to the informal learning that occurs immediately following a formal basic training course. Such information could also be useful in curriculum development for future basic classes and in-service courses in other law enforcement agencies. In addition, the findings add to the understanding of the contribution of learning mechanisms in the transmission of organizational procedures, norms, values, and culture.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Law enforcement is a physically dangerous and mentally tedious profession with an unusual amount of autonomy. Law enforcement professionals - police officers, deputies, and special agents - bear responsibility to maintain order, to prevent and solve crime, and to protect life and property. In performing such tasks, they possess a unique and significant burden, the authority to deprive others of their liberty and, in extreme cases, their lives. Preparation for such duties and responsibilities has evolved to typically include mandatory attendance at a law enforcement academy and periodic training sessions for the remainder of employment. These formal mechanisms certainly contribute to the knowledge and skills utilized by law enforcement officials, but it is generally accepted that, in addition, an extensive informal education is received from peers in the police subculture. It has been suggested in the literature that the academy curriculum is insufficient preparation for the realities of the field. As a result, the new graduates must learn the ropes while on the job. It was this phase of their education that was the focus of this research.

This study examined the learning processes active within a single federal level criminal investigative agency, the Naval Investigative Service (NIS). Specifically, it

addressed how new agents contended with discrepancies between what was formally prescribed and what was required of them in the field. Based on the literature regarding police organizations and of informal learning experiences and my personal experience with both, I presumed that such would be primarily of an informal nature. What emerged was a model consisting of a formal process of learning paralleled by an informal system of sources and means of knowledge acquisition.

Background

It has been argued that the police as an organization have an extensive "subculture" which includes values, norms, and behaviors that are followed regardless of their consistency with official policy and procedures. Past research has typically been conducted from a management viewpoint and described the subculture in negative terms. Negative refers here to those effects which have a detrimental impact on the members, the agency or the public, i.e. corruption, violations of regulations or law, discrimination, and physically and/or mentally unhealthy activities.

Although limited, findings of positive aspects of the police subculture have also been reported. Described as positive are those effects that support the members, the agency, and the public, that is, they enhance performance,

effectiveness, and community relations, promote better health, deter wrong doing and criminal activity, and do so without negative results.

The typical subculture member's perspective on formal training is that it is inadequate. As a result, more credibility is placed on what is learned after graduation than during the academy course (Drummond, 1976; Harris, 1985; Webb & Westergren, 1973). The learning on the job is viewed as what is necessary to operate in the real world. Of the past research that has even mentioned the issue of learning, the focus has been from a management instead of an educational perspective as set forth in this study. Such studies are needed to examine the process of learning with regards to how discrepancies between the formal policy and informal methods are managed by new employees.

Because of the nature of the police mission -- maintenance of law and order at all strata of society often through the use of deadly force -- the police as an organization provides a unique setting for educational research. In this study, the only aspect of learning addressed was the process by which criminal investigators learn to perform their job at the field level. It highlighted the management of discrepancies between what was taught during formal training and what was required in the field. It is suggested that this approach, i.e. from an educational viewpoint, is an uncharted one and sheds new light on a familiar topic.

A review of the literature revealed numerous references to the training of law enforcement professionals, but little apparent understanding of the educational

processes in operation. Typically, the formal training was highlighted. Reference was made to the influence of informal sources, but such situations were generally not extensively explored. The field of adult education offers a new outlook on this issue of law enforcement training and education. I conducted this study in order to examine a long standing phenomenon from this new angle. This document provides the results of my efforts.

Statement of the Problem

Previous research has focused on how the formal training provided to rookie police officers does not prepare them for the real world of practice (Drummond, 1976; Harris, 1985). Although the presence of such conflict is acknowledged, the means by which it is handled have not been adequately explored. Specifically, how do new officers learn what was not taught during their academy classes? Additionally, past research has not addressed this issue from an educational perspective, but rather typically from only a management one.

The goal of this study was to provide a better understanding of how new criminal investigators cope with discrepancies between their formal training and what they need to succeed. What developed was a perspective on the process of how they compensate informally for inadequacies in their formal training.

Research Question

This study was proposed in order to develop a better understanding of the informal learning processes within a police subculture. The guiding question was: how do new criminal justice professionals manage discrepancies between their formal training and the actual world of practice?

Because a theory generating approach was taken, a more specific question was avoided. The purpose of a research question in this type of approach is a starting point for data collection focus (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This broad question was of course further refined as data collection, coding, and analysis began. It quickly narrowed to a focus on the relationship of sources and means of informal learning in response to perceived discrepancies. In addition, the notion of discrepancies broaden to include contradictions, inadequacies, and complete omissions of knowledge and skills.

Significance

The description of the process by which new hires manage discrepancies between their formal training and practice has potential benefit at several levels, to include the subject agency, the law enforcement profession in general, and the field of adult education.

First, the NIS, the subject agency, stands to benefit from several discoveries. Although included primarily to serve defining the process of coping with

discrepancies, identification of the discrepancies themselves could be utilized to aid the NIS in the assessment of both basic and in-service training as adequate and accurate relative to the field of practice. Additionally, the results could prove useful in formal curriculum development. The data could be utilized in determining requirements for in-service training to correct misconceptions and improper practice. Such information might also help assess the pilot field training agent program underway in the NIS at the time of this study. Under this program, new agents were assigned a field training agent, who was selected to provide one-on-one training and evaluation during the probationary year. No method of assessment was designed when this program was submitted and approved for implementation. Findings regarding discrepancies could help in assessing the current and future content of this program.

Law enforcement as a profession has potential interest as well. A better understanding of even one part of the police subculture should help open the way toward capitalizing on its constructive value and lessening its adverse effects. Because the police provide a public service, their organizational culture affects not only its members, but also the public they serve. An understanding of the informal learning process could aid in how formal training iterations, i.e. the basic academy course and in-service modules, are presented. In addition, the findings add to the understanding of how and why certain behaviors and values are perpetuated.

The field of education will gain from another study of informal learning in the workplace with a focus on the sources and methods of learning after a formalized training program. Although the setting was unique, the door is certainly open to theoretical generalization to other professions. At the very least, the notions developed could form the basis for future research in other settings.

Definitions and Abbreviations

Several terms with definitions unique to the topic under study were frequently utilized in this document and therefore deserve specific attention. In addition, in order to conserve space and time, abbreviations common to the community under study and ones developed for this study were employed.

1. **Informal learning**. That which is not structured or formally controlled by the organization in which it occurs.
2. **FTA**. Field Training Agent. An abbreviation used by the NIS to describe those special agents officially assigned as coaches and mentors to the probationary special agents.
3. **PSA**. Probationary Special Agent. An abbreviation coined for use in this document to simplify identifying extracts from interview transcripts.
4. **Special Agent**. An individual in the U.S. government job series 1811, criminal investigator. The NIS utilizes this title only after the individual has graduated from the Basic Agents' Course.

Assumptions

1. It was assumed that the NIS, like other law enforcement agencies, possesses a subculture with common characteristics.

2. The reviewed literature on police subcultures focused almost exclusively on local agencies. It was assumed that the same major characteristics found in local agency subcultures, i.e. secrecy and solidarity, are present at the federal level as well.

Limitations

This study was conducted with subjects from a single level law enforcement agency, who graduated from the same basic training class and were assigned to the same geographic region. No attempt was made to satisfy strict statistical sampling standards. Such was not necessary given the goal of the research.

In addition, the results of this study must be considered in the context of the type and sources of data collected. The data consisted primarily of responses to interview questions and opened ended conversations and was therefore based on the perceptions of the subjects. The influence of bias or lack of integrity on the part of subjects was certainly a possibility. By including several different subjects, with varying backgrounds and in different offices, a more generalizable and credible data base was produced. In addition, the perspective of the new agents was cross checked against the comments of their field training agents, who were

also sources of data. Finally, I have a participant-observer relationship in this study and, as a result, my experiences served as an additional checks and balances on collected data. One can not collect data free from bias, nor control whether subjects are being truthful or not. It is recommended that the information be considered in its context and explored for what it reveals about the persons' perceptions of their environment (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1990, p. 112).

Lastly, the study only focused on how new agents handled learning on the job and only then for the first half of their first year on the job. It did not address how veterans accomplish the same activity.

Despite this disclaimer, the findings appear consistent with what was discovered during a review of the relevant literature as documented in Chapter II. In addition, Chapter III includes guidance on how findings from the research approach utilized can be generalizable beyond this study.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I provides an introduction to the study, to include the background, statement of the problem, research question, significance, definitions and abbreviations, assumptions, and limitations. Chapter II includes an overview of informal learning in organizational cultures and a review of the literature on police subculture with specific attention given to learning. Chapter III details the design of the study to include, information on the subjects, data collection, and

method of analysis. Chapter IV reports the findings of the study and limited interpretation. Chapter V concludes with a summary of the entire study, implications of the findings, and recommendations for practical use of the findings in the law enforcement profession and the field of adult education, and for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study explored the methods by which law enforcement professionals compensate for discrepancies between their formal training and the world of practice. The proposition advanced was that the discrepancies would be addressed through a primarily informal process of learning. To examine support for this proposition, I reviewed literature on informal learning in the workplace and learning and training in law enforcement settings.

In keeping with the grounded theory approach utilized as the research method in this study, I did not conduct extensive review of the literature in advance of data collection and analysis (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I reviewed the literature initially for general themes and an understanding of the process and setting to be studied. In addition, the initial review served as a guide for theoretical sampling (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). More in depth inquiry was undertaken as data was collected and analyzed disclosing potential concepts for exploration. In this way, it served to help explain discoveries and add validation to the findings (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

This chapter provides an overview of relevant literature regarding informal learning in the workplace and the police subculture with particular focus on

learning and training within law enforcement agencies. The results of the aforementioned reviews have been consolidated into this single overview.

Informal Learning in the Workplace

Informal learning has been documented as a means of knowledge and skill acquisition in the workplace, but this process of learning has not always been recognized as such. Schein (1968) referred to informal sources of learning among the ways new employees learn during organizational socialization. The new hire learns through official documentation, the example of role models, the direction of trainers and supervisors, examples of peers, who have had more experience on the job - "big brothers", from the results of his/her own trial and error attempts at "problem solving", and "experimenting with new values and new behaviors" (Schein, 1968, p. 6). With the exception of official documents, all of these sources could be viewed as informal. In addition, peers are a source of how the supervisor wants things done, the perspective of upper management, and what are the "heroic" acts and "taboos" of the organization (Schein, 1968, p. 7). The peer group perspective is not always consistent with the overall organizational value system as will be evident from the police subculture literature.

Learning occurs between new hires and their peers and supervisors both on the clock and off (Feldman, 1976). As a new employee is accepted on the job, he/she will become privy to information useful in job performance and in

associating with others on the job (Feldman, 1976). Coworkers can serve as role models or examples (Feldman, 1976; Pascale, 1985; Schein, 1968).

Recommendations for training included time for informal interaction between veterans and new hires in order to facilitate "informal task learning" (Feldman, 1976, p. 76). Additionally, Feldman (1976) suggested new hires be taught to perform their tasks in the context of the real world. A "strong, consistent implicit set of understanding" equates to formal rules within an organization (Pascale, 1985, p. 34).

Informal learning can include learning as a by-product of task accomplishment (Wiswell, 1987). In this sense the action taken was not for the purpose of learning, but rather to fulfill some job related requirement. This was labeled as "incidental learning" and includes "learning from mistakes, learning through doing, learning through networking, learning from a series of interpersonal experiments" (Wiswell, 1987, p. 263). This process includes "reading, writing, observing, modeling, making a mistake, reflecting on experience, and questioning" (Wiswell, 1987, p. 264).

In an unpublished document, Wiswell (1990) defined informal learning as any learning occurring "in the context of work-related activities, but outside of an organized, structured learning setting" (p. 1). During the socialization process, new hires learn their new job through "trial and error, watching, asking, reading, and practice" (Wiswell, 1990, p. 1). Although such learning is often not

acknowledged as such, it is occurring and can be inaccurate or inefficient, i.e. one does not always learn from his/her mistakes (Wiswell, 1990). Wiswell suggests that the informal learning processes should be taken advantage of to facilitate a more effective workplace.

This generic description of informal learning in the workplace is certainly applicable in the police environment. Subsequent sections will address training and learning in this context.

Training and Learning in the Police Subculture

This section provides an overview of training and learning in the context of a police subculture. It begins with a brief description of organizational cultures in general as a foundation for a subsequent description of the police subculture. It concludes with the relationship of formal training and informal learning processes within law enforcement agencies.

Organizational Culture

In order to understand the culture of the police, one should have a general understanding of organizational cultures. The idea of organizational culture is by no means a recent one. Quite the contrary, it is readily accepted that in any repetitive social contact situation, a culture will develop. Although this culture will mirror many characteristics of the society in which it exists, it will also develop distinctive features. Spradley (1979) defined culture as "the acquired

knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior" (pg. 5). Culture can be defined as the collection of behaviors, beliefs, feelings, norms, thoughts, values, and actions, which are transferred via learning among a population (Hellriegel, Slocum, & Woodman, 1986; Luthans, 1985; Morris, 1975; Tosi, Rizzo, & Carroll, 1986). Organizational culture results from both external and internal pressures. Externally, the organization is affected by the society in which it operates. Internally, the organization is shaped by dominant individuals, major events, and methodology. (Hellriegel, Slocum, & Woodman, 1986; Tosi, Rizzo, & Carroll, 1986)

Consider Pascale's (1985) seven element model of organizational socialization. According to Pascale, all organizations which possess a strong culture follow a standard socialization process. Although designed with private sector or organizations in mind, the model appears to fit well with the police. The seven elements and their police counterparts are provided as follows.

Phase one consists of a selection process, during which prospective employees are screened. The police typically have an extensive screening process, which often includes written examinations, oral interviews, physical tests, medical exams, and even polygraph exams.

The second step consists of "humility inducing experiences", which is intended to coerce the employees into questioning their behaviors and beliefs in order to

prime them for the organization's values and norms (Pascale, 1985, p. 30). The police academy would fit this stage as a humiliating experience.

The third step is on-the-job training, during which employees learn their job while performing it. This compares to the police probationary period during which rookies are under the watchful eyes of a field training officer or at least an experienced veteran.

The fourth element includes a monitoring and reward system by which successful employees are rewarded. The police code of conduct serves as the formal system, while the sanctions of the subculture function as the informal (Kerstetter, 1979).

The fifth element is the acceptance and assimilation of the organization's values by the employees. Once the officer has accepted and been accepted by the subculture, he/she has reached this phase (Bahn, 1984; Barberis & Skelton, 1985).

Folklore, which supports the cultural norms and behaviors, is the sixth element. This folklore serves to strengthen "a code of conduct for how we 'do things around here'" (Pascale, 1985, p. 33). The police subculture is rich in folklore or war stories (Waegel, 1984). They often serve the same end, i.e. the transmission of desired behavior or values.

The seventh element is identification of role models, who are viewed as successful and thus examples to follow. Pascale stated that more can be learned through example than in a classroom. This is certainly consistent with informal

learning. In addition, he stated that organizations with "strong cultures" view role models as "the most powerful ongoing 'training program' going" (Pascale, 1985, p. 33). The existence of organizational "heroes" is supported by Ott (1989, p. 33) and Schein (1968). In the police subculture, veteran officers are often credited with passing on the behaviors and values of the police subculture (Bruderick, 1987; Stotland & Berberich, 1979; Van Maanen, 1985).

Police Subculture

In order to understand how training and learning take place within police agencies, one should have an understanding of the police subculture. To follow is a description of the subculture of law enforcement agencies. The primary elements, positive and negative effects, and means of socialization into the subculture are presented. It should be noted that the term "subculture" is utilized instead of organizational culture, because such is the term commonly utilized in the relevant literature.

Subculture Defined. In the literature, the definition of police subculture commonly included the terms utilized to define cultures in general, i.e. beliefs, values, norms, behavior patterns, unique, particular to a group, subgroup within society, community (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Conser, 1980; Radlet & Reed, 1973). In a subculture, ethics, values, and norms do not conform to the general public nor their expectations, and reinforce behavior and discourage deviancy as

defined by the police (Kania, 1979). Waegel (1984) referred to "understandings, beliefs, and practices" (p. 145). Barberis and Skelton (1985) stated the idea of a police subculture has not been well described and that they "deliberately" did not define the police culture in order to allow readers to provide their own definitions (p. 204). By not framing their view of the subculture it would seem that the results of their efforts would appear generalizable to anyone's definition of police subculture. Conversely, and from a more critical perspective, by not making their beliefs explicit, they potentially render their findings ineffective for use in other settings.

The most extensive description found was that provided by Radlet and Reed (1973), a work frequently referenced. Their definition included the following seven characteristics.

1. A subculture is fluid. They drew from Niederhoffer (1967) in pointing out that a commonly mentioned characteristic of police officers as cynical should actually be viewed on a continuum. New officers are generally not initially cynical, but develop cynicism and then after the half way point in their career, lose the cynicism.

2. Subgroups within the subculture generally form along ethnic lines. Again, they borrowed from Niederhoffer (1967).

3. A subculture is further subdivided by class based on age, gender, education, social strata, length of service, rank, duty assignment, geography, and even

parental occupation, if it was as a police officer. None of these categories are mutually exclusive and in combination with the subgroup distinctions, provides for several distinct cliques within the subculture.

4. A subculture contains a full range of personality and demographic characteristics to include introverts and extroverts; married and single; parents and childless. Both mental and physical health varied from one extreme to the other. According to Radlet and Reed, each of these characteristics would obviously have bearing on an officer's attitude, effectiveness, and ambition.

5. In the police subculture, the police are stereotyped by the public based on personal encounters or second hand information. Their attitudes range from "hostile" to "admiration and total cooperation" (Radlet & Reed, 1973, p. 60). The effects of the public's opinion vary among officers, but in general a low public opinion results in low officer morale.

6. Because of the subculture, the roles an officer has on the job and those he/she has off duty, as spouse, parent, church and/or club member, and neighbor, affect each other. As detailed in subsequent sections, being a police officer has a tendency to affect who one associates with socially and how one views civilians (non police officers).

7. The subculture has its own language, i.e. phrases and slang, that only another officer would understand. Such phrases and terms are used to "brighten the day, convey information and build morale" (Radlet & Reed, 1973, p. 61). It

should also be noted that because only other officers comprehend the true meaning of much of the jargon, such helps to reinforce the solidarity and segregation of the police. Waegel (1979) also referred to the subculture as having its own language, which at times served to explain actions so as to render them acceptable, i.e. "...happened so fast..." and "...had no choice..." (p. 151).

Niederhoffer (1967) cited the existence of a unique collection of terms utilized by the street officers. Ott (1989) considered a unique language to be a standard element of an organizational culture.

In another study of subculture, Goldsmith (1974) described the subculture as having four dimensions, detailed as follows. (a) The occupational dimension includes issues associated with the nature of police work, i.e. primary function (order maintenance), conflicts between the ends and the means (mentioned by Skolnick (1985) as part of the police personality), police discretion, and job status, i.e. "craftsman,...professional...para-professional" (p. 4). (b) The psychological dimension centers around the formation of a police "identity" (p. 5). (c) The political dimension refers to compliance with the community's desires and standards. (d) The social dimension is based on "...role-as well as role conflict and qualities of group behavior" (p. 8). This includes the issues of solidarity, esprit de corps, and discretion.

Commonly mentioned characteristics of the subculture included the code of secrecy (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Berberich, 1979; Chevigny, 1985; Cohen, 1977;

Conser, 1980; Fortier, 1972; Gray, 1975; Harris, 1985; Kirkham, 1976; Murphy & Moran, 1981; Stotland & Berberich, 1979; Terry, 1985; Waegel, 1984; Webb & Westergren, 1973) and the issue of solidarity (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Bahn, 1984; Barberis & Skelton, 1985; Bruderick, 1987; Chevigny, 1985; Cohen, 1977; Drummond, 1976; Fortier, 1972; Goldsmith, 1974; Gray, 1975; Harris, 1985; Hurrell & Kroes, 1975; Kirkham, 1976; Murphy & Moran, 1981; Skolnick, 1985; Stoddard, 1985; Terry, 1985; Waegel, 1984).

Secrecy. The code of secrecy refers primarily to not informing on fellow officers (Chevigny, 1985; Conser, 1980; Stoddard, 1985) who have violated a department regulation or even a criminal law. Officers would not report the wrongdoing of other officers to supervisors in the department or the internal affairs section as policy and, in some cases, law would require. Waegel (1984) stated this phenomenon was a result and Bruderick (1987) saw it as a part of the occupation.

So powerful is the influence of the subculture that Kirkham (1976), who himself had taught students about the police and their culture as a university professor, admitted succumbing to the code of secrecy. Kirkham accepted the challenge of one of his students, who was a police officer. The student suggested that Kirkham experience what he was teaching by becoming a police officer. Kirkham did just that, to include attending the academy. He requested and was assigned patrol duty in a dangerous part of the city in which he worked. One

night he witnessed his partner physically assault a suspect, who had verbally assaulted the officer before and after they had taken him into custody. The suspect required medical attention before being delivered to the jail. An internal affairs investigation was conducted during which Kirkham lied about the incident in order to protect the fellow officer, who was in fact in violation of policy and criminal law. Kirkham stated that he did not have a reason for lying at the time of the investigation. Several weeks later he understood his choice when he was surrounded by a mob of people. A member of the crowd had him around the neck and another was trying to take his sidearm. The officer, who he lied to protect, came through the crowd and rescued him.

It should be noted that secrecy is in fact promoted at the academy for positive reasons with regards to protecting special tactics, enforcement strategies, and undercover operations. This need for secrecy was also stated by Cohen (1977). Harris (1985) stated that "a code of secrecy seemed to be informally sanctioned" to promote solidarity (p. 198).

Solidarity. Officers develop a unity which includes both their professional and personal lives and extends to condoning or even participating in illegal activity in support of each other. Solidarity is first promoted in the academy (Bahn, 1984; Harris, 1985; Van Maanen, 1985). Students are encouraged to support one another as they study for exams and prepare for practical evaluations. The students become closer as they have a common foe, the instructors and exams.

An us-them relationship (Bahn, 1984) is born in the academy, when the recruits join together in preparing for exams and practical exercises. After graduation, this bonding continues as they unify with officers in general against the law violators. To take this one step further, the law violators are often difficult to discern from the law abiding and as a result the public in general becomes suspect (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Drummond, 1976; Harris, 1985). Certain aspects of the occupation are unique, such as the authority to take a life in the performance of duty. This unique characteristic promotes a cohesiveness, a solidarity (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Waegel, 1984). Officers tend to associate only with other officers (Barberis & Skelton, 1985; Drummond, 1976; Hurrell & Kroes, 1975). In addition, the potential of danger and the sense that other officers are one's only protection instills a need to trust and rely on fellow officers. Kirkham (1976) stated that he lied to protect another officer, but did not realize why until several weeks later, when his partner saved him from what he saw as a life-threatening situation.

