

**SCHOLARLY DETECTIVES:
POLICE PROFESSIONALISATION
VIA
ACADEMIC EDUCATION**

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Abstract

The thesis explores the role of academic education in police professionalisation. Due to its high complexity, specialisation and status, detective work is well-suited for illustrating these developments and the practical and symbolic benefits they can bring to the police and policing as a whole. The overall approach of thesis is iterative. Literature from police studies and sociology of professions provides the conceptual and theoretical framework for the empirical data of 24 semi-structured interviews conducted with 14 police national training coordinators and local police trainers. The increasing academisation of police training and the formalisation of the police-academia relationships suggest police professionalisation has reached a tipping point. This is seen in the current investigative skills training in England and Wales, which is characterised by growing centralisation, standardisation, and emphasis on formalising the professional knowledgebase of investigations and policing – a trend which the Professionalising Investigation Programme exemplifies. While the police (including the investigative specialism) can be shown to display many of the qualities of professions, it has lacked the level of instructional abstraction characterising other professions, typically provided by higher education and, crucially, leading to externally recognised qualifications. Developing academic police education is not without its challenges, chief among them the perceived epistemological and cultural divide between the ‘two worlds’ of police and academia. A successful transformation requires careful consideration of the content and format of the arrangements, investment, support, acceptance and engagement from police, academia and government, and a simultaneous change to cultural dispositions (*habitus*) and internal and external structures (*field*). This is worth the effort as a number of practical and symbolic benefits of police academic education can be identified. It has the potential to improve the quality of service by deepening police knowledge and understanding and facilitating community-oriented approaches. More importantly, academic education bestows a rich cultural capital, strengthens and legitimises police expertise, market monopoly, and status in the eyes of the public, other professions and the government. It enables the survival of the profession, giving it the tools to prevail in conflicts over competence and the right to define and interpret policing and its social context. In summary, police professionalisation via academic education can be explained in terms of agency and structure both; as a deliberate occupational upgrading spurred by social and economic aspirations and aimed to reconceptualise and relegitimise policing; and as an inevitable reaction to wider changes and a deeper ontological shift taking place in the society.

Declaration

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~*~

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Tämä väitöskirja on omistettu Äidilleni, joka on aina kannustanut minua seuraamaan unelmiani, luottamaan itseeni, uskomaan että kaikki on mahdollista, ja joka on *tehnyt* kaiken mahdolliseksi, tämä väitöskirja mukaanlukien.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1. Current Study

“To seek to return to the ‘golden age’ of consensus about policing symbolized by the Dixon of Dock Green myth is chimerical at best. The more pragmatic but attainable target is to achieve public recognition of doing a ‘dirty work’ occupation as professionally, efficiently, and impartially as it can be done in an ever more fragmented and divided society. Whether even that can be achieved must be doubtful in a period of massive social transformation, generating profound dislocation and insecurity.” (Reiner, 2010: 36)

“It’s the modern police force as it is, and I’m just a part of it: a work-in-progress.” (Participant 5)

“Whilst engaging with a university programme of study is not in itself sufficient for guaranteeing the qualities expected of a police officer, it is increasingly being recognised that such an engagement is nonetheless a necessary condition of achieving these ends.” (Wood & Tong, 2009: 296-7)

I have chosen to begin this thesis with three quotes that illustrate its analytical basis and the key strands of the main argument. The first one is from Robert Reiner’s *Politics of the Police* (now on its 4th edition) and refers to two irrefutable and interconnected facts, which, to reduce them to their simplest terms, are: 1) Society is changing, and 2) to remain relevant and useful, the police must change with it. The sense that the police are falling increasingly behind the times, unable to meet the society’s needs or demands, has permeated much of the recent discussion both within and outside the organisation. The concept of deep social change, of an ontological shift of sorts that both enables and commands an equivalent change in the way society is policed and by whom, is the underlying theme of the current thesis; bubbling to the surface at regular intervals until fully emerging in the concluding chapter.

Policing can be described as both dynamic and stable. It responds to the constantly shifting targets and tasks while at the same time the police *métier*, their routine practices, shaped by forces of organisational structures, resource allocation, socialised interpersonal tactics the police use, and formal and informal rewards all of the above offer, create a *“reaffirming, reinforcing, and repetitive”* feedback loop (Manning, 2010: 217 and Ch9). The second quote (modern police as a ‘work-in-progress’) from a detective sergeant involved in investigative skills training interviewed during my research, is thus both ironic and telling. While there has scarcely been a time in the history of policing in England and Wales when there has not been *talk* of reformation and change, this has rarely materialised into actual redirection of terms and

conditions at any fundamental level (at least not in recent decades). Neyroud (2011: 41) observes how 'extraordinarily constant' certain aspects of policing have remained over time, and the difficulty in making fundamental changes in the organisations (a topic we will return to at the end of Chapter 7). There have been some exceptions. The Royal Commission (1962; cited in Rawlings, 2002) (following high-profile scandals) and the consequent Police Act 1964 eventually led to the amalgamation of forces (reduced further under the Local Government Act 1972) as well as establishing the 'tripartite structure' or police accountability (and arguably beginning the trend of centralisation). The government's police reform programme in the 1990s consisted of four key elements: 1) Inquiry Into Police Responsibilities and Rewards (Sheehy Inquiry), 2) 1993 White Paper on Police Reform, 3) Police and Magistrates' Courts Act 1994, and 4) Review of Police Core and Ancillary Tasks (Posen Inquiry 1995) (Leishman, Loveday & Savage, 1996). The reform was strongly influenced by the commitment to new public management (arguably itself a symptom of national government's response to globalisation), putting emphasis on financial controls, performance measurement, national targets and private sector style management, as well as clarifying governance structures (e.g. reforming local police authorities) (ibid). Of course, a number of recommendations of the Sheehy Inquiry (mainly to do with pay and conditions) were considered too controversial, and, facing severe opposition from the police, were not implemented. The current context of policing is coloured by the government's public service cuts (epitomised for the police in the recent and much opposed Winsor (2011) review on police remuneration and conditions of service), push for clearer and more localised model of governance and responsibility (Home Office, 2010), and a wide-scale internal restructuring of the police organisation (Neyroud, 2011), which is looking to go ahead. These last two threads are discussed in the context of training arrangements and professionalisation argument later on in my thesis.

Academic education is considered an essential characteristic of professions, deemed necessary due to the complex nature of their work, their position of power and responsibility, and the guarantee of competence educational qualifications bring. Professional status would give police the public recognition Reiner (2010) talks about, and, as the final quote by Wood and Tong (2009) suggests, higher education is seen as an essential part of the process. Goldstein (2003: 24) argues that the "*so-called reforms*" of "*more personnel, more training, improved equipment and technology, new leadership, or more civilian oversight*" rarely affect the deep "*infirmities*" of policing. The current study explores the way in which professionalisation of the police as realised via academisation is being shuffled in as the next great hope for achieving just that. I have adopted the prism of detective work and investigative skills training to explicate the process for the reasons elaborated on in the next section.

The aims of the current thesis are threefold and closely interconnected, each morphing into the next one in an organic way analogous of the research process. The aims of the thesis are:

1. To provide a picture of the current state of investigative skills training in England and Wales,
2. To explore the relationship between police and academia in general and in terms of academic police training in particular,
3. To analyse and theorise the process of 'police professionalisation' within the framework of sociology of professions, and with emphasis on the role of academic education more generally.

The next section (1.1.1.) will expand on the relationship between the aims, examining how and why the move from specific focus on investigative skills training from policing and police training more generally is both appropriate and inevitable for theoretical and methodological reasons. Chapter 2 will revisit the research questions, situating them more firmly in the investigative epistemology of the study. The analytical and practical significance of the thesis arises in a number of ways. It generates new empirical data (from interviews with police trainers and training coordinators) as well as summarising, evaluating and integrating existing literature on the relevant topics of policing, police training, police-academia relations and professionalisation. The approach taken is theoretically informed, and the issues and themes explored transcend disciplinary boundaries. While the thesis can be comfortably situated within the field of police studies, it also, I believe, contributes to the conceptual development of sociology of professions, professional and higher education, and the broader areas of criminology and criminal justice. It has policy and practical implications (see Conclusions) for the police, higher education and the government, which can mediate and oversee the relations between professions and academia (Johnson, 1972).

The BBC documentary *The Secret Policeman* broadcast in 2003 sent shockwaves through the police and its stakeholders (a comprehensive analysis of the programme and its impact is provided by McLaughlin, 2006 Ch 6.). For all its focus on racial prejudice and discrimination, the documentary also drew attention to police training as the most cringe-worthy footage had been shot in police training schools. Only a year earlier the HMIC (2002: 101) inspection report *Training Matters* had evaluated police probationer training as “not wholly fit for purpose now, nor to support the police service of the twenty-first century.” Together, these heralded a change in recruit training (such as the establishment of IPLDP, first stage of the Professionalising Investigation Programme, which will be discussed in Chapter 3) but also led to broader and deeper implications for the police in terms of police professionalisation and cultural change (Heslop, 2011) – something that academic education will undoubtedly have a role in. In his 2008 *Review on Policing*, Sir Ronnie Flanagan recommended bringing police training closer to an education model for two key reasons. First, that the requirements of today’s policing are such that officers need knowledge and skills traditionally gained within higher education. Second, that

policing should be brought into line with other professions in terms of entry qualifications and individual commitment to achieve (as opposed to organisational commitment to provide) those. Both of these are themes explored at some length in my thesis.

