



To be or not to be armed: Icelandic police students' attitudes towards routinely arming an unarmed police service

Guðmundur Oddsson

Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Akureyri

goddsson@unak.is

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0766-8508>

Margrét Valdimarsdóttir

Associate professor, School of Social Sciences, University of Iceland

margretva@hi.is

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1799-5767>

Abstract

Iceland is one of five Western countries where police officers do not carry firearms. Instead, firearms are kept in lockboxes until access is permitted by a ranking officer. In 2022, however, the Minister of Justice sidestepped parliamentary procedure to allow officers to carry Tasers. This intensified an ongoing debate over police use of force—the highest level of which is the use of firearms. It also raises the question of what prospective police officers think about the possibility of allowing officers to carry firearms. This study examines Icelandic police students' attitudes towards routine police armament using panel data for incoming (N=284) and graduating (N=158) students from the University of Akureyri from 2019 to 2024. Few incoming and graduating students (15% and 11%) favour routine armament. Findings for a paired sample (N=101) show a significant shift over the two-year studies, with many initial supporters becoming opponents by graduation. Trends across cohorts show support declining from 2019 but increasing in 2024, reflecting potential influences from recent policy changes and public and political discourse. Multinomial regression reveals that men, conservatives, and students with extra-legal attitudes towards police work are more likely to favour routine armament, although the effects of these factors diminish by graduation.

Keywords

police students, Iceland, use of force, armament, attitudes

Law of the instrument: "Give a small boy a hammer, and he will find that everything he encounters needs pounding" – Abraham Kaplan (1964)

A defining feature of the police is their legal authority to use force—the highest level of which is the use of firearms. Consequently, police use of force is a politically divisive issue and an important research topic (Navarro & Hansen, 2023; Ray et al., 2024). Most research focuses on the *behaviour* of experienced police officers, particularly in the United States (Bolger, 2015), where the rate of civilians shot and killed by police far exceeds that of

other Western countries (Hirschfield, 2023). However, understanding police use of force also requires examining factors shaping current and prospective police officers' *attitudes* towards use of force (Fekjær & Strype, 2015; McCarthy et al., 2024). "Not only do these attitudes play a role in determining the use of force by police, but the attitudes held by police officers can also function as a barometer of changes in police use of force" (Lester, 1996, p. 180).

Moreover, expanding research to include police attitudes towards use of force in countries where police officers do not routinely carry firearms is important (Hendy, 2021) as these attitudes may differ from where routine police armament is the norm. This is particularly important considering that Sir Robert Peel—the father of modern policing—introduced unarmed policing to engender widespread public support for the police (Waddington et al., 2008), and studies show that armament policies shape police-public relations (Yesberg & Bradford, 2019).

Only five Western countries, including Iceland, have routinely unarmed police services (Hendy, 2014). "The practice is rooted in tradition and the belief that arming the police with guns engenders more gun violence than it prevents" (Oddsson quoted in Noack, 2016). However, it must be noted that the countries in question have different approaches to armed deployment. On one hand, Iceland, Norway and New Zealand take a generalist approach where all police officers in the field have firearms capability and access to firearms in lockboxes in patrol cars. Moreover, in Iceland and Norway, police officers must get permission from a ranking officer before accessing firearms. On the other hand, Ireland and the United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland) take a specialist approach that restricts firearms access and training to authorised firearms officers in armed response vehicles (Hendy, 2022).

Despite Iceland ranking as the world's most peaceful country since 2008 (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2023), the debate over whether the police should remain unarmed surfaces regularly, especially following heightened perceived terrorist risk and high-profile gun incidents, which are few and far between (Gottlieb, 2022). While firearms have become more accessible to Icelandic officers in recent years, they remain in lockboxes in patrol cars until access is permitted by a ranking officer. In 2022, however, the Minister of Justice sidestepped parliamentary procedure to rework a regulation on police use of force to allow officers to carry Tasers (Conducted Electrical Weapons) (Ministry of Justice, 2022 no. 1740), intensifying an ongoing debate over police use of force (Ćirić, 2023; National Police Commissioner, 2024). This development raises the question of what police students in Iceland—where police have never routinely carried firearms—think about further potential changes to the country's armament policy, specifically, allowing officers to carry firearms. The current study addresses this question by examining Icelandic police students' attitudes towards routine police armament.

While considerable research exists on officers' attitudes towards use of force (McCarthy et al., 2024), studies focusing on police students are few (Phillips, 2015), particularly in countries with unarmed police (Fekjær & Strype, 2015). The current study helps address this gap by exploring Icelandic police students' attitudes towards routine police armament, focusing on the effects of police education, the policy change allowing officers to carry Tasers, extra-legal attitudes towards police work (a Dirty Harry attitude), and political orientation. The analysis uses data from incoming (N=284) and graduating (N=158) police students at the University of Akureyri (UNAK) from 2019 to 2024, gathered as part of the RECPOL project (Bjørge & Damen, 2020).

Basic police education in Iceland is centralised and was moved to the university level in 2016. UNAK is responsible for Iceland's only basic police education programme and oversees academic teaching, whereas the Centre for Police Training and Professional Development in Reykjavík handles intake and practical training. "Before educational reform, Iceland, with its vocational approach and one-year training period, was an exception to the Nordic model of police education, which involves a longer education period and is more academically rigorous" (Oddsson et al., 2020, p. 82). After education reform, however, Icelandic police students complete a two-year 120 ECTS credit diploma, equivalent to a U.K. foundational degree (Rogers & Gravelle, 2020). As such, Iceland's police education reform exemplifies a shift from vocational *police training*—centred on one-way knowledge delivery and acquisition of job-specific skills—to university-led *police education*—premised on fostering critical reflective practice and communication skills for an increasingly complex and diverse society (Bragason et al., 2023; Oddsson et al., 2024).

Building on Fekjær and Strype (2015), our study focuses on the highest level of police use of force, namely, the use of firearms. While police use of force is conceptually ambiguous and difficult to measure (Klahm et al., 2014), attitudes towards armament are precise and a valuable alternative measure, particularly in societies with routinely unarmed police.

Fekjær and Strype's (2015) article is the only other published work on police students' attitudes towards armament. Its results show that one-third of Norwegian police students in 2013 favoured routine armament, one-third were against, and one-third were undecided. However, by 2016—following a 14 month period when the Norwegian police was temporarily armed due to heightened terrorist threat—students' support for routine armament had surged (to 84%), suggesting that policy changes can shape attitudes towards use of force (Skjevraak, 2016).

The current study goes beyond Fekjær and Strype's (2015) cross-sectional design by using panel data on incoming *and* graduating students to examine the effects of education over time and identify attitudinal and demographic factors shaping police students' attitudes towards police armament. Few longitudinal studies of police students' attitudes exist (exceptions include Charman, 2017; Bjørge & Damen, 2020) and our study is also the first to examine the effects of police students' political orientation on attitudes towards police armament.