Positive Effects. Subcultures also have positive effects. Albert & Dunham (1988), Bahn (1984), Bruderick (1987), Goldsmith (1974), and Hurrell & Kroes (1975) all pointed out that the subculture encourages esprit de corps. Harris (1985) stated solidarity results in the much needed support during times of danger. Conser (1980) and Hurrell & Kroes applauded the socializing aspects of the subculture. Bahn and Bruderick both mentioned loyalty and Conser added

comradeship. The social support of other officers, not found in society at large, serves to reduce stress and heighten stress awareness (Hurrell & Kroes, 1975). There have also been incidents in which other officers brought cases against fellow officers for wrong doing (Kerstetter, 1979). In both cases referenced, one in Illinois and the other in California, officers were shaking down drug dealers. Although the subculture is often said to promote corrupt activity, these two examples serve to illustrate that at least certain types of corruption are not tolerated (Kerstetter, 1979).

Negative Effects. The police subculture is more usually associated with negative effects on the officers, the department, and the public. With regards to the effects on officers, Stillman (1986) stated that because the police do not believe anyone other than another officer could understand their problems and they view outsiders with caution, both officers and their families do not seek the help of community services when needed. This point was illustrated by Stillman with regards to officers killed in the line of duty, after which their fellow officers and families tended not to seek professional mental health care outside of the police organization. Social isolation extends to society at large as a result of the secrecy, work schedule (long and late hours), and the suspiciousness. The subculture can also create cynicism in officers (Bahn, 1984, Conser, 1980; Fortier, 1972; Murphy & Moran, 1981; Niederhoffer, 1967; Webb & Westergren, 1973).

In addition, the subculture promotes a rivalry amongst officers due to the competition for promotion and the fear of looking bad (Hurrell & Kroes, 1979).

Commonly identified consequences for the department were failure to report wrongdoing by other officers (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Chevigny, 1985; Cohen, 1977; Conser, 1980; Murphy & Moran, 1981; Skolnick, 1985; Stoddard, 1985; Stotland & Berberich, 1979) and corruption (Conser, 1980). When wrongdoing is discovered, the subculture characteristics of secrecy and solidarity can make it difficult to investigate (Murphy & Moran, 1981). Consider trying to investigate an incident when the witnesses refuse to give you any information or only provide information in support of the suspect. The subculture is often viewed as an obstacle to management's control of the officers (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Conser, 1980; Kania, 1979; Kerstetter, 1979; Stotland & Berberich, 1979; Waegel, 1984). In fact, members of the subculture can override departmental regulations and the law (Conser, 1980, Waegel, 1984). In more general terms, members of the subculture can profess the ends justifies the means motto in the methods utilized (Waegel, 1984). In other words, the police can break the law in order to catch the criminal. One of the previous examples utilized as a positive effect can also be seen from a negative perspective. In the Illinois case, during the investigation of the officers, acts of vandalism and threatening phone calls were credited to officers (Kerstetter, 1979).

The subculture perpetuates the perceptions that some elements of the public have that the police are corrupt and at the same time promotes the police attitude that the public is hostile to the police (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Conser, 1980). The subculture contributes to the us-them relationship the police have with certain elements of the public (Drummond, 1976; Shearing, 1979; Stotland & Berberich, 1979).

Socialization. Police socialization is the way in which new officers are converted from outsiders to members of the subculture (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Bahn, 1984). Bahn borrowed from Feldman (1976) in identifying three phases to socialization, including: (1) getting in, (2) breaking-in, and (3) settling in. According to Bahn, getting in is difficult in the police field and therefore the most crucial stage because the job becomes valued and as a consequence so do the norms and values associated with it. Additionally, Bahn borrowed from Schein (1968) in describing police reactions to socialization as: (a) rebellion, (b) creative individualism, and (c) conformity. Based on Schein's three types, conformity appears to be the choice for police officers and occurs during the settling in phase.

Barberis and Skelton (1985) defined socialization as an "organizational embrace" in which experiencing the job reinforces the police values and overpowers pre-entry socialization, i.e. family (p. 212). They identified the extensive and organized training, the command structure and the solidarity, both

on and off duty, as mechanisms of socialization. Their study explored different types of commitment at time of entry and after entry. Training, procedures, peer group contact, and the daily routine all affect the socialization process, but little evidence was found to support its ability to explain variations in attitudes and types of commitment as defined in their study. Schein (1968) stated that socialization equates to "learning the ropes" in a new organization or job within the same organization (p. 2). This learning includes the "means" by which the organization's goals are reached and the "behavior patterns" that are necessary to be successful (Schein, 1968, p. 3).

In Kania (1979), the subculture results from "various institutions and social forces", but these terms were never explained (p. 195). The socialization process, which transmits the subculture characteristics, begins during academy training and continues on the job (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Drummond, 1976; Van Maanen, 1985).

Training and Informal Learning

As already noted, law enforcement agencies typically require new hires to successfully complete a formal course of instruction at an accredited police academy. The curriculum is often set by a state or federal level agency or board. According to Harris (1985), the academy is suppose to produce uniform response from graduates in compliance with department policies. It is suppose to prepare

graduates through formal training, but the majority of police work can not be taught through formal means (Harris, 1985). The instructors perpetuate the notion that the academy training is unrealistic by belittling their own presentations and by advising recruits that they will learn ways to circumvent policy once they get to the field (Harris, 1985). The newly graduated recruits rapidly realize that their formal academy training has not prepared them for all aspects of the job to include the abilities to "communicate effectively with the public, make complicated investigations, write lengthy technical reports, be subjected to real verbal and physical altercations, mediate disputes among all types of people, make unsavory arrests and decisions in response to urgency and need and testify in court" (Drummond, 1976, p. 17). While in the academy, recruits believe that their real education will begin out on the streets after graduation (Harris, 1985). Police academy instructors lose their credibility when what they are teaching appears to be in conflict with known police practice (Webb & Westergren, 1973).

Informal learning has been identified by previous research as contributing to socialization into the police subculture. The veteran officers informally socialize officers into the subculture (Bruderick, 1987; Goldsmith, 1974; Stoddard, 1985; Stotland & Berberich, 1979; Van Maanen, 1985). Conser (1980) quoted an earlier work by Stoddard, which made the same statement. As an example, Chevigny (1985) stated that the use of charges to cover wrong doing by officers is standardized informally within the department.

Specific incidents, i.e. shootings, often result in bringing the subculture to the surface, when officers pursue details, discuss, attempt to understand, and evaluate the incident (Waegel, 1984). Waegel identified police folklore or war stories, as serving to reinforce and solidify cultural norms. His example was shooting incidents and the notion of when in doubt - shoot, because "it's better to be judged by twelve than carried by six" (p. 147). Waegel also gave the example of how after an officer had shot a man during a raid on the wrong address (poor information from an informant) and was worried about the outcome, he sought out other officers and vice versa. The typical response by other officers was to commend him and in the case of two officers to make light of the incident by stating "improve your aim" (p. 150). Bruderick (1987) and Van Maanen (1985) also mentioned storytelling as a common practice.

The characteristics of the subculture are learned through watching and listening, i.e. the advice and actions of veterans (Bruderick, 1987). "Informal contact" is credited with being "important" in the development of the "attitudes and behavior of recruits" (Bruderick, 1987, p. 139). Van Maanen (1985) also identified the means of learning the subculture characteristics as informal.

Terry (1985) stated that police officers learn much of their job from an informal element within the police that operates outside of formal "written departmental policies and procedures" (p. 218). In addition, through socializing

and discussing work experiences, officers learn how to handle certain common difficult situations (Hurrell & Kroes, 1975).

Bruderick (1987) suggested that informal associations among officers must be studied in order to improve professionalism. Stotland and Berberich (1979) suggested field training officer programs that foster professionalism and include stringent evaluations could help eliminate the negative effects of the subculture.

Summary

The literature on informal learning in the workplace illustrates how important this method is to successful task accomplishment. Significant learning occurs as a result of informal means and through informal sources, which is crucial to the successful fulfillment of organizational goals. In addition, such learning can also result in improper results. Research has tended to focus on learning as an element of the socialization process instead of as a process itself.

Previous research on training and learning in law enforcement settings indicates that the formal curriculum does not adequately prepare graduates for what lies ahead. It appears that the informal education received after graduation from the academy is more consistent with practice than the formal curriculum. Although the informal influence of the subculture has been acknowledged, the actual means and sources of knowledge and skills acquisition have been given limited attention.

It would appear at this stage that the issue is ripe for further research especially from an educational perspective and with a goal of seeking to understand the process by which new officers compensate for the inadequacies of their formal training. The relevant literature appears to have a shortage of approaches focusing primarily on the learning and teaching aspects of the subculture. To begin understanding how learning occurs in the context of the subculture, the process of managing discrepancies between the formal system and the reality of the street must be examined. How do new agents cope with the lack of preparation they experience?

This study addressed how one group of academy graduates from a federal law enforcement agency compensated for the discrepancies they perceived between their formal training and actual practice. The following chapter describes the methods employed to study the process they utilized.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Introduction

This study was conducted to explore how probationary federal special agents, engaged in criminal investigations, responded to discrepancies between their formal training and the world of practice. Specifically, I sought to describe the sources and means by which the new agents compensated for the discrepancies. I proposed that their responses would result from an informal process rather than be a part of the formal system of learning. Therefore, in this study I examined how agents coped with workplace task discrepancies.

In order to study this phenomenon, it was decided that in depth interviews of a cadre of new agents and their field training agents would provide the type of data necessary to pursue the issue at hand. I selected a group of agents and interviewed them individually on several occasions over a period of several months. I recorded, cataloged, coded, and analyzed their responses to specific questions and open-ended conversations. The constant comparative method of analysis served to direct and focus data collection and development of a composite description of the new agents' responses to discrepancies.

The data collection stage began with initial meetings with the subjects during November of 1991. In depth interviews were conducted from January 1992 until

April of 1992. During that period, I interviewed all the new agents at least three times and their field trainers at least twice. I performed analysis throughout the data collection phase and continued until completion of the final written product.

What resulted was a model of discrepancy compensating mechanisms and resources. The sections to follow provide details of the subjects, data collection techniques, and analysis methods.

Subjects

Subject Organization - Background

I selected the Naval Investigative Service (NIS) as the subject agency. To follow is a description of the NIS at the time of this writing. The NIS is the agency responsible for criminal and counterintelligence investigations and operations, executive protection, and security within the Department of the Navy. The agency is hierarchial in structure and divided along geographical lines at the field level and functional lines at the headquarters. The world, for purposes of the NIS, is divided into ten regions, each with a regional headquarters known as a Naval Investigative Service Regional Office (NISRO). Within each region, is the next and lowest level of the organizational pyramid, the local level offices, each known as a Naval Investigative Service Resident Agency (NISRA) or the smaller, Naval Investigative Service Resident Unit (NISRU).

The NISRA's and NISRUs, which range in size from one to fifty special agents and total over one hundred (at time of writing), are located at virtually every Department of the Navy facility worldwide and all the major population centers in the United States. Offices can be found in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, Southeast Asia, Central America, the Caribbean, the North Atlantic and throughout the United States, to include Alaska and Hawaii. In addition, every aircraft carrier in the United States Navy's fleet has a minimum of one agent on board every time it leaves port.

Of the agency's total complement of nearly 2,500 persons, approximately 1,000 are special agents. The remainder perform support functions and other miscellaneous duties related to security and crime prevention within the Department of the Navy. All the special agents are sworn federal law enforcement agents, who have a minimum of a bachelor's degree from an accredited institution, are U.S. citizens, are at least twenty-one years of age and no more than thirty-five at the time of their initial employment and have graduated from the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center or its equivalent. Because the agent corps is the focus of this study, they will be highlighted in further background description of the NIS.

Special Agents of the NIS are the functional equivalent of local police detectives, the FBI, the Secret Service, and Drug Enforcement Administration for the Department of the Navy. They conduct criminal investigations ranging from

larceny to homicide and including counternarcotics. In addition, they conduct fraud investigations from simple check kiting to multi-million dollar procurement and contract fraud. The NIS also conducts counterintelligence investigations within the Navy and Marine Corps.

All agents of the NIS receive extensive formal training throughout their careers. The basic training, officially known as the "Basic Agents' Course" and as simply "Basic", is the two part initial training course required of all NIS special agents. The fourteen week course is split into two parts, a generic criminal investigations course and a NIS specific course, both of which are conducted at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) in Glynco, GA. FLETC is the federal government's version of a police academy, utilized by numerous federal law enforcement agencies, to include the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, U.S. Customs Service, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Marshall Service, and the U.S. Secret Service. Upon graduation from the Basic Course, new agents are in a probationary status for one year from their initial hire date. During this year, management level personnel make a decision to retain or terminate employment of the new agents.

Due to the requirement to fill offices worldwide, combined with changes in status due to promotion, retirements, and resignations, agents are routinely transferred among postings. The result is a cross section of ages, training, knowledge, and experience in each of the ten regions.

Selection

The NIS met several requirements to qualify as the subject agency. First, it is a law enforcement agency with employees conducting criminal investigations. It also happens to be at the federal level which provides an added interest in that as revealed during the literature review and documented in Chapter I of this report, no prominent studies of federal law enforcement agencies were discovered that had been conducted regarding on the job learning by their law enforcement personnel. Secondly, the NIS had a class of newly hired agents going through their basic training when this study was being prepared for implementation. Finally, and probably most importantly for the study's success, I the researcher had both a personal understanding of the NIS and ready access to its personnel. At the time the study began, I had six years of experience to include field and headquarters positions with the NIS thus providing an entrée to the organization. Additionally, I had the advantage of acting as a participant observer, having experienced the Basic course and the probationary year myself.

In addition, selection of individual subjects had to be made. The Basic class of 1991 graduated forty-four special agents. Because the nature of the research methods required routine and extensive contact with the subjects, they had to be limited in quantity and readily accessible. This requirement precluded them all from being a part of the study. Limiting the size of the subject pool also allowed for greater attention to those cases included. The logistics of including them all

prevented such as well, because they were scattered to six different regions in the United States. Because quantitative generalizations to a population were not the goal of this study, strict random selection was not a requirement and therefore the selection criteria did not present a methodological problem.

It was decided that only the graduates and their field training agents assigned to one region would serve as the subjects. The National Capital Region, which includes all the offices located in Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Northern Virginia, was chosen, because it had several features conducive to the study's successful completion and practical application potential. First, it had a cross section of typical locations for NIS offices, to include a Marine base, a Naval Air facility, a Naval hospital, and a Naval training facility. The only major environments not represented were overseas postings and a large sea port. Although not a requirement, this feature adds to the generalizability of the results, because it is a relatively representative cross-section of the NIS field settings. Secondly, every office in the National Capitol Region received at least one new agent from the 1991 Basic class, thus involving all the environments available.

In addition, because all its component offices were within a one day round trip driving distance from NIS headquarters, there was no need for overnight travel and lodging, thus eliminating the need for additional funding. This arrangement enabled me to have ready access to all the subjects at a minimum of cost and time.

Access

During the Fall of 1991, a proposal was submitted to the Commander of the Naval Investigative Service Command (NISCOM) to examine the training of probationary special agents during their first year on the job. This study constituted a portion of that proposal.

The proposal was reviewed within NISCOM by the Staff Judge Advocate (legal staff), the NISCOM Inspector General (federal government's version of a police department's internal affairs division), the Director of Training, the Director of Administration, the Deputy Director of NISCOM, and finally the Commander of NISCOM. In September of 1991, the proposal was approved and supported by the Commander of NISCOM as an NISCOM sponsored project. Access to members of the 1991 graduating Basic class, their field training agents, supervisors, and co-workers was granted at that time.

Profile

The subject pool included seven new agents and their field training agents, for a total of fourteen subjects. One subject had a change in field training agent about halfway through the study period. Both of this subject's field trainers were interviewed. As a result, reference is occasionally made to eight instead of seven field training agents. Although not by design, the new agents included in the study did provide varying backgrounds, ages, and experience levels.

As already stated, statistical generalization was not an aim in subject selection. Despite this, a diversity of demographic variations did exist among the subjects. This data is provided simply as background information on the subjects as opposed to substantiating generalizability.

1. Age: The age of the new agents varied from twenty-five to thirty-four.

2. Sex: Six of the new agents were male and one female.

3. Previous Law Enforcement Experience: Five of the new agents had previous experience working in the criminal justice system. Two had both patrol and investigative experience and one other had experience from patrol to supervision at the chief's level. A fourth had worked in juvenile probation and the fifth had worked as a polygraph examiner.

4. Previous Military Experience: Three had military experience as members of the military (two in the U.S. Marine Corps and one in the U.S. Army) and two others had worked as civilians in the Department of Defense.

5. College Degree Major: Five of the new agents had Bachelor degrees in criminal justice related subjects to include: Law Enforcement, Criminal Justice, and Administration of Justice. The remaining two had degrees in subjects with no traditionally direct connection to the criminal justice field, to include: English Literature and Russian Language with Political Science.

Data Collection

Method

In depth interviews served as the primary investigative tool utilized for this study. The new agents were the subjects of at least three interviews over the course of the four month data collection phase. In addition, their field training agents were interviewed at least twice. This method proved to be time consuming for both subject and researcher, but did allow for the refocusing of questions, probing for additional details, and to a certain degree, encouraged the subject to concentrate on the issues at hand, at least during the interview.

All interviews were tape recorded except those noted to follow. This alleviated typical problems with the interview method to include missing comments, having to paraphrase responses, misunderstanding comments, and interfering with the flow of the interview (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1990). Tape recording is known to provide a more complete record and reduce the reactivity because the informants are not constantly reminded that their comments are being recorded by a researcher taking copious notes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1990, p. 162). Key issues were often noted as well, just in case there were problems with the tape or recording equipment. Fortunately, the recording equipment never malfunctioned during any of the interviews.

Four of the field trainers requested that no recordings be made. More extensive handwritten notes were taken in these cases. Three interviews of

normally taped subjects were not taped due to intervening circumstances. Two were held in locations which did not permit tape recorders for security reasons and one was in a bar and grill, where it would have been less than inconspicuous and inappropriate at best.

Confidentiality

Spradley (1979) stated that researchers must protect the "privacy of informants" (p. 37). Not only was this a research ethics requirement, but also a practical one. Based on the code of secrecy found in law enforcement agencies, as documented in Chapter II, it was feared that subjects would be reluctant to provide information about the system or other agents. Ensuring confidentiality was seen as a means to part the veil of secrecy without risk to the subject.

Confidentiality of the subjects was ensured by several means. First, all interview notes, tapes, and any other documents and/or materials generated from subject interviews were identified by a number versus the subjects' names. Only one list cross referencing the numbers to the names was maintained. This list was kept in a secure location outside of NIS controlled spaces and not released to any other party. It was agreed that the list would be destroyed after data collection and analysis were completed.

Secondly, all data collected was reported without identifying data except for the use of demographic data as already noted in the previous section of this chapter. Third, comments from transcript extracts utilized herein that could

provide identifying information, have been disguised in the final text to prevent such identification. Fourth, the subjects were given the opportunity to review all written results of their interviews, i.e. their respective transcripts, before such information was utilized in this document. The subjects had the option of requesting further disguising or deletion of text entries that they considered capable of identifying them, having the potential of causing them harm, or for any other reason.

Consent Form. A subject consent form was utilized. It included the nature of the study, the extent of the subjects' participation, the means to protect the subjects' identity as already described, and a means of withdrawing from participation. A copy of their individual consent form, signed by both the subject and I the researcher, was made available to the subjects. Only a couple chose to request their own copy. The form was reviewed by the legal staff of the NISCOM, who interposed no objections. Additionally, the Northern Virginia Graduate Center representative of the Human Subjects Board from Virginia Tech also reviewed the form and granted approval for its use. A blank consent form is included as Appendix A.

Interview Schedule

In keeping with the recommendation of Hammersley and Atkinson (1990), the first interview and the beginning of each was directed toward rapport building. I generally started with small talk about world and local events, and organizational

issues. After the initial interviews, I directed the interviews into the topical area by asking about the new agents' case loads - what kind of cases they were working and how those were progressing, i.e. any problems encountered and how they were resolved.

A list of interview questions was developed for the first series of interviews to address the research focus and is included as Appendix B. The next series of interviews was conducted more informally without a structured question list and as already noted was based on the work the new agents had and were conducting. A list of questions was then developed for the third set of interviews in order to strive for category saturation. A copy is included as Appendix C. Both sets of questions served as an outline for interviews, but were not asked verbatim nor were the subjects limited to discussing only topics directly related to the list. The interview sessions remained informal and unstructured. This design allowed for addressing those issues already considered important, but also allowed for others not previously known to be revealed (Becker & Geer, 1960; Glasser & Strauss, 1968; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The original question schedule was divided by general purpose as follows. The professional and education background questions were included to provide background on the subjects, which might reveal why they reacted as they did, i.e. past experience or training. The questions on preconceptions of Basic served the same purpose in identifying why subjects might have reacted as they did.

Questions regarding recollection of the Basic Course helped to focus the subjects on their experience at Basic and refresh their memories for future questions. The Basic Course compared to practice questions addressed whether there were discrepancies between formal training and practice and how the subjects reacted to such discrepancies. The professional contacts questions were intended to help identify who the subjects received informal input from and why, i.e. who were their informal teachers or role models? Finally, the work environment questions were included to identify the opportunity for informal contact and in turn informal education with regards to the physical environment of the office.

Data Analysis

Introduction

The focus of this study was on a substantive level in that it focused on a particular organizational activity - compensating for discrepancies between formal training and practice in field level law enforcement (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Hammersley and Atkinson (1990) would label it as "micro-substantive" (p. 205). Towards this end, the data was analyzed with a grounded theory approach defined by Glasser and Strauss (1967) as "discovery of theory from data" (p. 1). The goal of such a strategy is to develop theory based on categories of concepts generated from the facts discovered in the field.

Unit of Analysis

This study focused on how the new agents coped with discrepancies between their formal training and practice. The unit of analysis was the process by which they compensated. More specifically, the methods and sources utilized were central to the actual discovery of a process model.

Method

Coding and analysis were conducted simultaneously throughout the data collection process (Becker, 1958; Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Katz, 1988). That is to say that each task was not a mutually exclusive event. I transcribed each audio tape and then coded the data as soon after the interview as possible. Collection and coding began on very general terms and was narrowed as concepts emerged. This is in keeping with the suggestion of theoretical sampling set forth by Glasser and Strauss (1967). Starting with a broad scope of interest prevented overlooking something of potential value.

Initially I coded numerous categories of data based on potentially relevant categories discovered during a review of the literature, categories emerging from the data itself, and my personal perspective on the topic. A listing of codes with a brief description of each is included as Appendix D. As an example of the type of data coded, I included, as Appendix E, an extract from an interview transcript that has been coded. Passages could and did have, in some cases, multiple codes. Codes were updated and data recoded constantly as suggested by Hammersley &

Atkinson (1990). A limited number of means and sources were not discovered until analysis after the final phase of data collection. Although they were not given individual codes, I separated them for analysis purposes. In addition, I set up a catch-all category early in the data collection for data which seemed noteworthy, but didn't fit any existing categories or appear to have immediate relevancy. Eventually, most of the data in this category was recoded into others during subsequent analysis.