While it is not a purpose of this study to dwell on the andragogical distinctions between training and education, it is useful to provide some description. Tight (1996) provides an overview of the various distinctions and definitions (see also Schwirian, 1998; Astley, 2006; and Tong, 2009 for discussions on the two concepts). Training is considered more specific, relatively narrow, task- and practice-oriented, concerned with competence and efficiency. Education on the other hand provides both broader and deeper knowledge and understanding, developing cognitive skills and encouraging alternative perspectives. While the training environment is often similar to the environment in which the acquired skills are to be used, education is seen to be a more organised and sustained activity taking place in dedicated institutions (schools and universities) (ibid). This reflects the usage of 'police training' and 'academic police education' in the following chapters; the former usually referring to the traditional forms of police training (see Chapter 3) while the latter is used to talk about the increasing trend to link it to university programmes. Tong (2009) points out that the challenge for the police is to provide a balance of training and education that addresses both the skills and knowledge needs of the officers. Arguably though, the distinction between the two is growing increasingly arbitrary as various experiential and action-oriented learning strategies are adopted by higher education courses, particularly those aimed at professions (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004). It is likely this is where the common ground for academia and police training will be found, but again, detailed examination of the shift in learning methods is beyond the scope of the study.

Police training has remained an insular practice until relatively recently, and the literature on the subject is scarce (Allard, 1997). For a long time, police training has been hidden from the education world and in the periphery of the police world, taking place at so many different levels that there was no clear responsibility or interest group. Furthermore, due to the changes wrought by the previous and current Government's Police Reforms (Home Office, 2001, 2004, 2010) and suggested organisational restructuring (Neyroud, 2011), the training arrangements have been in a constant state of flux for a while now. Police training is not a homogeneous practice, but includes various types and levels of training (Southgate, 1988a). The 2004 White Paper recognised how the majority of training focus had been on new recruits and senior management. The same applies for academic research. Tong (2009) laments the lack of 'significant independent research' on police training overall, but especially detective training. Indeed, while both probationer (e.g. Fielding, 1988; HMIC, 2002) and management training (e.g. Plumridge, 1988) have received *some* attention, there is a clear lack of previous research into ongoing and specialist police training. The

overall lack of interest in police training reflects the low status training suffers within the police (HMIC, 2002).

As already hinted, the concept of 'professions' and processes of 'professionalisation' are central to my argument. I will, however, refrain from introducing them here as the topic will be explored at length from Chapter 4 onwards. Instead, the next section will aim to further frame my thesis by discussing the choice of focus and approach I adopt in order to examine the topic of police professionalization via academic education.

1.1.1. Defining Police and Policing: Case for Detectives and ‘Roads Not Taken’

As with any topic of research, there are multiple approaches to take – not just methodologically, but in terms of focus, theory, and intellectual framework. Unfortunately, the limitations of time and resources for a PhD are such that it is impossible to pursue them all, leaving the end product only one – although hopefully well-argued – interpretation of the phenomenon under the study. In this preface, I wish to briefly discuss some of the issues and choices that frame my thesis, namely the contentious area of defining the police and policing, using detective work and training as an explicating focus, and the ‘roads not taken’, i.e. the alternative approaches to the topic the study could have adopted, but did not.

Training and education of police officers depends on how the actual police role is perceived. Reiner (2010) distinguishes between ‘police’ as a certain type of social institution found in some but not all societies and ‘policing’ as a set of processes aimed to maintain social order that occur universally and can be carried out in a variety of ways, not necessarily by a dedicated police organisation. The purpose of policing (the ‘police mandate’) is more complex and ambiguous the closer to the point of practice it is discussed (Thacher, 2008), its orientation changing over time (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Recent work by Manning (2010: 22-37) reviews five key modes of defining policing (historical-descriptive, textbook definitions, typological, context-sensitive, and analytic) all of which he finds limited in some way and often lacking in ‘ideological overlay’.

Traditional and taken-for-granted understanding of the police regards it as a state agency with broadly defined responsibility for maintenance of order, public protection, crime control (via both prevention and detection, the relative importance of which have varied throughout the history of the organisation) (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Newburn & Reiner, 2007). Another way to define policing is by its tactics and capabilities, typically after Bittner’s (1970, 1974; see also Brodeur, 2007) classic emphasis on police’s monopoly of state legitimised use of force (see Manning, 2010 for a review of Bittner’s ‘practical phenomenology’). This is a particularly relevant point, and we will return to concepts of monopoly and power in the context of professions and the police in Chapter 4 while the issue of legitimacy and re-legitimising the police via academisation is covered in Chapter 7.

However, the idea of police as an essential and unique ‘functional prerequisite of social order’ can be limiting (Newburn & Reiner, 2007). Alternatively then, policing, as provided by the state mandated agency, and its historical development (Rawlings, 2002) can be seen as a part of the wider notion of social control, i.e. *“the organised ways in which society responds to behaviour and people it regards as deviant, problematic, worrying, threatening, troublesome or undesirable”* (Cohen, 1985: 1). The more critical policing scholars take this even further. They view it explicitly

as an institution of social control that monitors, manages and defines deviance and deviant groups (who become 'police property'), acting as potential agents of oppression, state crimes and abuse of power through selective enforcement of law (discretion) (McCulloch, 2008; Reiner, 2010).

These two approaches reflect what Reiner (2010: 139-140) calls, respectively, the 'law and order' myth (Ross' 2009 conservative/traditional approach), which sees police as essential to prevention and detection of crime, and the 'repressive state apparatus' myth (Ross' 2009 radical/critical approach), which portrays the police as an oppressive force creating deviance through labelling. While it is the former that has reached an almost hegemonic position, the current economic crisis and the resulting societal disorder may well lead to the resurgence of the latter viewpoint (Reiner, 2010). In addition, there are various other narratives, such as community policing and reliance on science (research and analysis), that aim to procure the right solutions to policing problems (ibid; Ross' 2009 liberal/reformist approach). What they all ignore, Reiner (2010) argues, is the way in which policing reflects the broader social, cultural and economic conflicts and inequalities – something academic education has the potential to address by contextualising policing for those who will practice it.

Manning (2010: 134) observes a lack of "*concern with the larger field of organisational studies, comparative and historical studies, the political economics of public agencies, or any effort to see policing as one of a comparable sort public service agency.*" My thesis aims to go some way in addressing some of these points. As explained in the previous section, the study is situated within the broader field of sociology of professions. The central issue then is whether the police can be viewed as just another public service organisation or 'new profession' among others, or whether it holds an entirely unique position in the society and in relationship to the state and the public. Both the critical police scholars (see above) and the police themselves tend to prescribe to the latter perspective, albeit with differing emphases. The former viewpoint, however, appears to be the emerging narrative, especially among the management ranks and one that my interviewees also seemed to hold. It views the police as a rational system and enables the kind of comparison Manning speaks of in the above quote. Overall, however, this is not a question of either-or but of degree. The police *are* a unique organisation in some ways (mainly in their relationship with the state) and yet there is much to be gained for examining them within the context of broader professionalisation framework (see Ch 4.) and in comparison with other 'new professions' experiencing 'academic drift' such as social work and nursing (see 5.5.).

Police, of course, is not a monolithic entity. Officers and staff fulfil a variety of roles and functions, with a variety of specialisms, ranks and responsibilities. The increasing specialisation and complexity of roles, often focussed on particular crimes, is noted in the Winsor Report (2011). It provides an example of the Kent Constabulary, which has 529 different police officer roles (and

752 police staff roles), of which only 43% cover the type of 24-hour response and neighbourhood work traditionally considered the 'core policing'. Distinguishing even the fraction of these roles of individual officers from the broader mandate of the organisation and considering them all separately, is impractical, if not impossible within the confines of the current study. Nevertheless, I fully acknowledge the analytical ambiguity of 'police professionalisation' in any general all-encompassing sense and recognise the variations in the way that process will manifest among the different sections of the organisation along the way in which any training and education depends on its perceived end-purpose.

This brings us to the need to clarify the links between the set research objectives as outlined in the previous section. The three research aims reveal the two-pronged ambition of the thesis: to contribute to the understanding of police investigative skills training specifically (research aim 1) and to the developments of policing and police training generically (research aims 2 and 3). This is a result of both theoretical and methodological considerations arising from the process of research, which I will expand on here and will continue to refer to throughout the thesis.

First came the focus on investigative skills training. As the next chapter explains in providing a fuller account of the research narrative, I did not set out to research the concept of police professionalisation via academisation. Instead, it was the lack of systematic research into police training in general, and specialist ongoing training (such as investigative skills training) in particular that drew my attention. Furthermore, there was a clear need for deep description of the current training arrangements and their purpose and development. Very little was available and I felt there was a gap in the knowledge that I had a chance to fill.

This focus on investigative skills training then proved to be the necessary and appropriate vehicle for the 'intellectual journey' the research took me on. Without it and the accompanying interviews I would not have discovered the deeper qualitative shift toward professionalisation that was taking place in policing and the role academic education played in it. I will discuss the issue of generalising from investigative skills training/detective work to police training/policing further in section 2.4.4. However, for now I wish to demonstrate why, even though I did not set out to use it as such, the focus on 'scholarly detectives' in the current study provides an excellent illustrative focus – a prism of sorts – through which to examine the central topic of police professionalisation via academic education.

