The Relationship between Warrior and Guardian Mindsets and Support for Police Reform

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Abstract

This study investigates how distinct cultural orientations among police officers are associated with their support for contemporary reform efforts. Although prior research has established that police culture shapes officer attitudes toward reform, the specific impact of differing cultural perspectives remains underexplored. Drawing on survey data collected from three U.S. police agencies including a sample of 217 officers, this study examines the effects of two prominent cultural orientations—*warrior* (emphasizing crime-fighting) and *guardian* (emphasizing public service)—on support for a range of reform policies and training programs. Results suggest widespread support among officers for training programs. Perceptions of reform initiatives are more divided, with support levels ranging considerably across different proposals. Guardian orientations are significantly and positively associated with support for both trainings and reforms. Our findings suggest that many officers are open to a range of reforms and training programs. Promoting a guardian mindset in officers may improve receptivity to both training and reform. Agencies should emphasise this orientation in both training and supervision practices. Additionally, officers' support for co-responder models—an approach also widely endorsed by the public—suggests that there is potential for policy expansion in this area. Taken together, our findings suggest that policymakers should consider the risks of abandoning reforms that receive widespread internal and external (i.e., community) support.

Policing continues to be a highly polarizing topic, with two prominent themes often dominating the discussion: the need for increased training for officers and the need for sweeping police reforms (Date 2023, Sprunt 2023, Ashton 2024, Home Office and Cooper 2024, Van Sant 2024). Both "training" and "reform" encompass a wide range of approaches, initiatives, and policies. For instance, popular police training initiatives include programs that address de-escalation techniques, implicit bias, and procedural justice (e.g., Engel *et al*. 2020, Weisburd *et al*. 2022, Worden *et al*. 2024). Similarly, reform efforts involve a variety of strategies. Some of these include co-responder programs, diverting or eliminating funding to agencies, eliminating or restricting stops and uses of force, and the expansion of accountability measures through internal and external oversight (Puntis *et al*. 2018, Walker and Archbold 2018, White and Weisburd 2018, Woods 2021, McLean *et al*. 2022).

In the wake of this continued debate, police agencies across the United States have implemented various types of trainings and reform measures. As these initiatives are applied, empirical evidence is gradually accumulating, providing insight into which strategies work and under what conditions they are effective (e.g., Nagin and Telep 2017, Nagin and Telep 2020, Bennell *et al*. 2021). Yet, despite the potential of these initiatives, many evaluation studies have shown that these trainings and reforms have failed to produce the desired effects. For example, evaluations of police implicit bias training (Lai and Lisnek 2023, Worden *et al*. 2024), de-escalation and social interaction training (McLean *et al*. 2020b, White *et al*. 2023), and procedural justice training (Skogan *et al*. 2015, Weisburd *et al*. 2022) have all produced mixed evidence. While these trainings seem to improve officer attitudes and knowledge, there is less consensus concerning whether these trainings produce meaningful improvements in officer

behaviour and whether behavioural improvements are sustained long-term (McLean *et al*. 2020b, Lai and Lisnek 2023).

A variety of factors can impact whether police reforms or training initiatives are successful. Reforms may fail because of insufficient attention to both implementation and sustainability, overreliance on leadership, poor officer buy-in, resistance from agencies and unions, or simply because of inadequate initiatives (Walker 2012, Skogan 2014, del Pozo *et al*. 2025). However, a growing body of evidence suggests that the success of policing initiatives can hinge on whether officers are receptive and motivated to participate in the process (Lum and Koper 2013, Wolfe *et al*. 2022).

This raises an important question: what do we know about officers' attitudes toward these reforms and training programs? While this topic is largely understudied in contemporary policing, police culture might help explain officer support of changes to policing. Prior studies have found that the occupational and organisational culture of policing can dictate whether policing strategies are successfully implemented (Chan 1996, Skogan 2008, Schafer and Varano 2017). Yet, less is known about how individual cultural orientations vary across officers, and whether this explains variation in officer support for specific trainings and reforms (McLean *et al*. 2020a). Thus, the current study focuses on culture at the individual officer level (conceptualised as officers' cultural orientations toward their role in policing) while recognising that these orientations are shaped, at least in part, by the broader organisation.

To address this gap, we surveyed 263 officers across three U.S. police departments and asked officers about their perceptions of key police trainings, reform options, and cultural orientations. The training items included topics that focus on police-citizen interactions (e.g., de-escalation, crisis intervention, implicit bias) and routine or tactical training (e.g., defensive

tactics, investigations, active shooter response). Reform items similarly covered a variety of popular policy proposals, including limits on use of force, changes to traffic enforcement, expanded civilian oversight, the elimination of qualified immunity, and co-responder models.

The findings reveal that most officers support various types of training. Support for different reform options were less consistent. This difference was stark, with some reforms receiving broad support from respondents, while others received almost no support. Notably, officers' cultural orientations (i.e., their crime-fighting [warrior] and public service [guardian] mindsets) were significantly associated with officer support for both training and reform initiatives. Guardian beliefs are positively associated with support for both, while warrior beliefs are negatively associated with support for reforms. We explore the implications of these findings in the context of police reform and training in contemporary policing.

The Challenge of Sustaining Police Reform

Calls for police reform, such as initiatives that increase accountability and oversight or restrict and guide officer behaviours and decision-making, often originate from external sources. This is a particularly salient topic in recent history, as instances of police brutality, corruption, and violence have resulted in widespread calls for changes to policing. While these external pressures can result in legislative or policy changes, ensuring long-term improvements to police policy and practice remains a significant challenge (Walker 2012). Policing is widely characterised as resistant to change, making it difficult to implement and institutionalise new strategies and policies in a police setting (Sherman 1998, del Pozo *et al*. 2025). Reforms proposed by non-police sources, such as academics, activists, or politicians, tend to be unpopular among officers (Skogan 2008). However, reforms from external sources are more likely to lead

to dramatic changes, particularly when backed by funding or federal mandates (Schafer and Varano 2017).

Even initiatives that aim to support police face resistance from officers (Kuen *et al*. 2023). Evidence-based policing strategies, for instance, face significant challenges in both implementation and long-term adoption (Lum and Koper 2013, Piza and Welsh 2022). While reforms that increase accountability or limit officer discretion are unpopular, initiatives that merely require new tasks or disrupt the status quo face widespread resistance among officers (Thacher 2001, Skogan 2008). Beyond implementation challenges, many reforms to policing have failed to become institutionalised because they lacked organisational mechanisms that ensure continuity (Walker 2018). Many reforms are popular at their onset, but once initial interest wanes or funding expires, reforms often fail to produce long-term change (Walker 2012).

There are many theoretical explanations regarding why policing is resistant to change (Guyot 1979, Chan 1996, Sklansky 2007). Notably, the gendered nature of police work presents a significant barrier to reform. From this perspective, reform is often viewed by officers as the feminization of policing. As Martin (1980) explains in her seminal work, policing has historically been constructed as masculine work, and reform efforts that centre on alternative goals and practices challenge this male occupational identity. Notably, community-oriented policing emerged and popularized in the late twentieth century, aiming to redefine policing as more service, communication, and community oriented (Greene and Mastrofski 1988). Despite its proliferation, community policing faced significant resistance. This is largely because it was viewed by officers as contrary to the traditional crime fighter ethos and is therefore degraded as “soft” or feminine (Herbert 2001).

While many issues can derail a reform initiative, this misalignment between reform goals and the masculinism of policing likely helps explain why many community-oriented reforms have produced limited or inconsistent effects (Herbert 2001, Gill *et al*. 2014). Importantly, even when reform initiatives are formally adopted, police organisations may use them in ways that reinforce gender norms (Simon 2025). Taken together, gendered understandings of police work shape how organisations implement reforms, and how officers respond to change. However, gendered resistance represents only one dimension of a broader set of factors influencing whether officers embrace reform initiatives. In fact, officer receptivity to change is considered one of the most significant barriers to successful trainings and reforms (Skogan 2008, Lum and Koper 2013).

Officer Receptivity to Training

There are a variety of ways to measure the success of police training programs. Training evaluations often assess both attitudinal and behavioural changes in officers. In terms of officer satisfaction and perceptions of training, evaluations typically measure officers' attitudes before and after they participate in a training program. For example, multiple evaluations of de-escalation training have found that officers who participated in the training were satisfied and had positive perceptions of the training (e.g., McLean *et al*. 2020b, Wolfe *et al*. 2020, White *et al*. 2021, Isaza *et al*. 2025). Studies have also evaluated officer attitudes of other types of police training. For example, implicit bias training has been shown in multiple studies to positively impact officers' perceptions and knowledge about implicit biases (Lai and Lisnek 2023, Kochel and Nouri 2024). Other studies have found that officers reported positive perceptions of training after participating in procedural justice training (Skogan *et al*. 2015, Dai 2021, Weisburd *et al*. 2022), and crisis intervention training (Ellis 2014, Rogers *et al*. 2019). In short, officers who

participate in trainings seem to broadly report positive perceptions of those specific training programs.