I utilized the computer software package Ethnograph to sort and code the transcripts after they were transcribed with Wordperfect 5.1 software. The program does not determine categories, code identifiers, or what text to highlight. It is in effect only a computerized version of an index card file. The actual analysis and coding must be done by human intervention. All the transcribing, analysis, and coding was performed by me on a personal computer.

Constant Comparative Method

Under this approach, a concept can be created based on a single fact. Multiple facts are collected and in turn continuously compared to identify similarities and differences. This constant comparative analysis results in an ever widening explanation leading to an increasingly generalizable theory. Comparison is made among data from the same source, different sources, and across situations. As ideas were developed that had theory or concept potential,

they were recorded in analytical memos as recommended by Hammersley and Atkinson (1990) and Glaser and Strauss (1967).

I actively sought inconsistencies among data, common sense, the literature, and my own experience with the topic. Seeking negative cases adds to the generation of a complete theory with greater generalizability (Becker, 1958; Becker & Geer, 1960; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1990; Katz, 1988; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Yin, 1989). This search for negative cases results in the researcher seeking to understand the processes as an insider, to compel the research subjects to act towards the researcher as a member of their culture, to allow readers to draw their own conclusions, and even to pave the way for future researchers to pick up where the study ended (Katz, 1988).

Individual cases were in turn compared with entire categories. The result was to relate categories to one another. The need to constantly modify the emerging theory decreased as fewer new revelations were discovered. The generalizability of the theory in turn grew.

Data collection, coding, and analysis continued until theoretical saturation was reached. Saturation is defined as the point at which no additional data is being found relative to the theory under development (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

This system of inquiry leads to enhancing the typical gauges of a well designed research study: generalizability, minimal reactivity, reliability, and replicability.

Generalizability (External Validity). By seeking out contradictions to explanations, the researcher is constantly proposing alternative hypotheses. The theory is thus altered and its applicability broadened. As more variety is discovered and accounted for, greater external validity is produced. Because the researcher seeks to understand what is studied from the perspective of the subjects, as an insider, he/she no longer sees individual experiences, but rather a continual flow without definite bounds. The very nature of the analytical research approach forces generalizability. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Katz, 1988)

Yin (1989) supports the notion that the case study method is generalizable to theory, i.e. analytic generalization. Such generalizability is also considered legitimate by Marshall and Rossman (1989). Hammersley and Atkinson (1990) suggested seeking cases of contradiction in order to strengthen findings and thus validity (pg. 204).

Reactivity. It is a common concern that a researcher might somehow alter the findings by his/her mere presence in the studied environment. Such would definitely be the case, if the researcher were to follow a set system of conduct for data collection thus creating an unnatural presence in the subjects' world. With an analytic approach, the researcher attempts to be identified not as a outsider, but as a member of the subjects' culture. (Katz, 1988) In addition, the reactions

of the subjects to the researcher are themselves worthy of note as data to be collected and integrated into the findings (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1990; Katz, 1988).

I did not note any negative reactions from subjects to my inquiries. From a positive perspective, the subjects appeared to be genuinely candid during our conversations. I believe my position as a Special Agent with the same agency contributed to their willingness to be open and frank with me.

Reliability (Internal Validity). Although impossible to guarantee, the nature of the analytic research approach helps to ensure integrity and rigorous standards of analysis. First, consider that during collection of data, the researcher can't possibly know whether what is being recorded will prove to support or refute previous findings. Regardless, in either case, both possibilities will be useful in refining concepts and therefore the researcher would be encouraged to include both.

Just as it strengthens external validity, the very process of seeking negative cases helps to defend against biased interpretation (Katz, 1988; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Yin, 1989). In the event that the researcher was biased in which data was selected, the result would create an unmanageable domino effect during analysis. The researcher would have to invent or manipulate previously collected data, results of interviews, and quotations in order to explain the findings. Such a task would in turn have to include considering what effects the inventions or

manipulations would do to previous refinements of the explanation. The result would necessitate even more inventions and/or manipulations. The work involved and the potential of discovery by a reader would make such a choice unlikely. (Katz, 1988)

Additionally, the subjects were allowed the opportunity, and in fact encouraged, to read their respective transcripts and provide comments. This procedure had a twofold purpose. First, as already mentioned, it allowed the subjects to be confident that the result of their interviews could not be traced back to them. This was discussed with them prior to the interviews and was included in the consent forms discussed in previous sections of this chapter. It is suggested that this protection enhanced the subjects' candidness with me, as the researcher.

The second purpose was to strengthen the validity of the data collected. The subjects themselves served as a checks and balance of results of interviews (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Katz, 1988). Biased collection of data would become readily apparent to those who experienced the data with the researcher (Katz, 1988). As an example, the models I developed from the findings, as found in Chapter IV, were reviewed by the majority of subjects for accuracy and completeness.

Additional checks and balances exist as a result of two other sources of data. The first were the field training agents assigned to each of the new agents, who

were interviewed as subjects. The second of course was me, the researcher, who was also a participant-observer in the subject organization having experienced the Basic Course and the probationary year. Although dated, my experiences with both did provide another perspective.

Replicability. The analytic research approach does not lend itself to the traditional notion of replication, i.e. being able to perform the identical steps as in the original study. Because the continual analysis and redesign of the explanations results in changes in data collection focus, coding, future analysis, and the timetable, delineating the procedures to follow for replication would be difficult, if not impossible.

This does not mean that such a research strategy fails the test of replicability. Instead of attempting to perform the same procedures as the first researcher, one should rather continue where the first concluded and seek negative cases. As already stated, one of the strong points of the research strategy is its being conducive to continuation. The second researcher has a distinct advantage over simply reproducing a previous study, in that, even if no negative cases are discovered, the potential for other, previously unexplored, revelations exists. A simple reproduction is usually only significant and therefore worth the researcher's time, if it refutes the first study. A follow-on study to research done with this approach has potential significance regardless of the outcome. (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Katz, 1988)

Additionally, a second "testing" of the findings exists as each reader considers the results. As one reads the findings, he/she will naturally compare them to personal experiences and judge their applicability. (Katz, 1988)

Process and Findings

To follow are descriptions of each phase of data collection. They are described in the context of the method of collection and analysis provided in preceding sections of this chapter.

Phase I

The first phase of data collection was actually performed in three stages. The first stage was merely my introduction of the selected probationary special agents to the study and to me as the researcher. I met them as a group for less than thirty minutes and told them the purpose of the study, what their involvement would be, who I was and my role in the study, and what the next step would entail. The second stage consisted of meeting with each of the agents individually and again introducing myself and the study, explaining their involvement, explaining the consent form and confidentiality agreement, and eliciting their participation. All the subjects agreed to participate and willingly completed the consent forms.

Originally there was no intention to begin gathering any substantive data during either of these first two stages of Phase I. In all but three cases, this was

in fact what occurred. However, three subjects volunteered to begin discussing the questions developed for stage three of Phase I. Although not part of the plan, I never ignored the opportunity to talk to any of the subjects, especially when they initiated the conversation. As a result, these three were interviewed on more than just three occasions as the others were.

Stage three of Phase I was the first set of in depth interviews with the subjects under the protection of confidentiality. The purpose of this first round of interviewing was to develop a rapport with the subjects, obtain professional and education background information, and begin delving into the study topic, i.e. discrepancies between what was taught by formal and informal systems. This was the most pre-structured set of interviews. Future interviews were based on analysis of previous interview data. Despite this, it remained relatively open ended. When issues arose that did not necessarily fit the interview outline, they were still pursued when recognized. This round of interviews also included questions about their work related experience prior to their current employment, experiences during the Basic Course, use of what was taught at Basic, preparation or lack thereof for the tasks they were faced with, professional contacts, and work environment.

Phase II

The second phase consisted of more in depth interviews of the probationary special agents and the first round of interviews with the field training agents.

Again, the interviews were conducted individually and under the agreement of confidentiality. Probationary agents were asked what kinds of cases they were working as an introduction into the new target. Then they were asked how they were coming, i.e. going well as expected or having trouble with them. In either case, they were asked to describe how they approached the cases, what resources they had been, and were, making use of in working them, how well their formal training prepared them, and what problem areas they had experienced to date.

The field training agents were also asked what kinds of cases the probationary agents were working and how they were approaching them. They were questioned regarding any problem areas they had identified and how they were being corrected. Particular attention was given to the methods by which the probationary agents approached and worked cases, i.e. what resources they utilized.

Phase III

Phase III was a continuation of Phase II, with emphasis on those acquisition process means discovered and refined during the two previous phases. The same approaches utilized in the previous phase were taken during this set of interviews. The informal process of skills and information acquisition was again highlighted. No new revelations of means and sources were revealed, but previously identified ones continued to be mentioned.

Summary

In this study, I examined the process by which newly hired law enforcement officials compensated for discrepancies between their formal training and the field. Several graduates from the Naval Investigative Service's 1991 Basic course and their respective Field Training Agents were selected to serve as subjects. The subjects were interviewed several times over a four month period. Collected data was analyzed with a constant comparative approach consistent with grounded theory development. The first phase of data collection and analysis revealed an assortment of informally accessed sources and methods being employed by the new agents when faced with inadequate or erroneous formal training. The second and third phases of data collection further exposed a process of compensation composed of primarily informal networks and methods. The next chapter provides the findings and details on the content and use of this process.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Introduction

I designed and conducted this study to explore the processes by which newly hired criminal investigators learn to conduct investigations. In keeping with a theory generating approach, I did not enter the field with rigidly preconceived notions about specific issues. Unlike in a traditional quantitative study in which hypothesis testing is generally the goal, I sought in this study to develop concepts and theory for future testing. Nevertheless, I did make some assumptions about the environment. I suspected that there would be conflicts between what was formally taught during training and what was professed by the organizational and career subculture. My primary focus was on the process by which the new special agents handled such discrepancies. I also wanted to identify any informal means that agents might use to resolve such discrepancies.

I divided the data collection stage of the study into three primary phases. Each phase consisted of in depth interviews, beginning with a broad range of topics and quickly narrowing to a select few based on preliminary and continual analysis of collected data and in keeping with the goal of the study.

During the first phase of data collection, I learned that there were actually different types of discrepancies. In subsequent data collection stages, I explored

each type with emphasis focusing on the one appearing to be predominant. As data was collected and analyzed, I constantly compared the revelations of individual subjects with those of others and with my own previously acquired knowledge and experience.

What follows is a composite description of how newly hired agents compensate for discrepancies between their formal training and the reality of practice. I defined the types of discrepancies in the context of this study and presented the accompanying coping means. I utilized extracts from actual transcripts to illustrate the source of the theory's components and included a proposed model of the process with conclusions.

Discrepancies Defined

The idea of discrepancies between formal training and practice was primarily born out of the literature on police subculture as illustrated in Chapter II and my personal experience as a participant-observer in the setting under study. It has been proposed that discrepancies between the content of formal training and practice are inevitable (Harris, 1985; Drummond, 1976; Webb & Westergren, 1973). I originally defined discrepancies simply as instances in which different information or skills were perceived as applicable or relevant to the same question or situation. I did not consider whether one right response existed or not, but rather just sought any instance of a discrepancy. Initially there was no

concept of different types of discrepancies. These materialized during the analysis of the collected data.

Originally, I considered discrepancies, as just defined, to be the reference point for examining the process of informal learning in the context of the police subculture. Although both the subjects and I noted discrepancies, they tended to be between individuals' opinions as opposed to between formal policy and instruction and the accepted practice of the subculture. In other words, two or more individuals would give differing advice on how to handle a particular situation given the same facts. Even these were few and seemed to have little negative impact on those reporting them.

At the same time, another interesting occurrence was materializing. There was a perception by subjects, and me as well, that the formal training had not always provided the new agents with the necessary knowledge and/or skills to perform their task of investigating crimes. This lack of preparation can also be viewed as a discrepancy between formal training and practice. My further review of such cases resulted in an additional division of types. The inadequate preparation could be seen as either a lack of depth in the treatment of an issue relevant to practice or a complete failure to cover the topic to any extent.

Though further divisions may be possible, I utilized the following three as a framework for exploring the means of compensating for them: insufficient treatment of an issue during formal training, treatment in the formal setting was

contradictory to that of practice, and total failure to address the issue during formal training. Table 1 depicts the three types of discrepancies and their characteristics as detailed in the following paragraphs. Initially, when I was first gathering and analyzing data, these categories only focused on the formal training provided by Basic, but later I broadened them to include all formal training.

Insufficient treatment. This speaks to topics which were included in formal training, i.e. the Basic Course, but not adequately enough for application in the field. An example would be the class on fingerprinting. The basic principles were covered and a limited number of opportunities were given to take someone's fingerprints. Although this may seem to be an easy task to those who have not performed it, it does require a degree of skill developed with practice. Fingerprints which are too light or too dark, smudged, or incomplete can not be read, cataloged, or compared for positive identification purposes.

Contradictory. This form addresses those issues covered formally, i.e. during the Basic Course, but in conflict with practice. Originally, I anticipated that this would be a frequent and widespread occurrence between instruction, during Basic, and practice. It did not prove to be so. Both the probationary agents and their field training agents could not come up with many examples nor were many evident from the collected data. There were, on the other hand, examples of contradictory advice between individuals after Basic. In one case two supervisory level persons directed a new agent to take two distinctly different approaches to a

Table 1

Discrepancy Types and Characteristics

<u>Discrepancy Type</u>	<u>Distinguishing Characteristics</u>
1. Insufficient Treatment	- formally covered - inadequate for practice
2. Contradictory	- formally covered - conflict with practice
3. No coverage	- not formally covered - necessary in practice

criminal allegation. In another, a new agent was given advice by veteran agents in his office that he later discovered, from his FTA, was in error. In both cases, the agents altered their approaches to compensate for the discrepancies. Their methods will be explored in subsequent sections of this chapter.

No coverage. This last category includes topics not covered during any formal training, but faced in practice. Based on the data, this was not a frequent occurrence relative to the Basic course, but it was reported by subjects. An example would be a comment by an FTA in which he stated "there have been some items that apparently weren't covered in FLETC that we've had to give some addition instruction to here and it seems that those primarily fall into like crime scene, the areas of crime scene examination or kinda the nuts and bolts of developing latent prints or taking rolled prints, [these were covered but possibly inadequately as noted by others] tool impressions or tool impression molds." In addition, one of the new agents reported that lifting of latent prints was not covered at all during either portion of the Basic Course, even though virtually every crime scene should be searched for latent prints.

Compensating for Discrepancies

Introduction

To compensate, the agents pursued the required information and skills by other means. What developed was a system of knowledge and skills acquisition of

a primarily informal nature. Agents acquired the necessary skills and knowledge through a series of different means and sources generally without any formal organizational input. For the purposes of analysis, I labeled these methods the "acquisition process" and sub-divided it into specific means and sources. I will describe each with examples in the sections to follow.

Discovery

In the first phase of data collection, I collected numerous comments primarily about the content of classes, the staff, and the handling and coordination of the add-on portion of the Basic Course. Although these comments are not necessary for understanding the findings herein, I compiled a brief description of them and included it as Appendix F. In addition, I have included, as Appendix G, a listing of the course titles and their lengths for the classes held during the Basic Training program. I have included these to provide additional background when reading the comments of the subjects. The one commonly mentioned positive experience was the series of practical exercises simulating field office activities that was conducted at Kings bay, Georgia and often referred to as simply "Kings Bay". This phase was given high praise and numerous recommendations were made to extend it. The agents found this portion to be of greatest benefit in learning how to perform in the field. Although these comments in and of themselves are useful, especially to the NIS Training Department, they also relate to what

became the central issue of study - acquisition of required skills and knowledge for the conduct of criminal investigations.

The areas of inadequacy and lack of application practice became apparent when the acquisition system was explored. The most commonly mentioned area of instruction was that of report writing. The new agents stated that too much time was devoted to administrative aspects of reports and not enough to content and use relative to actual cases, i.e. what should be included in a report for a particular step in a criminal investigation. In addition, they advised that feedback on their report writing exercises was limited. Because every phase of an investigation requires a written product which can and often does become the basis for a criminal prosecution, this is a significant issue.

Another major area targeted during this phase of data collection was the identification of contradictions between the formal training and what is presented informally, i.e. through example, comments, and direction. As already stated, I originally saw this as a potentially fertile area to explore as the center piece of this research, but it proved to be limited and, when found, to be of a different variety. Although I noted a few situations of conflict between formal training and practice, the more frequent instances were simply differences of individuals' opinions.

What proved to be the most significant data of this first round, especially when coupled with the data about the Basic Course, were the comments regarding

how the agents were learning to conduct investigations. Based on relatively few references to course content or specific classes, there appeared to be limited reliance on any specific elements of their formal training, i.e. classes on the specific crimes or investigative techniques, and more on sources in the field. This does not, of course, mean that what was learned in Basic was not of use or not being applied. In fact, a couple of agents commented during these first interviews that they were actively utilizing Basic training on the job. In addition, because this area was not actually explored by design, the level of use or significance of these findings would be difficult to judge.

After I completed analysis of the first round and this phenomenon was visible, I focused future interviews on it. During the second and third rounds of interviews, I pursued the process of information and skills acquisition with both the new agents and their field trainers. Although many of the same means of learning were identified through all three phases of data collection, some appeared to become more prevalent and others seemed to fade into infrequent use. This shift in emphasis appears to be a natural progression toward independence. The agents became less dependent on others and more self-sufficient during the conduct of their investigations. Although some FTA's stated that they had intentionally weaned their charges, the means of acquisition did not always appear to be a calculated part of their plan.

During the second phase of data collection, although I still pursued the issue of discrepancies between formal and informal sources, the new issue of acquisition moved into the primary focus position. I asked probationary agents what kinds of cases they were working as an introduction into the new target. I asked them to describe how they approached the cases, what resources they had and were making use of in working them, how well their formal training prepared them, and what problem areas they had experienced to date.

I also asked the field training agents what kinds of cases the probationary agents were working and how they were approaching them. I questioned them regarding any problem areas they had identified and how they were correcting them. I gave particular attention to the methods by which the probationary agents approached and worked cases, i.e. what resources they utilized and why.

It appeared that the formal training was mentioned less often and with less emphasis than informal means and sources. A primarily informal system of acquisition was taking shape. Although the first interview schedule included distinct divisions of topical areas of questioning, subsequent sessions did not. Interviews were centered around the cases the subjects or their charges, in the case of FTA's, were working. I queried them regarding how they approached their cases and what resources and methods they were employing. In this manner, I tried to avoid leading their responses to, or away from, particular means and sources.

Phase III of data collection was a continuation of Phase II, with emphasis on those acquisition process means discovered and refined during the two previous phases. I utilized the same approaches during this set of interviews as in the previous phase. The informal process of skills and information acquisition was again highlighted with the same means and sources continuing to be noted.

Compensation Process

I began to see the new agents utilize a system of skills and information acquisition, including various sources and means, that was primarily informal. Agents began to utilize the alternate sources and means at differing rates and for different reasons. These differences might have been the result of their past experience relative to this type of work and/or the nature of their office environment, i.e. number of new agents, number of veterans, accessibility of their FTA and other agents, and the type of work load. These reasons will be more fully developed later in this chapter.

In order to illustrate how the system operates, I delineated the different elements with a focus on one area and type of discrepancy as an example.

The first elements are the sources of knowledge and skills information. I separated the sources into four major categories: self, meaning the new agent; others, meaning other persons; documentary, meaning some sort of written text;

and formal training, to include officially organized and structured training events. Table 2 depicts all the sources and their elements.

The clearest way to explain them is by describing each and providing a few examples upon which they are based. Following this, I utilized an example from practice to further illustrate the system. They are presented in no particular order at this point. It should be noted that examples are direct quotes from the transcripts and therefore grammar and vocabulary are conversational style, not written style. I replaced proper names with titles in capital letters to protect confidentiality. Certain words have also been deleted and so noted for the same purpose. I have used only male pronouns to avoid identifying the only new agent who was female and the two female FTA's. Speakers are identified as "PSA" for probationary special agent, "FTA" for field training agent, and "researcher" for me. Specific identifiers are not used in order to protect the confidentiality of my sources.

Self

The self refers to the individual agents themselves without use of external aid. I further divided this category, based on the data, into prior work experience, current work experience, trial and error, and common sense.

Prior work experience. This refers to experience in occupations prior to employment with the NIS. As noted, there were new agents in the study who had been police officers, investigators, or worked in other occupations that were

Table 2

Compensation Process - Sources and Elements

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>ELEMENTS</u>
Self	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prior Work Experience - Current Work Experience - Trial and Error - Common Sense; "gut"
Others (by role)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supervisors - Field Training Agents - Veterans - Peers - Secretaries
Documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manuals - Cases <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - closed - ongoing - Guide Sheets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - official - unofficial
Formal Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Basic Course - In-service Sessions - Specialty Courses

similar to or directly connected to the current job. References to other occupations were not noted. It is unknown whether the lack of such examples was a result of failure to inquire properly to elicit such comments, or because of a lack of awareness, or a lack of their relevance. The following comments illustrate this subcategory with references to previous work experience:

- PSA: I use to do that in the military... [Referring to the use of similar reports written by others as examples.]

- PSA: Plus, I've had some [deleted] experience before coming here so. [Referring to experience relative to a particular phase of a criminal investigation.]

Current work experience. This includes experience developed since beginning to work for the NIS. It stands to reason that individuals will begin to collect experiences on the job that will serve as resources for future activities on the job. This notion was also reported by Schein (1968) and Wiswell (1987), who noted how individuals learn through working. It was cited by both new agents and their field trainers. A couple of examples follow:

- PSA: You know, start taking off the statement. I read off my sample statement form....But you know, that's something with practice I'll just do. [Statements are typically taken by agents from victims of, witnesses to, and the subjects who are suspected of committing, criminal acts.]

- PSA: The more experience and exposure you have, the better you feel about it. [Had just commented about practicing fingerprinting, but I believe the PSA was actually referring to various aspects of working a criminal investigation in general.]

- PSA:...but I've done every, several different aspects of different [deleted] cases. And now I see how different ways of doing it and I can see the best way for doing it.

Trial and error. In this context, trial and error refers to trial without supporting reason. In other words, anytime a solution was obtained be it from any source, it could become a trial and error experience, but this category refers to those without other basis. Although not defined in detail, both Schein (1968) and Wiswell (1987) consider trial and error a learning experience in the work place. As an example, consider this comment:

PSA:...and I think there is a point, and its pretty soon after you graduate from FLETC, that you need to start to fumble around by yourself.

Common sense. Common sense is a little more difficult to define, but refers here to those decisions made without prior experience or the thought of a "try something and it might not work attitude", i.e. trial and error. This category was also referred to as a "gut feeling". Common sense decisions tended to be obvious to me as a participant observer with relatively extensive experience with the studied agency. The distinction between this category and that of trial and error lies in the person's perspective. A common sense decision was based on what the individual believed to be a familiar and routine understanding, whereas the trial and error method was utilized when the situation was new, but an effort was to be made with no guarantee of its successful outcome. The common sense type of choices were generally made with little, if any, reservation. Consider the following example:

- RESEARCHER: So what do you base on how you are gonna do it? Is it, do you got any? PSA: Gut (laugh). RESEARCHER: OK. That's fine. PSA: Pretty much common sense...