As emphasised throughout the thesis, the processes of professionalisation via academisation are broad and take place in arenas beyond criminal investigations of even policing. However, they often become first visible in the areas of specialisation. Within the police, investigative work a distinguishable specialism of high status, which, together the notion of specialised expertise afforded to it, makes it a natural figurehead for police professionalisation.

Potential practical and symbolic benefits of academic education, however, go beyond it, and affect police and policing as a whole. This is reflected, for example, in the fluidity with which the interviewees discussed such topics, easily going from their own specialism of investigation to the broader context of policing and the entire police organisation. Using one policing specialism as a focusing prism serves one further purpose. Following one thread can often reveal more about the whole pattern than trying to untangle them all and tracing the changes and developments of detective work and training serve to clarify the way professionalisation can be viewed as an ongoing, long-term *process*.

The third and final issue I want to briefly discuss in this section concerns the 'roads not taken'. The purpose here is to demonstrate awareness of alternative approaches to the topic and to acknowledge that had one of them been chosen instead, the shape of the argument and the conclusions drawn would have likely been somewhat different.

One such approach would have been to construct a more thorough historical analysis that would have built a detailed timeline of not just the actions of the above players, but also of developments and events in the society more generally. There is, of course, a certain contextualising historical element to the current thesis, charting the development of detective work (see 1.4.) and police training (see 3.1.). The purpose of both is to establish police professionalisation as a *process* that has been gaining momentum for a while and not something that suddenly sprung, unique and fully-formed, from the collective consciousness of the organisation. However, this is *not* a thesis with history of police or its professionalisation as a primary focus.

Another approach that I could not devote more attention to is Manning's (2010, see quote above) 'political economics'. A more detailed analysis of political and economical influences and a keener look at the 'other pieces on the board' besides the police and universities (e.g. Association of Chief Police Officers, Police Federation, Higher Education Funding Council, Home Office etc.) would have provided a more contextualised picture. My participants are a specific group of officers (trainers) with a specific viewpoint, which is both a strength and limitation (see Chapter 2 and Conclusions on methodological issues). The academic literature on academia, the nebulous role of universities and the uncertain landscape of higher education is (unsurprisingly) large. Although the latter half of the thesis does draw from it, much more than has been possible to cover would have undoubtedly proved highly relevant to the current topic.

This section has briefly discussed definitions of police and policing, from the traditional/functional 'law and order' approach to a more critical view of the organisation as a potentially oppressive tool of social control and state power. I have argued that while the police are not fully comparable with other professions due to their relationship with and dependence on the state, it is possible and highly fruitful to nevertheless discuss them in such a context. The

section also clarified the reasons for examining the topic of police professionalisation via academic education through the prism of detective work. Finally, it briefly outlined some alternative approaches that I have chosen not to pursue in the current research due to limitations of the project, but which nevertheless present intriguing possibilities (see Conclusions on potential future research). Next I will provide an overview of what the thesis *does* include, by outlining the chapter structure and with it the overall argument.

1.1.2. Overview of the Chapters

So far, I have provided a general introduction to the topic of the current study will examine, its research aims and the approach it takes to achieve them. I have chosen to structure the thesis around themes and 'meta-themes'. This approach allows for the iterative interweaving between primary and secondary material, as is done here, and better fits the qualitative nature of the research. The argument progresses through the research aims roughly in order and the structure of the chapters reflects this. The context and description of investigative skills training is provided in the first third of the thesis, while the complex interplay of professionalisation, academic education and their significance for the police is explored in the latter parts. Each chapter will end in a short concluding section, which aims to summarise the key points of the chapter and link the constituent parts into the general narrative of the argument.

This first chapter provides general introduction to the topic by presenting the research aims and discussing the choice of focus and approach I have chosen to tackle them with. It also includes an overview of academic police research, which begins to illustrate the police-academia relationship so central to the argument, then moving to discuss detective work in historical, political, economic, legal, cultural and social contexts. Chapter 2 tells the 'story of the research', covering epistemological and ontological considerations as well as the practical issues of the empirical research process, analysis and evaluation. Chapter 3 does the same to police and investigative training that the Introduction did to detective work, placing it in the broader context and examining its developments and key concepts, and hopefully meeting the first of the three research aims. This will provide a starting point from which an understanding of police academisation and professionalisation can stem. Theoretical underpinnings of the key argument – police professionalisation via academic education – will be laid out in Chapter 4, which discusses what characterises a profession, can policing be considered one and what the 'missing ingredient' of police professionalisation is.

Chapter 5 takes the argument further, exploring the special relationship between professions and academia and the practical and symbolic benefits the latter can provide the former. It briefly considers the significance of the professional knowledgebase and discusses the way nursing and social work have pursued professional status through academic education, before moving to provide a more thorough overview of the police's relationship with the world of academia. The next two chapters further integrate the key themes of the thesis, drawing from empirical data and the existing literature both. The potential benefits and challenges of academic police education (for investigative skills as well as more generally) and the practical considerations for bringing police and academia together are discussed in Chapter 6. One of the key themes that emerged both from primary and secondary data was the perceived incompatibility of police and academia (dubbed 'two worlds thinking') and the latter part of the chapter will discuss it at some

length. Chapter 7 offers a 'deeper', more theory-driven analysis, arguing that academic education gives the police the required symbolic and cultural capital to redefine and re-legitimise itself. It then turns its focus to the practical and conceptual issues of bringing police and academia together and moving toward a successful and lasting change in way police are trained/educated. In this chapter, I will also discuss the potential implications such a shift carries to the police, higher education, state and society. Arguments against professionalisation and academisation will also be briefly presented. The thesis concludes with a summary of the key arguments and discussion of methodological issues and possible directions for future research. More importantly, however, it argues that police professionalisation via academisation is a sign of a wider ontological shift taking place in our society, resulting in a new narrative of a police profession. Construction and enactment of professional identities, together with meso- and macro-level acceptance and promotion of professional ideologies, are shaping to become the defining features of 21st century policing.

As discussed above, I now proceed to situate my thesis within the wider context of academic police research.

1.2. Researching the Police

The academic study of policing is a relatively young discipline, only half a century old (Reiner, 2010). There has, however, been a steady increase in police studies over the last few decades, mapping a variety of technical and social aspects of the organisation and police work (Innes, 2003). A recent analysis of the development, political landscape, theoretical work and the emerging paradigm of the (Anglo-American) field of academic police studies is provided by Manning (2010: Chapter 4) who also criticises much of police research for being empirical without any underpinning theory, driven by immediate policy-needs, and focused too much on the police at the expense of contextual and cultural forces which shape it. In this section, I will provide a brief overview of police research, not in terms of the various topics it has tackled as that is far beyond the scope, but via the key questions of why, what, when, and who that help frame the issue of researching the police in general while also locating my thesis within this broader landscape.

Let us start with **why** we might want to research the police in the first place. Brown (1996) offers four key reasons and justifications. There are:

1. **Accountability function:** scrutinising and describing the constitutional position of an organisation that is required to maintain public order, able to use force and paid by the public to do so,
2. **Professionalising function:** research about the theory and practice of policing that serves to both question and validate its professionalism,
3. **Efficiency measurement function:** research measuring the performance of the police within and in relationship to its socio-economic context, and
4. **Change function:** identifying, introducing, measuring and critiquing reforms, innovations, and changes.

The current study sits comfortably within the second and fourth functions; professionalisation of the police is argued to signal change, and the thesis explores the connection at some length. Transferring knowledge across organisational boundaries is one of the key purposes of professional communities and any scholarly inquiry of them (Rein, 1983; cited in Thacher, 2001). Research on criminal investigations serves a clear demystification function (Ericson, 1993). It helps educate the public about investigative work, clarify its various organisational rules and processes, and question the authority and manner in which they are implanted. As Innes (2010) points out, police research can act as a 'mirror' that reflects and illuminates police work; what, how and why they police do what they do. He relates this function to the 'evidence-based policing' and 'what works' paradigms, but also emphasises the potential of the research to change ways of doing things. This second function of research is to act as a 'motor' of social change, explicitly working

towards innovation and improvement. We will return to the concepts of change and reform in the context of the current study towards the end of the thesis (see 7.3.).

Innes (ibid) also offers an answer to a question of **what types** of police research are conducted. He provides four categories:

1. **Research by the police:** internal, supporting operational activities and strategic planning, crime analysts, intelligence generation
2. **Research on the police:** academics researching police and policing, police as a topic
3. **Research for the police:** police commissioned work on a specific topic by external professional researchers
4. **Research with the police:** a collaborative and co-productive endeavour, researchers and police staff work together to address a particular issue or problem

The current thesis quite clearly comes under the second category, although the co-operation from the police should not be understated – Chapter 2 will discuss the research ‘access’ process and the role of police participants in detail.