Beyond attitudes toward various types of trainings, prior work has identified certain officer characteristics and attitudes that impact receptivity to training. For example, Wolfe *et al*. (2022) surveyed 113 officers across two departments and asked officers to report their motivation and receptivity after participating in a social interaction training. They found that officers with strong beliefs that training can improve interaction with citizens and those with high confidence in their ability to influence outcomes were more motivated to train. Training motivation, in turn, heavily impacted both their satisfaction with the training and their self-reported skill acquisition. They also found that organisational justice (i.e., fair treatment from supervisors) was a significant predictor of perceived skill acquisition. In practice, this means that officers' perceptions of their own abilities and their leadership can determine whether they are motivated to train and subsequently retain the information and skills presented in the training.

While officers often report positive perceptions of a training after completing it—and officer attitudes can influence how receptive they are—relatively little research has explored how officers view police trainings in general. That is, most existing studies assess officer perceptions of a specific training program after participation, rather than examining broader attitudes toward different types of training (e.g., instruction on Fourth Amendment rights, investigative procedures, or active shooter response). Even surveys of officers that include questions about training programs have often overlooked their attitudes toward those trainings. For example, the Pew Research Center conducted a survey of 8,000 law enforcement officers across the United States and asked about their participation in trainings related to firearms, nonlethal force, mental health crises, and de-escalation (Morin *et al*. 2017). However, their survey questions focused on

the number of hours officers spent in each type of training, not their perceptions of or support for the programs. This is a noteworthy omission, particularly since the same survey did capture officers' level of support for other topics such as disciplinary procedures, body-worn camera adoption, and aggressive policing strategies (Morin *et al*. 2017). Although there are well-documented challenges to surveying law enforcement, and survey-based research involving police officers remains relatively uncommon (see Nix *et al*. 2017), this represents a significant gap in the evidence base.

Officer Receptivity to Reform

Related to receptivity to training initiatives, studies have also examined factors that explain receptivity to reforms in policing. For example, there is evidence that leadership plays a critical role in shaping officers' attitudes toward reform. Positive perceptions of leadership and organisational justice can foster support for new policies (Myhill and Bradford 2013), whereas poor leadership can hinder reform efforts (Schafer 2013). When officers perceive their leaders as disconnected from routine police work or view them as inexperienced, they are less likely to embrace change (Rowe 2006). Inadequate communication and accountability from leadership can also weaken the reform process, leading to a disconnect between the intended reforms and those responsible for implementing them (Walker 2012, Lum and Koper 2013).

The authority structure of policing can also lead to differences in officer receptivity across rank. For example, Snyder *et al*. (2019) surveyed line-level officers and supervisors before and after two police agencies implemented body-worn cameras (BWCs). They found that differences in levels of support emerge depending on the rank of the officer, with line-level officers expressing more concern and less support for the new technology. Similarly, a survey of 8,000 police officers across the United States by the Pew Research Center found that about 66

percent of officers supported BWCs (Morin *et al*. 2017). However, they found that police executives reported more support for the technology compared to supervisors and line-level officers. Beyond specific initiatives, patrol officers are generally less likely to support new policing strategies and are less receptive to engaging in research compared to supervisors and command staff (Telep 2017). This is a particularly important finding because line-level officers are responsible for implementing reforms in their daily policing practices (Schafer and Varano 2017).

A variety of other issues can derail successful reform within an organisation. While pushback is often associated with line-level officers, resistance to reform is not confined to lower ranks. Police leadership and specialised units often push back against reform efforts, particularly when reforms challenge traditional authority structures or change job responsibilities (Skogan 2008). While largely understudied, some research indicates that police executives are more supportive and responsive to accountability measures, such as civilian oversight, when their peers support adoption (Adams *et al*. 2025). In other words, when other organisations implement reforms, top-level police executives are more willing to participate or implement a given reform. However, the study by Adams *et al*. (2025) found that police executives are not responsive to public opinion, despite broad support from the public for civilian oversight and other types of policing reforms. Given that public opinion is a major driver of changes to criminal justice policy (Enns 2014, 2016), this is a notable disconnect.

Prior work has found that a variety of officer attitudes and characteristics explain varying levels of support for reforms. Specifically, differences in officer demographics, such as educational attainment, can impact buy-in for policing strategies and technologies (Telep 2017). For example, Huff *et al*. (2018) evaluated BWC implementation for a group of officers who

volunteered to implement BWCs and a group of officers who resisted the new technology. They found that officers who resisted the new technology were less educated and had less prior experience with the technology. Beyond education, other officer demographic characteristics have been shown to impact support for various strategies and reforms. For example, Cordner (2017) surveyed 89 law enforcement agencies in 2014 and 2015, finding that nonwhite officers and female officers are significantly more likely to support community policing initiatives.

Beyond differences across rank and other officer characteristics, research indicates that reforms are more likely to succeed when officers are involved in the process, which enhances credibility and buy-in (Toch 2008). There is a growing body of evidence that evidence-based policing efforts that engage practitioner input throughout the process are more likely to foster long-term change (del Pozo *et al*. 2025). Moreover, reforms that improve police-community relations or aim to reduce crime can lead to higher officer satisfaction and motivation. This can not only lead to more sustainable long-term change but can also improve both organisational and cultural norms that are common barriers to successful police reform (Lum and Koper 2013).

Police Culture and Officer Mindsets

Traditional Police Culture

As previously discussed, officer receptivity is critical to the successful implementation of new trainings and reforms in a police setting. However, the process of improving policing goes beyond isolated policies or training programs (Walker 2012). Walker (2012) notes that administrative rulemaking has historically been the common approach to reform. The issue with this approach is that changes in policy are meaningless if officers are not receptive or the changes are not measured and reinforced. Chan (1996) argues that changing broader police culture is essential to reshaping the norms and behaviours traditionally associated with police

work. According to Chan (1996), police culture is neither monolithic nor static. Instead, it varies across time and space with officers in various parts of an organisation adopting different norms and values (see also Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 1983) and those norms and values changing as a result of formal regulations (i.e., organisational policy and written law) as well as broader contextual factors.[1] In Chan's (1996) conceptualization and experience with police reform in Australia, changes in policy or training alone are unlikely to result in meaningful change without addressing and changing the underlying culture though that same culture is at least partially impacted by those formal changes in policy or training.

Police culture is shaped and reinforced by the unique circumstances of police work. This has been evident since early research on police culture. For example, Skolnick (1966) observed that officers develop a working personality that is influenced by exposure to danger and the need to establish and maintain authority. This professional identity leads to a cultural orientation characterised by suspicion of the public and occupational solidarity. Skolnick (1966) suggests that this worldview often fosters a conservative mindset within policing institutions, making it resistant to change and sceptical of the public. These cultural norms and behaviours are not only rooted in the nature of the job but also reinforced throughout an officer's career. Van Maanen (1973) found that recruits are socialised into this cultural framework by experienced officers who teach them the realities of routine police work, which differ from academy training. Peer influence and personal experiences further reinforce these norms, often leading to cynicism among officers.

[1] Consider for example that norms and values in policing are almost inarguably different today than they were in the 1960s because of broader movements (e.g., the Civil Rights Movement) and changing technologies (e.g., dashcams and body-worn cameras).

More recent research supports these early observations. For instance, Sierra-Arévalo's (2024) ethnographic work highlights the occupational isolation of police. His work specifically found that the dangers (and perceived dangers) of police work shape specific cultural norms and behaviours. For example, tactical training is often prioritised over de-escalation training or initiatives that focus on improving community relationships. This reflects the perceived risks and dangers that officers face on the street. Sierra-Arévalo (2024) argues that danger-oriented police culture promotes a crime fighting mentality among officers. In turn, this can produce a variety of poor outcomes and consequences including aggressive policing behaviours that jeopardise both citizen and officer safety.

Officer Cultural Orientations

While police culture is historically characterised by overarching cultural norms and behaviours that centre on aggressive crime fighting, recent research has found that various dimensions of police culture vary across officers (Gau and Paoline 2017). Rather than treating culture as a shared organisational phenomenon, this study draws on evidence suggesting meaningful individual-level variation in cultural orientations across officers, even within the same organisation. For example, studies have found that officers vary in how they address their job and the levels of importance that officers assign to various job responsibilities (Ingram *et al*. 2013, Paoline and Gau 2018). Occupational attitudes among officers include their perceptions of citizens, supervisors, and their broad role orientations. A variety of factors impact the importance placed on these attitudes by individual officers. Some of these include an officer’s level of education (Paoline *et al*. 2015), race (Gau and Paoline 2017), and shift assignment (Paoline 2001).

Beyond task preferences and enforcement styles, studies have found that psychological orientations can vary across individual officers (McLean *et al*. 2020a). A central framework that captures this variation is the Warrior/Guardian model. Rather than simply distinguishing how officers prioritize different job tasks (as is typical in traditional explanations of police culture), this framework captures how officers think about and approach their role (Stoughton 2014, 2016). The warrior mindset emphasises crime fighting, authority, and officer safety. It is deeply rooted in the idea of a traditional police culture and views officers as front-line defenders against crime (Paoline 2003). In contrast, the guardian mindset prioritises service, communication, and police legitimacy.