The self as a source was not commonly mentioned, but this might in part be due to the limited relevance of past experience and acknowledgement of trial and error and common sense choices. This is consistent with the literature in that police personnel don't usually consider any experience other than that as a law enforcement officer as relevant to their job.

Others

Other persons could conceivably be anyone else, but no one outside of the agency was ever mentioned as a resource. This too would be consistent with the literature in that the police as a culture is closed and rarely are outsiders sought as confidants or resources. Other persons included supervisors, field training agents, veterans, peers, and secretaries. The titles indicate the roles persons performed and as a result there could be individuals who had multiple roles. These include supervisors and FTA's, who have an official function relative to the new agents, but can also interact with them simply as other agents, i.e. veterans.

Supervisor. Supervisors were defined as those persons occupying management positions over the agents, i.e. the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) and the Assistant Special Agent in Charge (ASAC) in each field level office. New agents observed, asked questions of, and received directed guidance from supervisors. Observation was limited to those cases were SAC's and ASAC's performed investigation functions such as interrogations, which would be more fitting as a

role of a veteran. More typically, they were approached by new agents asking them for help, which was again limited, or when they told new agents what to do. Generally, it appeared that they were avoided as resources. This was based on their role as a supervisor and evaluator of the new agents. The attitude of "don't show the person who is evaluating you that you don't know how to do something" was evident and in fact mentioned. The supervisor is typically a busy person in the office, having ultimate responsibility for all the operational and administrative activity of his/her office. This could limit their accessibility on a routine basis. Additionally, the supervisor has a formal role in the office as evaluator of the work product through daily and/or periodic review of reports and progress. As a result, advice and guidance were given, solicited or not. Consider the following comments:

- PSA: We have case review. He'll make suggestions. [Referring to the SAC's periodic review of each agent's cases and progress to date.]

- PSA: For a while I was talkin' to the SAC (laugh) on my cases.

- PSA: And I had done evidence before because of course a lot of people apparently just kinda had to read manuals, but SAC at least

took me out on cases and had me do things and showed me how to do things.

The last two examples illustrate a dichotomy of relationships between a probationary special agent and his/her SAC. This difference will be explored more fully when the idea of choices among compensation methods is explored, but a quick comment is worth noting. A suggestion is that the difference lies in the role that the two SAC's chose to have with their respective probationary agents. In one case, the SAC maintained distance in his role as a supervisor, while the other took on the role of mentor, as a veteran agent or FTA might. This illustrates how the supervisor could also become simply another veteran agent depending on his/her relationship with the new agent.

Field Training Agent. The field training agent (FTA) was the agent officially assigned as the new agent's coach and mentor. In some of the smaller offices, the ASAC also performed the functions of field training agent. For the purposes of my study, I labeled such individuals as either supervisor or FTA depending on the function they were performing. In this way I made the distinction and attempted to maintain separate categories of people. Although I was not specifically seeking them, I did not discover any differences between those cases in which the FTA's were also ASAC's, and those in which they were not.

The FTA's were of course sought as a resource. They were watched, listened to, and queried by the new agents. The FTA also had a formal role as the mentor of the new agent and gave direction without being solicited. It should be noted that although the FTA had a formal role, that role was not structured or outlined in much detail. This program was the first formal system of FTA's and was drawn together on short notice with little detail. Consequently, the system was not very systematic and therefore continued to operate primarily informally. The only real formal aspects were that each new agent was assigned an FTA, a standard checklist was developed and implemented for use by the FTA's, and the FTA's were suppose to work together for the first two months. This last requirement was not universally followed in the studied group for no single specific reason. One cause appeared to be workload. One FTA advised that he was supposed to share cases with his new agent, but as the total number of cases in the office grew, he was assigned his own case load again. There were other FTA's who did not have the time to go with their new agent on every task and either directed them to seek someone else or let them go it alone. The checklist they utilized included what was perceived as knowledge and skills required by the new agent. It was developed by the training department with input from the criminal investigations department, which oversees all the organization's criminal investigations worldwide. The FTA's were tasked to insure that the new agent

either successfully experienced the item on the list in practice or was exposed to them in a training setting. A few extracts indicate the use of FTA's:

- PSA: Get a lot of cooperation from FTA.

- PSA: Or go to FTA or something.

- PSA: I mean, FTA's really good. I have no problem taking recommendation from FTA.

- PSA: I actually go to FTA the most because he is my training agent.

Veteran. Veterans were those agents in the office or elsewhere that had been on the job past the one year probationary period and weren't fulfilling supervisory or FTA positions. In the studied group, the veterans served as role models when observed in action on investigative matters. Modeling as a source of learning in a work environment is not a new concept (Pascale, 1985; Schein, 1968; Wiswell, 1989).

The use of veteran agents varied with the office environment and their availability. Some offices had a more interactive staff than others. Obviously, the

more interaction among agents and support staff in an office, the more opportunities for the exchange of knowledge and skills and thus learning experiences. Less learning, both formal and informal, will occur, if there is limited interaction among people. In addition, the experience and competence level of fellow agents varied among offices. The more interactive the office, the more likely to be reports of utilization of veterans as sources and vice versa. The same relationship applied to the competence level found. Also, the veterans were approached when FTA's could not fulfill the needs, were unavailable, or were less convenient.

- PSA: The one I'm learning from is SPECIAL AGENT. Whereas the FTA has no or at least professed to me very little experience in [deleted] investigations so it seems strange to me that you know perhaps SPECIAL AGENT should be FTA, at least in regard because of the nature of the investigation.

- PSA: So you know, with that in retrospect I go ahead and talk to SPECIAL AGENT, mostly SPECIAL AGENT because we're in the same office, and he gives me some tips.

Peer. Peers were agents from the same Basic class as the new agents under study. Because of the relatively small geographic size of the study population area there were personal contacts among new agents. In addition, telephonic contact was made with others further away. Agents occasionally asked others from their Basic class for help. This was infrequent based on their comments, but nevertheless a source both during and after graduation from Basic. It would seem reasonable that they would be a limited resource given that their knowledge and skills would be comparatively developed. Nonetheless, they were utilized, including the following example:

- PSA: But I still was couldn't really remember how to do it because I hadn't done it in a while but so I had SPECIAL AGENT [a fellow agent from the same Basic Course class] here to help me the first part. [PSA was referring to a particular step in a criminal investigation.]

Secretary. The last category of people were the secretaries. They provided feedback on work processed through them and also served as a source, when questioned about report writing and computer use issues, as illustrated by the following comment.

- PSA: The clerical staff. I mean they're very good. The gals 'll let you know when you make a mistake or when you're ah [PSA didn't complete this comment], which is good, you need to know that.

Documents

The next primary source was documents, and included official manuals, cases, and guide sheets.

Manuals. Official manuals were the manuals issued to each agent and those available in each office. There are manuals for administrative topics and for investigative issues. Any official guide book would qualify. Manuals typically started as a little used resource and became a common one over time. In addition, it was initially only sought after being directed to by someone, i.e. a supervisor or an FTA. During later interviews, agents reported going to the manuals first and then seeking advice from others. This relationship is more full explored later in this chapter under the heading of "Process Model". A few comments about manuals are included:

- PSA:...what is a report, you know, it is obviously dictated by what the SAC's guidance is, but for the most part there is a manual.

- PSA: ...if its dealing with report writing where common sense doesn't always apply (laugh) I'll go to chapter [deleted - the chapter on report writing].

Cases. Going to closed case files and reading how cases were investigated and what problems or successes were highlighted was relatively common. Previous cases were also reviewed as examples of how to write reports. It occurred both on initiative and by direction. It often resulted in obtaining examples for future use. It was noted to serve as a means of reinforcing some choices already made in the case of at least one agent. A couple of examples follow.

- PSA: Or even a better way, sometimes I'll just go through the files, closed files and pick out, OK I'm working on a [larceny], let me see, you know pick out the [larcenies] and make copies of that and see how they wrote it up and how they approached.

- PSA:...you get a chance to look at some of the other old cases that some of the agents have done. You know, a comparable case. Maybe make a copy of it, that kinda thing and you get a good look at how the wordsmithing is down, what the key things people lookin' for.

Guide Sheets. Guide sheets refers to utilizing examples of reports or check sheets. They could have been official, i.e. those provided in formal training settings, or unofficial, i.e. samples prepared by other agents or by the PSA's themselves. This proved to be a popular method, unofficially sanctioned and, in some circumstances, officially recommended.

- PSA: Then I went to my office mate and he had a format for how to do questions [i.e. what questions to ask witnesses] and what not in a [deleted] investigations. So I xeroxed a copy of that, typed it up and xeroxed copy of that and cleaned it up a little bit so I've got a very clear guidance on what I need to ask in a [deleted] investigation.

- PSA: Now I keep like a little sample statement just because I'm afraid of, I'm afraid, you know, forget something, when I take a statement.

Formal Training

As listed in Table 2, formal training includes the Basic Course, in-service sessions, and specialty courses.

Basic Course. As already explained, the Basic Course is the initial training required of all special agents. It theoretically provides the foundation and

preparation for all the major tasks to be encountered by an agent. Specifically mentioned use of it as a resource was limited. A couple of examples are cited below to provide an illustration for understanding purposes.

- PSA: They gave us little handouts for each of the cases like crime against property, the [deleted] and. I can go to my. [speaker didn't complete sentence] I had it organized where I can now go, if I have this crime what are the elements and I can go right to the handout they gave me instead of going to the NIS manuals.

- PSA: And I think the interviewing classes that we had at FLETC during the add-on were pretty helpful.

In-service sessions. In-service sessions, known as in-service training or simply in-service, includes the mandatory annual, or more frequently designated, training required of all agents throughout their careers. Certain topics must be taught once per quarter or annually, i.e. firearms qualification, equal employment opportunity, and standards of conduct. In addition, a required number of training hours must be spent on criminal investigative matters per quarter. Often these topics are mandated by the headquarters and others are at the discretion of the

regional or field level offices. In any case, this training is structured, typically involving classroom hours, and possibly practical exercises.

Specialty Courses. Throughout an agent's career, he/she will attend various courses addressing specific types of investigations and related topics, i.e. homicide, arson, child abuse, narcotics, and illegal hazardous waste disposal. These courses are generally a combination of classroom and practical exercise sessions taught by internal personnel, the training elements of other law enforcement agencies or academies, or by accredited private contractors.

Means

The preceding sources of knowledge and skill also illustrated several of the means, including observing, listening, and being told. Table 3 provides a breakdown of the various means reported and their sources. To follow, a few are highlighted and a couple noted for the first time.

Asking. Asking referred to the new agent asking questions or advice from others.

- PSA: It was just, you know, nobody said to do that, just, well, ah, really on my own initiate [initiative], it was like how do we do this and started asking questions.

Table 3

Means and Their Sources of Knowledge and Skill Acquisition

<u>Means</u>	<u>Source(s)</u>
Asking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supervisor - FTA - Veteran - Peer - Secretary
Doing	n/a
Listening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supervisor - FTA - Veteran - Secretary
Observing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FTA - Veteran
Reading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manuals - Cases

- PSA: So, I've always got somebody there to ask what do I do now or. [Referring to asking questions of other agents in the office.]

- PSA: Like all I have to do is ask what's this about or what's that about and they tell me about it.

Doing. Agents commented that they learned by performing the task. Learning through "doing" has been noted as a by-product of task accomplishment (Wiswell, 1989). There were several references to learning by doing as the best way.

- PSA: Now in talking to the FTA, FTA said OK that really, you need to get out there and do it.

- PSA: Training at FLETC or anywhere not good until get out and try it. RESEARCHER: Do you put more weight on OJT? PSA: Yes. Best way to learn is to get out and do it.

- PSA: This type of job to me is something you're really only gonna learn by doing it and that's why I like the field training agent

program because you can do it yourself but you've always got them to fall back on and ask questions of. And really I think that's the only way to learn this job. Is to do the job yourself but have somebody else there overseeing what you're doing and being there to answer your questions as you do it.

- PSA: But I guess its something you have to really also do on the job to really get the training for.

Listening. Listening includes those situations in which the new agent listened to another agent perform an investigative task, i.e. conduct an interview or interrogation, or listened to unsolicited direction from a superior, i.e. FTA or supervisor. The distinction between this category and listening after asking, i.e. the ask category, is that in this one, the advice was unsolicited. It was generally provided by a supervisor or FTA in their official capacity. Previous extracts have included examples.

Observing. The phrase "watch and learn" fits as a means. It was sometimes by direction and, at others, spontaneously or with purpose, but by the new agent's choice.

- Researcher: Where did you learn how to do it then? PSA: You just look and learn from people.

- PSA: Take me along with them on calls. Saw what they do; how they handle themselves with CO's [Commanding Officers], how they interview.

- PSA:...I've observed quite a few of his interviews and I also on the other hand do some things by myself also, interviews or whatever.

- PSA:...I tried to sit in on people when they doin' interrogations or interviews just to see their different styles....

Reading. This refers to reading documentary sources, i.e. manuals and cases. Examples have already been noted.

As can be seen, the means and sources are intertwined. Obviously some means must be employed to access a source. The only exception would be those from the agents themselves, i.e. the self as a source. These means have all been identified by Wiswell (1990) as informal mechanisms resulting in learning.

Distinction Between Types of Sources

Obviously a distinction can be made between the types of sources as formal and informal. There are some sources that were primarily formal, but accessed or utilized in an informal manner. In addition, certain individuals could perform both formal and informal roles. As a result, I used the role to identify the source as opposed to the person.

Formal. Formal sources consisted of individual roles of others, i.e. supervisors and FTA's; training iterations, to include the Basic Course, in-service session, or specialty courses; and documents, i.e. manuals and official guide sheets. Table 4 lists the formal sources.

Informal. Informal sources included the agent's themselves; others, i.e. veterans, peers, and secretaries; and documents, including, unofficial guide sheets and cases. Table 5 provides a list of these sources.

Process Example

In order to help understand how these sources and means were actually utilized, I selected a task from practice as an example. I chose report writing as the example because there was a rich collection of comments about it by all the new agents and FTA's from its formal introduction in Basic through the last series of interviews. In addition, the report writing example illustrates virtually every source and method of compensation found during the study.

Table 4

Formal Sources and their Elements

<u>Source</u>	<u>Elements</u>
Others	- Supervisors - FTA's
Training	- Basic Course - In-service Sessions - Specialty Courses
Documents	- Manuals - Official Guide sheets

Table 5

Informal Sources and their Elements

<u>Source</u>	<u>Elements</u>
Self	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Prior Work Experience- Current Work Experience- Trial and Error- Common Sense; "gut"
Others	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Veterans- Peers- Secretaries
Documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Cases- Unofficial Guide Sheets

As background, the report writing system is standardized across offices and regulated by the headquarters. The opening of every case is documented by an initial report. When agents in other offices need to be brought into a case, a report is submitted to that office. Every significant action taken in furtherance of a case is documented in writing, i.e. interviews, crime scene examinations, lab work, surveillance, record checks, and interrogations. Periodic status reports must also be written. When the case is closed, a report is written as well. It should be noted that, if a criminal prosecution is sought, many of these reports can be utilized to satisfy the documentation requirements for prosecution. All of these reports are written by the agent controlling the investigation or conducting the specific action being documented. Each report mentioned has its own format and content requirements as mandated by the headquarters element.

This system has historically been considered one of the most difficult aspects of the job to master. This is probably because the manual only provides the mechanics and administrative requirements of report writing with limited examples and the training has generally been based on the same topics. This perspective has resulted in what I have observed as an expectation of poor performance of new agents in the area of report writing, at least initially. A few of the FTA's in this study even mentioned report writing as a known problem area with all new agents. How do new agents compensate for this lack of

preparation for such an important and common task? Well, there were several means and sources utilized.

The Contradiction

Report writing was taught in the Basic Course during the add-on portion primarily as a lecture block of instruction with some application during the practical exercises in Kings Bay. The agents' noted that the lecture highlighted the administrative elements of a report, i.e. the distribution format and header requirements, but gave limited guidance as to their content or use. In addition, the agents stated they did not get routine feedback on their classroom assignments. As a result, the students had no idea as to their success or failure.

According to their comments, the report writing during the practical was limited, but was the first time they began to understand the system. They found this phase of training valuable for learning report writing. The following extract provides an example:

- PSA:... I just don't think that one we had a enough of it and secondly I think it was [not] taught right. No, I didn't get a very good understanding of what I was suppose to do 'till I got here. I think that if more of it had been incorporated into that little two week exercise we did. RESEARCHER: Kings Bay? PSA: Yea. I think that would have been great. A chance to write [type of

report], the various types of [reports], that type of thing. I mean, we wrote, I think I wrote maybe one [type of report] while I was in that two weeks down there. It was great. That two week thing was great but I think [we] need to concentrate a little bit more on report writing.

Compensation

Agents compensated through all three of the sources: self, others, and documents. Each will be discussed with examples that helped identify their use.

Self. Although the system was unique to the job and agency, there were a few examples of agents drawing on prior experience in the area of report writing. The following extract illustrates this:

- PSA: [talking about writing reports in a previous job] So I kinda got that picked apart time and time again as far as content. And I think that helps me out. That helped me out when I'm doing reports here.

Current experience, or experience developed while on the job with the NIS, was also noted. The following quote illustrates this:

- PSA:...I generated a lot in [month]. I think [deleted], closed [numeric quantity] in [month] so. Researcher: Wow. PSA: Getting at least a lot of practice at it (laugh). [PSA was talking about writing reports on cases he had worked and was making a point about how many he had done in a relatively short period of time. He saw that as practice in writing them. I labeled it as gaining experience through current performance of the task - writing reports.]

Common sense was also limited as a source. This could be explained by a comment previously cited in which the agent stated "...common sense doesn't always apply (laugh)...". Although this was said in jest or appeared so, it has a ring of validity to it. Another new agent made a common sense type comment with the following:

- PSA: Yea but that'll be what's in the book. But then, I mean. Then again I try to get away from using those examples because I think some of them are (laugh). Just the wording I think is bad in quite a few of them. RESEARCHER: Oh, O.K. Based on other examples or just your opinion of? PSA: Just my opinion of grammar (laugh). RESEARCHER: Oh, O.K.

This second quote illustrates that the individual's understanding of common English grammar and usage was at odds with the examples provided in a formal manual.

The trial and error method was the only one that was not directly associated with report writing. This might in part be due to the difficulty in identifying instances of its use, as already mentioned. There were examples of agents turning in reports and having to rewrite them a second time due to errors. In these cases, it was not possible to discern if the agent had based the first version on any particular source. As a result, I could not definitively cite any examples of the trial and error method relative to report writing.

Others. Input from others was reported at every level - supervisory, FTA, veterans, peers, and secretaries. Supervisory personnel are formally in the system of report review and therefore a resource regardless of whether or not the new agent sought them as a source. Nevertheless, they can also be sought outside of official channels. An FTA pointed out how the idiosyncrasies of the supervisors influence report writing:

- FTA: ...but I think that it behooves the new agent to try and learn as quickly as possible that the people who are going to be chopping on their reports as supervisors looking for the reports to be written in a particular format time and time and time again. And to keep

each and every one of their reports like that as best as possible. They only need to change the specifics of the incident, the specifics of the offense but the language is the same,....

A new agent said basically the same thing:

- PSA:... only style things like writing, you know are different. When I try and word something like in chapter [deleted - chapter on report writing] and SAC doesn't like certain words they use but. Certain words like. RESEARCHER: So you'll use the examples [PSA started talking]. PSA: [Example deleted to protect subject] He doesn't like that kinda stuff.... RESEARCHER: O.K. The examples with SAC, have you just switched to whatever he wants you do it? PSA: Yea. I just do it his way [unintelligible]. [The new agent noted using the examples from the official manual. The SAC did not like some of the wording of these examples, which have been deleted from the quote to protect the source. The new agent decided to just use whatever the SAC wanted.]

Another new agent said:

PSA: And then I guess the best resource is the guy who reviews your paperwork. If you have a question or an issue that's in doubt, ultimately he's the one who's gonna make the decision whether its done this way or that way. So there's nothing better than going to that source...

Another comment, which was partially cited under the presentation of manuals as a source, indicates the influence the SAC has over the product in his/her office:

PSA: I'm not saying let's sit down and write reports all day but I think there's a wide variety and different ah, excuse me, expectation of what is a report, you know, it is obviously dictated by what the SAC's guidance...

The FTA's were naturally a source of information by virtue of their position, but as already stated no formal system existed for the exchange of information. FTA's reviewed reports, served as resources, and directed the actions of new agents. An FTA commented, "Good; refining them. I go over them with him".

Veterans were seen as a resource when considered knowledgeable as noted in the following comment.

- RESEARCHER: Do you go to anyone else? Is there anyone here that you would? PSA: Yea, I went to SPECIAL AGENT. ... Go to SPECIAL AGENT. SPECIAL AGENT's been around awhile, he's got some fairly good report writing skills. And again it all centers around report writing for the most part.

Although theoretically at the same level as each other, peers were also sought as a resource. Consider the following extract.

- PSA: You know that's, that's possible but, to be honest with, I think, because I knew I was gettin' smoke blown up my ass during the report writing class, to use colorful language, I probably ignored a lot of the things that were being taught, because I knew some of the things were wrong and I was fortunate enough to have [someone with relevant experience in the class, who provided guidance].

This may have been an exception given that the particular person referenced had a unique background.

Secretaries appeared as a resource for report writing as well. This makes sense given their daily contact with the written products. Prior to the use of word processors, the secretaries typed all the reports handwritten or dictated by agents. It stands to reason that they would become familiar with the system and requirements. A PSA's comment illustrates this point:

- PSA: I'll tell you one other thing I just thought of is I've been learning some stuff from the secretaries too. Especially as far as the report writing is concerned. They have (laugh) a really good knowledge of exactly how the system works and what type of report you need to respond to this and all of that. So they've been a source of information for mainly for report writing....

Documents. Documentary resources were also utilized to help compensate for report writing discrepancies. They appeared frequently in all the aforementioned categories.

The manuals were utilized extensively. They are certainly a formal source, but may be accessed as a result of informal means. There was variation in when and why they were accessed. It was revealed that, initially, they were a second choice source that agents only used when directed by others. This idea of a

change in perspective will be explored in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Consider the following comments:

- PSA: Aside from that [deleted], I don't think I did any other type of report while I was in that two week period [referring to the two week practical exercise simulation of a field office, often called "Kings Bay", during the add-on portion of Basic]. RESEARCHER: OK. So you had to learn it now that you've been back? PSA: Yea. Chapter [chapter on report writing] (laugh) the bible.