The question of **when** can be answered by charting the development of police research in the UK. Both Reiner (1992, 2010) and Brown (1996) identify Banton’s (1964) sociological study *The Policeman in the Community* as the beginning of a systematic analysis of policing, while the majority of preceding material consisted mainly of uncritical accounts or personal memoirs. Reiner (1992, 2010) describes the development of police research in five stages:

1. **Consensus:** These early studies were typically celebratory, assuming the existence of harmonious society and lauding the police for their role in achieving that.
2. **Controversy:** By the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were growing concerns over police shaping deviance through discretion and their limitations in controlling crime, which led to an increasing (and increasingly critical) academic interest,
3. **Conflict:** The late 1970s and early 1980s saw an increased politicisation of policing, and the focus shifted on questions of accountability and who controls policing. This was a time of various public order disturbances, police malpractice and miscarriages of justice, which led the research to question the legitimacy and use of police powers. Academic research on policing was characterised by radical criminology, Marxism and focus on racial discrimination.
4. **Contradiction:** In the late 1980s police research was pulled in competing directions of left realism on one hand and the administrative criminology of the Home Office on the other. Research was policy-oriented and managerialist, focussing on developing practical solutions to ‘real’ problems
5. **Crime control:** From the 1990s, there emerged a renewed political cross-party consensus on ‘law and order’ with an increasing focus on effective crime control practices, and

monitoring and evaluation police initiatives. Reiner (2010) argues that the prevailing crime control paradigm means much of police research is focused on finding 'what works' and developing problem-oriented and intelligence-led approaches. Practice focussed research (further fuelled by the emerging Police Science – see 6.4.) has eclipsed theoretical and critical enquiry, though fortunately not entirely.

In his 1994 article, Reiner observed a marked improvement in the relationship between the police and academia; a trend which he calls 'happy rapprochement', stemming from increasing divergence of opinions between the police (and public sector generally) and the government. If such 'enemy of my enemy is a friend' approach holds, then the current context is more than ripe for increased co-operation between the police and higher education as both face severe cuts in central funding.

Who conducts police research is another question that bears answering. Reiner (2010) lists various sources of police research, including academia, police, journalists, think-tanks and independent research organisations. Brown (1996) describes four groups of police research and researchers:

1. **Inside insiders**, i.e. in-house research done by officers or civilian police staff, such as collation of statistics, evaluations, designing forms, grass-roots innovation and schemes. The increasing number of officers and staff with graduate or postgraduate degrees has been seen as improving both the quality and quantity of this type of research
2. **Outside insiders**, i.e. research done by officers/staff for purposes other than the organisation's immediate needs. Includes e.g. research done by police officers turned academics (see e.g. seminal works by Holdaway, Young, Waddington) or by officers/staff working for e.g. HMIC or Home Office research groups
3. **Inside outsiders**, this is a category emerging due to the increasing trend to employ academically qualified people within police research departments or to commission research from external institutions or consults.
4. **Outside outsiders**, i.e. any research done on police by those outside the police, e.g. by academia, local government, independent organisations.

Chapter 2 considers in depth my own status as a researcher and an 'outside outsider'.

1.3. Police and Detective Occupational Culture

“Cultures are the complex ensembles of values, attitudes, symbols, rules, recipes, and practices, emerging as people react to the exigencies and situations they confront, interpreted through the cognitive frames and orientations they carry with them from prior experiences.” (Reiner, 2010: 116)

In this section, I will provide a brief overview of the characteristics of police and detective occupational culture. This lays the foundations for a number of key themes analysed later on in the thesis, namely the perceived cultural division between police and academia, cultural capital of academic education and the complexities of changing police (or academic) culture.

Police and academia have not always seen eye-to-eye about what to research and how, not to mention the purpose of it (whether overt or perceived ‘ulterior motives’). This has been largely attributed to the police occupational culture. Reiner (1994) talks about a ‘war between police and academe’ reaching an uneasy truce only relatively recently. The tendency for the police to be very pragmatic and anti-theoretical in their orientation makes them often resistant to research, innovation and experimentation (Plumridge, 1988). People, such as academics, who advocate schemes with long-term rather than immediate benefits or asking the difficult ‘why’ questions are not typically encouraged.

Other characteristics of ‘cop culture’ are equally ill-fitting with academia and academic research. They include e.g. mission- and action-orientation, isolation, conservatism, machismo, strong internal solidarity, pessimism, cynicism, suspicion of outsiders, and the institutionalised triad of racism, sexism and heterosexism (e.g. Holdaway, 1983; Foster, 2003; Reiner, 1992, 2010; Young, 1991), all of which remain pertinent even in the modern policing context (Loftus, 2010). CID (Criminal Investigations Department) subculture exhibits largely the same features as the ‘general’ cop culture, though research (e.g. Hobbs, 1988; Sanders, 1977) suggests that some aspects are heightened among detectives, resulting in a *“radicalized and concentrated version”* of it (Innes, 2003: 14). Acquisition of detective subculture happens through active processing of informal and formal socialisation; same as more general police occupational culture (e.g. Fielding, 1988, Innes, 2003).

One of the distinctive features of police culture is what Bayley (1994) calls the ‘privileges of detectives’. By virtue of being a specialisation (and often – although not in the UK – a promotion and pay increase), investigative work enjoys a higher status than patrol. The privileges this brings include e.g. wearing civilian clothing, being managed rather than supervised, and in essence joining an ‘elite club’ with its own jargon and membership rituals (ibid). In many ways, detective work *is* special and different when compared to traditional uniformed patrol work. It has lower visibility and greater autonomy (Ericson, 1993) and comes with less supervision and a personal case-load (Irving & Dunninghan, 1993). Moral ambiguities that colour community-based

uniformed policing are reduced in the more black-and-white world of solving crimes and chasing 'bad guys' (Innes, 2003). Social isolation and group loyalty functions as a coping mechanism, the dangerousness of the working environment exacerbating the sense of separation between officers and the rest of the society (Paoline, Myers & Worden, 2000). Detectives use various distancing strategies (cognitive and behavioural techniques such as language, cynical humour, comparing police work to a 'game') to deal with stress, pressure and emotions of the job (Innes, 2003). Managing emotions, thoughts and actions during highly distressing situations is an essential part of detective work, and these serve as tools to help detectives do this. Part of their *professional role* is the ability to deal with crises (Hughes, 1958; cited in *ibid*) and the 'ontological insecurities' (Innes, 2003: 263) they can evoke.

The other side of this coin is strong suspicion of outsiders and the notion that 'only a police officer can understand the police' is one noted by other researchers (e.g. Ericson, 1993). Innes (2003: 11) sees this as a consequence of having to treat all information critically and suggests that "*expecting worst of people is a pragmatic strategy for coping with the uncertainties*". Indeed, while the 'institutionalised suspicion' so pervasive among the police and their "*culturally figured, fairly pessimistic view of human nature*" (*ibid*: 190) are usually discussed in negative light, they can also be considered an invaluable tool for detective work. Nevertheless, it is probably the one feature of the police that hinders its co-operation with the academia. Twenty years ago, Young (1991: 37-8) pointed out the paradoxical relationship between the two, arguing that while the police "*publicly commends higher education, seeking out the graduate entrant, spending large sums on publicity to this end, and funding access to degree courses on scholarships, it also holds to a central ethic of distrust of the academic.*"

Occupational culture also plays an important part in understanding the key theme of the current study: professionalisation via academisation. Chan (1997: 232) argues that 'professionalism' with its emphasis on "*impartiality, accountability, specialised knowledge and ethical standards*" (characteristics Chapter 4 will elaborate on) is seen to offer an alternative set of values and ways of thinking to replace those of occupational culture (Brodgen & Shearing, 1993; cited in *ibid*). The *content of change* is the first aspect of evaluating success of cultural change in the police, and 'professional police knowledge/ practice' despite its plurality of meanings and lack of clear definition (Manning, 1978; Bittner, 1978; cited in Chan, 1997), fills the role. The relationship between culture, knowledge and change will be explored in detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

Finally, it needs to be emphasised that while police occupational culture clearly exists, it is not homogenous or universally compelling (Fielding, 1988; Innes, 2003). It varies both within and between forces, depending on e.g. rank, role or specialism, the priorities of the particular force and the social and political context they operate in (Ericson & Haggerty, 1997; Forrest, 2003;

Newburn & Reiner, 2007). Moreover, individuals make their own adaptations to the culture from a standpoint rooted in their own identity, circumstances and experiences (Fielding, 1988; Loftus, 2008). They evaluate the practical use of the information, being able to 'pick and mix' the elements useful for them. Once confident of their place and ability to use the organisational rhetoric to justify values and behaviour, officers are free to move in and through the culture.

1.4. History of Detective Work: Developing a Profession

“What actually takes place in day-to-day police training and police work is dependent on structural and historical factors as well as on those who work in the police service.” (Karp & Stenmark, 2011: 5)

So far, I have provided a general introduction to the current thesis and the issues it will, and will not, examine. I have also situated it in the context of academic police research and discussed police occupational culture, building the basis for some of the key arguments to come. It is now time to do the same for another central notion of the thesis and illustrate professionalisation of the police and investigative work as a *process* – something which may have gained momentum over the last decade but is not a new phenomenon per se.