While the Warrior/Guardian framework overlaps with other dimensions of culture (e.g., a warrior mindset is related to the crime fighting role), prior research has established that the warrior and guardian orientations represent unique constructs and are distinct mindsets, not just repackaged dimensions of existing cultural explanations (McLean *et al*. 2020a). Beyond demonstrating how these mindsets are distinct, prior work has also found that these orientations exhibit unique predictive validity that is not provided by other existing dimensions of culture. For example, McLean et al. (2020a) found that officers with higher beliefs in the warrior orientation tend to prioritise physical control tactics and may hold more favourable attitudes toward using force. They also found that warrior beliefs are negatively associated with perceptions of communication with citizens and positively associated with attitudes toward force misconduct. Conversely, officers with higher beliefs in the guardian orientation have stronger perceptions about the importance of communicating with citizens and negative attitudes toward misconduct (McLean *et al*. 2020a).

Recent research has begun assessing whether the effects of warrior and guardian orientations vary across officer characteristics and experiences. For example, Henry and Wolfe (2024) surveyed officers in two diverse U.S. police departments to examine the relationship between warrior and guardian orientations and perceptions of procedural justice. They found that endorsement of the guardian mindset was associated with greater support for procedural justice. Importantly, this relationship was largely invariant across officer demographics (e.g., gender, education, experience). The notable exception was officer race, as the association between guardian orientations and procedural justice was stronger among non-White officers. This finding is consistent with prior work suggesting that non-White officers tend to prioritize community policing more than their White counterparts (e.g., Gau and Paoline 2017).

A growing body of work suggests that the warrior mindset is prevalent in contemporary policing, particularly in training that emphasizes danger and prioritizes officer safety (Simon 2023, Sierra-Arévalo 2024). Scholars have argued that the emphasis on threat and survival can encourage officers to view citizens as adversaries, which may be both gendered and racialized in its application (Carlson 2020). These concerns have featured prominently in broader debates about police reform and have directly informed policy discourse. Most notably, this concern is echoed in the recommendations of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015), which explicitly called for a transition from the warrior approach to a guardian mentality in policing to advance reform based on the *untested* belief that officers adopting a guardian mentality are more amenable to reform. Yet, despite increasing calls for reform and training, and growing evidence that these cultural orientations vary across individual officers (McLean *et al*. 2020a, Henry and Wolfe 2024), little research has assessed whether support for reform and training is associated with these orientations.

The Current Study

Continuing calls for police reform and increased police training have placed greater emphasis on the need to understand how and why successful programs are implemented (del Pozo *et al*. 2025). Prior work on police reform and police training suggests that officer attitudes towards these programs substantially impacts their likelihood of success (Chan 1996, Wolfe *et al*. 2022). We suggest that the Warrior/Guardian framework offers a useful lens for understanding differences in receptivity to police reforms and training programs. Consistent with this framing, the current study includes individual officers drawn from three agencies, allowing us to account for organisational context while focusing on individual-level cultural orientations.

Thus, the current study makes two important contributions. First, the current study provides new evidence on how officers perceive specific types of training and reform initiatives. While public opinion research has explored civilian views on police reform (e.g., Vaughn *et al*. 2022, Ward *et al*. 2022, Mancini *et al*. 2024), to our knowledge, no prior studies have done so using a sample of police officers. Second, it examines whether adherence to the warrior and guardian mindsets is associated with officer support for various training programs and reforms.[2] In so doing, we aim to shed light on the role of culture in understanding receptivity to these efforts and why that receptivity may be crucial to their success.

At the same time, the current study is not intended to test a causal mechanism linking warrior and guardian orientations to each individual training or reform item. Rather, we examine whether these individual cultural orientations are associated with officers' receptivity to a broad

[2] As an anonymous reviewer correctly pointed out, reforms sometimes involve putting officers through training. Thus, conceptually, "training" and "reform" are not mutually exclusive terms. However, in the analysis that follows, we ask officers to think about a variety of trainings, including some that could be considered reform-oriented (e.g., de-escalation, bias awareness) and some that might be considered more traditional (e.g., defensive tactics, investigations). Accordingly, we are careful throughout not to categorically lump trainings together with reform efforts.

set of training topics and reform proposals. The training and reform outcomes should each be understood as summary measures of receptivity. Accordingly, our findings should not be interpreted to mean that all forms of training and reform proposals are interchangeable or that officers support each to the same degree.

Methods

Data for this study comes from a survey of three police departments in various parts of the United States as part of a pilot survey for a broader National Institute of Justice-funded project. Surveys were distributed via email with a message asking officers to participate in the survey and assuring them that responses were anonymous and would not affect their employment at their respective agencies. Reminder emails were sent to officers two weeks and four weeks after the initial email was sent. Combined, the three agencies had a total of 2,387 officers and at least partial responses were received from 263 officers, indicating a response rate of 11%. While low, this response rate is not uncommon for a survey administered entirely online and for which participation was solicited solely through emails (Nix *et al*. 2017).

The three participating agencies include the Chattanooga Police Department (CPD), Boulder Police Department (BPD), and the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department (CMPD).[3] These sites were selected based on existing partnerships that enabled the research team to distribute the survey to sworn personnel. These three agencies vary in size, hiring requirements, demographics, and regional context, providing the sample with meaningful differences across organizational settings that should serve to improve the generalizability of the findings (see Table

[3] Based on available agency-level demographic data from the 2020 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey, our sample is largely consistent with the makeup of the participating agencies. Boulder Police Department reports that 21% of sworn officers are female (39 of 182) and 9% are non-white (16 of 182). Chattanooga Police Department reports 10% female officers (44 of 445) and 18% non-white officers (80 of 445). Our analytic sample is roughly 15% female and 18% non-white, which roughly mirrors the available agency-level data. Unfortunately, comparable demographic information was unavailable for the third agency (Charlotte–Mecklenburg Police Department) in the 2020 LEMAS data.

1). Notably, each agency we surveyed is located in a different U.S. state with varying amounts of mandated academy and field training hours. All three agencies require more training hours than their respective state's minimum.

[Table 1 here]

Measures

The dependent variables for this study are measures of the *perceived importance of various police training programs* and *perceived reasonableness of various police reforms* (see Table 2).[4] For the perceived importance of police *training* programs, officers were asked to indicate how important it was for officers in their agency to train on eight topics. Response options ranged from Not at all Important (=1) to Very Important (=5).[5] The listed topics included de-escalation, crisis intervention, defensive tactics, DUI stops, investigations, 4th Amendment issues, active shooter response, and implicit bias. It was initially anticipated that these items would represent different types of training with defensive tactics, DUI stops, investigations, and active shooter response consisting of one measure of support for traditional law enforcement training programs and de-escalation, crisis intervention, 4th Amendment issues, and implicit bias

[4] It is worth noting that policing research does not use a single standardized scale for measuring attitudes toward training or reform. While agree/disagree and support/oppose Likert scales are common, many studies use other scales depending on the construct being measured. For example, Adams et al. (2024) surveyed police executives about their support for civilian oversight using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from Extremely Negative to Extremely Positive to measure their feelings toward the policy. The same study also asked respondents to rate the appropriateness of oversight policies (terminology closely aligned with the idea of reasonableness in the current study). Similarly, training evaluations often ask officers to rate the utility of a program. For example, Wolfe et al. (2020) measured officer perceptions of a de-escalation training using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from No Value to High Value, which again closely aligns with the importance scale we selected.

[5] Note that all survey items described in this section were randomly ordered within their prompt. For example, for these items a prompt asked, "Please indicate how important you think it is for officers in my agency to be engaged in training on each of the following topics:" and the 8 topics were then randomly ordered to prevent ordering effects from creating artificial loadings. The same approach was used for support for police reforms and warrior and guardian orientations.

representing modern, reform-oriented police training programs.[6] However, principal factor analysis (PFA) of the measure indicated that all items loaded on a single factor (1st eigenvalue=2.85, 2nd eigenvalue=0.66) and demonstrated strong internal consistency (α=0.76).[7] Accordingly, a mean-scale score of all 8 items was generated that assesses overall support for engaging in training programs rather than support focused on specific types of training.

With respect to *police reforms*, officers were asked how reasonable they thought eight police reform proposals were for policing from 1 (Extremely Unreasonable) to 5 (Extremely Reasonable). The eight reforms included: banning chokeholds; using unarmed civilians to respond to traffic accidents; creating co-response teams to have unarmed social workers respond to mental health calls with police officers; prohibit no-knock warrants; expand civilian oversight of the police through civilian review boards; end qualified immunity; create "duty to intervene" for officers to prohibit fellow officers from engaging in misconduct; and prohibit traffic stops for non-moving violations. PFA again indicated a single-factor solution (1st eigenvalue=1.79, 2nd eigenvalue=0.58) and strong internal consistency (α=0.64), however, one item from the list of reforms did not load on the factor (λ=0.08)—using unarmed civilians to respond to traffic accidents. A mean-scale score of the remaining seven items was generated that measures support for police reform, broadly.