- PSA: Yea. Still havin' kinda a tough time with the report writing. A lot of times I'll know what I want to do as far as what kind of lead I want to accomplish, but it just seems kind of frustrating having to write out a lead to get something done somewhere else instead of just picking up the phone and asking a fellow agent-can you do this for me. But, I think, as I get better. When I'm able, when I get to the point where I'm able to sit down and real quick, quickly scratch out a lead, then its not going to be so much of a stumbling block. But right now I'm still at the stage where everything I write I kinda have to put a lot of thought into as to format and how to do it and I'm still referring. Now that's one area

where I refer a lot to the manual, chapter [deleted]. [A "lead" is a request from one field office to another for investigative assistance on a particular aspect of a case. For example, I might be working on a homicide in Washington, D.C. and discover that a possible witness to the homicide was only there on vacation and lives in San Diego, CA. I would send a lead to one of our offices in San Diego, CA to track down this person, for whom I have a name and hopefully an address or some other identifying data, and interview him/her regarding the homicide. The agent will do so, and send me the results.]

- FTA: Now of course we have examples in the manual and they should pay particular and close attention to those examples...

- FTA: Don't have to tell him to go to manual. He is always pulling it out and has highlighted and marked it with yellow stickers.

- RESEARCHER: How 'bout the ones in the manual? Are those of any value to ya? Those few examples? PSA: Yea. I think there could be more. There sorta specific examples. And if they'd

expand a little bit, definitely I think you could double the size of chapter [deleted] and not hurt anybody (laugh).

- PSA: Paperwork still a mystery. Use chapter [deleted] and previous cases as a guide. Count on it being rewritten. Example: not sure how detailed reports are to be. You can always keep asking questions. RESEARCHER: Don't know where the line is drawn? PSA: Right. RESEARCHER: Have you approached him on it? PSA: Being careful because on probation. Just look, learn and listen.

- PSA: Report writing I usually go to manual.

The use of sample reports was also widely used and in fact recommended by others, i.e. FTA's, in some cases. This has been a common practice for years even among more senior agents.

- FTA: Gave new SA sample book of reports from FTA to look at. Doesn't think that SA read them because SA has had several easily correctable problems.

- RESEARCHER: Can I ask you what resources you use for that?

PSA: Yea, primarily. See I got a lot of gouges ["gouge" is a term used to denote an unofficial guide, checklist, or sample, i.e. for an investigative action or of a report] for that [PSA went into desk drawer to retrieve some examples]. I've got the chapter [deleted] and we got the some other stuff at FLETC here that's been helpful in the NIS add-on. Those little gouges that they prepared. I don't know if you ever saw any of those. RESEARCHER: OK. This one I've seen. Someone else showed me this one. [unintelligible] PSA: And that's kinda of an abbreviated chapter [deleted] right there, which is kinda nice. RESEARCHER: Oh, I see. PSA: So I use that stuff a lot. Sitting down to write up a report or something. RESEARCHER: OK.

The use of actual cases was also noted. Both closed and current cases, those from files, others, and their own, were utilized. Examples follow:

- PSA: I guess the most utilized source is somebody's old investigations that I've used for an example. Try and get somebody who's. And everybody keeps 'em. Everybody, although you're not suppose to, everybody's got a little three ring binder that they keep

examples of everything they've ever done. RESEARCHER:

Hmhhh. PSA: And I've got no problem with that. I'm starting to compile my own.

- PSA: I'd say combinations. I keep a lot of my text of my reports so I can refer to myself some too once I do a certain kinda case.

RESEARCHER: OK. PSA: That's helping too.

- RESEARCHER: So why don't we start with reports. I know last time you told me you were keepin' a file of older ones to go by.

RESEARCHER: (laugh) That's good. So you're keepin' some as a guide sheet. PSA: Yea, I keep everything I do and then what I do is just at our time limit for records, I just black it out and keep the texts. So I can keep readin' it. RESEARCHER: Is that helpful? PSA: Yea.

- RESEARCHER: OK. Do you have any. Do you go to any closed cases or any other and look at? PSA: I did at the beginning. I went to the closed case and I photocopied a lot of the reports, blacked out the identifiers and all and referred to them a little bit as guides but sometimes its just easier to go to the gouges that I have and see how to do it.

- RESEARCHER: [Asked about report writing] FTA: Major problem - no prep at FLETC. He didn't feel add-on helped either. Gave closed case files to read - to examine how people pursued cases.

Hierarchy of Use

Which resource did they use first: self, others, or documents? Although, the agents did not highlight a particular ladder of use, I noted that they asked for help first initially. During our second interview, a PSA commented:

- PSA: Everything else, my initial reaction is to ask somebody. I probably need to start going to the manuals more because I usually find out later on that the answer is in the manual. [researcher's comment deleted] But its just not yet a natural reaction to go to the book. Its more natural for me to just ask somebody.

The sources varied from peers, to veterans, to FTA's, and occasionally supervisors. Peers and veterans generally just gave PSA's the answer they sought, while FTA's and supervisors generally referred them to documentary resources to research the answer.

During subsequent interviews, the agents stated that they pursued their own answers first, then resorted to asking for the help of others. This is the opposite of the approach they took shortly after graduating from the Basic Course, as I just described. For example, PSA: "But ultimately, if I have a questions that I can't figure out myself and I'm not satisfied with the answers, I'll go to my FTA and try not to burden him to much." The new agents went to documentary sources first and then other people. Some even commented on how useful the official manuals proved to be, how much useful information they contained. Consider the following comment:

- PSA:... I think I told you before, I was trying to make more of an effort at the manuals before. RESEARCHER: Right. PSA: I ran off and asked, you know, a bunch of stupid questions and. So I'm doin' more of that. I'm, you know, readin' more of the manuals and when I have a question, I try and look it up. RESEARCHER: Are you getting answers there? PSA: Yea, for the mostly [most] part. Sometimes there is still something I need clarified a little bit and I'll go ask somebody after that. But yea, the manuals seem pretty good. I mean, they answer a lot of questions.

The self as a source appeared to come into play depending on the individual's experiences or willingness to try a trial and error approach. It certainly was not

mentioned as frequently as other sources or means. Because its availability was limited for most, it became an optional step for only a few initially.

Why did they switch from going to others first to seeking answers on their own first? There are several possible reasons - gained knowledge of other resources, were told to pursue documentary sources first, FTA was busy, and, in at least one case, a reduced confidence in the knowledge of co-workers.

This shift in dependency from others to one's self is consistent with the nature of the job. The NIS operates with individual agents working on their own. Team work is not the norm and generally reserved for major cases with extensive facets, i.e. homicide, procurement fraud, and espionage. As a result, agents are expected to be able to work an investigation from start to finish with limited, if any, assistance from other agents except where safety dictates. Training agents to seek answers to their questions on their own, through their building experience or by going to documentary sources, helps to create an independent investigator. This is also consistent with the law enforcement profession in general, in which independent decisions are the norm, i.e. a lone patrol officer making a traffic stop or the first officer on the scene of a robbery-in-progress call.

This notion leads to a greater question of why did agents make the choices they did, given several options, i.e. why go to someone as opposed to a documentary source or why go to one person over another? There are several possible reasons for such selections. Table 6 lists the various reasons I found

during this study for choosing a particular source and Table 7 lists those for avoiding sources. To follow are explanations of the various categories listed in Tables 6 and 7.

Reasons to Select

The reasons agents chose particular resources varied among the subjects and with the situation. To follow are brief descriptions of the reasons as I have categorized them.

Official. The first would be that the resource is officially a source of information for the agent. The supervisor, FTA, and official documents would all qualify.

Relevant Prior Experience. Prior experience was previously listed as a source of knowledge and skill. It is certainly a reason for source selection as well, for the same reason. A particular means or source has proven useful in the past leads one to believe it continues to be a worthy resource.

Current Experience. Current experience is the same phenomenon in action except that the catalyst occurs during current employment. This is a possible explanation for the switch from going to others first and then documentary sources, to going to documents and then others. After being told to check the manual first by the FTA, the agents learn to do so and then inquire with an FTA.

Convenience or Ease. This includes taking the path of least resistance. Keeping the example of utilizing others instead of the manuals, asking someone

Table 6

Reasons to Select a Source

Official Source

- supervisor
- FTA
- official documents

Prior Experience

- law enforcement occupation
- military

Current Experience

Convenience, Ease

Direction

- by supervisor
- by FTA

Common Sense

and getting an immediate answer is certainly simpler than researching the question in the manuals. Another example would be asking someone co-located in the same office as opposed to looking for an official resource such as the FTA.

I would also speculate that the agents are generally provided with answers as they ask questions during their basic training. The manuals were not routinely utilized during the course as a resource. As a result of agents spending six weeks without using the manuals, it stands to reason that they would not immediately consider them a resource after graduation until they gain some understanding and confidence with them. This leads back to the idea of developing current job experience. As the agent becomes familiar and comfortable with various resources, he/she is more likely to utilize them.

Direction. Being directed to a source primarily refers to when a supervisor or FTA tells an agent to utilize a particular resource, typically a manual.

Common sense. This one has the same definition it did before as a source. Again it refers to the idea that a particular selection appeared to be a routine and understood event and didn't require a selection decision process to occur.

Reasons to not Select a Source

Table 7 lists the reasons given and deduced for avoiding potential sources. The reasons primarily pertain to others. Obviously, the flip side of many of the reasons to select a source could be included in a reason to avoid. This type of

category was not listed unless it had unique relevance and required further explanation.

Availability. The first reason is an obvious one. A source can't be utilized if it's not available. This could mean that the person is not physically present, i.e. an FTA who is not in the office, when the need arises for assistance. Or it could mean that the source is busy with another task and can not be disturbed. The subject would have to seek another source or delay finding of an answer.

Approachability. This one refers here to others and means one's degree of receptiveness to responding to the agents' inquires. Subjects reported there were other agents in their offices that did not readily discuss their cases or offer unsolicited assistance. As a result, these people were avoided when questions arose or issues needed to be clarified.

Knowledge Level. Little or no knowledge of the topic is certainly a reason to avoid a source. At least one subject experienced this with his FTA. He reported that his FTA had no experience in a particular area and he therefore went to another agent, who had a good reputation with the same type of case, in the same office.

Accuracy. One agent reported going to veterans in his office for advice, receiving it, and then discovering that the advice had been incorrect. He did not return to those sources in the future.

Table 7

Reasons to not Select a Source

Availability

- out of reach
- too busy

Approachability

Knowledge level - low

Accuracy

Conflict Avoidance

Contact Frequency

- FTA

Impact on Source

Sarcasm

Authority Position

- supervisor (SAC)

Conflict Avoidance. This is a unique reason and may have been limited only to the one subject who reported it. It refers to making a decision in order to prevent friction. The case in point was the agent who was given two differing directions to respond to a particular situation. He decided not to solicit guidance from both individuals in the future. When asked why he chose this response, he replied in order to avoid pitting the two individuals against themselves. In addition, he added that he chose the one he did, because that individual was the one he would have to work with daily and answer to routinely.

Contact Frequency. Working together on a regular basis, i.e. a new agent and his/her FTA, could result in building a rapport conducive to the informal and formal mechanisms at work. The mere routine nature of the relationship might result in selection.

Impact on Source. To avoid burdening the source was reported relative to one's FTA. Subject reported not wanting to always ask his FTA, because the FTA had other responsibilities, i.e. his own cases or duties.

Sarcasm. One subject stated avoiding a particular agent because that agent tended to have a sarcastic attitude.

Authority Position. The last category is difficult to label and applies only to the SAC. One subject reported not going to his SAC as a resource in order to avoid displaying his lack of knowledge to the person responsible for deciding whether or not he/she was retained as an employee.

Process Model

Based on the data collected and its subsequent analysis relative to the relevant literature and personal experience, a model is suggested. The model in its various pieces represents the process followed by the studied agents when faced with investigative tasks or work related duties. The model illustrates a primarily informal system of compensation when faced with discrepancies between formal training and practice. When formal training proves inadequate or inaccurate, answers are sought through primarily informal means. It should be noted that informal resources can result in the use of formal sources as well.

Figure 1 depicts the overall process in very basic terms. The "Prompt" is that which starts the process and could be on a very broad sense the tasker to start an investigation. For new agents, this was typically their FTA telling them to research information, interview someone, collect evidence, or whatever. It could be as specific as retrieving a personnel file or as broad as looking into a report or could also happen during conduct of a case with others, i.e. the FTA or veterans in the office.

As depicted in Figure 1, if formal training is sufficient it will serve to aid the agent in task accomplishment. "Task completed" means the assignment is finished, i.e. issue resolved or information obtained successfully. The formal system is illustrated in detail on Figure 2 and will be explained in subsequent sections as will the informal, illustrated on Figure 3.

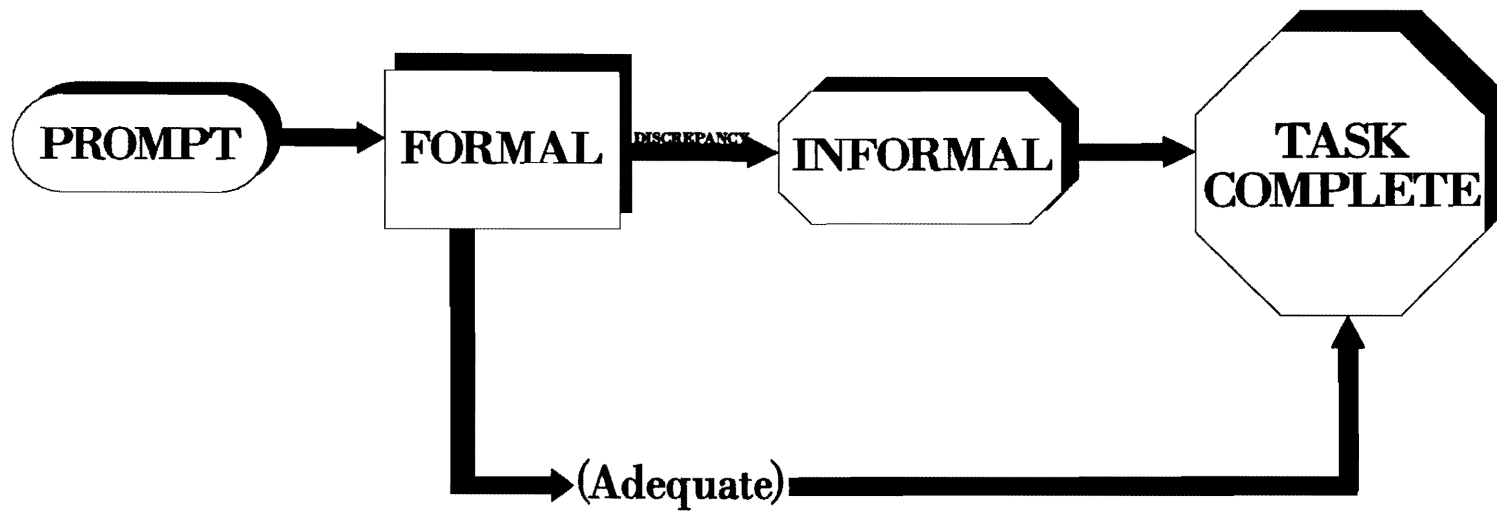


Figure 1
Basic Overall Process

Formal

Formal solutions can be training events, or others, i.e. persons, or official documents. Table 4 provides a list the formal sources identified earlier. These are graphically depicted in Figure 2.

Training Events. Training events include the Basic course at FLETC, in-service training at the local offices or regional levels, and miscellaneous courses conducted by the NIS or other agencies, i.e. a homicide investigations course by the local police department.

Others. Others would include supervisory personnel such as the SAC, ASAC, and the assigned FTA. In those cases, they were performing in their official capacities as a supervisor or FTA. These positions include a responsibility to provide guidance to, and supervision of, new special agents. As a result, they are a formal resource. It should be noted that informal sources, i.e. cases and unofficial guides, were utilized as a result of formal guidance. Case files are not designed for the purpose of educating/training, but are used as such. Both supervisors and FTA's in this formal capacity can direct new SA's to closed or ongoing cases as an example for reports or ideas on techniques for investigating. This is an example of informal use of a formal document as a result of formal guidance.

The formal sources can provide the answers or guidance outright or direct the new agent to other sources to include official manuals or cases. The feedback

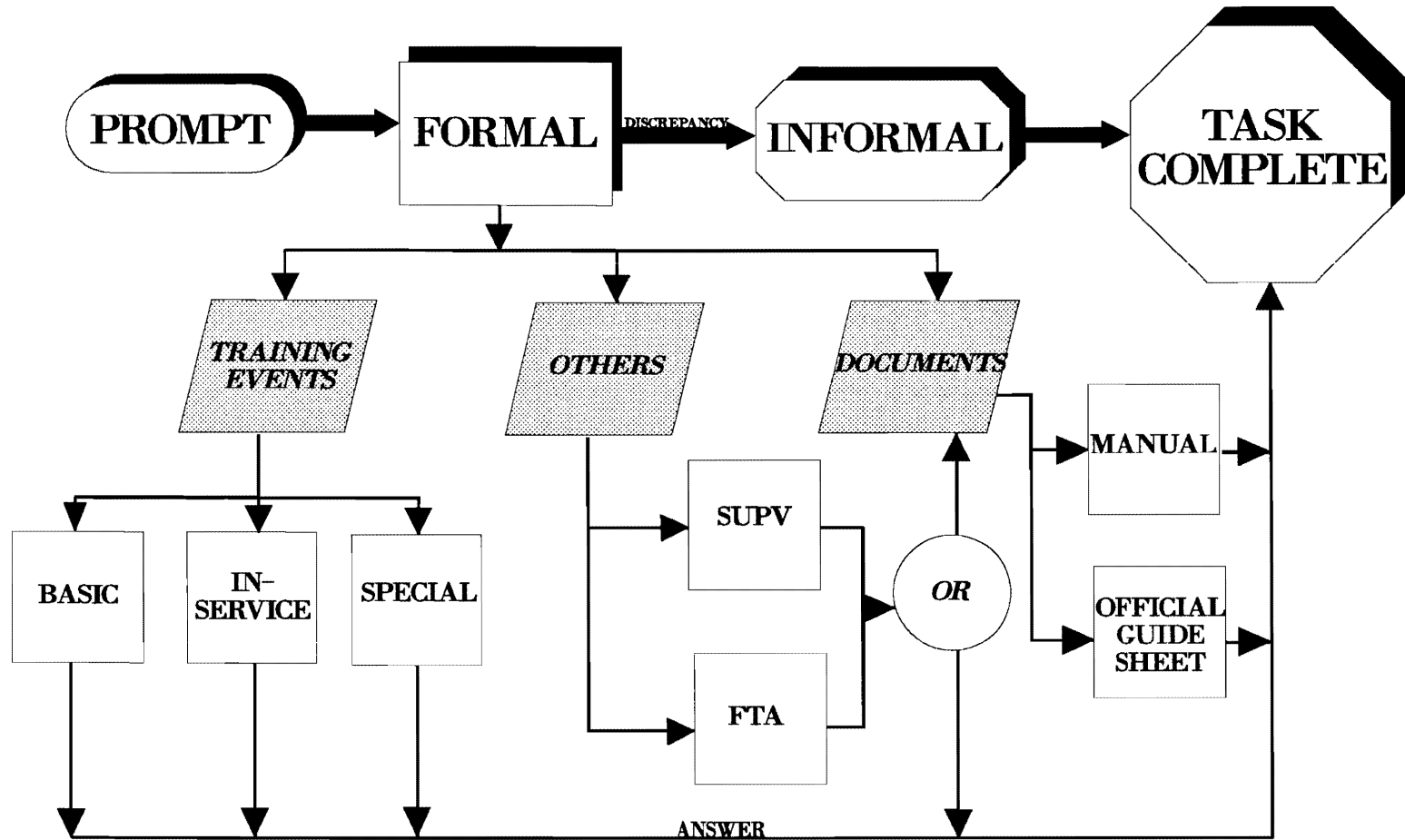


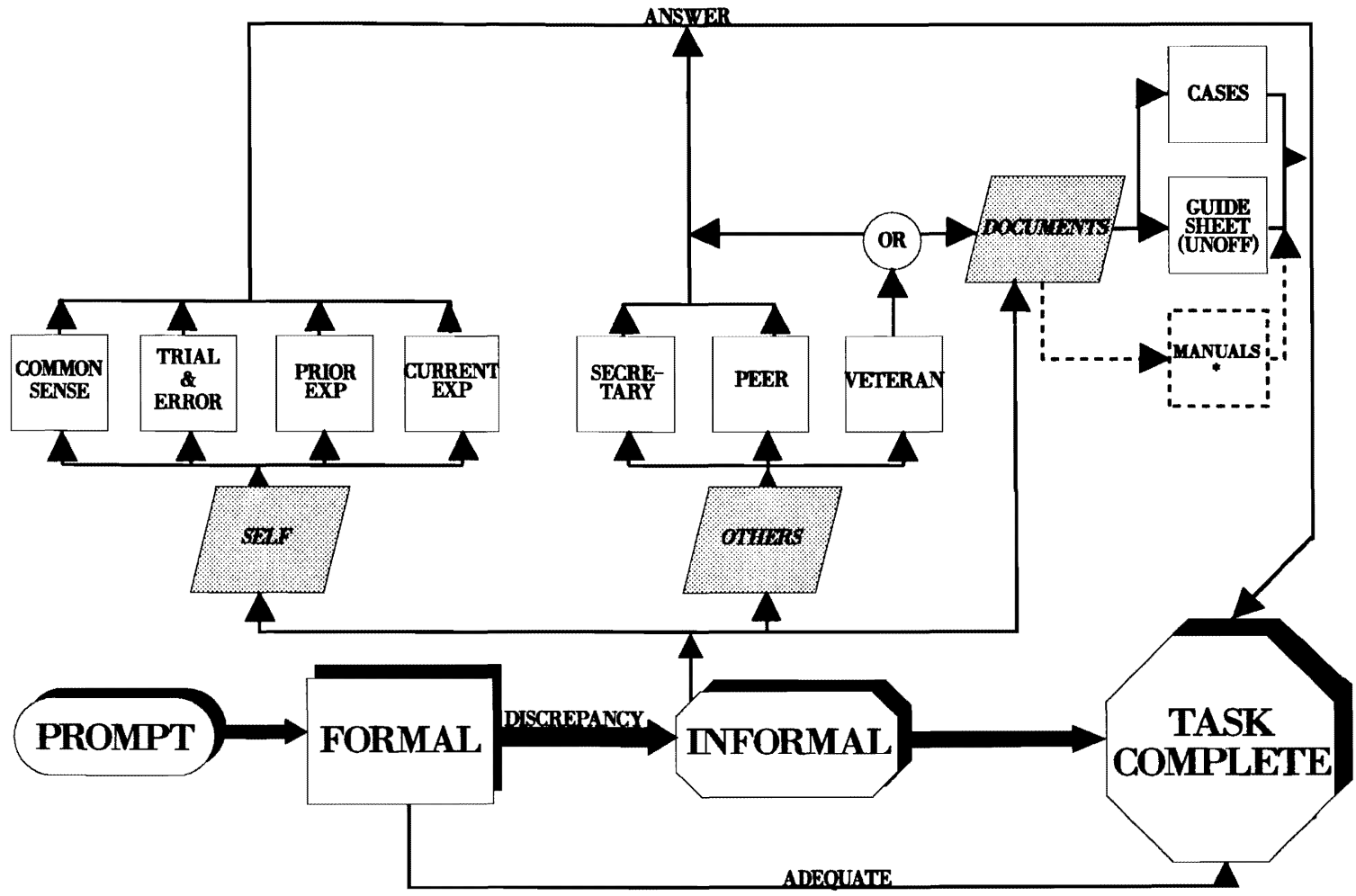
Figure 2
Formal Process

from FTA's indicated directing agents to official manuals first, because this is how the new agent's should operate. This is interesting to note because it illustrates the nature of the organization as one that encourages/requires independent operation. This is historical with the NIS, in that I experienced it and others I consulted concurred.