Police socialisation

As prospective police officers, police students' attitudes and behaviour are shaped by, at least, the cultural environment of the police profession they are being socialised into, their respective study environments, and their individual beliefs (Bjørge & Damen, 2020). While socialisation unfolds throughout people's police career, the learning and adjustments to attitudes and behaviour predominantly take place early on (Charman, 2017), underscoring the importance of studying police students over time.

According to Van Maanen's (1976) classic theory, socialisation into the police transpires in four phases: pre-entry, admittance, change, and continuance. In the current study, police students are first surveyed on their attitudes towards routine police armament upon entering UNAK's police education program, that is, at the end of Phase 1 of the police socialisation process (pre-entry). By this time, incoming students' views of police work have been influenced by family, friends, prior education, and cultural (particularly media) representations but not, for the most part, by police culture. The second survey is conducted a few weeks before students graduate as police officers, which corresponds to the end of Phase 2 (admittance) or the in-school period, which introduces students to diverse views of the police, including police

culture. Phase 3 (change) refers to an individual's first few years working as a police officer and Phase 4 (continuance) represents the experienced police officer (Bjørge & Damen, 2020). This study focuses on the first two phases.

Reviewing Van Maanen's (1976) theory, Tuttle (2002) highlights that transitions between phases are critical. Importantly, individuals are often particularly receptive to the norms of the phase they are entering because they do not fully know what to expect. Accordingly, incoming students should be especially attentive to norms stressed by the education institution whereas graduating students should be very receptive to officers' norms (Fekjær et al., 2014).

In 2016, Iceland moved basic police education to the university level and shifted from a face-to-face to a blended learning format. Thus, the transition from Phase 2 to Phase 3 is less analytically distinct in Iceland than most elsewhere. Specifically, the blended learning format allows the majority of Icelandic police students to study mostly as distance learners and work at least part time as temporary police officers alongside their studies (Oddsson et al., 2024). This situation exposes Icelandic police students earlier, longer, and more strongly to police officers' norms than where students' first direct experience of police culture is during field training.

Building on Tuttle's (2002) review and prior research (Fekjær et al., 2014; Bjørge & Damen, 2020), we expect that incoming students' attitudes towards routine armament to be primarily influenced by a general perception of the police role. This perception is shaped by prior education, cultural representations of the police, and the norms of the police education program, but not yet by police culture. By graduation, students' attitudes are more strongly influenced by norms internalised in police education and by working as temporary police officers, reflecting an integration into police culture.

The case of Iceland underscores that police socialisation involves both formal and informal learning and does not necessarily follow a clear linear pattern where the effects of formal socialisation (i.e., the police education program) give way to the stronger effects of tacit, informal socialisation of the workplace via interactions with seasoned police officers. In reality, and particularly in Iceland, learning and working overlap and there are opportunities for informal learning in police education and opportunities for formal learning at work (Charman, 2017). Moreover, the fact that most Icelandic police students work as temporary police officers alongside their studies makes it even more difficult to disentangle the effects of formal versus informal learning on their evolving attitudes and behaviour.

Prior research

Most prior research on police use of force focuses on experienced police officers (Klahm & Tillyer, 2010; Bolger, 2015). This literature suggests that more educated police officers are less likely to use force (Paoline & Terrill, 2007; Rydberg & Terrill, 2010). The evidence on attitudes towards use of force is more mixed, but more studies suggest that college educated police officers are less supportive of inappropriate use of force (Telep, 2011). Focusing on police students specifically, Phillips (2015) found that police students' support of unnecessary force is negatively related to education level and age. Likewise, Fekjær and Strype's (2015) study of Norwegian police students shows that those with no prior higher education were more supportive of routine armament. However, this result was explained by differences in attitudes towards the police role and career plans. Age had no effect.

Klahm and Tillyer's (2010) review concludes that most research does not report a gender difference in use of force, whereas Bolger's (2015) meta-analysis shows that male police officers are more likely to use force. In fact, several studies show that men are more prone to use force and at higher levels than women (Henriksen & Kruke, 2020; Ba et al., 2021). A study by Braithwaite and Brewer (1998) suggests that these gender differences can, in part, be explained by male officers' greater propensity to use coercive tactics, which increase the risk of physical resistance. Moreover, studies such as Biggam et al. (1997) suggest that women are less supportive of the use of force. These results lend themselves to hypothesising that male police students are more supportive of police armament since it represents the highest level in the police use of force ladder (Figure 1). Indeed, Fekjær and Strype (2015) found that male police students were more supportive of routinely arming police officers. However, this result was largely explained by differences in attitudes towards the police role and career plans.

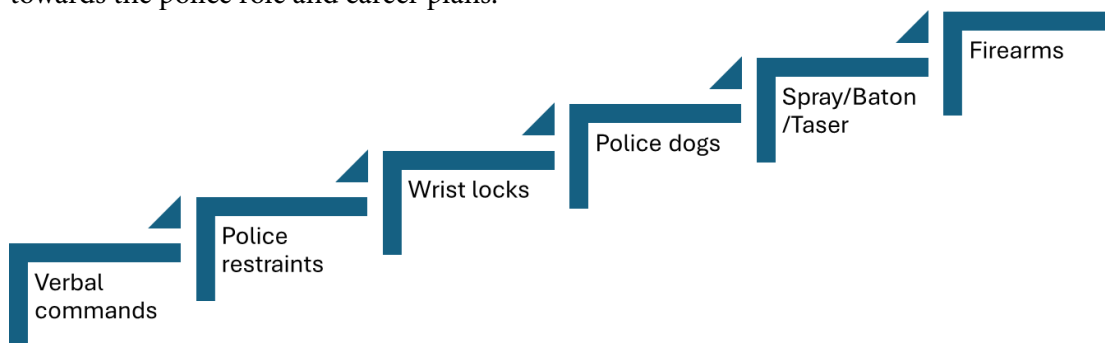


Figure 1. The Icelandic police use of force ladder (Ministry of Justice, 2022 no. 1740)

Heightened concerns over excessive police use of force, particularly in the U.S., highlight the difference between “warrior” and “guardian” orientations to policing (Stoughton, 2016). “Warrior” policing embodies an aggressive or coercive approach to law enforcement, while ‘guardian’ policing prioritises communication, procedural justice and citizen safety” (McCarthy et al., 2024:187). According to the warrior approach, police officers are primarily crime fighters who must be hypervigilant to ensure officer safety in the face of ever-present danger (McLean et al., 2020; Stoughton (2016)). The warrior orientation is reinforced by the “danger imperative” framework emphasising violence and officer safety (Sierra-Arévalo, 2021). In fact, a recent study found that “warrior policing was associated with greater support for use of force and greater perceived threat in an ambiguous threat scenario” (McCarthy et al., 2024, p. 187). Moreover, police officers with a warrior mentality are more willing to uphold police authority by any means necessary. Thus, we expect that police students who perceive police work to be dangerous and are most willing to uphold police authority by any means necessary (bend the rules) will also be most supportive of police armament, which clearly signals police authority. Consistent with this, Fekjær and Strype (2015) found that police students with an autonomous, extra-legal perception of police work (a Dirty Harry attitude) were more likely to prefer armament. Their results also showed that students who foresaw a police career in patrol work were more likely to support armament, but prior research suggests that extra-legal attitudes are more common among patrol officers (Fekjær et al., 2014; Thomassen et al., 2019). While studies of officers show that perceived dangerousness of police work is related to use of force attitudes (McCarthy et al., 2024), Norwegian police students who perceived police work as dangerous were not more likely to support armament (Fekjær & Strype, 2015).