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[6] The two factors we anticipated (i.e., reform-oriented and traditional trainings) were likely not supported because many trainings are context specific. For example, defensive tactics training could reflect traditional training if officers prioritize using force but could also represent reform-oriented training if officers learn control techniques that allow them to restrain a citizen more effectively and safely.

[7] Because the training items encompass a broad range of topics, we conducted further sensitivity analyses to assess whether the main findings were driven disproportionately by any single item. Two training items (DUI stops and implicit bias) had relatively low communalities, so we re-estimated the model using a reduced training index that excluded those items and estimated exploratory single-item models for each training outcome. The reduced-index model was substantively similar to the main results, and the single-item models showed a similar pattern overall. Taken together, these analyses suggest that the findings we report are not driven by any single training item. See Appendix A2–A5 for additional diagnostics and supplementary models.

The key independent variables are measures of an officer's support for *warrior* and *guardian* attitudes towards policing.[8] Officers were asked for their level of agreement to 9 items focused on their perceptions of the role of policing ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). As expected, PFA indicated two separate factors (1st eigenvalue=1.69, 2nd eigenvalue=1.31) with the factors aligning with the previously indicated warrior and guardian items. Thus, a mean-scale score was created of six items related to an officer's guardian orientation and a mean-scale score of three items was used for an officer's warrior orientation (see Appendix for the full list of items).

Beyond these key measures, officers were asked a series of demographic questions to control for other factors that might influence their perceptions of police training and police reform. First and foremost, the *agency* an officer worked for was collected as different agencies with different training programs and policies might shape how officers view these trainings and reforms. *Years of experience* was an open-text entry item where officers indicated the number of years that they had been in law enforcement. Participants were also asked for their gender (1=*female*), education (1=*bachelor's degree or higher*), their rank (1=*supervisor or higher*), and their current assignment (*patrol, specialized field assignment, investigative,* or *administrative/other*).

[Table 2 here]

Analytic Strategy

[8] The items used were the same as those used by McLean and colleagues (2020) that have been replicated in further studies showing strong consistency in the ability to measure these orientations in policing (see e.g., Shjarback (2023), Henry and Wolfe (2024) for replications in the United States; McCarthy *et al*. (2024) for a replication in Australia). The distributions of these measures in the present study closely align with those reported by Henry and Wolfe (2024) and are comparable to those reported by McCarthy *et al*. (2024), though some variation is expected given the international context. Direct comparison with Shjarback (2023) is limited because that study used an additive index rather than mean scores.

We first performed a univariate descriptive analysis, plotting the percentage of respondents who perceived training topics as important, or proposed police reforms as reasonable, respectively. Then, we estimated two ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models – one for each outcome (Wooditch *et al*. 2021). OLS was deemed appropriate for this analysis because both outcomes were essentially continuous and approximately normally distributed (*trainings* skew = -.86, kurt = 3.28; *reforms* skew = .40, kurt = 3.90). As is common in survey research, there was a modest amount of item-missingness in our data (Brame and Paternoster 2003). Respondents with missing data were listwise deleted from the analysis (17% of the sample).[9] Finally, we use coefficient plots with 95% confidence intervals to help visualise the magnitude of observed effects while being transparent about the level of (un)certainty associated with each. To assess potential multicollinearity, we calculated the variance inflation factors (VIF) for both models. The average model VIF and all individual item VIFs were well below the commonly accepted threshold of four, indicating minimal concern for multicollinearity in the multivariate analyses (Midi and Bagheri 2010).

Results

Our first outcome was an index measuring officers' perceived importance of being trained on various topics. Figure 1 shows the percentage of respondents who indicated each topic was *important* or *very important*, respectively. We note that for every topic, a majority of respondents indicated it was at least *important.* However, there was notable variation in the level of importance assigned to each. Unsurprisingly, nearly every officer in the sample indicated that trainings on active shooter response, defensive tactics, and 4th Amendment issues were important

[9] To verify that missingness had little impact on the results, we ran a robustness check with the same analysis replicated using multiple imputation by chained equations across 50 imputed datasets. The results are substantially the same and are included in Appendix Table A1.

(Sierra-Arévalo 2024). Similarly, 88 to 91% of officers felt that trainings on de-escalation, crisis intervention, and investigations were important. Meanwhile, 64% of the sample said trainings on DUI enforcement were important, and just 56% said that implicit bias trainings were important.

[Figure 1 here]

Model 1 of Table 3 regresses our mean index, *perceived importance of training*, onto the independent variables – *warrior* and *guardian* mindsets – along with each of the control variables. The r-squared value indicates that as a whole, the model explained roughly 30% of the variation in the outcome. Officers who endorsed a guardian mindset were significantly more likely to perceive these training topics as important ($b = .370$, $p < .001$). In other words, a one-unit increase on our *guardian* mindset scale was associated with a .370 unit increase in perceived importance of training. There were no significant differences across the three agencies, nor in terms of years of experience, officer sex, race/ethnicity, education level, or rank. In terms of *assignment*, we observed that officers working *administrative* or *other* assignments were more likely than patrol officers to perceive these training topics as important ($b = .209$, $p < .05$). The coefficients are plotted in blue in Figure 3 (with 95% confidence intervals) and show that the point estimate for *guardian* mindset is the largest in the model, and nearly twice as large as the assignment coefficient.

[Table 3 here]

Our second outcome was an index measuring the extent to which officers perceived various proposed police reforms as reasonable or unreasonable. Figure 2 shows the percentage of officers who indicated each reform was *somewhat* or *extremely* reasonable. Here, we observed much more variation than in perceived importance of trainings. Eighty-four percent of respondents felt that duty to intervene policies were at least somewhat reasonable. Similarly,

76% of respondents indicated that co-responder programs, in which unarmed social workers respond to mental health calls with police officers, are at least somewhat reasonable. The remainder of reforms we asked about were far less likely to be perceived as reasonable by this sample. Roughly 41% of officers believed that banning chokeholds would be at least somewhat reasonable, and just 27% of officers felt that prohibiting no-knock warrants would be reasonable. Only 16% of officers believed expanding civilian oversight of policing was reasonable, and less than 10% of officers felt it would be reasonable to prohibit traffic stops for non-moving violations and end qualified immunity, respectively.

[Figure 2 here]

Returning to Table 3, we regressed our *perceived reasonableness of police reform* index onto *warrior* and *guardian* mindsets along with each of the controls in Model 2. The r-squared value suggests the model explained about 27% of the variation in the outcome. Here again, we found that officers who embraced more of a *guardian* mindset were significantly more likely to perceive these reforms as reasonable ($b = .495$, $p < .001$). That is, each one-unit increase in guardian mindset was associated with nearly a half-unit increase in perceived reasonableness of police reform. In this model, we also observed that officers who embraced more of a *warrior* mindset were significantly *less* likely to perceive these reforms as reasonable ($b = -.154$, $p < .05$). This relationship is comparatively smaller, whereby each additional unit increase in *warrior* mindset was associated with a .15 unit *decrease* in perceived reasonableness of police reforms. Officers who identified as racial/ethnic minorities were significantly more supportive of these reforms ($b = .321$, $p < .05$), but otherwise, none of the controls were meaningfully associated with this outcome. Each of the point estimates (and 95% confidence intervals) are plotted in red in Figure 3. We note that the magnitude of the *guardian* coefficients is similar across models,

whereas the *warrior* coefficient is effectively nil in Model 1 and small but negative and statistically significant in Model 2. Owing to the small number of officers identifying as racial/ethnic minorities in our sample, the confidence interval for that coefficient is rather wide, so it should be interpreted with caution.

[Figure 3 here]

Discussion

Throughout much of its history, policing has faced external pressure to reform (Wickersham 1931, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice 1967, President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing 2015). Officers today are better trained and equipped to perform their duties than their counterparts from just a few decades ago (Walker 1993), and yet many of the same problems persist: disparities in terms of who is policed and how (Neil and Winship 2019), highly salient instances of corruption, misconduct, and excessive force (Weitzer and Tuch 2006), and occasional public outrage over all of the above (Reny and Newman 2021). Given this, it is unsurprising that some scoff when more training or "piecemeal" policy changes are championed as solutions to these and similar problems (Vitale 2017, Cobbina-Dungy and Jones-Brown 2023). Nevertheless, the reality is that more sweeping changes to the status quo – such as abolition or broad-scale "defunding" – have proven wildly unpopular with the public (Vaughn *et al*. 2022, Mancini *et al*. 2024), so it behoves everyone to better understand the conditions under which those trainings and reforms that *do* enjoy public support are more likely to succeed. As but one example, extant literature demonstrates on the one hand that officer receptivity and buy-in are key factors that contribute to the success of trainings and evidence-based reforms (Telep 2017, Nam *et al*. 2025). But on the other hand, researchers have noted that

"police culture" is often to blame when trainings and reforms fail to achieve their desired outcomes (Chan 1996, Skogan 2014).