The history of policing in Britain as a means of organised social control can be traced back to Anglo-Saxon days (Rawlings, 2002). Police as a distinctive organisation began with the establishment of the Metropolitan Police in 1829 and is seen as representing the burgeoning modern civilisation and democracy and an answer to the problems raised by increasing urbanisation and industrialisation (ibid; Rowe, 2008). Rawlings (2002) depicts these developments as being characterised by diversity and slow, evolutionary change, a trend similarly apparent in the more specialised arena of detective work. Martin and Wilson’s (1969: 6) more colourful description of the first 90 years of the police seeing a development *“from a barely literate and drunken body of ex-labourers with a rapidly changing membership, to a force enjoying, in the twentieth century, a respected quasi-professional status”* illustrates the early beginnings of police professionalisation.

Historically, crime detection and prosecution was the responsibility of the victim, though occasionally third parties – yeomen, justices of peace, parish constables, the watch, and even bystanders – might intervene or be asked to assist (Rawlings, 2002). King’s (2000) study on detection of property crime in eighteenth century Essex shows that most offenders were simply caught in the act, in the vicinity of the crime scene or when attempting sell their spoils. Statutory rewards motivated fellow citizens to help in detection; the wealthy relied on their servants to do the footwork while prisons, inns, known ‘cunning men’ and informants acted as inroads to the criminal underworld and recovering stolen goods (Rawlings, 2002). The involvement of constables and watchmen was usually limited to making an arrest or searching the suspect, and only if requested to do so by the victim or Justices of Peace; active crime detection was time-consuming and sometimes dangerous, and, most importantly, not part of their regular duties (ibid; King, 2000; Beattie, 2006). Furthermore, even if the offender was caught, prosecution was more of an exception than a rule. Many were satisfied with return of property and apology; the cost, inconvenience and harshness of penalties deterred most from taking the matter into court (King, 2000).

In the late seventeenth century, the responsibility of investigation gradually shifted away from the community to the hands of dedicated ‘professionals’ with the required know-how and authority. Gaskill (2000: 262) sees this as a consequence of a much more profound change in mentalities, i.e. the “*collective social psychology*” of the people (an ‘ontological shift’, see Chapter 8). The power of and belief in providence started to diminish, replaced by natural law and with that the secularisation and professionalisation of criminal investigations (ibid). At a more practical level, this shift was reinforced further when in 1689 Parliament established a statutory reward for conviction of persons responsible for a variety of anxiety-causing crimes such as robbery, burglary, and coining (Beattie, 2006). This system of rewards for return of stolen goods and/or arrest of the offender led to a rapid increase in professional ‘thief-takers’ (ibid, Rawlings, 2002).

The concern over crime heightened in the mid eighteenth century, paving the way to the next stage in the history of crime detection: the Bow Street Runners and the argument that the best deterrence for crime was the certainty of speedy detection (Gaskill, 2000; King, 2000; Rawlings, 2002). The aim was to marginalise the unreliable element, i.e. the victim, and create an effective, bureaucratic system that collated and channelled information to professional officers (Rawlings, 2002). The Fielding brothers wanted to establish crime detection as a legitimate employment opportunity, discarding the outdated and corruption-prone reward system (ibid). The government provided some financial support though reliable long-term funding was not forthcoming (ibid, Beattie, 2006). Nevertheless, the combination of state payment and private rewards allowed for some level income security, encouraging continuous and permanent service among the Runners (Beattie, 2006). The end-result was a curious hybrid of professional thief-takers still motivated by the rewards but controlled (to a degree) by first Henry, and then John Fielding, who regulated the flow of information, maintained final decision power over whether to accept offender as a crown witness and encouraged the connections between the ‘runners’ and the criminal underworld (Rawlings, 2002). The Bow Street office also housed extensive record-keeping and administrative arrangements, and detection relied largely on a network of contacts, and collation and organisation of information (Beattie, 2006). In other words, investigation became information work and detectives information professionals (see 1.5). In practice, Rawlings (2002) argues, this new system was nothing revolutionary; Bow Street Runners were involved in only a fraction of crime detection in London, and the role of victim remained central. However, what the Fielding brothers did was formalise and publicise the ideas already floating around, building an image of a national detective system, backed by legal and financial resources and men of extraordinary skills (ibid). The experience and expertise of Bow Street Runners brought with it a growing respectability (Beattie, 2006) and arguably the first signs of established professionalism in criminal investigations.

The appointment of Robert Peel in 1822 as Home Secretary and the consequent Metropolitan Police Act 1829 heralded a new era of policing, one of which Bayley (1985; cited in Rowe, 2008: 24) argues can be distinguished from earlier forms by its “*specialisation, professionalism and publicness*”. Morris (2007), who charts history of criminal investigations from this point onwards, calls the following fifty years (1829-1878) the ‘heroic period’, during which individualised expertise gradually turned into a more systematic approach. Crime detection was not originally a part of the new police organisation. Peel’s New Police and the Bow Street Runners initially operated side by side, the former being mainly a centralised system of preventative patrols, while the latter retained monopoly over crime detection (Emsley & Shpayer-Makov, 2006). In 1839, the Metropolitan Police Act effectively abolished the Runners and the seven magistracy Police Offices modelled after them (Morris, 2006). At the time, there were no plans for a detective branch within the Metropolitan Police (Emsley & Shpayer-Makov, 2006), although Morris (2007) argues that the expertise of the Runners was retained to a degree and there is some evidence of informal investigative specialisation when the situation called for it.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the tide once again turned in favour of an efficient system of crime detection. The new police were seen unable to deal with increasing crime and certainly inferior to the Bow Street Runners in detective skills (Cobb, 1957, cited in various). The first detective division was established in 1842 (Rawlings, 2002). The rapidity of the response suggests that such a department already existed in everything but the name (Cobb, 1957, cited in *ibid*) and the Home Secretary’s sanction simply gave formal recognition to it (Morris, 2007). Initially, only two inspectors and six sergeants were appointed to work from the famous Scotland Yard address, and two decades later, the department was still only fifteen men strong, out of the total of eight thousand officers (Ericson, 1993; Rawlings, 2002). However, a reorganisation came in 1869 in the wake of Commissioner Mayne’s death the previous year and the highly public failure of the police to prevent the bombing of Clerkenwell Prison by the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood in 1867 (Rawlings, 2002; Morris, 2006). The main result of the subsequent inquiry was the increase of detectives in both the central force and in the divisions (Petrow, 1993; Morris, 2006). Forces outside London followed its example, and by 1859, at least Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Leeds, Bradford and Sheffield had specifically appointed detectives among their ranks (*ibid*).

Topics important to the police detectives in the mid and late nineteenth century were the need to attract sufficient numbers of educated manpower and issues of pay and promotion. It was also at this time that the notion of policing as a career with a distinctive professional identity and potential for social mobility emerged (Reiner, 2010). As a response to the concerns over control and supervision of detectives, the various central and divisional detective forces were unified in 1878 by the establishment of the Criminal Investigations Department (CID), which

Morris (2007) sees as heralding a new period of 'organisational specialisation'. However, the beginnings of the CID were troubled, facing criticism about their methods, falling number of arrests and convictions, to say nothing of the highly publicised failure to apprehend the notorious Jack the Ripper (Rawlings, 2002). The situation exposed the long-held tensions within the Metropolitan Police between those who favoured crime prevention through moral regulation and those who believed in the value of detective work (ibid). Detectives were seen as secretive, corruptible, poorly supervised, fraternising with the criminal element and often letting minor offences go unpunished in exchange for information, and yet retaining a high status, better pay and working conditions compared to the uniformed officers (ibid). Regardless, the belief – whether based on reality or not – that as criminals become more and more devious and sophisticated in their methods then so must the police (hardly unknown to the contemporary debate) prevailed, and the CID was able to continue its activities relatively unchanged (Petrow, 1993; Rawlings, 2002). This was undoubtedly partly due to the increasing public interest and fictional representations of detectives in the nineteenth century (Rawlings, 2002). In addition, the popularity of autobiographical detective memoirs (Shpayer-Makov, 2006) and the good press relations “*helped to consolidate the concept of detection as a profession*” (Morris, 2006: 101).

Indeed, the decades preceding and following the turn of the century saw a more systematic call for professionalising detection. Emphasis was placed on recruiting and retaining ‘the right sort of officer’ (ibid), and the Metropolitan Police and Scotland Yard garnered a reputation for crime detection (Rawlings, 2002). The period also saw an increasingly wider dissemination of, and emphasis on, good practice and use of science, technology and new forensic techniques, such as recording footprints, fingerprint identification and use of photographs (ibid; Emsley & Shpayer-Makov, 2006). However, the drive for specialisation and expertise was somewhat undermined by successive appointments of senior CID officers with negligible detective experience – a trend which did not go unremarked on by the critics (Morris, 2006). For example, John Kempster (1913, quoted in ibid: 91), a journalist and editor of the *Police Review*, wrote a letter to the Home Secretary, stating that “*...previous experience in the difficult work of criminal detection ought to be an essential qualification...; the imposition of an outsider at the very head of a department necessitating so much technical skill and experience is a disparagement to the entire Criminal Detection Profession...*” Resistance to ‘outsiders’ lacking the necessary skills and knowledge only gained through hands-on experience is a theme we will return again in the context of academic education for the police (5.3. and 6.3.4.)