Politics and policing are strongly related through policies and legislation (Donahue, 2023) and political orientation may thus shape current and prospective police officers' attitudes and behaviours. Studies show that conservatives are much more supportive of reasonable as well as excessive police use of force than liberals, reflecting a deep divide by political orientation when it comes to police use of force (Navarro & Hansen, 2023). However, few studies of police use of force consider officers' political orientation. One exception is Oberfield's (2012) study of officers during their first two years on the job, showing that conservative officers were significantly more likely to agree that "cops should be allowed to use all necessary force to do their jobs" (p. 715). Thus, it is reasonable to expect that right-leaning police students are more supportive of routinely arming the unarmed police service. Prior studies show that police students in seven European countries, including Iceland, are generally less trusting (Thomassen & Strype, 2020) and more conservative (Thomassen, 2020) than the general population, and that students' political orientation shapes their attitudes to police work (Thomassen et al., 2008)

Lastly, use of force policies can shape both police officers' use of force behaviour (De Buck et al., 2024; McLean et al., 2022) and attitudes (Thomassen et al., 2019). Studies suggest that officers in countries with a routinely armed police service find it hard imagining performing their duties without being armed (Evans & Farmer, 2020). Additionally, evidence from countries with routinely unarmed police suggests that attitudes towards armament can quickly shift following policy changes. For example, among Norwegian officers, support for armament rose from 20% in 2011 to 80% by 2017 following a 14 month period of routine armament due to heightened terrorist threat (Thomassen et al., 2019). Similarly, support among Norwegian police students surged from 33% in 2013 to 84% in 2016 (Fekjær & Strype, 2015; Skjevraak, 2016). Thus, we reasonably expect that other fundamental changes to police armament policies in a country with routinely unarmed police—such as allowing officers to carry Tasers—could influence police students' attitudes towards routine armament.

The current study

This study addresses three research questions. The first is: *How do police students' attitudes towards routine armament change (within cohorts) from enrolment to graduation?* While research has yet to explore how these attitudes evolve during police education, prior studies suggest that police students' views of police work shift as they become more socialised into police culture (Van Maanen, 1976; Charman, 2017; Bjørge & Damen, 2020). A key factor in this change is the development of either a warrior or guardian orientation (Stoughton, 2016). Unlike the warrior mindset often promoted in U.S. police training, Icelandic police education and police culture—as in Norway—emphasise a guardian approach that prioritises community service over crime fighting (Brown, 2022). Moreover, Icelandic police, particularly rural officers, practice soft policing, "which emphasizes noncoercive policing, community engagement, and negotiation" (Oddsson et al., 2021). As students gain a more realistic understanding of police work in Iceland over the course of their studies, we expect that graduating students become less supportive of routine police armament than incoming students. Charman's (2017) longitudinal study of police recruits, for example, demonstrates that attitudes can change significantly early on due to the "reality shock" brought upon by a disconnect between the expectations and realities of the job, particularly as recruits realise that police work involves less crime fighting and more safeguarding vulnerable populations than they initially assumed.

The second research question is: *How did police students' attitudes towards routine police armament change (between cohorts) from 2019 to 2024?* While firearms have become more accessible to Icelandic officers, they remain in lockboxes in patrol cars until access is permitted by a ranking officer. Increased accessibility reflects a cautious policy shift influenced by heightened public and political discourse on police use of force and armament. Another key development was the decision by the Minister of Justice in 2022 to sidestep parliamentary procedure and rework a regulation allowing police officers to carry Tasers (Ministry of Justice, 2022 no. 1740). Allowing Tasers represents a critical juncture and a potential stepping stone towards further armament, including the routine carrying of firearms.

We do not offer specific hypotheses on the development of students' attitudes towards routine armament following the policy change allowing officers to carry Tasers, as the effects are potentially multifaceted. On one hand, the introduction of Tasers could *reduce* support for routine armament, as students may see Tasers as a sufficient alternative to ensure officer and public safety. For instance, 86% of students working as temporary police officers support equipping officers with Tasers, compared to 90% of degreed police officers (National Police Commissioner, 2023).

On the other hand, the policy change might *increase* support for armament, as some may view it as part of a broader trend—a stepping stone—towards more heavily armed police and the normalisation of police carrying firearms. These dynamics underscore the importance of studying police students' attitudes. Understanding their perspectives provides valuable insights into how current and future regulatory changes might be received and implemented within the Icelandic police.

The third research question is: *What demographic and attitudinal factors shape police students' support for routine police armament?* We focus on the effects of autonomous, extra-legal attitudes towards police work and political orientation, while also analysing the effects of operational orientation and perceived dangerousness of police work. Specifically, we hypothesise that the following factors are positively associated with support for armament:

- Autonomous, extra-legal attitudes towards police work,
- Right-leaning political orientation,
- Foreseeing a career in patrol work,
- Perceiving police work as dangerous.

Lastly, we examine the effects of gender, age, and previous higher education, expecting that males, younger students, and those without previous higher education are more supportive of routine armament.

Data and methods

Our data are drawn from the cross-national research project Recruitment, Education and Careers in the Police (RECPOL) (Bjørge & Damen, 2020). Data for the current study were gathered at two time points during the study program, specifically, when students had just entered UNAK's police education program (Phase 1=P1, pre-entry/incoming) and again a few weeks before students graduated as police officers (Phase 2=P2, admittance/graduating) (Van Maanen, 1976; Bjørge & Damen, 2020). In 2019, the Icelandic questionnaires were supplemented with a question about attitudes towards routine police armament, modelled on Fekjær and Strype (2015). Thus, we analysed data from fall 2019 through spring 2024 (11 surveys total). The response rate for incoming students ranged from 55%

in 2020 to 90% in 2022, and for graduating students, it ranged from 48% in 2020 to 95% in 2022 (Table 1).

Our total sample includes 284 incoming students and 158 graduating students, with 101 paired responses (i.e., 101 students participated in the P1 survey *and* the P2 survey two years later). This data, therefore, allows us to descriptively examine yearly trends for all students (between-cohort changes) and use a paired sample test to examine whether the attitudes of incoming students differ significantly from those of graduating students (within-cohort changes). For the paired sample, we applied the McNemar-Bowker test designed to manage paired nominal outcomes with more than two categories (Bowker, 1948; Rahardja et al., 2016). Finally, we used multinomial logistic regression to identify what demographic and attitudinal factors predict support for routine armament.