Our study adds to a growing body of literature that has documented the existence of "warrior" and "guardian" mindsets within the police culture (McLean *et al*. 2020). The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) suggested a shift in policing from a warrior mindset to a guardian mindset in part to support efforts to more broadly reform policing in the United States. Thus, we examined whether officers with the guardian mindset were genuinely more amenable to police reforms.

In our sample of officers drawn from three municipal police departments in three states, those who embraced more of a guardian mentality felt warmer toward various trainings and reforms that have been discussed in recent years, whereas those embracing more of a warrior mentality were colder toward the same reforms, and neutral toward the same trainings. This was true net of individual-level differences including officer sex, experience, education, and rank. One exception was officer race/ethnicity, where we observed minority officers perceived reforms as more reasonable than white officers. With these results in mind, we turn now to a discussion of their implications for policy and research.

First, we wish to be clear that in policing a country awash in guns – with tens of thousands of gun assaults and homicides committed annually (Gramlich 2025) – there is a time and place for officers to embrace a warrior mindset. The ability to embrace danger and respond under extraordinary circumstances, like active shooters, is important and saves lives. At the same time, hyperawareness of the potential for dangerous or deadly interactions with the public can contribute to biased and overly aggressive policing in everyday situations (Sierra-Arévalo 2024)—precisely the sort of behaviours that trainings and reforms seek to minimise. Arguably,

officers should default to “guardian” mode and activate “warrior” mode strictly when necessary. This would amount to a paradigm shift, as we have known for decades that officers are taught very early on about the dangers of policing and the need to be constantly vigilant and in control of situations (Skolnick 1966, Van Maanen 1973, Simon 2024). Thus, we need to devote more attention to understanding how agencies are recruiting and who they are targeting with their efforts (Simpson 2023). For example, overly militaristic recruitment videos might fill applicant pools with individuals who find the warrior mindset more alluring (Koslicki 2021), but at least one study found agencies that recently received a COPS Office grant were less likely to create recruitment videos with militaristic themes (Koslicki 2022).

It is worth noting that the effects for the warrior and guardian mindsets are asymmetrical. While the warrior mindset was unrelated to perceptions of training and negatively related to attitudes toward reform, the guardian mindset was strongly and positively related to perceptions of both. This pattern is consistent with recent procedural justice research that has documented asymmetries in the effects of positive and negative police encounters (e.g., Thompson and Pickett 2021). The asymmetry also aligns with prior work that has directly accounted for the warrior and guardian mindsets. For example, McLean *et al*. (2023), using a use of force vignette, found that the guardian mindset was negatively associated with officer’s reported use of force (i.e., less likely to use higher levels of force in response to the scenario), while the warrior mindset was unrelated to those attitudes. Although we caution against overinterpreting differences in magnitude, these findings suggest that a guardian mindset may be more strongly associated with receptivity to change than warrior orientations. Given the resilience of traditional police culture, this could represent a worthwhile opportunity to improve receptivity to reform.

Second, each of the eight trainings we inquired about were perceived as important by a majority of the officers in our sample. Topics like de-escalation and crisis intervention were deemed important or very important by 9 out of every 10 officers. This reflects considerable shifts in normative attitudes among police officers. Just 5 years ago, Engel *et al*. (2020, p. 721) lamented the lack of rigorous evaluation research on de-escalation training for police and implored the field "to prioritize as soon as possible the testing of de-escalation and other police use-of-force policies, tactics, and training." At the time of this writing, several studies have shown encouraging results, including in Louisville (Engel *et al*. 2022), Tucson and Fayetteville (McLean *et al*. 2020) and Tempe (White *et al*. 2025). Meanwhile, officers in our sample were more divided on implicit bias training, but nevertheless, 56% indicated that it was important. We are aware of two evaluation studies that have assessed the impact of implicit bias training for police on behavioural outcomes. In Sacramento, officers who received both classroom- and simulation-based training demonstrated small but statistically significant improvements on a performance scale that included "offering verbal greetings, explaining the purpose of the encounter to the community member, showing signs of empathy, trying to de-escalate, etc." (James 2023, p. 5). In the NYPD, Worden and colleagues' (2024) analysis of a 1-day training delivered by Fair & Impartial Policing®, LLC found "isolated and weak evidence of behavioural impacts." Again, we call attention to these examples because police culture, and more specifically a lack of officer "buy-in," often gets blamed when trainings fail to achieve their desired outcomes. If our findings are in fact generalizable, it may well be true that a comparative lack of buy-in is part of the reason why implicit bias trainings have enjoyed less success than de-escalation trainings. However, it could also be true that implicit bias trainings currently being

delivered are poorly implemented (del Pozo *et al*. 2025) and/or poor solutions to a problem that is unlikely to be corrected in an eight-hour classroom setting (Paluck and Green 2009).

Finally, we observed much more variation in officers' perceptions of police reforms that have been discussed and, in some cases, implemented over the past decade. On the one hand, ending qualified immunity, banning traffic stops for non-moving violations, expanding civilian oversight, and prohibiting no-knock warrants were not popular ideas with our sample, and so attempts to implement such reforms will likely be met with resistance from rank-and-file officers and, in some jurisdictions, the unions who fight for their interests (Walker 2016). Duty to intervene policies and co-responder programs, on the other hand, were perceived as at least somewhat reasonable by a supermajority of the officers who took our survey. These ideas also tend to enjoy public support (see Ward *et al*. 2022, Walsh 2023), so they seem like promising avenues for police departments to take action that is supported internally and externally.

It is important to recognise, however, that pressure to reform has waned since the height of the "Defund the Police" movement, and indeed, the federal government is rolling back reform initiatives implemented under previous administrations. During the first Trump administration, restrictions on the 1033 program that provides police departments access to military equipment were rolled back. Since taking office in January 2025, the current Trump administration has ended consent decrees in several jurisdictions including Minneapolis and Louisville (where George Floyd and Breonna Taylor were killed by police in 2020), signed Executive Order 14288 (which expands local agencies' access to excess military equipment as well as legal protections for officers facing civil and criminal charges), and slashed funding initiatives that have historically assisted jurisdictions seeking to implement and evaluate reforms. All this to say, in

local jurisdictions without supportive leadership, even reforms that are perceived as reasonable among the police themselves may be difficult to push through in the short term.

All social scientific research is bound by limitations, and our study is no different. First, in a country with over 17,000 police departments serving a diverse array of communities (Gardner and Scott 2022), it is fair to question the generalizability of our survey of just three departments (though bear in mind upwards of 80% of published research involving surveys of police officers entail a survey of just one agency; see Kearns and Nix 2023). Second, our response rate was lower than we hoped for – 11% – but here again, we note that survey response rates have declined precipitously over time (Groves *et al*. 2009, Tourangeau and Plewes 2013), and particularly for surveys administered online (Nix *et al*. 2019). Fortunately, meta-analytic research indicates that on their own, "response rates are a poor indicator of nonresponse bias" (Peytchev 2013, p. 90). That said, if in fact our data are skewed by nonresponse bias, it would represent a greater threat to the univariate estimates plotted in Figures 1 and 2 than the multivariable regression analysis presented in Table 3 (Pickett *et al*. 2018). And third, survey methods always invite the possibility of dishonest and/or socially desirable response patterns. Online surveys like ours demonstrate less susceptibility to social desirability bias than those administered in person (Tourangeau *et al*. 2013), but we cannot rule it out altogether. Relatedly, a voluntary survey requires a basic level of openness from officers to participate in the study, which may modestly overestimate support for reform. However, the substantial variation in attitudes observed in this study suggests that a selection effect is unlikely to be the primary driver of our results.

It is also worth acknowledging that the current study is cross-sectional and that the survey did not include every theoretically relevant attitudinal measure because of practical constraints

related to survey length. We note this to caution against overinterpreting the results as causal evidence that promoting the guardian orientation is a directly actionable way to produce enduring change. The attitudes we measure may instead operate as correlates of receptivity itself and may be shaped by upstream factors, including prior training, broader perceptions of reform, political ideology, and other cultural dimensions that we were unable to measure in the present study (Simon 2023, Strah *et al*. 2023). Thus, we cannot conclude that cultivating a guardian mindset will itself produce change. Rather, our findings suggest that guardian orientations are associated with greater receptivity to the training and reform efforts examined here. This is still encouraging, as an emerging body of evidence suggests that higher training receptivity is associated with improvements in both job performance and training transfer (i.e., applying training skills and knowledge) (see Wolfe *et al*. 2022, Nam *et al*. 2025). Future research should build on this by considering additional attitudes and experiences that may shape officers' willingness to participate in and endorse training and reform efforts.

Our findings underscore the critical role officer mindsets play in understanding attitudes toward police training and reform efforts. Officers who identify more strongly with a guardian mentality demonstrate greater receptivity to training programs and policy changes, while those who lean toward a warrior mentality tend to view reforms negatively and appear indifferent toward training. These results suggest that agencies aiming for successful reform should prioritise recruiting and cultivating guardian-oriented officers, alongside reconsidering how police culture is produced and reinforced within departments. Further research is needed to determine how guardian mindsets can be effectively fostered and maintained in a field historically oriented toward vigilance and control. Given public support for incremental reforms over sweeping structural changes, enhancing officer buy-in and carefully assessing the

implementation quality of training programs remain vital to meaningful progress in policing reform.