In 1938, the Departmental Committee on Detective Work (Home Office, 1938; cited in Rawlings 2002) brought in a measure of management and organisation to the profession by enforcing training, record keeping, communication, information sharing and cooperation, and the use of forensic techniques. The latter half of the twentieth century was characterised by

increasing centralisation and specialisation in the landscape of policing and criminal investigations. Loveday (1996) sees the growth of specialised crime detection during the post-war period resulting from redirecting of resources away from public safety objectives. Detectives from Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire formed the first regional crime squad in 1956, working closely with the Birmingham Crime Squad (Rawlings, 2002). However, it was the Police Act of 1964 that instigated the official creation of nine Regional Crime Squads as a response to the increasing number of crimes crossing individual force boundaries (Johnston, 2000; Leong, 2007). The aftermath of the 1962 Royal Commission on the Police (cited in Rawlings, 2002) speeded up the drift of power from the local police authorities to the Home Office and chief officers, while emphasising the need for research and development of new methods, techniques and equipment (Rawlings, 2002). In many ways, the 1960s can be considered the golden age of detective work (for a detailed overview of the working conditions and practices in the CID departments across the country at the time see Martin & Wilson, 1969: 166-182). Scotland Yard was regarded as policing elite and the specialist squads as a solution to the rising crime problem, while a series of dramatic and highly publicised success cases served to bolster the CID's reputation and hide the special relationship based on exchange of information and favours that the detectives cultivated with criminals (ibid).

This changed rapidly, and the next few decades saw the public exposure of miscarriages of justice, widespread police corruption, malpractice and unethical investigations (e.g. cases of Guildford Four, Birmingham Six and the subsequent disbanding of the West Midlands Serious Crime Squad) (ibid; Rose, 1996). The Police and Criminal Evidence Act of 1984 (see Ch7 of Reiner, 2010 for an analysis) finally formalised many of the procedures relating to criminal investigations, and its impact resonated to the 1990s, which were characterised by a more open approach to investigation, prosecution and defence, shift of focus from getting the confession to gathering accurate and reliable information (Williamson, 1996). There existed *"new concerns which will require contemporary investigators to be much more highly trained and informed than their predecessors ever were"* (ibid: 35). Loveday (1996) argued that for the government, the main police function was to deal with crime and criminal activity and that non-crime-related tasks serve only to distract the police from their primary purpose. This 'rediscovery of crime fighting' was reinforced in the 1993 White Paper on Police Reform and the subsequent Police and Magistrates Court Act 1994 (ibid). It introduced policing plans and centralised performance targets (crime rate being one of the core indicators of effectiveness) (ibid) while also polarising decision-making. As Leishman, Loveday and Savage (1996: 16) put it: *"PMCA further centralised the steering, while decentralising the rowing of the police."* In other words, the central government gained power, while the local government mainly gained responsibilities.

Overall, the last few decades of the twentieth century witnessed an accelerating trend to establish specialist regional and national units dealing with drug trafficking, terrorism, money laundering, art theft, football hooliganism, international and organised crime (Sheptycki, 1995 & 1996; Johnston, 2000; Leong, 2007). The trend of centralisation continued with the establishment of National Criminal Intelligence Service in 1992 and National Crime Squad in 1998, both which were amalgamated into the Serious Organised Crime Agency in 2006. More recent plans include decentralisation of policing in terms of delivery while ensuring national targets and standards of it (Home Office, 2010) and changes to the organisation (Neyroud, 2011), which will be discussed further in Chapter 3 and beyond.

From this brief historical overview of detective work in England and Wales, what emerges is a trend of gradual specialisation and professionalisation of both policing and criminal investigations, a theme pursued further in the rest of the thesis.

1.5. Criminal Investigation

“...although there is a simple logic to any particular investigation, there is no simple way to describe investigations in general, nor is there a simple way to describe the logic of the ‘average’ investigation.” (Eck, 1983: 62)

After analysing the development of detective work as a process of gradual professionalisation, this section aims to further establish its professional credentials by providing an overview of criminal investigations. As any introductory text into the topic will tell you, the majority of police activities have little to do with crime, instead focussing on the service aspects of the job, such as dealing with traffic violations, antisocial behaviour, interpersonal disputes and other emergency and (largely) non-emergency work. Despite this, there exists a distinctive ‘detective mythology’ that establishes criminal investigations as the epitome of ‘real’ police work (Innes, 2003). This is based on what Innes (ibid: 21) calls *“ratiocinative iconography”*, i.e. the production and reproduction of glamorous ‘crime-fighter’ figures in both popular media and outside it. Crime control remains the central paradigm of policing and so detective work has maintained its special status (e.g. Newburn, 2007).

Police detectives can be defined as police officers whose work is to gather information and evidence about offences against the law, detect and apprehend the offenders who commit them, and to present all this to the courts (Emsley & Shpayer-Makov, 2006). However, things are more complicated than they first seem. There are numerous other agents and agencies that conduct similar type of activities (e.g. customs and excise, immigration authorities, various investigators working for private individuals or businesses), therefore making it important to emphasise the detectives’ affiliation specifically to the Police Service (ibid). Furthermore, Emsley and Shpayer-Makov (ibid) stress the fluid nature of the situation. For example, many police detectives move on to other types of investigative work after retirement, recruiting non-police individuals for policing tasks is not unheard of, and in areas such as counter-terrorism and political investigations, the work of police detectives often overlaps with those from other institutions (ibid).

As already mentioned, the impact police can have on crime rates is questionable, particularly in terms of detection. The overall clearance rate for recorded offences in England and Wales is around 28%, varying a lot depending on the offence type (high for interpersonal, low for property crime) (Walker et al., 2009), although the fall in detection rates over the last decades is mostly a reflection of the increased reporting (Reiner, 2010). An early influential study by Greenwood, Chaiken and Petersilia (1977; cited in Loveday, 1996) found no relationship between the amount of investigative training the officer received and their arrest and clearance rates. Furthermore, the study argued that even when a detective ‘solved’ a case, the ‘detective process’ was often irrelevant as most crimes were cleared as a result of information from witnesses and

victims, rather than any 'leads' developed through detective work. Indeed 'solving' a crime was more about gathering evidence in order to incriminate an already identified offender, rather than identifying a completely unknown culprit. In the UK, Audit Commission (1993; cited in Loveday, 1996) found that over a quarter of serious offences, such as robbery and sexual assault, were detected by uniformed officers without much training or interest in specialised investigative techniques. According to Stelfox (2009, Ch 8) detection of individual cases, as well as broader detection rates and patterns depend on various general (legislative, information, priority) and specific (behaviour of investigators, witnesses and offenders) factors.

At a more detailed level, Eck (1983) examined two hypotheses of how and why crimes are solved. First of these was the 'circumstance-result' hypothesis, based on Greenwood's (1970; cited in *ibid*) argument that it was not the actions of detectives that led to the solving of cases but rather 'chance events'. In other words, it was the characteristics of the crime itself or the events surrounding it that ultimately determined whether or not the case was solved. The second hypothesis Eck (1983) called the 'efforts-result hypothesis'. It states that while external circumstances can help or hinder the investigation, it is nevertheless the investigative efforts of patrol officers and detectives that solve the case. Finding support for both hypotheses in his research, Eck then proceeded to combine the two. 'The triage hypothesis' asserts that cases are categorised into 1) those that cannot be solved with reasonable investigative efforts, 2) those that have already been solved due the circumstances and simply require police processes to be applied to them in order to officially close the case (typically interpersonal offences which tend to occur between people known to each other), and 3) those that may be solved with reasonable investigative efforts but not without them. This reflects the three key decisions that form the detectives' 'normative framework' as distinguished by Sanders (1977): is the case important (does it deserve and require attention), is it workable (can it be solved), and is it prosecutable (is there a reasonable chance of a successful prosecution). Innes (2003) echoes this in the three tasks he identifies as common to all types of investigations: deciding whether the incident qualifies as a crime and therefore requires further investigation. If so, the next steps are to identify the suspect, and then construct a substantially evidenced case for the prosecution. In his study on murder investigation, he distinguishes between two main types of inquiry. 'Self-solvers' are the cases where the suspect is identified relatively quickly and easily and a lot of resources are concentrated on substantiating the early identification with evidence and gathering background information. 'Whodunits' refers to those murders where there appears to be no prior relationship between the victim and the offender thus identifying the suspect takes longer and requires use of more labour-intensive investigative techniques. Another important objective of 'whodunit' investigation is building a case for the prosecution (construction of evidence). Ericson (1993) sees the whole process of case construction as active, conscious and value-laden. He argues that

detectives select which cases to work based on the perceived investigative payoff and the level of organisational reward, autonomy, and variation from routine it brings, in essence making events into crime and people into offenders.

Investigative work is a social phenomenon, a web of actions, interactions and decision-making that can be broken down into an ordered and structured process with identifiable stages (Innes, 2003). The police approach investigation with an established set of routines, systems, rules, conventions and procedures, embedded in the organisational experience and behaviour (ibid). Moreover, they must mediate the requirements of the legal system which provides a resource and a rational framework within which the act of crime can be understood and defined (ibid). This is not a static phenomenon, but one that constantly revises itself as a consequence of the ongoing dialogue between the organisational structures and those affected by and operating within them (Ericson, 1993). Detective work is further constrained by the hierarchical, bureaucratic and administrative framework of the police organisation, which provides the rules, regulations and relationships that are not only procedural but shape actions at the deeper discursive and cognitive level (Innes, 2003). Sanders (1977) labels detectives as 'romantic bureaucrats'; buying into the perceived individualism, independence, heroism, and adventure of the role while at the same time being concerned over the bureaucratic side of things, namely the meticulous adherence to the paperwork any investigation necessitates. A number of legislative and procedural reforms have affected investigative practices over the last few decades, and the current context is considerable in both quantity and complexity, and it is beyond the purpose of the current study to attempt to outline it. However, it is the very level of legislative (as well as social and cultural) sophistication required of detective work (and policing generally) that supports professional status and calls for an academic education.