Official Documents. Manuals and other official guidelines were also selected. It should be noted that they can be a secondary source when directed by veterans or a primary source when accessed through initiative.

Informal

When the formal system failed to meet their needs, the new agents turned to informal means and sources (Table 5), including self, others, and documents as depicted in Figure 3. Initially upon graduation from the academy, when faced with discrepancies with formal training, be it a contradiction, inadequacy, or a complete lack of preparation, the agents made use of other persons to fill the void. The use of others was through primarily informal means. People, including secretaries, peers, veterans, one's FTA, and supervisors, were the first choice to fill the void as resources and models for behavior. This idea of modeling is consistent with the research of Feldman (1976), Pascale (1985), Schein (1968) and Wiswell (1989 & 1990). In addition, veteran officers have been viewed as cultural role models for rookies by Bruderick (1987), Goldsmith (1974), Stoddard (1985),



*Formal Source

Figure 3
Informal Process

and Van Maanen (1985). It follows that such individuals are in an ideal position to impart job knowledge and skills to new employees. As Schein (1968) labeled them, they serve as "big brothers" (also as big sisters).

The role as opposed to the positions these people hold are of importance. For example, it has already been noted that the supervisors and FTA's are not seen as informal sources when performing their respective official capacities. On the other hand, when utilized as veterans, they are a part of the informal network. Both FTA's and supervisors can fill the role of a veteran agent without performing in an official capacity. Consider when they work a case as a case agent or conduct some aspect of a case, i.e. an interrogation. They are acting as street agents and therefore an informal resource.

Cases are considered unofficial documents relative to use as a learning resource and therefore noted under the informal source heading. As already stated, cases are not intended as learning sources, but they can be utilized as such, especially for report writing. Official manuals can be used as a result of either formal direction, informal direction, or one's own initiative.

Internal solutions can present an option to this sequence, but only when prior or current experience is relevant, the task is solvable with common sense deductions, or the agent is willing to risk error without basis.

This sequence changed so that others become a secondary choice. Reasons for this shift have already been presented, but a general conclusion is that the

agents became more independent and reliant on their own devices with greater comfort and understanding of the resources available. The same options continued to exist, but which were sought first changed.

Subject Review

After I developed and refined the process models, I was able to have all but one of the seven PSA's and all but three of the eight FTA's review them. They commented on the accuracy and completeness of the models. They described the models as representative of their experience in the case of the PSA's and of their observations in the case of the FTA's. There were a couple of comments about the level of use of supervisors and FTA's. Supervisors were noted to be infrequent sources and FTA's the most common, when considering others on the model.

Summary

The subjects in this study were interviewed over a period of three months regarding their working of criminal investigations. It was discovered that deficiencies in formal preparation were generally compensated for by primarily informal means and sources. It was learned that new agents typically sought others for help initially and then eventually began researching their own answers. Their shift to more independence appeared to result from gaining experience with

the official manuals, exposure to actual case work, and direction by official sources.

A system of skills and information acquisition developed as an important element of the probationary agent's learning to perform criminal investigations. The system consists of a series of different means and sources and exists primarily outside of formalized methods of training. In addition, a progression of more use of some means and sources and a fading of others appears to exist as experience and understanding develop. In general, it appears to be common across the subject group and even across time, when based on my experiences.

The sources and means reported by the subjects don't differ from those I made use of seven years ago when I was a probationary agent. I was able to relate personally to most of the comments and stories related to me by those I interviewed, having experienced the same sources and means during my probationary years and years to follow. I can recall utilizing some of the same informal means and sources as the subjects reported.

The next chapter provides a summary of the study, suggests implications, and sets forth recommendations relative to the subjects' employer, law enforcement training in general, adult education, and future research.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS,
AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the research, implications based on the findings documented in the previous chapter, and recommendations.

Summary of the Research Effort

The goal of this study was to develop a better understanding of the learning processes occurring within a police organization. The focus was on the period after graduation from a formal basic training course, i.e. the police academy. Based on a review of the relevant literature, it was originally proposed that there would be contradictions between what was formally taught and actually practiced (Harris, 1985, Drummond, 1976, and Webb & Westergren, 1973). Although the presence of such conflict is acknowledged in the literature, means by which it is handled have not been adequately explored. Specifically, this study was conducted to pursue the question: How do new law enforcement professionals manage discrepancies between their formal training and the actual world of practice?

Subjects

To explore this issue, I selected a group of graduates from the 1991 graduating class of the Naval Investigative Service's Agents' Basic course at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, Glynco, Ga, which is the federal version of a police academy. In addition, I included the Field Training Agents (FTA's), who were assigned to the graduates, as subjects to provide a more complete representation of the experience under study. All the subjects were stationed aboard military facilities in the District of Columbia, Maryland, or Virginia.

Methods

I interviewed each subject individually several times over a four month period utilizing open-ended conversations and structured interview schedules. Collected data was analyzed with a constant comparative approach consistent with grounded theory development. New revelations were continuously compared to previous discoveries, the results of previous research as documented in the relevant literature, and my personal experience with the subject setting. The computer program Ethnograph served as a sorting and retrieval database of the transcribed interviews, which I coded and cataloged.

Findings

During the first phase of data collection and analysis, I realized that discrepancies between the formal training program and the field were not limited to contradictions. What materialized were inadequacies in the formal training relative to preparation for the realities of the field, i.e. insufficient, contradictory, and nonexistent training for particular activities or situations. I discovered an assortment of sources and methods, of a primarily informal nature, being employed by the new agents, when faced with the inadequacies or deficiencies. The second and third phases of data collection further revealed how agents drew on formal and informal networks of resources to compensate for discrepancies. Details of this process are provided in Chapter IV. An overview is provided to follow.

Sources and Means. I developed a listing of the sources and means I was told during, or deduced from, conversations with the new agents and their FTA's. I divided the sources into three primary categories: self, others, and documents. These, in turn, were further divided into specific sources.

I defined "self" as the individual agents themselves, i.e. their prior work experience, current work experience, use of trial and error, and common sense.

"Others" included other persons, i.e. supervisors, FTA's, veterans, peers, and secretaries. It should be noted that these sources are listed by their roles. This is because some people could fill more than one role. For example, supervisors and

FTA's could also be viewed as veterans, when not performing in their official capacities. In order to make a clear distinction, I labeled them based on the role they were performing at the time of their interaction with the new agents. Additionally, there were some FTA's who were also supervisors. This was not the ideal arrangement from the perspective of the organization's training department, but could not be avoided in some offices with limited staff, who had the prerequisite experience and competency levels.

"Documents" included all the sources that were documentary in nature, to include official manuals, cases, and guide sheets, both official and informal.

Table 8 provides a listing of the specific sources and means. In addition, Table 8 lists the reasons cited by the subjects for selecting or avoiding particular sources, which will be explained in a subsequent section of this chapter.

Although not depicted on Table 8, formal training was an element of the new agents' learning experience and included, the Basic Course, in-service sessions, and specialty courses.

Distinction Between Types of Sources

Obviously, a distinction can be made between the types of sources as formal and informal. There are some sources that were primarily formal, but accessed or utilized in an informal manner. In addition, certain individuals could perform both formal and informal roles, i.e. the supervisors and FTA's.

Table 8

Sources, Means, and Reasons for Selection/Avoidance of Knowledge and Skill Acquisition

Sources	Means	Selection	Avoidance
Self	- common sense - doing - prior experience	- experience	
Supervisor	- asking - listening	- official source	- authority position - conflict avoidance
FTA	- asking - listening - observing	- official source - frequent contact	- too busy - not available - lack of specific knowledge
Veteran	- asking - listening - observing	- convenience - approachability	- knowledge - low - inaccurate
Peer	- asking		
Secretary	- asking - listening	- knowledge - high	
Manuals	- reading	- official source - by direction - experience	- unfamiliar; not used in training
Cases	- reading	- by direction - initiative	
Guide Sheets	- reading	- official - by direction - initiative	

Formal. Formal sources consisted of individual roles, i.e. supervisors and FTA's, training iterations, to include the Basic Course, in-service training or specialty courses, and documents, i.e. manuals and official guide sheets.

Informal. Informal sources included the agent's themselves, veterans, peers, secretaries, unofficial guide sheets, and the use of cases.

Hierarchy of Use

Why did agents make the choices they did, given several options, i.e. why go to someone as opposed to a documentary source or why go to one person over another? There are several possible reasons for such selections. Table 8 includes a list of the various reasons found during this study for choosing or avoiding a particular source. Obviously, many of the reasons to select could be reversed and become reasons to avoid. Such a transposition would seem logical. I only noted them under the heading which matched the context in which I discovered them during my interviews and data analysis.

As a general observation, people were sought before documents, at least initially. The use of people varied with their accessibility, knowledge level, approachability, accuracy, convenience, and frequency of contact. The greater those factors, the more they would be utilized. Official capacity was noted as a reason to seek assistance in some cases, i.e. FTA, and to avoid in others, i.e. supervisor.

Process Model

I have suggested a model based on the data collected and its subsequent analysis in light of the relevant literature and my personal experience. The model represents the process followed by the studied agents when faced with investigative tasks or work related duties. It depicts a primarily informal system of compensation when faced with discrepancies between formal training and practice. When formal training proves inadequate or inaccurate, answers are sought through primarily informal means. It should be noted that informal resources can also result in the use of formal sources. Figure 4 depicts the overall process in basic terms. More detail of the various components of the model can be found in Chapter IV.

As shown in Figure 4, if formal training is sufficient, it will serve to aid the agent in task accomplishment. The informal system is accessed when questions arise. When the formal system fails, the new agent's turn to informal means and sources. Initially upon graduation from the academy, when faced with discrepancies with formal training, be it a contradiction, inadequacy, or a complete lack of preparation, an agent will make use of other persons to fill the void. People, to include secretaries, peers, veterans, one's FTA, and supervisors, will be the first choice to fill the void as resources and models for behavior.

Manuals and other official guidelines will be a secondary solution. It should be noted that they can be a secondary source when directed by veterans or a

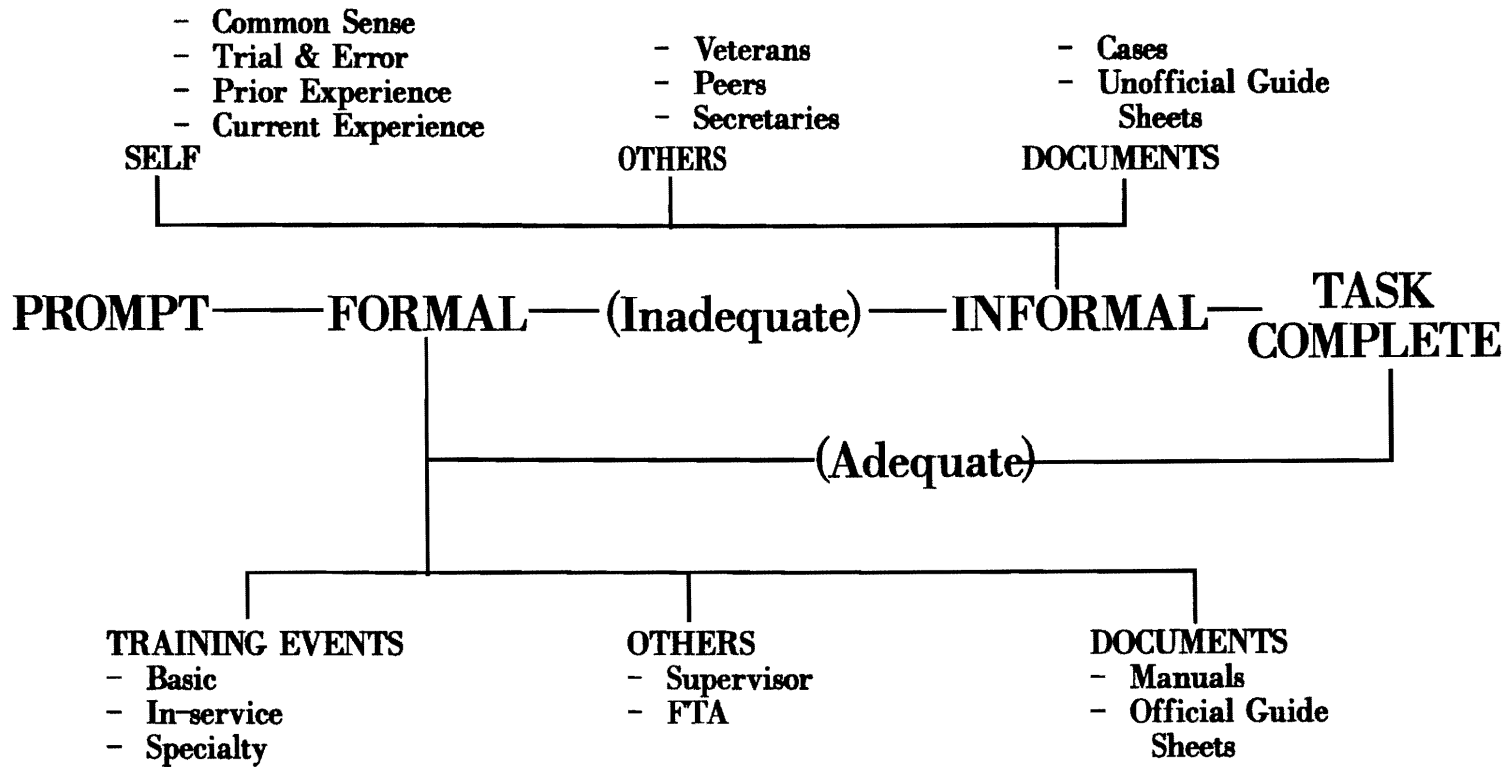


Figure 4
Basic Overall Process (expanded version)

primary source when accessed through initiative. Official manuals can be accessed either through formal direction, informal direction, or on one's own initiative.

Internal solutions can present an option to this sequence, but only when prior experience is relevant, the task is solvable with common sense deductions, or the agent is willing to risk error without basis.

Given the findings and the suggested model, what does it mean? What impact or application does it have relative to the subjects, the subject agency, law enforcement agencies in general, or the field of adult education? The following section of this chapter addresses these questions.

Implications

The findings of this study have implications relative to the learning process of the subjects themselves, the training program of the subject agency, police agencies in general, and elements of the field of adult education. Issues related to these categories will be grouped together for presentation in the sections to follow.

Subjects

Agents of the subject agency are expected to be able to conduct criminal investigations independently. This is consistent with the law enforcement field in

general in which officers at even the front line level of patrol officer are required to act independently and use their own discretion at times. The subject agency maintains a series of manuals for the purpose of ready reference for at least the most common situations encountered on the job.

With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the subjects of this study were not adequately prepared for this arrangement during their basic training. I would speculate that the agents were generally provided with answers as they asked questions during their basic training as opposed to being directed to research answers to their questions first. The manuals were probably not utilized routinely during the course as a resource. As a result of agents spending six weeks without the manuals, it stands to reason that they would not immediately consider them a resource after graduation until they gained some understanding and confidence with them. As the agent becomes familiar and comfortable with various resources, he/she is more likely to utilize them.

This same notion of preparation for working independently probably explains the difference between how official roles and informal ones responded to requests for help from the new agents. Supervisors and FTA's, official roles, tended to direct the agents to official sources for answers, i.e. the manuals. On the other hand, veterans and peers tended to just answer the question or provide the advice, when asked. Were the supervisors and FTA's told or taught to do so? There is no indication of any formal training for such, but their own experiences could

have been the teacher. I was certainly brought along as a new agent with much the same guidance. That is, when I asked a supervisor (we did not have formal FTA's seven years ago) I was generally directed to an official documentary source. On the other hand, as I recall, when I asked other agents in the office, they typically just told me what I needed to know. I now find that I usually strike a compromise between the two by looking the answer up in a manual with the person asking, but occasionally just answer, if I am pressed for time.

I also noted how the new agents initially reported going to others when not prepared to handle a task, but later advised that they researched their own questions first and then went to others as necessary. This shift is in keeping with the idea that the agents become more independent and reliant on their own devices as they become familiar and comfortable with their options and developed experience.

Subject Organization's Training Program

The experiences of the subjects certainly raise some interesting points concerning the training program utilized by the NIS at the time of this study. It appears that the Basic course did not meet all the needs of the new agent in the field. Although one can not expect the Basic course to cover every conceivable situation, a couple of important resources could have been given greater emphasis. On a very simplistic level, two sources the agents were expected to

employ in the field were not presented sufficiently during Basic, i.e. the official manuals and the use of a single role model, i.e. the FTA.

In addition, in concert with the existence of a formal system of training, an almost complete duplicate exists in the informal realm. In order to illustrate this idea, I divided a new agents's education into three major elements as depicted in Table 9: individual, interpersonal, and impersonal.

On an individual level the formal side consists of the Basic Course, in-service training, and specialty courses. On the informal side learning is through trial and error, common sense decisions, and prior experience. These are all relatively independent personal learning activities.

At the interpersonal level there are the formal relationships, as with the supervisor and the FTA. In addition, there are unofficial relationships with veterans, peers, and secretaries.

The impersonal learning sub-elements could be included with the individual ones, but I chose to segregate them because they represent a unique type of learning resource. The formal side includes the official manuals and guide sheets, i.e. those provided during formal training activities. The unofficial side includes the use of actual cases, which you must keep in mind are not intended as training aids, and personal guide sheets, i.e. check lists or sample reports.

This shadow system appears to develop in response to the inadequacies of the formal system. Not all the inadequacies are due to a poor system, i.e. the

Table 9

Elements of a New Agent's Learning ProcessINDIVIDUAL LEARNING

Formal Training

- Basic Course
- In-service
- Specialty courses

Informal Learning

- Trial and error
- Common sense
- Prior experience

INTERPERSONAL LEARNING

Assigned Relationships

- Supervisor
- FTA

Unassigned Relationships

- Veteran
- Peer
- Secretary

IMPERSONAL LEARNING

Official

- Manuals
- Training guide sheets

Unofficial

- Cases
- Personal guide sheets

unavailability of an FTA could lead to the use of a veteran agent in the office. The informal network of sources is certainly not a new institution. It was in existence when I was a probationary agent and appears to have been in place prior to and since. This is consistent with the literature on law enforcement agencies in general as follows, specifically in relation to the existence of subcultures.

Law Enforcement

The focus of this study was the question: How do new law enforcement officials manage discrepancies between their formal training and the actual world of practice? Previous research on training and learning in law enforcement settings indicates that the formal curriculum does not adequately prepare graduates for what lies ahead (Drummond, 1976; Harris, 1985). In addition, it is stated that the education received after graduation from the academy is more consistent with practice than the formal curriculum (Drummond, 1976; Harris, 1985; Webb & Westergren, 1973).

The results of my inquiry certainly support both of these propositions, if the subjects' perceptions are accurate. First, the subjects rarely mentioned the Basic Course as a source of information and skill in working their cases. In fact, there were those who commented that they realized they learned something, but could not readily recall anything in particular. What they did cite as their sources for working cases, were what they were learning since graduation from Basic.

It even supports previous research conclusions about the perpetuation of the police subculture. Informal learning has been identified by previous research as contributing to the socialization of new officers into the police subculture.

Veteran officers have been identified as informally teaching values and attitudes to the recruits (Bruderick, 1987; Goldsmith, 1974; Stoddard, 1985; Stotland & Berberich, 1979; Van Maanen, 1985). If the informal learning occurring relative to job performance is as strong in other organizations as revealed in the subject agency, it would help substantiate this claim.

Past research has reported that the characteristics of the subculture are learned through watching and listening, i.e. the advice and actions of veterans (Bruderick, 1987). These are the same means employed by my subjects to learn how to perform their jobs. In addition, through socializing and discussing work experiences, officers learn how to handle certain common difficult situations (Hurrell & Kroes, 1975). Again, this study supports the effects of such informal encounters and relationships.

It is clear that a portion of a law enforcement officer's education relative to his/her job occurs after graduation from a formal program and at the hands of veteran officers. This phase of their education has an impact not only on their performance, but based on previous research, their attitudes and values. It stands to reason that if new agents are being taught how to conduct investigations by veterans, then they will probably be assimilating the characteristics of those

veterans relative to the job of investigating and potentially also the organizational culture or subculture. This would help explain how the elements of the police subculture are perpetuated across generations of officers. Today's new agents become tomorrow's veterans and the cycle continues.

Although developed to illustrate the relationship of the formal and informal learning systems, the same division parallels the notion of a police subculture in general. Consider that many of the negative and generally informal aspects of the subculture have an official and positive purpose or value as well. The general concepts of secrecy and solidarity are certainly good examples. From a formal perspective, secrecy is necessary to protect the methods employed by the police against the criminal element. Informally, secrecy results in a segregation of the police from the rest of society. Additionally, it can result in the protection of wrong-doing from discovery and investigation (Murphy & Moran, 1981).

Solidarity has a similar relationship in that it serves an official function when it ensures support in times of danger and emergency (Harris, 1986) and the bonding helps to reduce stress (Hurrell & Kroes, 1975). Conversely, the informal side results in bonding only with other law enforcement persons to the exclusion of the general public. It can result in a feeling of mistrust towards non-police (Albert & Dunham, 1988; Conser, 1980). Officers have even been known to protect others who were engaged in inappropriate behavior (Albert & Dunham,

1988; Chevigny, 1985; Cohen, 1977; Conser, 1980; Murphy & Moran, 1981; Skolnick, 1985; Stoddard, 1985; Stotland & Berberich, 1979).

In Table 10, I included these two commonly accepted characteristics of the police organization for the ease of seeing this relationship. When viewed in this manner, it appears that there are shadow functions for these official elements of the organization. Just as the shadow system of learning develops in response to deficiencies in the formal training system, might these informal elements be in response to some stimulus, or lack thereof, within the organization? Further research into this notion seems appropriate given the supporting framework of this study.

Adult Education

Previous research into informal learning in the workplace revealed how it serves an important role in the success of task accomplishment. Schein (1968) identified informal sources as being among the ways new employees learn. He mentioned many of the same sources I identified as active in this study to include, official documentation, role models, direction of trainers (FTA's in my study) and supervisors, peers, and trial and error (p. 6, Schein, 1968). Feldman (1975) also cited peers and supervisors as sources of learning for the new employee.