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Table 1. Participating agency information (LEMAS 2020).

LEMAS Variable	Boulder	Charlotte-Mecklenburg	Chattanooga
Operating Budget	$38,269,082	$290,203,220	$69,220,152
Written COP plan	Yes	NA	No
Min. education for new, non-lateral hires	2-year college degree	High school diploma or equivalent	High school diploma or equivalent
State-mandated academy hours	780	640	480
State-mandated field training hours	600	360	0
Number of BWCs	184	NA	379
# of UoF complaints	16	NA	2
# of UoF complaints sustained	1	NA	1
Personnel			
FT Sworn, 2020	182	1760	445
Total Males	143	NA	401
White	128	NA	334
Black	7	NA	49
Hispanic	1	NA	13
American Indian	0	NA	2
Asian	6	NA	2
Hawaiian/PI	0	NA	1
Multiple Races	0	NA	0
Unknown	1	NA	0
Total Females	39	NA	44
White	38	NA	31
Black	0	NA	8
Hispanic	1	NA	3
American Indian	0	NA	0
Asian	0	NA	1
Hawaiian/PI	0	NA	1
Multiple Races	0	NA	0
Unknown	0	NA	0
Chief's Race & Ethnicity	White, Non-Hispanic	NA	White, Non-Hispanic
Chief's Sex	Female	NA	Male

Source: 2020 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS)

Table 2. Descriptive statistics.

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Imputed Mean	Imputed S.D.
Training	217	4.460	0.494	2.875	5.000	—	—
Police Reform	217	2.790	0.676	1.000	5.000	—	—
Guardian	217	4.272	0.537	2.750	5.000	4.272	0.537
Warrior	217	3.820	0.802	1.333	5.000	3.820	0.802
Agency							
Chattanooga (ref).	86	0.407	—	0.000	1.000	0.407	—
CMPD	113	0.502	—	0.000	1.000	0.502	—
Boulder	18	0.091	—	0.000	1.000	0.091	—
Years Experience	231	14.558	9.801	0.000	36.000	14.693	9.915
Female	238	0.147	—	0.000	1.000	0.147	—
Minority	223	0.179	—	0.000	1.000	0.189	—
Bachelor's	240	0.625	—	0.000	1.000	0.625	—
Supervisor	226	0.354	—	0.000	1.000	0.345	—
Assignment							
Patrol (ref.)	231	0.420	—	0.000	1.000	0.426	—
Spec Field	231	0.113	—	0.000	1.000	0.113	—
Investigative	231	0.303	—	0.000	1.000	0.295	—
Admin/Other	231	0.165	—	0.000	1.000	0.166	—

Table 3. OLS regression models predicting officers' perceptions of training and police reform.

	Model 1: Perceived Importance of Training			Model 2: Perceived Reasonableness of Police Reform		
Variable	b	Std. Err.	95% CI	b	Std. Err.	95% CI
Guardian	0.370***	0.061	[0.250, 0.491]	0.495***	0.083	[0.331, 0.660]
Warrior	0.000	0.045	[-0.088, 0.089]	-0.154*	0.062	[-0.276, -0.033]
Agency						
Chattanooga (ref.)	—	—	—	—	—	—
CMPD	-0.126	0.070	[-0.265, 0.013]	0.103	0.096	[-0.087, 0.294]
Boulder	0.011	0.115	[-0.216, 0.237]	0.172	0.157	[-0.138, 0.482]
Years Experience	-0.006	0.004	[-0.014, 0.001]	0.005	0.005	[-0.006, 0.016]
Female	-0.002	0.107	[-0.213, 0.208]	0.150	0.146	[-0.138, 0.438]
Minority	0.160	0.091	[-0.020, 0.341]	0.321*	0.125	[0.074, 0.567]
Bachelor's	-0.008	0.068	[-0.143, 0.127]	0.119	0.094	[-0.066, 0.304]
Supervisor	0.044	0.080	[-0.114, 0.202]	-0.051	0.110	[-0.268, 0.165]
Assignment						
Patrol (ref.)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spec Field	-0.175	0.103	[-0.378, 0.028]	-0.130	0.141	[-0.407, 0.148]
Investigative	0.148	0.083	[-0.017, 0.312]	-0.034	0.114	[-0.259, 0.192]
Admin/Other	0.209*	0.097	[0.017, 0.401]	-0.083	0.133	[-0.346, 0.180]
Intercept	2.938***	0.294	[2.356, 3.519]	0.974*	0.403	[0.179, 1.770]
N		180			180	
F-test		6.11***			5.13***	
R^2		.305			.270	

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

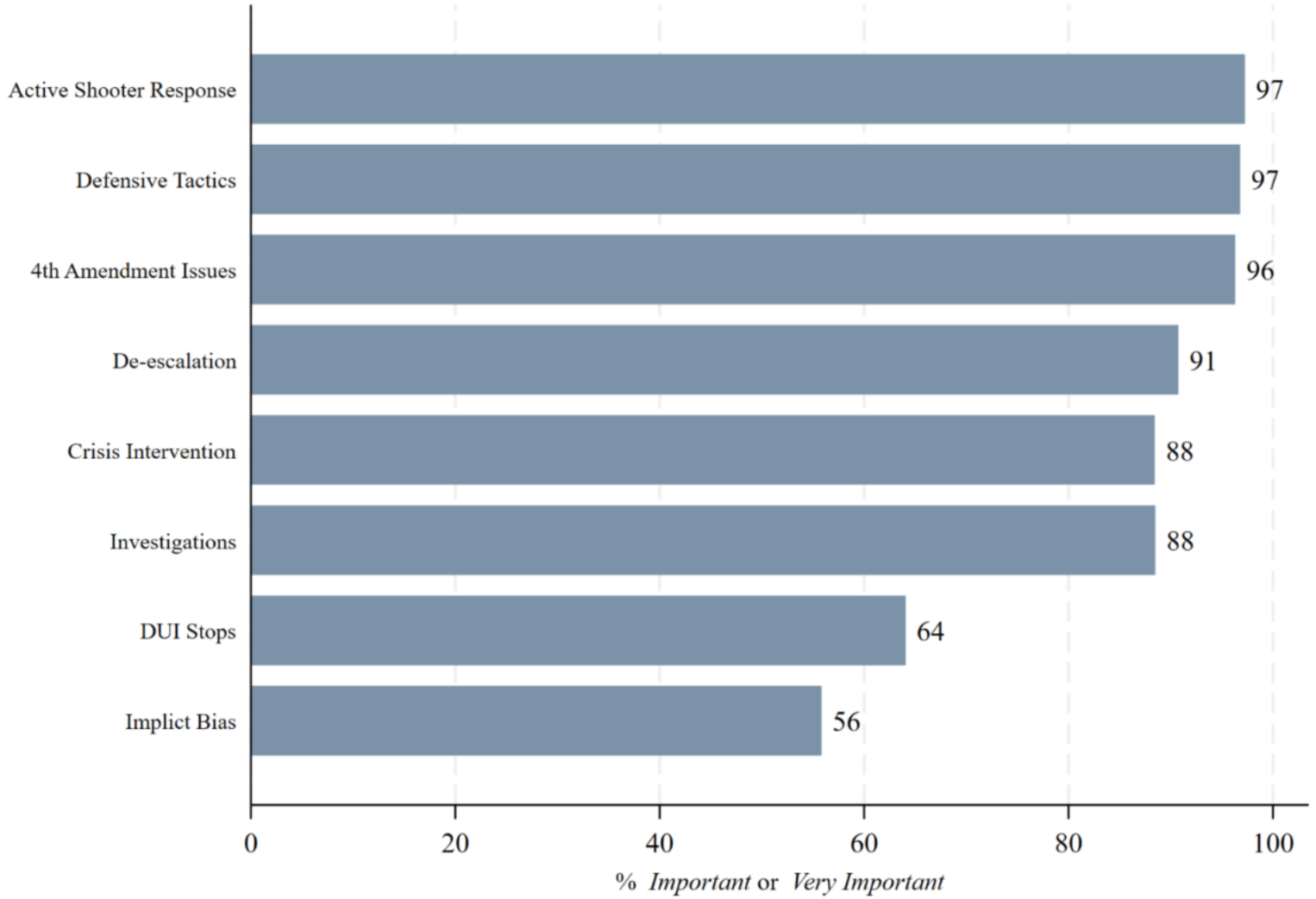

Figure 1. Perceived Importance of Various Trainings.