Measures

To assess students' *attitudes towards routine armament* we used the question "Should the police always carry firearms while on duty?" with the answer choices "yes", "no", and "undecided". Our independent variable *extra-legal attitudes* (a Dirty Harry attitude) is conceptualised as students valuing achieving swift and tangible outcomes over strict adherence to legal procedures (Fekjær & Strype, 2015). This variable was constructed by averaging the scores of eight survey items. Participants were asked "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about how police should do their job?": 1) In policing, the result is more important than strict compliance with laws and regulations; 2) Everyone should be treated equally, whether they are ordinary citizens or known criminals (reversed); 3) Treating individuals according to their behaviour or origins is an intrinsic part of police work; 4) The police should moralise persons who misbehave even if they have not committed a specific crime; 5) In cases where legal provisions are insufficient, the police should punish those who are clearly guilty; 6) Those who are disobedient or uncooperative towards the police should be punished more severely than those who cooperate; 7) Those who are rude to the police should be treated accordingly; 8) If police officers commit an offence, it should be resolved within the police instead of by legal action against them. Answer choices ranged from 1 "Disagree completely" to 5 "Completely agree" (P1: mean = 2.2; SD = 0.6; $\alpha = 0.7$; P2: mean = 2.0; SD = 0.6; $\alpha = 0.7$).

Perceived danger was assessed with the question "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement about policing? Policing is a dangerous job", with the same answer choices as above (P1: mean = 3.9; SD = 0.9; P2: mean = 4.3; SD = 0.8). We measured *operational orientation* with two survey questions: "If you try to imagine what your life will be like in 10 years, how probable is it that the following statements will apply to your situation?": 1) "I am doing operational police work" and 2) "I am in management" (reversed). Answer choices ranged from 1 "Does not apply at all" to 5 "Applies very well" (P1: mean = 3.7; SD = 1.0; P2: mean = 3.9; SD = 0.9).

Finally, we measured students' *political orientation* with the question "In politics, we sometimes speak of 'left' and 'right'. Please position yourself on the scale below where 0 means 'left' and 10 means 'right'" (P1 and P2: mean = 5.6; SD = 1.8). Students' gender, age, and whether they had previous higher education before entering the police program were also based on self-report measures.

The study was performed in accordance with the Declaration of University of Iceland's Scientific Ethical Guidelines (2019). Privacy considerations complied with Icelandic law

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Year	2019		2020		2021		2022		2023		2024		Total sample	
	P1	P2	P1	P2	P1	P2	P1	P2	P1	P2	P1	P2	P1	P2
Support for routinely arming the police														
Yes	17.9%	25.0%	12.0%	15.8%	9.1%	13.2%	9.7%	18.2%	3.0%	10.2%	15.1%	10.8%		
No	45.3%	76.0%	75.0%	72.7%	68.4%	74.2%	55.3%	60.6%	43.6%	61.0%	53.5%	65.8%		
Undecided	36.8%	0.0%	12.0%	15.8%	18.2%	31.6%	16.1%	38.2%	36.4%	28.8%	31.3%	23.4%		
Gender														
Females	51.6%	27.8%	44.0%	36.8%	39.4%	31.6%	48.4%	45.5%	33.3%	34.5%	43.0%	36.5%		
Males	48.4%	72.2%	56.0%	63.2%	60.6%	68.4%	51.6%	54.5%	66.7%	65.5%	57.0%	63.5%		
Prior higher educ.														
Yes	17.0%		24.0%		34.4%		11.8%		20.0%			18.8%		
No	83.0%		76.0%		65.6%		88.2%		80.0%			81.2%		
Mean age (SD)	24.2(5.0)	25.2(2.4)	24.2(3.9)	29.8(4.5)	24.9(5.1)	25.9(5.2)	27.0(4.2)	25.2(4.5)	25.2(4.5)	28.6(5.9)	25.0(4.9)	27.8(4.9)		
Response rate	77.1%	58.1%	54.8%	65.8%	72.0%	90.0%	95.1%	80.1%	82.9%	77.6%				
N	95	16	25	19	33	76	31	55	33	59	284	158		

no. 90/2018 on data protection. Respondents' informed consent satisfies approval criteria set by the Icelandic Data Protection Authority.

Results

Table 1 shows the demographic and educational background of incoming (P1) and graduating (P2) police students participating in the RECPOOL surveys from 2019 to 2024. Approximately 57% of P1 participants were male, and 64% of P2, reflecting a slight increase in male representation in the sample over time. However, among all graduating cohorts during this period, the gender distribution was relatively equal (Oddsson et al., 2024). The highest proportion of incoming student respondents with previous higher education (holding an undergraduate degree) was in 2021, when more than 34% of students entering the program had attained this level of education. Across the entire period, 18.8% of incoming students held a university degree at enrolment. Data on previous education is not collected for graduating students. The average age of the P1 sample was 25 years (SD = 4.9), and just under 28 years (SD = 4.9) for the P2 sample.

Table 1 also illustrates yearly trends and overall distribution of students' views on routinely arming the police. Among incoming students, approximately 54% opposed routine police armament, 15% supported it, and just under a third were undecided. Among graduating students, nearly 11% supported routine armament, with almost 66% opposed, and about 23% were undecided.

In Table 2, we address the first research question and test whether there was a significant change in attitudes towards routine police armament over the course of the study program. Hence, in Table 2 we focus on a paired sample of the *same* individuals, observed both at enrolment and two years later at graduation. The results show that a considerable proportion of initial supporters (58.3%) became opponents after their two-year studies. A substantial portion of undecided individuals (52.4%) remained undecided, while some shifted to support (19.0%) or opposition (28.6%). Most initial opponents (72.1%) of routine armament remained opponents after their studies. This analysis indicates that the police education programme and/or students' exposure to police culture and the realities of police work as temporary police officers had some impact, particularly in shifting initial supporters to opponents and maintaining opposition among initial opponents. These

Table 2. Police students' attitudes towards routine police armament based on a paired sample at enrolment (P1) and at graduation (P2)

		<i>"Should the police always carry firearms while on duty?"</i>							
		P1				P2			
		Yes		Undecided		No		Total	
		N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%
P2	Yes	3	25.0	4	19.0	3	4.4	10	9.9
	Undecided	7	16.7	11	52.4	16	23.5	29	28.7
	No	2	58.3	6	28.6	49	72.1	62	61.4
	Total	12	100	21	100	68	100	101	100

McNemar-Bowker Test = 6.81(3), P = 0.078.

changes are statistically significant at the 90% confidence level. Given the relatively small sample size ($N = 101$), using a 90% confidence level is appropriate to identify trends that may not reach significance at the conventional 95% level but are still of interest. The McNemar-Bowker test yielded a $\chi^2 = 6.81$ ($df = 3$), $P = 0.078$.

Our second research question focuses on how police students' attitudes changed over the research period. Some interesting trends are noticeable in Figure 2, although these changes should be interpreted with caution due to the relatively small sample sizes. Until recently, support for routinely arming the police was declining for both incoming and graduating students. Support for police armament among incoming students decreased from 18% in 2019 to 9% in 2021 but rose in the following two years. Among graduating students, there was a noticeable decrease in support for armament from 2020 to 2023. In 2020, 25% of graduating students supported armament, but by 2023, support had dropped to just 3%. However, the proportion of supporters in the graduating cohort increased again in 2024 and was seven percentage points higher than among the 2023 cohort.