Wiswell (1987) documented the occurrence of learning as a by-product of work, to include "learning from mistakes, learning through doing, learning through

Table 10

Formal and Informal Aspects of Police Organizational Characteristics

	FORMAL	INFORMAL
Secrecy	- protection from criminal scrutiny	- protection from public scrutiny
Solidarity	- support in danger situations - stress reduction	- social segregation - mistrust of public - protection of wrong-doers

networking, learning from a series of interpersonal experiments" (p. 263).

Wiswell's (1989) definition included "reading, writing, observing, modeling, making a mistake, reflecting on experience, and questioning" (p. 264). My findings are consistent with his notion of learning through doing and through one's mistakes. In addition, my identification of means of learning includes many of the same elements Wiswell notes in his definition.

It would seem that significant learning occurs as a result of informal means and through informal sources, which is crucial to the successful fulfillment of organizational goals. It is evident that informal learning is a significant educational process for those in the workplace.

Recommendations

The findings of this study have implications for the subject agency, law enforcement training in general, and finally, the field of adult education. In addition, recommendations for future research on this topic are included.

Subject Agency

Given the goal of the Basic Course, i.e. preparation for independent investigation of criminal matters, modification to the methods utilized and topics included should be considered. The practical exercise method, with hands-on experience, albeit artificial, elicited the most favorable response from students. In

addition, this type of training appeared to be the most referenced part of the formal training relative to usefulness in practice. This is consistent with the methods and sources of compensation employed to rectify discrepancies between the formal training and the real world. The use of techniques and resources found in the real world should be introduced in the training setting, i.e. the manuals, report writing system, and the FTA program. A more detailed report writing class tied to practical exercises - hands on exposure - is suggested. If the goal is an agent who knows what to do or where to look when in doubt, then why not start this process in the training setting by requiring the same responses.

Based on this study, veteran agents are already serving as models to the new agents. The FTA program itself should be more formalized to capitalize on the official relationship between the FTA and new agent. The role of the FTA's might be expanded to include mandatory exposure to settings conducive to modeling. In this case, a strict recruitment of FTA's would be warranted to insure the appropriate example would be available. In addition, it is recommended that the FTA's receive formal training in their role. This training should include an overview of what training the new agents's have had, what training the FTA's are expected to provide, methods of evaluation, and resources to utilize in furtherance of these goals.

Law Enforcement

Given that most law enforcement training consists of a formal basic training course followed by an OJT period, the aforementioned comments are applicable to other agencies. Training should simulate the real world as closely as possible to prepare the recruits and make the transition more efficient. Utilization of realistic practical exercises seems appropriate. By creating realism in the training setting, voids in preparation should be identified and eliminated. Obviously, there will be effects resulting from the interactions in individual offices and departments. These can not all be accounted for, but a deeper understanding of the processes occurring should help in understanding the uniqueness of some settings.

If an informal system of learning exists parallel to the formal one as suggested by this study, then maybe it can be tapped into and formalized, i.e. through formalizing informal relationships. Such a formalization would help to insure that the proper policies and procedures are being taught. Ideally, if the formal system in turn meets the needs of the officer/agent in the field, there would be no need for an informal compensating system.

Adult Education

Use of realistic scenarios for training certainly applies outside of the field of law enforcement. Utilization of the actual manuals, tools, and resources to be

employed upon graduation to the real world should enhance performance and speed of transition. One principle of adult learning theory suggests that adult learners prefer to understand a direct use of the knowledge or skill they are being taught (Knowles, 1990). Simulating the workplace in the training setting should help to convey this perception.

The findings also serve as additional data toward understanding how and why informal learning occurs in work environments. A different setting has now been explored, thus adding another perspective. It appears that the informal system is born to fill the void left by inadequacies or errors of the formal system. The notion of a shadow system of learning that matches the formal training provided suggests that the same general types of sources and means are employed regardless of the sponsorship of the system. This idea is certainly worthy of further inquiry.

Future Research

In pursuing the same topic, more in-depth analysis of means and sources through intense case studies of fewer subjects would be useful. In order to reach a broader sample, a survey might be created based on information developed in this study for dissemination to other graduates to ascertain generalizability across geography, classes, and agencies. This suggests the possibility of applying the

ideas raised to other levels of law enforcement and other fields and professions as well.

Summary

The topic has obviously not been exhausted. Quite the contrary, this effort served as a beginning to exploration into a fruitful area of study. Additional research is definitely in order. This study sought to begin exploring the idea of informal learning as a process for coping with workplace discrepancies. This was accomplished by exploring a small collection of people in a single setting within one agency of the law enforcement community during one time frame. The potential for additional study and testing of the findings of this report are numerous.

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Appendix A

Consent Form (blank)

CONSENT FORM

1. You are hereby requested to participate in a study of NIS probationary agents' first year on the job. The information obtained will be for use in describing this first year in terms of preparation for and experiences on the job. Your participation in this research would consist of a series of interviews focusing on your work and training experiences and interaction with coworkers and supervisors. In addition, you might be requested to review the transcripts of your interviews in order to clarify and/or expand on points you initially made.

2. If you decide to participate in this research, you will be asked to be available for several interviews of approximately two hours each over a three to four month period. Times and dates for the interviews will be scheduled around your employment and personal obligations.

3. Anything you say during interviews will remain confidential. Only the interviewer will have access to data containing information that could be utilized to identify individuals and such information will be destroyed after completion of the final report. No NIS employees, supervisors or coworkers will be allowed access to identifying data in any form. In any articles or reports based on the data, results will not be reported relative to individual persons or offices and identifying information will be disguised to prevent such connections from being made. You will have a chance to review all transcripts to make sure they both accurately reflect your views and do not threaten your position.

4. Your decision regarding participation in this research will not affect your status with NIS in any way and you can discontinue participation at any time. If you have questions regarding any aspect of this study, please contact:

Gregg Dwyer, Special Agent Training Division, Training Dept,
NISCOMHQ (202) 433-9029

or

Ray Carman, Special Agent Training Division, Training Dept,
NISCOMHQ (202) 433-9033

6. Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the information above and have decided to participate. You will be offered a copy of this form to retain, if you so desire.

Signature

Date

Interviewer's Signature

Date

Appendix B

Interview Schedule (Series 1)

I. PROFESSIONAL AND EDUCATION BACKGROUND

- A. Why have you chosen this career field?**
- B. What kind of work have you done previously?**
- C. What kind of education have you received to date, i.e.:**
 - major in college
 - other professional training
 - related OJT

II. PRECONCEPTIONS OF BASIC

- A. What expectations did you have about basic training before you began?**
 - 1. Why?**
 - 2. Based on what?**
- B. How did your expectations measure to the actual experience?**

III. RECOLLECTION OF BASIC COURSE

- A. Describe your basic training.**
- B. Looking back, what stands out in your mind most?**
- C. What did you find most important?**

- D. What did you find least important?
- E. Was there anything during basic which you feel was not given enough attention? Why?
- F. Was there anything during basic which you feel was given too much attention? Why?
- G. What else can you recall?

IV. BASIC COURSE COMPARED TO PRACTICE

- A. What have you been able to apply that you learned during basic training?
 - 1. Were you adequately prepared to apply it?
 - 2. If not, in what ways was basic training deficient?
- B. Have you been faced with any situations not covered during basic training?
If yes, explain & :
 - 1. How have you coped?
 - 2. Could it have been covered during basic?
 - a. If yes, how?
 - b. If no, why?
- C. Has anything taught during basic training been contradicted since you have begun working in the field? If yes, explain:
 - 1. How has it been contradicted?
 - 2. By what or whom?

D. In what areas do you consider yourself ill prepared to face on the job?

1. Why?
2. How might these be remedied?

V. PROFESSIONAL CONTACTS

A. Who do you know that works for NIS?

1. How did you meet?
2. When?
3. How often do you interact?
4. In what ways, for what purposes, i.e. social; professional?

B. Has anyone helped you since entering the field?

1. Who?
2. In what way?
3. Why? (i.e. did you request it)

C. Has anyone hindered your work?

1. Who?
2. In what way?
3. Why?

D. Who do you go to when you have a work related question?

1. Why?
2. How does he/she respond?

E. Who do you avoid when you have a work related question?

1. Why?

2. How does he/she respond?

F. Have you heard any organizational stories? If yes, what were they about?

VI. WORK ENVIRONMENT

A. What can you tell me about your office spaces?

B. Do you share an office?

C. Do you share common areas?

D. Do you compare cases with other agents?

Appendix C

Interview Schedule (Series 3)

NEW AGENTS

(Prepared 22 March 1992)

- 1. What cases are you working; have you worked since we last spoke?**
 - a. How are they progressing?**
 - b. What resources have you utilized to work them?**
 - (1) How do you approach the cases? Talk me through them from start to present.**
 - (2) Any problem areas in working them?**
 - (3) Why those resources?**
 - c. Was Basic of any value in working them?**
 - d. Have you been to any formal training on the type of investigation?**
 - e. Any in-service training related to the cases?**
- 2. Any inconsistencies between training and practice?**
- 3. Any inconsistencies between individuals?**
- 4. Anything else?**

(Prepared 22 March 1992)

1. What cases is the new agent working; has he/she worked since we last spoke?
 - a. How are they progressing?
 - b. What resources has he/she utilized to work them?
 - (1) How does he/she approach the cases? Talk me through them from start to present.
 - (2) Any problem areas in working them?
 - (3) Why those resources?
 - c. Was Basic of any value in working them?
 - d. Has he/she been to any formal training on the type of investigation?
 - e. Any in-service training related to the cases?
2. Any inconsistencies noted between formal training and practice?
3. Any problems, i.e. improper methods, that you have had to correct?
4. What role have and/or are you taking with him/her?
5. Anything else?

Appendix D

Coding Category Labels and Descriptions

To follow is a listing of the coding categories and their descriptions, which I developed as I reviewed the interview transcripts. I continually updated and revised the list throughout data collection and analysis. This listing is the final one, derived during the last week of coding.

It should be noted that I developed additional categories of data after final coding of the transcripts. These categories were typically additional types of sources, i.e. supervisors, secretaries, and guide sheets. I did not add these to my list of codes, because I did not re-code the transcripts, but rather reviewed them individually as I was analyzing and documenting the findings.

1. AQ: Abbreviation for "acquisition" utilized as a prefix to all the codes for the means and sources of acquiring knowledge and skill employed by the new agents.
 - a. AQ-ASK: New agent asking someone for information or assistance.
 - b. AQ-DOING: The act of learning through actually performing a task.
 - c. AQ-EXP: Relevant experience from employment prior to the NIS.
 - d. AQ-EXAMPLE: The use of some sort of example to follow, i.e. of a report.

- e. **AQ-FORMAL:** Learning from formal training events, i.e. Basic course, in-service sessions, and specialty courses.
 - f. **AQ-FTA:** The FTA as a source of learning or direction.
 - g. **AQ-MANUAL:** Use of official manuals. Includes their actual use, direction to use them, and any other mention of them.
 - h. **AQ-PEER:** Peers as a source.
 - i. **AQ-OBSERVE:** Learning through observation of someone else.
 - j. **AQ-OTHER:** This was a miscellaneous heading for anything that I deemed related to knowledge or skills acquisition, but that did not fit into any of the other categories. This was utilized more often during the first few reviews of transcripts before I developed a more extensive listing of categories.
 - k. **AQ-READCAS:** Reading of cases by new agent as a resource for learning to work cases or write reports.
 - l. **AQ-SELF:** The agent as a resource, i.e. common sense, trial and error, and experience.
2. **AVOID:** Comments regarding people the new agent avoided, primarily as a source of assistance or information.
3. **CONTACTS:** Who the new agent knew in the NIS.

4. **CJ ED:** The new agent's criminal justice education, i.e. a college degree in a criminal justice field.
5. **CJ EXP:** New agents' criminal justice experience, i.e. previous law enforcement occupations.
6. **FIREARMS:** Firearms related issues, primarily training.
7. **FLETC:** Use by new agents of what was taught at FLETC and related issues.
8. **INCONSIST:** Inconsistencies between training and actual practice or examples of practice.
9. **KINGS BAY:** The practical exercises conducted during the Basic Course add-on (NIS portion) in Kings Bay, Georgia.
10. **MIL EXP:** New agents' military experience.
11. **OTHER:** A miscellaneous category for issues that didn't fit into any other category, but that I thought might be relevant at some point.

12. **REPORTS:** Report writing issues, i.e. training.

13. **STAFF:** The training staff at the Basic course.

APPENDIX E

Extract from a Coded Interview Transcript

On the pages to follow is a coded transcript from an interview with one of the new agents. It is provided to illustrate the use of coding. This extract was taken from the second interview with the particular agent. Various sections have been deleted primarily to protect the identity of the source and specific details regarding cases and training classes.

In the text, the agent is identified by "PSA" for Probationary Special Agent and I am identified by "GD" for my initials. Editorial notes and indicators of deleted text are enclosed in brackets. Where the usual substitution of "SPECIAL AGENT" for proper names or the word "Delete" for other words would have distorted the line numbering and coding indicators, I merely inserted a single "D" in the brackets. Refer to Appendix D for explanations of the coding abbreviations.

[INTRODUCTORY MATTER DELETED]

GD: So, let's start with. Take a look	1949	
at what cases you're working and how	1950	
you've approached those. What's	1951	
been helpful.	1952	
#-AQ-SELF		
PSA: OK. I think logic has been	1954	-#
\$-AQ-MANUAL		
helpful. To be honest with you the	1955	-#-\$
sources that are available to me,	1956	
the [manual] and the [D], I don't use	1957	
them all that much. I. And that's	1958	
probably bad because of, there's	1959	
probably a lot of good gouge in	1960	
there. I don't find them all that	1961	
easy to read to be honest with you.	1962	
They're not, they're not tailored.	1963	
They're not user friendly. Let's	1964	
put it that way.	1965	-\$
#-AQ-EXP #-AQ-OTHER		
As far as what steps to take in an	1967	-#
investigation, I don't even	1968	
remember. I'm basically workin'	1969	
without a net. [Deleted].....	1970	
.....	1971	-#
GD: Hmhhh.	1973	
PSA: You know. Just try an take good	1975	
notes. Do good statements. And	1976	
spend my time when I do an interview	1977	
or interrogation.	1978	
#-AQ-READCAS		
And the best resources, believe it	1980	-#
or not, are copies of other people's	1981	

\$-AQ-EXAMPLE

reports. I find that once I've done	1982	-#-\$
one or two [Deleted] or do an [D].	1983	
Once I've done these things a couple	1984	
of times, I'll try and, I'll take a	1985	
copy of one that I think is pretty	1986	
good and sanitize it, take out the	1987	
identifying information and use it	1988	

#-AQ-SELF

more or less as an example. The	1989	-#-\$
first time you do an [Deleted] or	1990	
at least the first time I did on a	1991	
fairly, not that simple but an	1992	
average investigation, on a larceny,	1993	
you know, just to sit down and try	1994	

\$-AQ-MANUAL

and think what goes in to them. You	1995	-#-\$
can look at the examples that are in	1996	
the manuals and they're pretty poor.	1997	-\$

#-AQ-EXAMPLE #-AQ-ASK

You ask around who 's a copy of one	1998	-#
that they wouldn't mind sharing with	1999	
ya. Its kinda a self-spaced text.	2000	
You know, you look at one and you	2001	
see mistakes they're made or what	2002	
you think is a good example. One	2003	
that might not have to many mistakes	2004	
and you try and plug in the	2005	
information basically.	2006	-#

#-AQ-SELF #-AQ-EXP

I know what the articles of the UCMJ	2008	-#
are [.....Deleted.....] so I	2009	
don't have much, you know, I haven't	2010	
had to deal with anything out of the	2011	
ordinary. Fairly familiar with	2012	
Title 18 and those statutes	2013	
that are relevant, you know,	2014	
relevant federal statutes.	2015	-#

#-AQ-MANUAL

But as far as a resource, Manual for
Courts Martial, I think we have one
in the whole building. There should
be more of those (laugh). In fact,
every agent should have one. Its
time consuming when you need one.

2017 -#
2018 |
2019 |
2020 |
2021 |
2022 -#

GD: Try and track [PSA started
talking].

2024
2025

PSA: Try and track it down if you can
find it.

2027
2028

#-AQ-MANUAL

You know, the [D] and the [manual] are
there and again the examples that
are in 'em are pretty, pretty lame.

2030 -#
2031 |
2032 -#

#-AQ-READCAS #-AQ-EXAMPLE \$-REPORTS

I guess the most utilized source is
somebody's old investigations that
I've used for an example. Try and
get somebody who's. And everybody
keeps 'em. Everybody, although
you're not suppose to, everybody's
got a little three ring binder that
they keep examples of everything
they've ever done.

2034 -#-\$
2035 |
2036 |
2037 |
2038 |
2039 |
2040 |
2041 |
2042 -#

GD: Hmhmm.

2044

PSA: And I've got no problem with
that. I'm starting to compile my

2046
2047

#-AQ-FTA #-AQ-ASK #-AQ-OTHER

own. And then I guess the best
resource is the guy who reviews your
paperwork. If you have a question
or an issue that's in doubt,
ultimately he's the one who's
gonna make the decision whether its
done this way or that way. So
there's nothing better than going to
that source who happens to my field

2048 -#
2049 |
2050 |
2051 |
2052 |
2053 |
2054 |
2055 |
2056 |

training agent too.	2057	-#-\$
GD: In your case. So you go to him in advance and ask him about things.	2059 2060	
#-AQ-FTA		
PSA: I try to use him as a last resort 'cause he 's very busy. I don't want to pester him with things that I can find on my own.	2062 2063 2064 2065	-# -#
GD: Do you go to anyone else? Is there anyone here that you would?	2067 2068	
#-AQ-ASK #-REPORTS		
PSA: Yea, I went to [SA]. [SA]. Go to SPECIAL AGENT. SPECIAL AGENT's been around awhile, he's got some fairly good report writing skills. And again it all centers around report writing for the most	2070 2071 2072 2073 2074 2075	-#
\$-AQ-EXP		
part. Because I know how to do an interrogation or interview and I know what, how to process a crime scene fairly well.	2076 2077 2078 2079	-#-\$ -#
GD: Now is that based on your prior experience [PSA started answering].	2081 2082	
PSA: Previous experience.	2084	
GD: Or what you got at FLETC?	2086	
PSA: Prior experience.	2088	
GD: OK.	2090	
PSA: Yea, and most of this is prior	2092	
#-AQ-FORMAL		
experience. Learned some things and I think I mentioned this before,	2093 2094	-#-\$

some new twists to the interviewing	2095	
and interrogation at FLETC and some	2096	
things I learned on my own from	2097	
people who have been to [D]. I've	2098	-#
got a copy of all the [Deleted] and	2099	
the [D] texts. And unfortunately	2100	
we don't send people to [Deleted]	2101	
anymore. Which is, I think, a	2102	
mistake. A pretty good process.	2103	
So these are sources that would not	2105	
be readily available to everybody.	2106	
GD: Right. Well obviously, your prior	2108	
experience is not gonna be, is gonna	2109	
#-REPORTS		
vary with each person. So I	2110	-#
understand you correctly, the areas	2111	
that you've found to be problem	2112	
areas have been administrative. Have	2113	
been report writing.	2114	
PSA: Yea.	2116	
GD: How to write up what you did. It	2118	
wasn't the doing?	2119	
PSA: Right.	2121	-#
GD: Doing it that was a problem. It's	2123	
how do I tell people now that I	2124	
did that.	2125	
PSA: Yea and again if you take good	2127	
notes. Good notes are good notes.	2128	
It doesn't matter if its on a NIS	2129	
investigative note form or its on	2130	
#-REPORTS		
the back of a brown paper bag. If	2131	-#
you know how to take good notes,	2132	
think logically, you can turn any of	2133	
that into a good report, of you have	2134	

an example. 2135 -#

GD: Hmmmm. Examples you've built up 2137
 from other people and then your own 2138
 that have gotten through. 2139

PSA: Right. 2141

GD: Or approved. 2143

[LINES 2144-2168 DELETED.]

#-REPORTS

PSA: I've been told I have fairly good 2169 -#
 report writing skills. I think 2170 |
 that's my weakest area because it 2171 |
 takes the most time and it prevents 2172 |
 me from being more productive. 2173 -#

GD: OK. Do you all formally or 2175
 informally share cases in here? 2176
 Discuss what each other are doing? 2177
 either in a BS [PSA started 2178
 answering]. 2179

PSA: Yea. 2181

GD: Type atmosphere or? 2183

PSA: Yea, yea, if you've got the time. 2185
 A lot of people will come in here. 2186
 They'll grab whatever cases they're 2187
 gonna work on during the course of 2188
 the day and try and get out of here 2189
 to get the leads done or whatever. 2190
 Because. I try and sit here and 2191
 concentrate and if you're the only 2192
 one sitting around and the phone 2193
 rings, you're stuck answering it. 2194
 And even though you might not be the 2195
 duty, you might get stuck with a 2196

call so I can see why a lot of people disappear.	2197 2198	
#-AQ-OTHER		
I try and share, try and glean what I can from other people.	2200 2201	-#
GD: Is that. Have you made. [unintelligible] Has any of that given you anything beneficial?	2203 2204 2205	
\$\$-INCONSIST		
PSA: Yea, I think I've gotten just as many good answers that way as I have bad. So again there's a decision that has to be made. Somebody 'll, suggest might suggest doing it one way and again if. Its just based on gut. I ask myself is that something I would have done in the past. Would I approach a problem that way. It may have worked for them but if it is something I don't think is gonna work for me or I don't think it 's a good idea, I. So again, there's a decision that's gotta be made. I think just as many good suggestions come from, out of asking those questions as bad suggestions. So there's a decision in there.	2207 2208 2209 2210 2211 2212 2213 2214 2215 2216 2217 2218 2219 2220 2221 2222 2223 2224	-\$ -#
GD: And you make that decision based on your past experience?	2226 2227	
PSA: Hmhhh.	2229	
GD: How has that worked out?	2231	
PSA: Real good so far (laugh).	2233	-\$
GD: OK. Speaking of that, things being inconsistent. Have there been any major ones or any for that matter that you can think of? Any examples?	2235 2236 2237 2238 2239	

PSA: No. None that come to mind. And	2241	
again a lot of it is just simple	2242	
things. None that come to mind	2243	
right now. I should probably	2244	
thought about it.	2245	
GD: No, that's OK. OK. Has there	2247	
been anything that's been	2248	
inconsistent with what you were	2249	
taught, at FLETC for example?	2250	
PSA: You know, I can't even think	2252	
about things that were taught down	2253	
there anymore. That's sad. I had a	2254	
conversation with SPECIAL AGENT the	2255	
other day and. [Deleted.....	2256	
.....	2257	
.....] He said well you	2258	
know I told him about this that and	2259	
the other thing and I know that's	2260	
not suppose to take place.	2261	
GD: No. I don't mind if talk. I did	2263	
that because I was wondering what	2264	
you'd you say about me (laugh).	2265	
#-FLETC \$-OTHER		
PSA: Oh, no. And it was basically,	2267	-#-\$
well SPECIAL AGENT remembered a lot	2268	
of things that were taught in school	2269	
that might, might have been bum	2270	
scoop. I however have probably	2271	-#
forgotten or slept through most of	2272	
those classes. I didn't pay much	2273	
attention. And that because I think I	2274	
was forewarned and that's.	2275	
GD: By?	2277	
PSA: By people who had been there	2279	
before.	2280	
GD: Oh.	2282	

#-FLETC

PSA: That whatever you received down	2284	-#	
there is, if its gonna help you at	2285		
all they'd be very surprised.	2286	-#	
GD: [unintelligible]	2288		
PSA: From other people.	2290		
GD: Other agents?	2292		
PSA: Other agents.	2294		
GD: People you'd meet before you went	2296		
down?	2297		
PSA: Right. Right and.	2299		
GD: Did you find that to be true?	2301		

#-FLETC

PSA: For the most part. I came back	2303	-#	
here not knowing how to do a data	2304		
sheet and not knowing how to do a	2305		
disposition. Not even realizing	2306		
those were elements that needed to	2307		

[LINES 2308-2314 DELETED.]