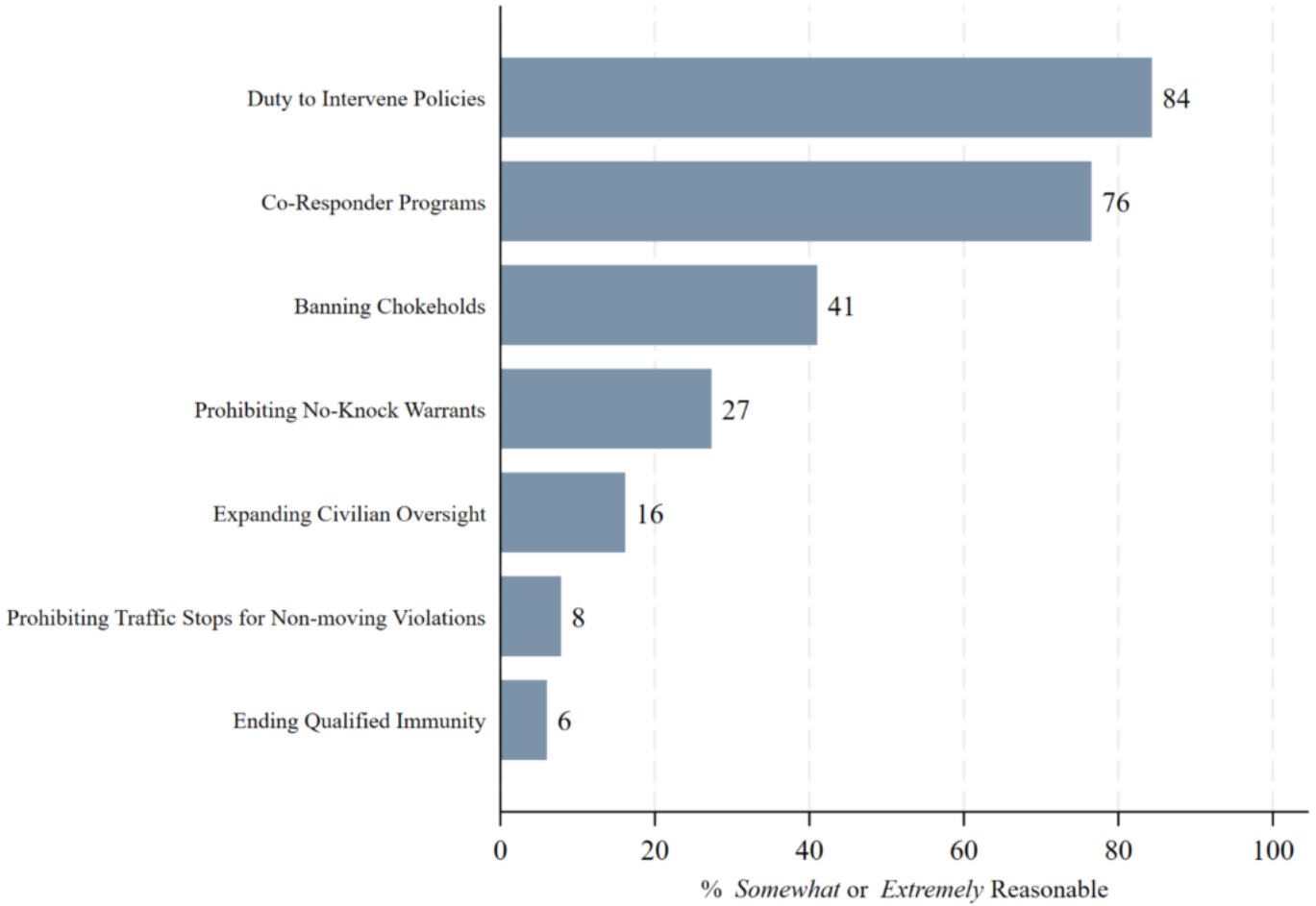

Figure 2. Perceived Reasonableness of Various Police Reforms.

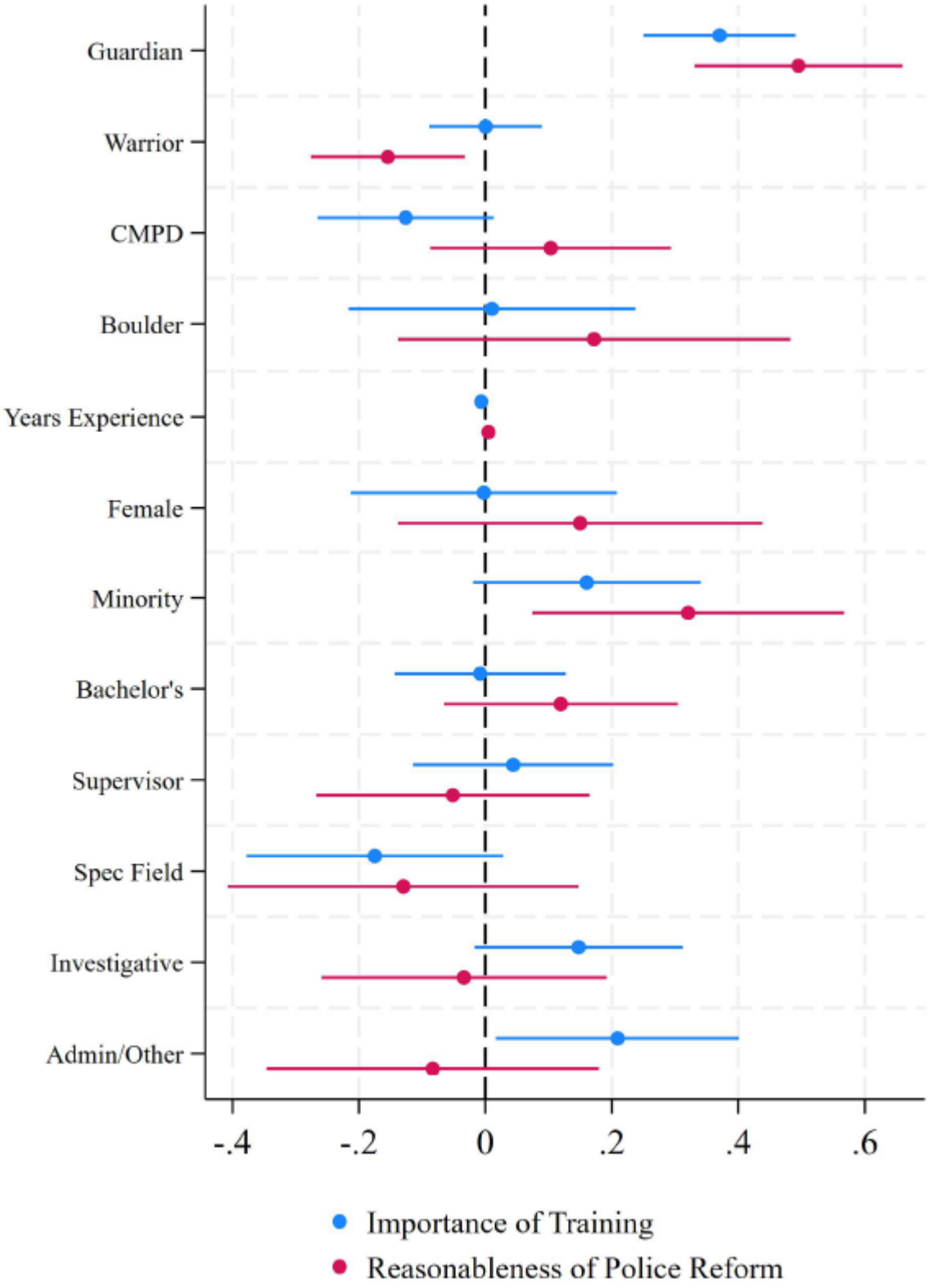

Figure 3. Coefficient plots.

Appendix

Warrior Guardian Survey Items

Question Stem

Please indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements regarding your view of the role of policing.

Items:

1. As a police officer it is important that I have non-enforcement contacts with the public. (G)
2. Law enforcement and community members must work together to solve local problems. (G)
3. A primary responsibility of a police officers is to build trust between the department and the community. (G)
4. As a police officer, I have a primary responsibility to protect the constitutional rights of residents. (G)
5. As a police officer, I see myself primarily as a civil servant. (G)
6. I routinely collaborate with community members in my daily duties. (G)
7. My primary responsibility as a police officer is to fight crime. (W)
8. Enforcing the law is a patrol officer's most important responsibility. (W)
9. My primary role is to control predatory suspects that threaten members of the public. (W)

Table A1. Multiple imputation models predicting officers' perceptions of training and police reform.