Declining support for routine police armament may be partly attributed to a change in the intake process in 2020. This change restricted enrolment to students who passed all intake requirements before the first semester, allowing practical training to begin immediately. Previously, a larger, more diverse group of students could enrol, with the final selection occurring after the first semester, when practical training began. This change might favor candidates with a less pro-gun view of policing. Conversely, the recent increase in support for police use of firearms might be influenced by ongoing discussions about the dangers of policing and the perceived need for greater protection.

While Figure 2 presents yearly changes in support, it is important to note that these differences are not statistically significant based on the calculated confidence intervals. Given the relatively small sample sizes, changes should be interpreted with caution, as they may reflect random variation rather than meaningful shifts in attitudes.

Tables 3 and 4 report the results of a multinomial logistic regression addressing our third research question focusing on *what demographic and attitudinal factors are associated with police students' support for routine police armament?* Following Fekjær and Strype (2015), we use the response “no” to the question of whether police should always carry firearms while on duty as the baseline comparison, contrasting it with “yes” and “undecided.” To ensure independence of observations—a key assumption of regression analysis—we analysed incoming and graduating students separately. In the tables below we report coefficients (b) as well as the exponentiated coefficients, or odds ratios (OR).

Incoming students

Model 1 in Table 3 reveals that gender differences among incoming students, while present, do not reach statistical significance. The results do, however, indicate that male students were more likely to support armament (OR = 1.59, $P > 0.10$). Moreover, men are significantly less likely than women to be undecided (OR = 0.55, $P < 0.05$). Age and previous higher education do not significantly influence students' attitudes towards police armament. In this sample, however, students with prior higher education tend to be less supportive of armament.

The results in Model 3 (Table 3) show that autonomous attitudes—reflecting an extra-legal orientation towards policing—strongly predict support for police armament (OR = 2.28, $P < 0.001$). Contrary to expectations, the perceived danger of policing and operational orientation (expecting a career in patrol work) do not significantly influence support for armament among incoming students. Political orientation, however, played a substantial

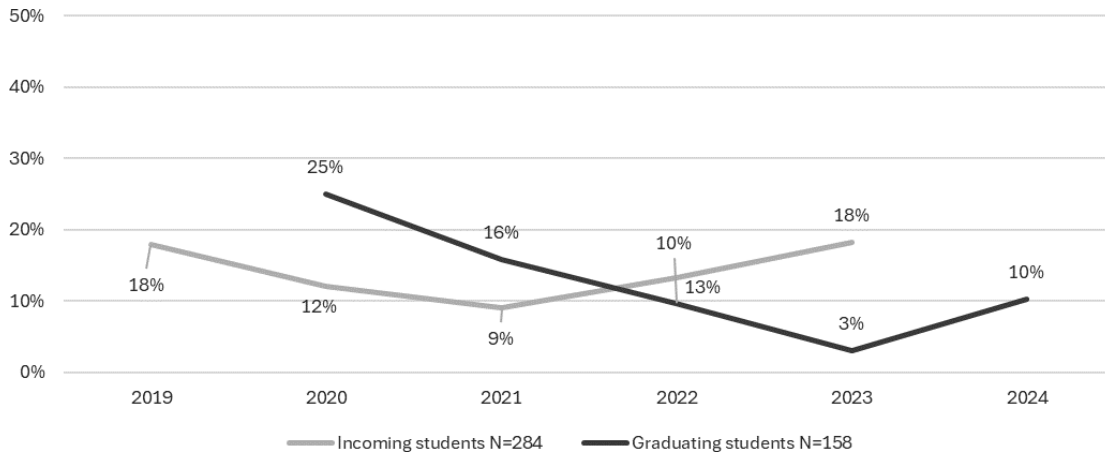


Figure 2. Yearly trends in support for routine police armament among police students (P1 and P2)

Table 3. Multinomial logistic regression of attitudes towards routine police armament among incoming police students from 2019 to 2023

	Yes		Undecided		Yes		Undecided	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	exp(b)	B	exp(b)	b	exp(b)	b	exp(b)
Males	0.46	1.59	-0.60	0.55*	0.31	1.36	-0.66	0.52*
Age	-0.03	0.97	0.03	1.03	-0.02	0.98	0.03	1.03
Prior higher education	-0.75	0.47	-0.40	0.67	-0.98	0.38	-0.41	0.67
Autonomous attitudes					0.83	2.28***	0.48	1.61+
Perceived danger					0.07	1.07	-0.15	0.86
Operational orientation					0.14	1.15	0.16	1.18
Political orientation (Left-Right political scale)					0.34	1.40***	0.26	1.30***
χ^2			11.73+				38.76***	
Nagelkerke R ²			0.05				0.16	
N			273				263	

+ $P < 0.10$ * $P < 0.05$ ** $P < 0.01$.

role, with students positioning themselves on the right of the political spectrum being significantly more likely to support routine armament (OR = 1.40, $P < 0.001$) than those on the left. Further, right-leaning students were also more likely to be undecided rather than opposed to police armament (OR = 1.30, $P < 0.001$).

Graduating students

The results for graduating students in Table 4 show that men continue to exhibit a higher likelihood of supporting police armament than women, though this difference remains statistically non-significant (OR = 3.02 $P > 0.10$). In other words, male graduating students were over three times more likely to support armament than their female counterparts, but due to lack of statistical significance, caution should be exercised in generalising this result beyond the sample. Unlike among incoming students, by graduation the gender difference

Table 4. Multinomial logistic regression of attitudes towards routine police armament among graduating police students from 2020 to 2024

	Yes		Undecided		Yes		Undecided	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	exp(b)	b	exp(b)	b	exp(b)	b	exp(b)
Males	1.11	3.02	0.38	1.46	0.93	2.54	0.36	1.43
Age	-0.06	0.94	0.00	1.00	-0.5	0.95	-0.00	0.99
Autonomous attitudes					-0.60	0.55	0.28	1.33
Perceived danger					0.33	1.39	0.12	1.12
Operational orientation					0.45	1.57	0.09	1.10
Political orientation (Left-Right political scale)					0.34	1.28	0.01	1.01
χ^2		4.05				12.31		
Nagelkerke R ²		0.03				0.10		
N		154				148		

+P < 0.10 *P < 0.05 **P < 0.01.

in being undecided towards armament is small and non-significant (Model 2 in Table 4). Age does not impact attitudes towards police armament.

In Models 3 and 4 (Table 4), we incorporate students’ attitudes towards police work and political orientation. Interestingly, unlike among incoming students, these attitudinal factors do not seem to affect graduating students’ perspective on armament. This suggests that, over the course of their studies, the influence of personal and political factors may diminish, leading to more uniform attitudes among graduating students. This is a testament to the effectiveness of police education and police socialization more generally, but “police culture can be viewed as moulding the attitudes—with numbing regularity—of virtually all who enter” (Van Maanen, 1975, p. 215).