#-REPORTS %-FLETC

PSA: Not because they spent the time	2316	-#	-%
to tell people the difference	2317		
between how you open an	2318		
investigation, how you, what's the	2319		
appropriate form to close an	2320		
investigation and what reports are	2321		
utilized for outside NIS	2322		
distribution and. Some of those	2323		
areas in all fairness to them	2324		
probably were addressed very briefly	2325		
but I don't think the class was	2326		
prepared for what they had to walk	2327		
into. Folks who could barely spell	2328		
[Delete] rather when they left down	2329		
there. And just not enough time	2330		
spent addressing those important	2331		

\$-KINGS BAY

issues in the add-on. And again	2332	-\$
mentioned it before that the three	2333	
week evolution that, right before	2334	
graduation, and the folks, the	2335	
various trainers from the region	2336	
came down most beneficial. Really.	2337	
It was the only thing that saved	2338	
people.	2339	-#

GD: Kings Bay?	2341	
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[LINES 2342-2384 DELETED.]

GD: At that time it wasn't that many	2386	
weeks. It was eight plus. I guess	2387	
it was ten weeks. Two week add-on.	2388	
there wasn't much to it at all.	2389	

#-FLETC

PSA: Well I think we had a two week add-	2391	-#
on crammed into six weeks to be honest	2392	!
with you.	2393	-#

GD: (laugh) OK.	2395	
-----------------	------	--

PSA: Pretty sad but that 's.	2397	
------------------------------	------	--

GD: A lot there that you didn't think	2399	
was necessary?	2400	

#-FLETC

PSA: If they had stuck to the schedule	2402	-#
and taught the things that were	2403	!
suppose to be taught, and if it was	2404	!
done properly, they could have	2405	!
filled sixteen weeks in add-on. A	2406	!
lot of the things scheduled never	2407	!
got covered. A lot of.	2408	!

GD: Can you think of any.	2410	
---------------------------	------	--

[LINES 2412 - 2444 DELETED]

PSA: It was quite obvious he knew what 2446
 he was talking about but for 2447
 whatever reason it was, it never 2448
 came to fruition. We didn't get a 2449
 real block of instruction. It was 2450
 embarrassing. 2451

[LINES 2452-2524 DELETED.]

GD: So since you've got back here 2525
 you've. 2526

PSA: Well I've pretty much purged my 2528
 memory at that point when I knew I 2529
 was gettin' smoke blown up my pant 2530
 leg, it went in one ear and out the 2531
 other. I did the practical. I do 2532
 the report writing drills to satisfy 2533
 him, knowing that that's, I would 2534
 never write an [D] that way, I would 2535
 never do an [D] that way. [Delete.. 2536
 2537
 2538
] Yea, I took it with a 2539
 grain of salt. But there were a lot 2540
 of people there who hadn't, had 2541
 nothing else to base it on 2542

GD: Right. 2544

PSA: And took it as gospel. 2546

GD: Sure. 2548

PSA: I wonder how they're doin'. 2550
 Well hopefully I'm sure they've 2551
 realized by now. If that's all they 2552 -#
 were goin' on, they were in trouble. 2553

GD: OK. Have you been to any formal 2555
 training since FLETC? Did you go to 2556
 that the [Deleted] course? 2557

[LINES 2558-2697 DELETED.]

GD: OK. I think we've covered	2698	
everything I wanted to. Is there	2699	
any particular problem areas that	2700	
you noted? Or any other comments	2701	
that you can think of that. After	2702	
having talked to me a couple times	2703	
get a feel a little feel for where	2704	
I'm comin' from with this.	2705	
#-OTHER		
PSA: Just workin' a lot harder than I	2707	-#
thought I would here, you know. And	2708	
I think probably because I'm, FTA	2709	
and SPECIAL AGENT want to keep me	2710	
busy but.	2711	
GD: Did you think you would have less	2713	
cases or that the cases wouldn't	2714	
take much work?	2715	
PSA: Both.	2717	
GD: OK.	2719	
PSA: No, no. I take that back. I	2721	
knew that I probably. That the	2722	
cases would require that kinda	2723	
attention. I just didn't realize	2724	
I'd be getting that many of them,	2725	
that quickly. But its been both	2726	
good and bad. I just don't have the	2727	
chance to. A lot of things out	2728	
there that I'd really like to	2729	
concentrate on. [Loud sound of jack	2730	
hammer in next room] I told you the	2731	
jack hammer. Some things that	2732	
require that are intensive, really	2733	
labor intensive that. (laugh)	2734	
Where's my concentrate. If I had	2735	
the time, I'd spend it on them	2736	
rather. I've got a lot of leads	2737	
that keep you busy, take away from	2738	
the more, what I would consider	2739	
more, substantive type	2740	
investigations.	2741	-#

GD: OK. Anything else that? It 2743
 doesn't [unintelligible-maybe 2744
 "necessary"] have to be a problem, it 2745
 can be something positive 2746
 [unintelligible]. 2747

PSA: Oh. No. I mean, from a 2749
 positive. Yea. I think a lot of 2750
 the things I said can be taken 2751
 positively, I don't [GD started 2752
 speaking]. 2753

GD: No, I [PSA continued speaking]. 2755

PSA: Mean to sound negative. 2757

GD: And no, I don't mean that either. 2760
 I meant as kinda wrapping it up, I 2761
 said can you think of any problems 2762
 and I wanted to leave it can you 2763
 think of anything good that you want 2764
 to say that we haven't brought up 2765
 either. No, no. I certainly 2766
 wouldn't say these are negative. 2767
 I'm not trying to put a value on it 2768
 but because I had said problems, 2769

PSA: Oh. 2771

GD: I wanted to come back and say on 2773
 the flip side of that too. Other 2774
 than what we talked about. 2775

PSA: I think that pretty much. 2777

GD: Sums it up? 2779

PSA: Everything that's on my mind 2781
 right now. 2782

GD: (laugh) OK. Let me turn this 2784
 off. 2785

[Recording ends.] 2787

Appendix F

Comments Regarding the Basic Course

Introduction

During the first round of interviews, the new agents were questioned about their experiences at the Basic Course, both the FLETC and the NIS portions. (See Appendix B for a list of the questions, which related to the course.) The original intent of these questions was to develop rapport, refresh the memories of the agents when thinking about applications in the field, and provide some background data relative to how and/or why the new agents might respond to situations on the job in a particular manner. In addition, throughout the interviews, new agents and field training agents (FTA's) made unsolicited comments relevant to the Basic Course.

The major contribution of this data was to reveal what was perceived by the new agents and FTA's as valuable and as inadequate relative to use in the field. In addition, it provided a limited insight into the content of the course itself. As I reviewed comments relative to the Basic Course, I discovered several major categories, to include firearms, field practical exercises, and reports. I have compiled several comments under each major category and a few general ones as well. Both quotes from interview transcripts and paraphrased comments are provided. As with all quotes found in this document, proper names and other

information that might identify speakers have been deleted or replaced with generic terms, i.e. "Special Agent" for an agent's actual name.

These quotes and summaries are provided as background for use when reviewing the findings in Chapter IV and references to the Basic Course. They are not intended as an assessment or review of the curriculum. They serve only to help set the context of other comments and statements made within this document.

Comments

Field Practical Exercise - Kings Bay

Comments relative to the week of practical exercises at a field office in Kings Bay, Georgia, often referred to as simply "Kings Bay", were not originally a targeted question area. They generally were made when new agents were asked about positive and useful experiences. Data was primarily positive and included comments by all the new agents, to include: "most important was the week at Kings Bay doing the hand on"; "Thought that was very valuable"; "It was great"; "...that was excellent"; could have extended it; "... was very good for us". I have subdivided the comments into a few key areas for ease of review, to include instructors, reports, and miscellaneous.

Instructors. The instructors were universally applauded when mentioned. Several were noted by name and or office. A few quotes illustrate this feeling:

- Instructors did outstanding job. Special Agent, Special Agent, Special Agent from [Delete], Special Agent
- people made the Kings Bay week good - Special Agent, Special Agent...

Report Writing. Report writing was viewed as a problem area during the training as is illustrated in a subsequent section of this appendix. The practical exercises at Kings Bay were considered a savior to learning report writing. Where the actual class on report writing fell short, the practicals helped compensate.

Consider the following comments:

- "Written an [deleted]. Only way knew how to do it was from Kings Bay".
- "What report writing lacked, it [Kings Bay exercises] sorta meshed together".

Negative. There were a couple of negative comments made relative to the Kings Bay exercises. These are worth noting, but certainly do not detract from the positive remarks. The first is more of a constructive criticism, in that it pointed out a way to improve the exercise. One new agent stated "At Kings Bay, they told you - should let you pick first". The agent was referring to the steps in working a case. He was recommending that the students be required to develop their own plan of action first and then be told to do otherwise by the instructor, if their ideas were inappropriate. The second comment dealt with instructions for

the exercise. The agent advised that the rules and guidelines should be made explicit in advance to avoid difficulty during an exercise. I have excised the specifics of this comment to protect the source's identity.

Firearms

Three of the new agent's had comments about firearms training during the first round of interviews. This was not an area for which I had developed direct questioning. All the comments were negative and appeared to be directed at the FLETC portion of the Basic Course. It was mentioned that there was not enough time spent on firearms training; help was unavailable for those unfamiliar with firearms; the "training was poor"; and "unsafe at times".

Report Writing

Comments about the Basic Course typically referred to the report writing class taught during the NIS add-on portion. There were numerous comments about report writing in general throughout all of the interviews and by both new agents and their FTA's. Only comments with a direct connection to the Basic Course have been included in this appendix. It should be noted that this has been a historically difficult area and generally described in negative terms. I subdivided the comments into a few more specific areas as follows.

Time Issues. Agents commented that there was not enough time for the material and that the time allotted was not efficiently utilized. However, one agent thought the time sufficient and wasn't sure how it could have been improved.

Improvement Ideas. Others provided suggestions on how to improve it, to include providing more explanation, incorporating it into the practical exercises, and teaching it like the real world.

Miscellaneous. There were also a few general comments that could be viewed as negative or as simply constructive criticism. They primarily indicated a lack of preparation for the actual requirements of the field to one comment that information provided was inaccurate.

Scheduling

There were several comments relative to the scheduling of the course. It was noted that some classes seemed to contain filler to occupy time slots. Another complaint was that scheduled events were never conducted.

Miscellaneous

There were also clusters of comments relative to particular classes. I have divided several of them by class title and grouped the remainder under a miscellaneous heading.

Crime Scene/Evidence. The comments about these blocks came from few sources and centered on preparation for particular tasks. Fingerprinting was noted as an inadequately covered task. The retrieval of latent prints was similarly noted. A couple of FTA's described their new agents as ill prepared relative to certain aspects of crime scene processing, i.e. when to seize evidence, drawing sketches, and handling of evidence.

Legal. The legal presentations were mentioned as needing more on military laws relative to cases. Another commented that legal classes given during the NIS portion were a rehash of FLETC legal classes.

Radio. The comment was made that they were not taught how to use the radio equipment utilized by the NIS.

Miscellaneous

Several classes were mentioned as well received and or presented. These included, child abuse - "good, excellent" training, and fingerprint analysis. In addition, several classes were listed as being useful in the field, to include: interrogation; photography - "came in handy"; surveillance; searches; and the FLETC interviewing classes.

A few negative comments about specific classes or areas of instruction included: narcotics class - didn't get much out of it; tours of Marine base - useless - rather have a tour of the base I will work on; need to use the manuals in

FLETC, i.e. read elements of crime; more on Navy etiquette - i.e. traditions, importance of positions; and no apprehension training.

Summary

As with most courses of instruction, there were both positive and negative comments by those impacted. Some issues were only addressed by lone individuals, whereas others had multiple contributors. In any case, I provided them only as additional background to those reading the results and implications of the study.

Appendix G

Agents' Basic Training: Course and Hours Breakdown

To follow is a breakdown of hours and how they were spent during the 1991 iteration of the NIS Agents' Basic Training at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC). This training included the FLETC Criminal Investigator (CI) Program and the NIS Agents' Basic Course.

The FLETC CI Program is presented first. The major categories, course titles, and hours are based on data presented in the Criminal Investigator Training Program Syllabus, dated July 1991 (Federal Law Enforcement Training Center Department of the Treasury, 1991). The hours are divided into lecture, lab, and practical exercises. These divisions are also based on the FLETC reference.

The NIS preamble and add-on Course, which preceded and followed the FLETC CI program respectively, are presented in a similar format. The course titles and hours are derived from a class schedule for the time frame covered. Further breakdown into lecture, lab, and practical exercise hours was not possible in all cases. As a result, this distinction was only made in those situations where it was so noted on the class schedule. The major category headings were created for this document and are based on my experience with the topics rather than a standard format.

It should be noted that, although major discrepancies are unlikely, the information provided is based on the documented content of the course and may not correspond perfectly with what actually took place.

1991 NIS Agents' Basic Training
 FLETC Criminal Investigator Training Program
 12 August - 08 October 1991

<u>Course</u>	<u>Lecture</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Practical Exercise</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE</u>				
1. Ethics and Conduct	2:00			2:00
2. Interviewing	6:00	4:00	8:00	18:00
3. Victim/Witness Awareness	2:00			2:00
SUBTOTAL	10:00	4:00	8:00	22:00
<u>ENFORCEMENT OPERATIONS</u>				
1. Continuous Case Investigation	1:00			1:00
2. Criminal Investigations and Case Management	2:00			2:00
3. Execution of a Search Warrant	4:00	4:00	6:00	14:00
4. Federal Firearms Violations	2:00			2:00
5. Firearms Policy	2:00			2:00
6. Informants	2:00			2:00
7. Investigative Report Writing	3:00	1:00		4:00
8. Investigative Skills Laboratory		4:00		4:00
9. Organized Crime	4:00			4:00
10. Orient. to Federal Law Enforcement Agencies	1:00			1:00
11. Sources of Information	2:00			2:00
12. Surveillance	4:00	2:00	4:00	10:00
13. Undercover Operations	2:00			2:00
SUBTOTAL	29:00	11:00	10:00	50:00

<u>Course</u>	<u>Lecture</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Practical Exercise</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>ENFORCEMENT TECHNIQUES</u>				
1. Crime Scene Investigation	4:00	2:00		6:00
2. Description and Identification	2:00			2:00
3. Fingerprinting	2:00		2:00	4:00
4. Narcotics	4:00	4:00		8:00
5. Photography	4:00		2:00	6:00
6. Questioned Documents	2:00			2:00
7. Undercover Operations Technical Equipment	2:00			2:00
SUBTOTAL	20:00	6:00	4:00	30:00
<u>LEGAL</u>				
1. Conspiracy	4:00			4:00
2. Constitutional Law	2:00			2:00
3. Court Testimony - Mock Trial	4:00		4:00	8:00
4. Criminal Law	2:00			2:00
5. Detention and Arrest	10:00			10:00
6. Evidence	10:00			10:00
7. Federal Ct Procedures	8:00			8:00
8. Parties to Criminal Offenses	2:00			2:00
9. Relevant Federal Statutes	12:00			12:00
a. Assault	:30			
b. Bribery	:30			
c. Civil Rights	2:00			
d. Electronic Surveillance	2:00			
e. Entrapment	1:30			
f. False Identification	:30			
g. False Statements, 18 USC 1001	:30			
h. Freedom of Info. Act/Privacy Act	1:00			
i. Mail Fraud, 18 USC 1341	1:00			

<u>Course</u>	<u>Lecture</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Practical Exercise</u>	<u>Total</u>
j. Obstruction of Justice	1:30			
k. RICO	:30			
l. Theft & Embezzlement	:30			
10. Search & Search and Affidavit Return P.E.	20:00		1:00	21:00
11. Self-Incrimination	6:00			6:00
SUBTOTAL	80:00		5:00	85:00

SECURITY SPECIALTIES

1. Bombs and Explosives	2:00			2:00
2. Bldg & Room Searches		2:00		2:00
3. Contemporary Terrorism	2:00			2:00
4. Introduction to Officer Safety and Survival	2:00			2:00
5. Intro. to Tactics		2:00		2:00
6. OPSEC	1:00			1:00
7. Personal Protection	1:00			1:00
8. Rapid Building Entry & Search Techniques		2:00		2:00
SUBTOTAL	8:00	6:00		14:00

OFFICE OF GENERAL TRAINING

<u>DIVISION TOTALS</u>	147:00	27:00	27:00	201:00
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DRIVER AND MARINE

1. Felony Vehicle Stops	1:00	2:00		3:00
2. Non Emergency Vehicle Operation	1:30	3:30	:30	5:30
3. Orientation	:30			:30
SUBTOTAL	3:00	5:30	:30	9:00

<u>Course</u>	<u>Lecture</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Practical Exercise</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>FINANCIAL FRAUD INSTITUTE</u>				
1. Computer Training for Investigators	3:00	3:00		6:00
SUBTOTAL	3:00	3:00		6:00
<u>FIREARMS</u>				
1. Basic Marksmanship	1:00	6:00		7:00
2. Firearms Safety Rules	:45			:45
3. Instinctive Reaction		1:00		1:00
4. Judgmt. Pistol Shoot.		2:00	1:00	3:00
5. Practical Pistol Crse	1:00	9:00	2:00	12:00
6. Reduced Light Course of Fire	:30	1:30		2:00
7. Semiautomatic Pistol Familiarization	2:00	4:00		6:00
8. Shotgun Course	2:00	4:00		6:00
9. Situational Response	1:00	1:00		2:00
10. Weapons Maintenance and Cleaning	:05	:10		:15
SUBTOTAL	8:20	28:40	3:00	40:00
<u>PHYSICAL TECHNIQUES</u>				
1. Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation	2:00	3:30	2:30	8:00
2. Intro. to Physical Techniques	1:30	:30		2:00
3. Lifestyle Management	2:00			2:00
4. Mandatory Physical Fitness		28:00		28:00
5. Non Lethal Control Techniques	7:00	19:00	4:00	30:00
6. Physical Efficiency Battery		4:00		4:00
7. Removal & Transport of Reluctant Suspects	1:00	2:00		3:00
SUBTOTAL	13:30	57:00	6:30	77:00

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OFFICE OF SPECIAL TRAINING

<u>DIVISION TOTAL</u>	26:50	95:10 (94:10)	10:00	132:00
<u>ALL DIVISIONS TOTAL</u>	174:50 (173:50)	121:10	37:00	333:00

<u>Course</u>	<u>Lecture</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Practical Exercise</u>	<u>Total</u>
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ADMINISTRATIVE HOURS

1. Examinations & Review				12:30
2. Graduation				1:00
3. Health Screening & Uniform Measure				1:00
4. Student Feedback System				4:30
5. Uniform Issue & Return				2:00
6. Registration and Orientation				3:00
TOTAL				24:00

TOTAL PROGRAM HOURS

1. Lecture				174:50
2. Lab				121:10
3. Practical Exercises				37:00
4. Administrative				24:00
TOTAL				357:00 (356:00)

1991 NIS Agents' Basic Training
NIS Preamble and Add-on Course

Preamble: 07 August - 09 August 1992 (Denoted with "+")
Follow-on: 08 October - 15 November 1991

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

1. DON Family Advocacy Program	2:00
2. Special Agent Image & Integrity & Professionalism	2:00 +
3. Interview-Interrogation	16:00
4. Victimization Sensitivity Studies	4:00
SUBTOTAL	24:00

CRIME SCENE AND EVIDENCE

1. Crime Scene Practical Exercises	32:00
2. NIS Evidence Custody System	2:00
3. NIS Regional Laboratories	2:00
SUBTOTAL	38:00

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS

1. Arson Investigations	2:00
2. Burglary/Larceny Investigations	2:00
3. Child Abuse/Molestation	4:00
4. Death Investigations	6:00
5. Narcotics Investigations	2:00
6. Rape/Sexual Assault	2:00
7. Robbery/Assault	2:00
8. Wrongful Destruction	2:00
SUBTOTAL	22:00

FCI AND INFORMATION SECURITY

1. [FCI] Investigations	2:00
2. FCI Overview	2:00
3. Protective Services Operations	8:00
3. Security Manual Overview	2:00
SUBTOTAL	14:00

FIREARMS AND PHYSICAL TECHNIQUES

1. NIS Firearms & Apprehension Policy/Qual. and UZI Lecture and Familiarization	8:00
2. Weapons Issue	2:00 *
SUBTOTAL	10:00

FRAUD INVESTIGATIONS

1. Fraud Investigations (Non-Procurement)	2:00
2. Procurement Fraud Investigations	2:00
SUBTOTAL	4:00

LEGAL

1. Military Law/UCMJ/Navy Legal	24:00
SUBTOTAL	24:00

MILITARY ORIENTATION

1. History & Traditions USN/USMC	6:00 +
2. Navy Orientation Program [field]	16:00
3. Tour - Jacksonville, FL	4:00 +
4. Tour - Mayport, FL	4:00 +
5. USMC Orientation Program [field]	8:00
SUBTOTAL	38:00

OPERATIONS AND SOURCES

1. Special Operations	2:00
2. Counternarcotics	1:00
3. CW Handling	2:00
SUBTOTAL	5:00

REPORT WRITING

1. Report Writing	8:00
2. Report Writing Practical Exercise	4:00
3. Statements	2:00
SUBTOTAL	14:00

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Computer	16:00
2. Mock Trial	8:00
3. Technical Services	2:00
SUBTOTAL	26:00

ADMINISTRATIVE

1. Career Services/SA Afloat	2:00
2. Course Critique	2:00
3. Departure	2:00 *
4. DOD Language Aptitude Battery	6:00
5. Graduation	2:00
6. Test	1:00
7. Test Review	1:00
8. Welcome/Administrative	1:00
SUBTOTAL	17:00

TOTAL 228:00

* These two blocks were combined for a total of 4:00 hours with no further breakdown. I split them for this chart.

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