Investigations can be viewed as a process with sequential steps. Sanders (1977) divides them into five pragmatic stages: 1) Establishing a case (making a decision on whether the incident warrants as a crime, whether the crime warrants an investigation and what type of a crime it is), 2) Identifying a suspect, 3) Locating the suspect, 4) 'Copping' the suspect, and 5) Disposing the case. Eck's (1983) research reveals some general patterns common to investigations. As the investigation progresses, its focus shifts from victim to the suspect and from uncontrollable information (victims, witnesses, forensic) to information already under police control (records, informants, colleagues). The investigative actions taken by the officers also become less routine and increasingly unique, the further the investigation proceeds. Eck (ibid) also examined the types of activities taken during investigations. 'Routine action condition' states that solving cases is a result of a routine performance of a predetermined set of actions and that their increased use would lead to an increase in the number of arrests. 'Investigative craft condition', on the other hand, posits that it is certain pieces of information that result in an arrest and the activities used

to gain those themselves are irrelevant. Therefore, each case requires a unique set of actions and no routine activities applicable across all cases can be determined. Eck's analysis provided support for both hypotheses, and he states that while introduction of routine investigative procedures may improve the performance, the detectives must still be allowed a degree of flexibility in how they go about investigating cases.

Bryant (2009ab) recounts the development of investigative models (acknowledging the general lack of theoretical underpinnings – an issue explored in Chapter 4, see also 5.4. on the professional knowledgebase of policing) by attempts to summarise 'what works' in investigative practice (e.g. Smith & Flanagan, 2000) and 'borrowing' from other disciplines, such as medicine (e.g. the 'police science' paradigm is strongly based on the diagnosis-treatment analogy). A synthesis of the two is largely responsible for the official guidance, such the *Core Investigative Doctrine* (ACPO, 2005) and *Murder Investigation Manual* (ACPO, 2006), which not only describe the different stages of investigations and actions recommended in each but also emphasise and provide tools for problem-solving, decision-making, critical approach to information, and hypothesis-testing.

At its heart, detective work is about information, knowledge-construction and 'sense-making'. Ericson (1993) sees information work as a series of reciprocal transactions in which officers and citizens exchange information to valued commodities, either material (e.g. money) or immaterial (e.g. protection). Sanders (1977) explains this in the context of Goffman's (1959) *social interaction* where information essentially acts as currency for social actors and basis for a shared understanding of the social world. It is valuable and as such something that the detectives trade away only reluctantly (as reflected in their suspicion of outsiders) (Ericson, 1993). Information is generated and collated using various *information producing technologies*, such as the embodied perceptual and cognitive skills of the officers, interviews with suspects and witnesses, media strategies, house-to-house enquiries, and other intelligence work (Innes, 2003). But investigators do not just gather, summarise and describe information. They interpret and infer, actively constructing the social meaning of events by using various *knowledge producing technologies*, including forensic analysis, temporal framing and ordering (chronological sequence) of information, constructing the narrative of the crime, and assigning moral identities to actors involved in it (ibid; see also Ch4 and 5 of Stelfox, 2009). Of course, any given unit of information can be interpreted in several ways depending on the context and the subjective perspective of the individual doing the interpreting (ibid; Sanders, 1977). What makes the police's interpretation so significant is both the symbolic and actual power of their position (ibid; Reiner, 2010) and so what begins as the police's understanding of the event will eventually form the kind of 'working consensus' (Sanders, 1977). Innes (2003: 6-7) describes detective work as "*a complex form of sense-making*" and the "*facts*" of the investigations as "*dialectical social accomplishments*"

resulting from the interpretative work of the detectives. In other words, information turns to knowledge and knowledge turns to reality (or realities, as of course there are several different audiences detectives must satisfy) and at the forefront of this construction process are detectives (Ericson, 1993).

Being a detective is more than just an occupational title. It is a socially produced and maintained set of actions and attitudes, well-established among the detectives and forming the *“symbolic capital of their work”* (Innes, 2003: 11) (a concept we will discuss later in the context of academic education). These are a result of various interdependent social factors, including e.g. the historical legacy of detective work, the police subculture and its norms and values, and the organisational structure of the police and the wider environment they are situated in (ibid). For the public and for many police officers, it is the criminal investigations that qualify as ‘real’ policing, granting it a high status (Foster, 2003; Innes, 2003). There are certain types of crime (particularly homicide, particularly if committed by ‘strangers’) that are regarded as the pinnacle of the police mission, fulfilling the crime-fighting ethos and allowing detectives to deal with ‘real villains’ and confront ‘evil’ (ibid; Hobbs, 1988; Sanders, 1977). Indeed, Innes (2003: 269) argues that at a fundamental level detective work is *“concerned with the social construction of meaning.”*

This section has aimed to provide enough of an overview to establish that police investigations are a highly complex arena of work with a growing body of research and theory to support it – something that will justify the first half of the below quote (the latter part – lack of infrastructure and knowledge generation – is something we will return to in the later chapters).

“...the role of the detective is an expansive one requiring multidisciplinary knowledge in order to conduct comprehensive and appropriate investigations. It is from this perspective that we would argue that the task of the detective displays the characteristics of a profession, but that the infrastructure and knowledge generation in place for established professions are not yet in place for the modern-day detective.” (Tong, Bryant & Horwath, 2009: 220)

1.6. Chapter Conclusions

This chapter introduced the key themes of the current study, reflected in the research aims which are: 1) to provide a picture of the current state of investigative skills training in England and Wales, 2) to explore the relationship between police and academia in general and in terms of academic police training in particular, and 3) to analyse and theorise the process of 'police professionalisation' within the framework of sociology of professions, and with emphasis on the role of academic education. Underpinning these is the concept of social change, which provides a key component of the overall analytical framework. The thesis also acknowledges the unique position police and policing hold in the society, while choosing to take advantage of the insight developments in other professions and theorising within the wider sociology of professions can provide. Overview of the chapters laid out the general structure of the argument, after which I placed the thesis within the context of academic police research by discussing its functions, types, development and producers. Introduction of police and detective occupational culture provided the necessary foundations for various key themes pursued throughout the thesis. Next I turned my focus more fully to detective work, providing an overview of its development throughout the history and illustrating the ongoing, long-term nature of professionalisation process. The final section of the chapter considered the nature of investigative work and the knowledge and skills it requires, and argued that their extent and complexity justifies calls for professional status.

I will return to the topic itself – investigative skills training, professionalisation and academic education – from Chapter 3 onward. However, first it is necessary to discuss the empirical component of the study and so the next chapter is focused entirely on covering methodological issues.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology: Remembering the Provenance

Data does not speak for itself. This is especially true for qualitative data, which is often uneven, non-standardised and only loosely, if at all, structured. It results not from a statistical sampling, but *relationally* from a context that is both rich and complex. In order to interpret and understand the data, we must therefore understand its origin. The purpose of this chapter is to provide description of the analytical and conceptual steps taken during the research process, and to show ‘methodological awareness’ (Seale, 1999; cited in Silverman, 2010) of the relevant issues. Therefore, it is essential to include the ‘story of the research’ and to set out a rich enough context to allow readers to understand and judge the whole picture as it were, instead of just the corner pieces of the puzzle.

2.1. Research Narrative and Conceptual Framework

All research begins with a question, but sometimes the question that is asked at the beginning is not the one that gets answered at the end. The current research very much started in one place and ended up somewhere else. In some ways, it was a sideways shift in the aims forced by the circumstances (lack of access), but in others, it was simply the necessary deepening and broadening of focus that inevitably happens during a long-term research project, such as a PhD, particularly when adopting a qualitative framework. Indeed, it can be argued that it is not until the very end of such research that the right questions *can* even be asked. It is possible to identify three distinct stages through which my research has developed. Each stage has widened the area of focus, moving from specific and practical toward a more macro-level and theoretical considerations.

Stage 1. The original aim of the research was to investigate the use of psychology ('behavioural science') in the training of police officers for covert operations. The opportunities for practical behavioural science applications provided by covert policing seemed obvious, yet were anecdotally under-utilised and -researched. There was also a similar lack of UK-based research into undercover policing per se and the type of highly specialist police training it required. The research was to be largely exploratory, mapping out training arrangements and opportunities for established psychological research findings to be integrated into it. The theoretical underpinnings were rooted in behavioural sciences and its relevance to policing, reflecting my own background in investigative psychology.

Stage 2. Due to access problems, the focus of the research shifted from covert operations to more general investigative activities. The aims were still largely the same: 1) To provide a picture of the current state of specialist police training in England and Wales, especially with regard to training in investigative skills, 2) To find out whether and to what degree psychological research had been integrated into police training in regards to investigative skills training, and 3) To identify the areas where psychology would benefit the investigative skills training. The fieldwork commenced under this stage and consisted of thirteen semi-structured interviews with police trainers at NPIA (National Police Improvement Agency) and two local forces. It was at this point that several other themes emerging both from primary and secondary research started to demand more attention. Issues, such as the increasing links between police training and academia and its role in the 'professionalisation' of the police, appeared to be underpinning the more specific enquiry into whether or not psychological theories, models, or applications were included in the training content.