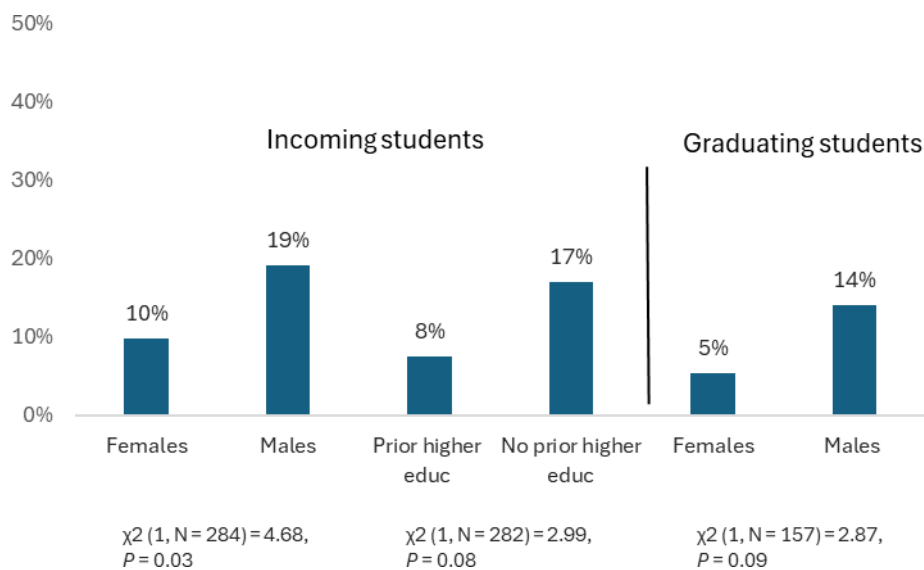


Figure 3. Support for routine police armament among incoming and graduating police students by gender and previous higher education (additional analysis).

To provide a more comprehensive view of the data, Figure 3 presents the raw differences in proportions of support for routine police armament by gender and previous higher education (for incoming students). The figure shows the unadjusted differences in support across these groups. While the differences did not reach statistical significance in the multivariate models (Tables 3 and 4), the figure is included to give an overview of the basic descriptive patterns present in the data. For example, even though the odds ratios for gender and education did not achieve significance in the regression analysis, the group proportions indicate that men and incoming students without prior higher education may exhibit higher levels of support for armament.

Conclusions and discussion

Over the 2019–2024 research period, only a small minority of police students supported routinely arming police officers. Only about 15% of incoming and 11% of graduating students supported armament, and about 54% and 66% were against. Thus, a much smaller percentage of police students support armament in Iceland than in Norway, where the only other studies of this kind have been conducted (Fekjær & Strype, 2015; Skjevraak, 2016).

The aim of the current study was threefold. First, we sought to explore how police students' attitudes towards routine armament evolve during their studies (changes within cohorts). As expected, findings suggest a shift in attitudes over the two-year studies, where a substantial portion of initial supporters became opponents by graduation. This shift is consistent with the notion that policing and police education in Iceland—which emphasise a guardian rather than a warrior orientation to police work—may influence students to reconsider their initial views on the necessity of routine armament (Oddsson et al., 2021; Brown, 2022). However, a sizeable number of students remained undecided or maintained their original stance. Although the curriculum and formal socialisation process within the police education program and the informal learning on the job as temporary police officers may temper pro-gun attitudes, they do not uniformly lead to opposition to routine armament.

The second research question focused on changes in students' attitudes towards routine police armament from 2019 to 2024 (changes between cohorts). This period is important considering recent policy changes and heightened public discourse on police use of force. Results reveal dynamic and somewhat contradictory trends. Initially, there was a clear decline in support among both incoming and graduating students, suggesting a possible shift towards a less pro-gun view of policing, potentially influenced by a changed intake process into police education and the guardian orientation of Icelandic policing and police education (Oddsson et al., 2021; Brown, 2022).

However, the recent increase in support for armament, particularly the upswing in 2024 among graduating students, suggests that this decline is not linear and may be responsive to external factors, such as the evolving discourse on public and officer safety, police officers' increased access to firearms, the introduction of Tasers as standard issue, and police officers' overwhelming support thereof. These developments may have created a sense of heightened risk among students, leading some to view firearms as increasingly necessary to ensure officer and public safety.

The fluctuating support for armament could also reflect broader societal concerns over criminal activities, particularly those involving organised crime and weapons (Research Department of the National Police Commissioner, 2021). As these concerns become more pronounced in public and political discourse, they likely influence police students'

perceptions of the risks they will face as officers, and by extension, their views on the necessity of being armed. The decision to allow Tasers, while framed as an alternative to firearms, may also be viewed by some students as a step towards further armament, thus increasing support.

That said, the differences observed over time were not statistically significant, meaning that the apparent attitude shifts may be due to random variation. While external factors such as public discourse and policy changes may play a role in shaping students' views, it is important to acknowledge that the trends cannot be conclusively attributed to these influences. Therefore, while the results suggest interesting dynamics, they should be considered exploratory rather than definitive.

We also aimed to identify demographic and attitudinal factors predicting support for routine police armament. Gender emerged as a notable factor, with male students showing a higher likelihood of supporting routine armament than females, although this difference was not statistically significant after accounting for other variables. This aligns with prior research suggesting that male officers and police students are generally more prone to use and support the use of force (Bolger, 2015; Fekjær & Strype, 2015). However, the lack of statistical significance prevents us from drawing definitive conclusions about gender differences. Other demographic factors, such as age and previous higher education, do not significantly influence attitudes towards police armament among incoming students. Although students with prior higher education were less supportive of routine armament, this relationship was not statistically significant, which was also the case among Norwegian police students after controlling for operational orientation and perspectives on the police role (Fekjær & Strype, 2015). One possible explanation is that self-selection into police education overrides factors such as prior higher education (Oberfield, 2012).

The hypothesis that an extra-legal orientation to police work would be associated with support for routine armament among students was supported among incoming but not graduating students. This result is consistent with Fekjær and Strype (2015), but unlike their findings, foreseeing a career in patrol work—expected to increase support for carrying firearms—did not impact attitudes among Icelandic police students. Perceived dangerousness of policing also had no significant effect on students' attitudes towards armament.

The finding that incoming students with extra-legal attitudes towards police work are more supportive of routine armament has various implications for procedural justice or “the extent to which people believe that they have been treated with fairness and dignity during encounters with the police” (Charman, 2017). First, studies suggest that we may be able to predict police officers' interactions with the public from their attitudes as students (e.g., Bond et al., 2015). Second, police attitudes and behaviour in day-to-day encounters with the public can potentially enhance or threaten procedural justice. Specifically, a Dirty Harry attitude and having officers bend the rules undermine procedural justice, which threatens police legitimacy and fuels negative police-public interactions that can escalate into police use of force. Third, given the fallout from negative police-public interactions, our results and prior research (Bond et al., 2015) suggest that certain orientations should be identified (like valuing procedural justice) and others screened out (autonomous attitudes) during recruitment. Fourth, our results (fortunately) suggest that students' extra-legal orientations decline during their studies, which is consistent with research showing that police students' support for procedural justice increases during in-school training (Skogan et al., 2015).