	Model 1: Perceived Importance of Training			Model 2: Perceived Reasonableness of Police Reform		
Variable	b	Std. Err.	95% CI	b	Std. Err.	95% CI
Guardian	0.392***	0.056	[0.282, 0.502]	0.517***	0.079	[0.361, 0.673]
Warrior	0.033	0.039	[-0.045, 0.110]	-0.121*	0.056	[-0.232, -0.010]
Agency						
Chattanooga (ref.)	—	—	—	—	—	—
CMPD	-0.126	0.066	[-0.256, 0.004]	0.171	0.094	[-0.015, 0.356]
Boulder	0.035	0.111	[-0.184, 0.255]	0.084	0.159	[-0.229, 0.398]
Years Experience	-0.007	0.004	[-0.014, 0.000]	-0.001	0.005	[-0.012, 0.009]
Female	0.027	0.092	[-0.153, 0.208]	0.216	0.129	[-0.039, 0.470]
Minority	0.227**	0.084	[0.062, 0.392]	0.333**	0.117	[0.102, 0.564]
Bachelor's	-0.03	0.062	[-0.147, 0.096]	0.067	0.088	[-0.103, 0.564]
Supervisor	0.016	0.077	[-0.136, 0.168]	-0.026	0.111	[-0.246, 0.193]
Assignment						
Patrol (ref.)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spec Field	-0.172	0.102	[-0.373, 0.029]	-0.219	0.148	[-0.510, 0.073]
Investigative	0.188*	0.080	[0.029, 0.346]	-0.051	0.117	[-0.283, 0.181]
Admin/Other	0.240**	0.089	[0.064, 0.417]	-0.107	0.130	[-0.364, 0.149]
Intercept	2.715***	0.262	[2.199, 3.231]	0.909	0.371	[0.177, 1.641]
Imputations		50			50	
N		217			217	
F-test		8.46***			6.48***	

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table A2. Sensitivity analyses predicting officers' perceptions of training.

	Model 1: Low communality items removed	Model 2: De-escalation	Model 3: Crisis intervention	Model 4: Defensive tactics	Model 5: DUI stops	Model 6: Investigations	Model 7: 4th Amendment	Model 8: Active shooter	Model 9: Implicit bias
Variable	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)
Guardian	.319(.05)***	.669(.09)***	.571(.11)***	.176(.06)**	.246(.15)	.175(.10)	.171(.07)*	.152(.06)**	.827(.19)***
Warrior	-.022(.04)	-.094(.07)	.014(.08)	-.014(.05)	.182(.11)	-.064(.08)	.021(.05)	.007(.04)	-.048(.14)
Agency									
Chattanooga (ref.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CMPD	-.011(.06)	-.046(.11)	-.247(.12)	-.062(.07)	-.518(.17)**	.166(.12)	.109(.08)	.015(.07)	-.404(.21)
Boulder	.039(.10)	.178(.17)	.020(.21)	.003(.12)	-.165(.28)	-.151(.20)	.175(.13)	.020(.11)	.045(.35)
Years Experience	-.003(.00)	.002(.01)	-.008(.01)	-.001(.00)	-.012(.01)	-.004(.01)	-.010(.00)*	.000(.00)	-.019(.01)
Female	-.030(.09)	-.046(.16)	-.041(.19)	-.103(.11)	-.008(.26)	.046(.18)	-.054(.12)	.015(.10)	.170(.32)
Minority	.093(.08)	.229(.14)	.064(.16)	.155(.10)	.187(.22)	.079(.16)	.020(.10)	.011(.08)	.541(.28)
Bachelor's	.023(.06)	-.085(.10)	.015(.12)	.023(.07)	-.069(.17)	.113(.12)	.049(.08)	.021(.06)	-.106(.21)
Supervisor	-.009(.07)	-.047(.12)	-.026(.14)	-.044(.08)	.162(.20)	-.180(.14)	.171(.09)	.071(.07)	.255(.24)
Assignment									
Patrol (ref.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spec Field	-.094(.09)	-.243(.16)	-.263(.18)	.027(.11)	-.389(.25)	-.-75(.18)	-.155(.12)	.147(.09)	-.449(.31)
Investigative	.165(.07)*	.001(.13)	.217(.15)	.138(.09)	.080(.21)	.436(.14)**	.206(.09)	.090(.08)	.074(.25)
Admin/Other	.138(.09)	.154(.15)	.303(.17)	.063(.10)	.519(.23)*	.289).17)	-.038(.11)	.056(.09)	.309(.30)
Intercept	3.392(.26)***	2.136(.44)***	2.195(.52)***	4.123(.31)***	2.500(.72)**	3.779(.51)***	4.012(.33)***	4.100(.27)***	.533(.90)
N	180	180	179	180	180	180	180	180	179
F-test	4.81***	6.42***	4.14***	1.28	2.44**	2.50**	2.02*	1.28	3.92***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note: Low communality items include DUI stops and implicit bias. Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. For brevity, 95% confidence intervals are not displayed.

Table A3. Police training items factor diagnostics

Variable	Factor loading	Uniqueness	Communality
De-escalation	0.73	0.47	0.53
Crisis intervention	0.69	0.52	0.48
Defensive tactics	0.61	0.63	0.37
DUI stops	0.47	0.78	0.22
Investigations	0.57	0.68	0.32
4th Amendment issues	0.57	0.68	0.32
Active shooter response	0.60	0.65	0.35
Implicit bias	0.50	0.75	0.25

Note: KMO = 0.81; 1st eigenvalue = 2.85; 2nd eigenvalue = .66; α=0.76

Table A4. Correlation matrix including *perceived importance of various police training programs* items.

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
(1) Guardian	1.000																
(2) Warrior	0.098	1.000															
(3) Agency	0.011	0.142	1.000														
(4) Years of experience	0.098	-0.028	-0.050	1.000													
(5) Female	0.081	-0.037	0.170	-0.110	1.000												
(6) Minority	0.070	-0.099	-0.009	-0.120	0.014	1.000											
(7) Education	0.010	-0.031	0.096	-0.043	0.022	-0.037	1.000										
(8) Rank	0.194	-0.125	-0.224	0.435	-0.187	-0.075	0.188	1.000									
(9) Current assignment	0.145	-0.114	-0.007	0.273	-0.088	0.073	0.194	0.173	1.000								
(10) De-escalation	0.515	-0.084	0.032	0.047	0.046	0.178	-0.024	0.090	0.126	1.000							
(11) Crisis intervention	0.406	-0.000	-0.067	-0.021	0.035	0.074	0.049	0.075	0.172	0.640	1.000						
(12) Defensive tactics	0.214	-0.021	-0.033	0.018	-0.042	0.129	0.028	0.012	0.130	0.377	0.346	1.000					
(13) DUI stops	0.174	0.033	-0.162	-0.046	-0.001	0.102	0.001	0.113	0.115	0.296	0.333	0.097	1.000				
(14) Investigations	0.130	0.004	0.031	-0.013	0.033	0.063	0.117	-0.092	0.257	0.238	0.345	0.310	0.270	1.000			
(15) 4th Amendment issues	0.225	0.084	0.107	-0.091	-0.003	0.013	0.133	0.099	0.043	0.363	0.305	0.333	0.134	0.321	1.000		
(16) Active shooter response	0.236	0.022	0.014	0.105	0.001	0.001	0.052	0.141	0.128	0.298	0.292	0.434	0.167	0.294	0.302	1.000	
(17) Implicit bias	0.353	-0.071	-0.089	-0.068	0.074	0.192	-0.003	0.117	0.089	0.449	0.363	0.193	0.367	0.198	0.222	0.149	1.000

Table A5. Correlation matrix including *perceived reasonableness of various police reforms* items.

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
(1) Guardian	1.000																
(2) Warrior	0.106	1.000															
(3) Agency	0.032	0.135	1.000														
(4) Years of experience	0.087	-0.032	-0.067	1.000													
(5) Female	0.078	-0.034	0.168	-0.109	1.000												
(6) Minority	0.085	-0.101	-0.017	-0.103	0.020	1.000											
(7) Education	0.017	-0.034	0.113	-0.065	0.022	-0.017	1.000										
(8) Rank	0.198	-0.131	-0.228	0.428	-0.184	-0.059	0.180	1.000									
(9) Current assignment	0.133	-0.116	-0.022	0.273	-0.088	0.091	0.173	0.166	1.000								
(10) Banning chokeholds	0.311	-0.025	0.145	0.262	0.089	0.114	0.230	0.248	0.170	1.000							
(11) Unarmed civilians	0.141	0.018	0.081	0.225	0.009	-0.045	-0.066	0.064	-0.108	-0.025	1.000						
(12) Co-response teams	0.314	-0.111	0.070	-0.047	0.191	0.092	-0.008	0.019	-0.026	0.212	0.116	1.000					
(13) Prohibit no-knock warrants	0.263	-0.080	0.098	-0.115	0.042	0.223	0.178	-0.011	-0.002	0.387	-0.030	0.143	1.000				
(14) Civilian review boards	0.209	-0.152	0.108	0.024	0.097	0.094	0.003	0.032	-0.010	0.300	0.073	0.243	0.252	1.000			
(15) End qualified immunity	0.141	-0.045	0.004	0.002	0.142	0.189	-0.031	-0.219	-0.051	0.154	0.090	0.035	0.149	0.315	1.000		
(16) Duty to intervene	0.317	-0.038	-0.031	0.067	-0.039	0.133	0.036	0.205	0.125	0.284	0.004	0.260	0.145	0.250	0.117	1.000	
(17) Non-moving violations	0.083	-0.076	-0.033	-0.034	0.033	0.050	-0.111	-0.117	0.078	0.127	0.024	0.080	0.139	0.404	0.501	0.093	1.000

Note: Items have been abbreviated to improve readability.