Consistent with prior research (Oberfield, 2012), we expected right-leaning students to be more likely to support police armament than their left-leaning peers. This aligns with broader trends where conservative ideologies, emphasising law and order, correlate with greater support for police use of force (Navarro & Hansen, 2023). While political orientation strongly predicted support for routine armament among incoming students, this effect appears to have waned by graduation. The reduction in significant predictors among graduating students suggests that police education and exposure to police culture and work may homogenise attitudes towards armament (Van Maanen, 1975), reducing the impact of demographic and attitudinal factors more pronounced at enrolment.

The current study has some limitations. While our sample included a substantial number of participants, response rates varied across years and between incoming and graduating students, which might introduce some bias, as certain groups may be underrepresented in specific years. Moreover, although our study spans six cohorts and 11 surveys, having data over a longer period would have allowed for stronger conclusions about trends in attitudes towards police armament.

Notwithstanding, our findings underscore the importance of studying police students' evolving perspectives to better understand police attitudes towards use of force. They also suggest that police education and exposure to police culture and work play a crucial role in moulding student attitudes, potentially leading to more uniform views among graduates. However, the variability among incoming students indicates that personal beliefs and broader societal influences remain influential, particularly in the initial stages of police education. Future research should explore how elements of the police education curriculum and students' work as temporary police officers contribute to these shifts and whether these trends hold across different cohorts and contexts.

Finally, as Iceland navigates its approach to police armament, understanding shifting perspectives on the issue is crucial for anticipating how future officers will respond to policy changes and the challenges of policing in an increasingly complex security landscape. Of particular interest is the rollout of Tasers in the fall of 2024, the effects of which remain to be seen, particularly concerning attitudes towards police use of force and further armament. While police officers strongly support carrying Tasers, only 51% of the public are in favour (National Police Commissioner, 2023; 2024). Because "the police are to the state what the edge is to the knife" (Bayley quoted in Waddington et al., 2008), having officers visibly carry Tasers—let alone misuse them—carries major implications for police-public interactions, particularly where the police is routinely unarmed. Specifically, this practice could potentially strain Iceland's soft policing approach and dilute the lifeblood of the understaffed Icelandic police—the high public trust they have enjoyed until now (Oddsson et al., 2021). Researchers and policy makers alike would do well to closely monitor the situation.

Data Availability Statement

This study is based on anonymized survey data on Icelandic police students drawn from the cross-national research project Recruitment, Education and Careers in the Police (RECPOL). The Icelandic survey data is available upon request from the corresponding author and here is [a link to a reproducible code](#).

Funding

This work was supported by the University of Akureyri Police Science Program.

References

- Ba, B. A., Knox, D., Mummolo, J. & Rivera, R. (2021). The role of officer race and gender in police-civilian interactions in Chicago. *Science*, 371(6530), 696–702. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abd8694>
- Biggam, F. H., Power, K. G., Macdonald, R. R., Carcary, W. B. & Moodie, E. (1997). Self-perceived occupational stress and distress in a Scottish police force. *Work & Stress*, 11(2), 118–133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02678379708256829>
- Björge, T. & Damen, M. L. (Eds), (2020). *The making of a police officer*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429277221>
- Bolger, P. C. (2015). Just following orders: A meta-analysis of the correlates of American police officer use of force decisions. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 40, 466–492. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-014-9278-y>
- Bond, C. E., Murphy, K. & Porter, L. E. (2015). Procedural justice in policing: The first phase of an Australian longitudinal study of officer attitudes and intentions. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 64, 229–245. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-015-9587-1>
- Bowker, A. H. (1948). A test for symmetry in contingency tables. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 43(244), 572–574. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2280710>
- Bragason, Ó. Ö., Jóhannesson, I. Á. & Geirsdóttir, G. (2023). Police education reform in Iceland: Examining the legitimating principles, contradictions, and tensions in policy discourse. *Education Inquiry*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20004508.2023.2299504>
- Braithwaite, H. & Brewer, N. (1998). Differences in the conflict resolution tactics of male and female police patrol officers. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 1(3), 276–287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146135579800100306>
- Brown, L. (2022). What the United States could learn from Norway: Training police officers to be social workers, not warriors. *University of Miami International and Comparative Law Review*, 30, 128.
- Charman, S. (2017). *Police socialisation, identity and culture: becoming blue*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63070-0>
- Ćirić, J. (2023). Minister sidestepped procedure in arming police. *Iceland Review*, March 16. <https://www.icelandreview.com/news/politics/minister-sidestepped-procedure-in-arming-police/>
- De Buck, A., Raes, J. L. & Verhage, A. (2024). Discretion in police use of force decision-making: A scoping review. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, 39, 454–468. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-024-09683-w>
- Donahue, S. T. (2023). The politics of police. *American Sociological Review*, 88(4), 656–680. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224231173070>
- Evans, R. & Farmer, C. (2020). *Do police need guns?* Springer Nature. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-9526-4>
- Fekjær, S. B., Petersson, O. & Thomassen, G. (2014). From legalist to Dirty Harry: Police recruits' attitudes towards non-legalistic police practice. *European Journal of Criminology*, 11(6), 745–759. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370814525935>
- Fekjær, S. B. & Strype, J. (2015). Norwegian police students' attitudes towards armament. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 17(3), 182–188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461355715596476>
- Gottlieb, J. (2022). How a foiled terror plot prompted calls for gun law reform in peaceful Iceland. *Euronews*, October 7. <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/10/07/how-a-foiled-terror-plot-prompted-calls-for-gun-law-reform-in-peaceful-iceland>
- Hendy, R. (2014). Routinely armed and unarmed police: What can the Scandinavian experience teach us? *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 8(2), 183–192. <https://doi.org/10.1093/policing/pau012>

- Hendy, R. (2021). Effectiveness and efficiency: Oslo police officers' perspectives of the necessity and utility of temporarily routinely arming in response to a terrorist threat. *Policing and Society*, 31(6), 672–686. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2020.1761806>
- Hendy, R. (2022). The myth of 'routinely unarmed' policing. In C. Farmer & R. Evans (Eds.), *Policing & firearms: New perspectives and insights* (pp. 169–191). Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-13013-7>
- Henriksen, S. V. & Kruke, B. I. (2020). The force continuum: Prevalence and characteristics of police use of coercive force. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Policing*, 7(1), 5–22. <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.2703-7045-2020-01-02>
- Hirschfield, P. J. (2023). Exceptionally lethal: American police killings in a comparative perspective. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 6(1), 471–498. <https://www.annualreviews.org/toc/criminol/6/1https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-030421-040247>
- Institute for Economics and Peace. Global Peace Index 2023: Measuring peace in a complex world, Sydney, June 2023. <http://visionofhumanity.org/resources>
- Kaplan, A. (1964). *The conduct of inquiry: Methodology for behavioural science*. Chandler. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2574840>
- Klahm, C. F. and Tillyer, R. (2010). Understanding police use of force: A review of the evidence. *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice*, 7(2), 214–239.
- Klahm IV, C. F., Frank, J., and Liederbach, J. (2014). Understanding police use of force: rethinking the link between conceptualization and measurement. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 37(3), 558–578. <https://doi.org/10.1108/pijpsm-08-2013-0079>
- Lester, D. (1996). Officer attitudes toward police use of force. In W. A. Geller & H. Toch (Eds.), *Police violence* (pp. 180–190). Yale University Press.
- McCarthy, M., McLean, K. & Alpert, G. (2024). The influence of guardian and warrior police orientations on Australian officers' use of force attitudes and tactical decision-making. *Police Quarterly*, 27(2), 187–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10986111231189857>
- McLean, K., Wolfe, S. E., Rojek, J., Alpert, G. P. & Smith, M. R. (2020). Police officers as warriors or guardians: Empirical reality or intriguing rhetoric? *Justice Quarterly*, 37(6), 1096–1118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2018.1533031>
- McLean, K., Stoughton, S. W. & Alpert, G. P. (2022). Police uses of force in the USA: A wealth of theories and a lack of evidence. *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, 6(3), 87–108. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41887-022-00078-7>
- Ministry of Justice. (2022). *Rules no.1740/2022 on police use of force and use of force equipment*. https://www.logreglan.is/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/B_nr_1740_2022.pdf
- National Police Commissioner. (2023). {Unpublished statistics on police officers' attitudes towards tasers}. National Police Commissioner.
- National Police Commissioner. (2024). *A Survey on public attitudes towards tasers 2024*. <https://www.logreglan.is/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/konnun-a-vidhorfum-til-rafvarnarvopna-Birt-160824.pdf>
- Navarro, J. C. & Hansen, M. A. (2023). “Please don't be too nice”: the role of political ideology in the approval of police use of force. *Policing: An International Journal*, 46(5/6), 724–738. <https://doi.org/10.1108/pijpsm-03-2023-0035>
- Noack, R. (2016). 5 Countries where most police officers do not carry firearms—and it works well. *Washington Post*, July 8. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/02/18/5-countries-where-police-officers-do-not-carry-firearms-and-it-works-well/>
- Oberfeld, Z. W. (2012). Socialization and self-selection: How police officers develop their views about using force. *Administration and Society*, 44(6), 702–730. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399711420545>

- Oddsson, G., Hill, A. P., Bragason, Ó. Ö., Bjarnason, Þ. & Ólafsson, K. (2020). Iceland as a microcosm of the effects of educational reform on police students' social background. In T. Bjørgo & M. Damen (Eds.), *The making of a police officer* (pp. 81–95). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429277221-6>
- Oddsson, G., Hill, A. P. & Bjarnason, T. (2021). Jacks (and Jills) of all trades: the gentle art of policing rural Iceland. *Nordic Journal of Criminology*, 22(2), 129–148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2578983x.2021.1979867>
- Oddsson, G., Bragason, Ó. Ö. & Þórisdóttir, R. (2024). Flexible education reform and Iceland's police staffing crisis. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 18, aae009. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paae009>
- Paoline, E. A. & Terrill, W. (2007). Police education, experience, and the use of force. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 34(2), 179–196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854806290239>
- Phillips, S. W. (2015). Police recruit attitudes toward the use of unnecessary force. *Police Practice and Research*, 16(1), 51–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2013.845942>
- Rahardja, D., Yang, Y. & Zhang, Z. (2016). A comprehensive review of the two-sample independent or paired binary data, with or without stratum effects. *Journal of Modern Applied Statistical Methods*, 15, 215–223. <https://doi.org/10.56801/10.56801/v15.i.849>
- Ray, R., Powelson, C., Fuentes, G. & Doan, L. (2024). The sociology of police behavior. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 50. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-030222-031902>
- Research Department of the National Police Commissioner. (2021). *Organized crime in Iceland 2021*. <https://www.logreglan.is/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Skipulogd-brotastarfsemi-a-Islandi-2021.pdf>
- Rogers, C. & Gravelle, J. (2020). Implementing a police foundation degree—Insights from South Wales. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 14(2), 349–361. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paz028>
- Rydberg, J. & Terrill, W. (2010). The effect of higher education on police behavior. *Police Quarterly*, 13(1), 92–120. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611109357325>
- Sierra-Arévalo, M. (2021). American policing and the danger imperative. *Law & Society Review*, 55(1), 70–103. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12526>
- Skjevraak, P. E. (2016). *Bevæpning av det norske politi?* (Master's thesis). University of Oslo.
- Skogan, W. G., Van Craen, M. & Hennessy, C. (2015). Training police for procedural justice. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 11, 319–334. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-014-9223-6>
- Stoughton, S. W. (2016). Principled policing: Warrior cops and guardian officers. *Wake Forest Law Review*, 51, 611.
- Telep, C. W. (2011). The impact of higher education on police officer attitudes toward abuse of authority. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 22(3), 392–419. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511253.2010.519893>
- Thomassen, G., Larsson, P. & Strype, J. (2008). Politics in the police: What are the implications of political diversity. *Policing in Scandinavia, Växjö: Växjö University Studies in Policing*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pat032>
- Thomassen, G. (2020). Mirroring society: How politically representative are police students in Europe?. In T. Bjørgo & M. Damen (Eds.), *The making of a police officer* (pp. 96–110). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429277221-7>
- Thomassen, G. & Strype, J. (2020). Cynicism and (dis) trust in the police: Self-selection or evolving attitudes?. In T. Bjørgo & M. Damen (Eds.), *The making of a police officer* (pp. 194–207). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429277221-12>
- Thomassen, G., Skjevraak, P. E., Strype, J., Barland, B. & Myher, T. (2019). *Alltid våpen i tjenesten?* Politihøgskolen. <https://phs.brage.unit.no/phs-xmlui/handle/11250/2634550>
- Tuttle, M. (2002). A review and critique of Van Maanen and Schein's "Toward A theory of organizational socialization" and implications for human resource development. *Human Resource Development Review*, 1(1), 66–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1534484302011004>
- University of Iceland. (2019). *Scientific ethical guidelines*. <https://www.hi.is/sites/default/files/sverring/visindasidareglur7nov2019.pdf>

- Van Maanen, J. (1975). Police socialization: A longitudinal examination of job attitudes in an urban police department. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 20(2), 207–228. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2391695>
- Van Maanen, J. (1976). Breaking in: Socialization to work. In R. Dubin (Eds.), *Handbook of work, organization, and society* (pp. 67–130). Rand McNally. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2391695>
- Waddington, P. A, Adang, O, Baker, D, Birkbeck, C, Feltes, T, Gerardo Gabaldón, L, Paes Machado, E & Stenning, P. (2008). Singing the same tune? International continuities and discontinuities in how police talk about using force. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 52, 111–138. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-008-9176-7>
- Yesberg, J. A. & Bradford, B. (2019). Affect and trust as predictors of public support for armed police: Evidence from London. *Policing and Society*, 29(9), 1058–1076. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3191056>