Stage 3. At the end of the second phase of the fieldwork (further eleven interviews, most re-interviews of the same participants), the theoretical framework of professionalisation and the evolving organisational relationship between the police and the academia were pushing to the

foreground of the research. It was in light of this that the current aims, as presented in the previous chapter, were refined.

The conceptual framework therefore emerged gradually in the course of the research. What started as a focussed inquiry into the use of behavioural sciences in a very specific area of police work and training developed into a quest for a much broader understanding of the underlying processes. This is analogous to an iceberg, where only the very tip is at first visible to the naked eye, while the bulk of it is hiding under the surface (Figure 1.). However, if it hadn't been for the 'tip', I would not have realised there was one floating around in the first place.

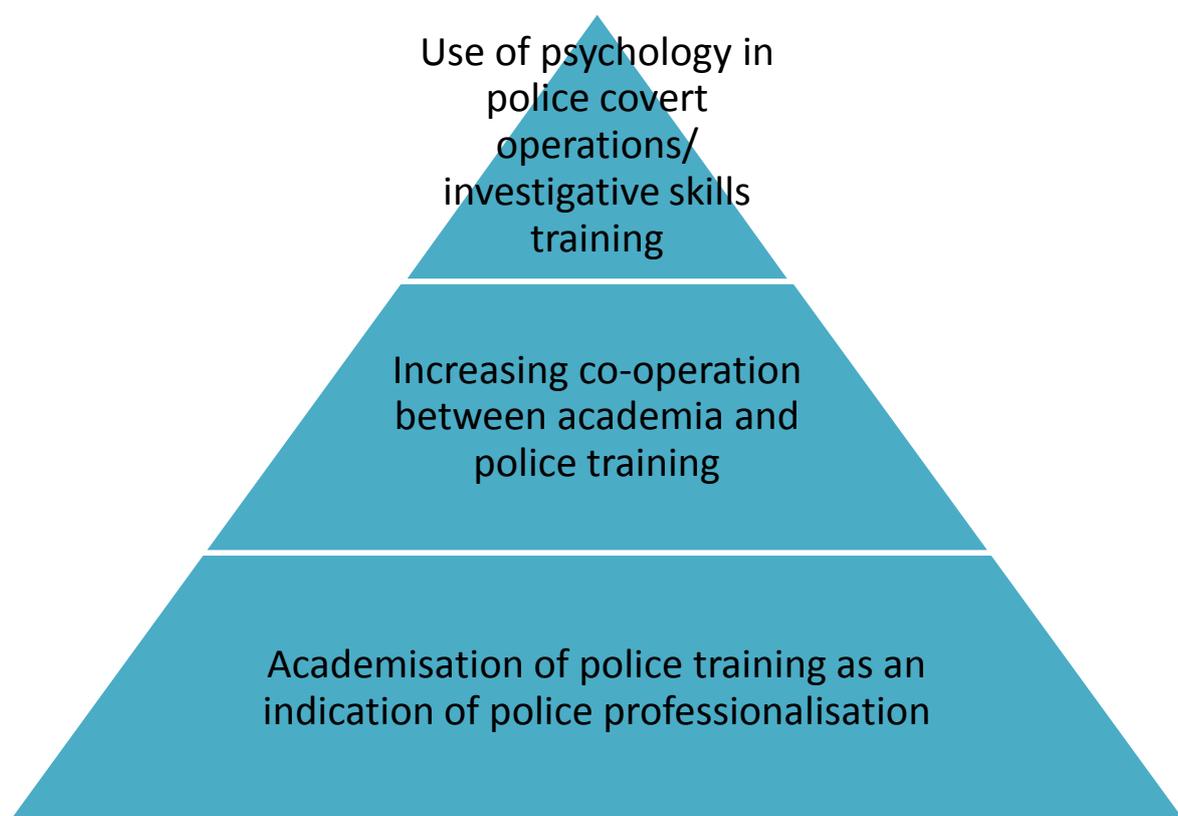


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

2.2. Research Strategy: Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

One of the key features of qualitative research is its ambiguity. It is rarely possible – or even advisable – to fit the research into neatly defined categories of strategic, epistemological or ontological approaches. Indeed, Bryman (2008) frames the discussion in terms of *tendencies* instead of rigid distinctions while Gubrium and Holstein (1997) talk about the different ‘languages’ of qualitative methods that shape the orientation to and interpretation of data.

The current research is best characterised as iterative in its approach. The aims were largely exploratory due to the lack of previous research on the specific topic of police investigative skills training or the police’s links with academia. Despite this, it is difficult to label the research as purely inductive; the existing body of literature on the general area of police and policing is impressive and helped shape the academic inquiry and the interviews. Comparing the emerging concepts and theory to those found in the extant literature is an essential and ongoing part of theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989). The emergence of ‘professionalisation’ as a key concept in the research is particularly illustrative of its iterative nature. During the transcription and initial analysis of the first round of interviews, the themes of professionalisation and the practical and symbolic role of academia played in it began to swim to focus. This then turned the direction of secondary data mining into the previously untouched literature on sociology of professions, which proved hugely relevant and illuminating of the issues emerging from the interviews and strongly coloured the subsequent interviews and analysis.

Epistemology refers to what type of knowledge is considered acceptable (Bryman, 2008) and has implications to how it is derived and what is done with it afterwards. In considering the epistemological positions, it was immediately apparent that positivism, characterised by adherence to natural science methods, phenomenism and objectivist ontology (ibid), did not offer an adequate philosophical framework for the current study. For one, it regards theory and research as distinctive of each other where latter is used to test the former (ibid). As discussed above, my research processed iteratively, making it impossible to consider the primary and secondary data separately or in sequence. Thus, adopting a positivist epistemology, or even the conventional report format (introduction-literature review-methodology-results-discussion) it implies, would have imposed artificial rigidity onto the discussion where I needed the freedom and flexibility to explore interview data and the relevant literature side by side, and allow the argument develop in a far more organic manner. It would have, I feel, also resulted in a much more limited thesis in terms of its depth and creativity.

A more appropriate approach was offered by an interpretivist form of epistemology, concerned with *understanding* how people make sense of their lives and experiences, and indeed more commonly associated with qualitative research. Bryman (ibid) talks about a triple layer of

interpretation: the researcher provides interpretation of other people's interpretation, which then is further interpreted in light of the relevant concepts, theories and literature. The current research is interested in participants' understanding and interpretations of the processes under study, and it further interprets them in the light of the existing theory. The central role academic education in police professionalisation is *an interpretation of an interpretation of an interpretation*. To take one example:

1. **First layer of interpretation.** Here the participant is talking about the importance of academic qualification for securing government support and funding in the future: *"It's going to be more and more difficult to fight the corner for police officers with regards to government and pay and conditions and stuff like that, without I think, without that professional academic qualification behind us."* (Participant 7)
2. **Second layer of interpretation.** As a researcher, I look at the excerpt in the context of the rest of interview, the other interviews and my own prior knowledge and assumptions. Based on these, I interpret the necessity of maintaining the high level of funding policing has traditionally enjoyed as being one of the *reasons why* the police is keen to attach academic education to their training. Thematically, this clearly appears to be one of the benefits of linking police training and academia. Finally, it also seems obvious that the participant is *equating* professionalisation with the process of achieving academic qualifications.
3. **Third layer of interpretation.** Through the iterative theory-building strategy and by further consultation with the existing literature, I look at the excerpt (participant's interpretation) and my own interpretation of it. In this particular case, I have (see Chapters 4 and 7) drawn from e.g. how professions are seen to possess expert knowledge, a systematic body of theory, which is achieved through instructional abstraction and formal academic education (e.g. Greenwood, 1957; Sciulli, 2009). Abstraction brings with it various practical and symbolic benefits, such as increase in prestige, equipping professionals with the necessary knowledge and skills to posit outcomes in the wider theoretical and empirical context, and enabling profession's survival and legitimising its occupational monopoly (e.g. Abbott, 1988, Jarasch, 1983, Sciulli, 2009).

Along with positivism, the current research also rejects the ontological position of objectivism, i.e. the assumption that social phenomena and their meanings exist independent of influence of social actors (Bryman, 2008). It was apparent from the beginning and in both primary and secondary data that the key concept of the research – professionalisation – held highly nuanced and varying meanings dependent on and constructed by social actors. Indeed, as demonstrated above, much of the thesis focuses on unpacking these interpretations, particularly in terms of their reference to academic education. This process of interpretation frames the

current study in both practical terms as evident in the structure of the argument and at deeper epistemological level. It brings with it an ontological position of constructionism, which posits that social phenomena and their meaning are constructed through the interaction of social actors (ibid). This is not to suggest any extreme form of relativism but to acknowledge the importance of contextualised experience and existence of multiple perspectives (Wetherell & Still, 1998). The current thesis is situated in the point of view of the police officers and staff involved in investigative skills training, my own perspective as an academic and the interaction of both. As such, the 'reality' it purports is but one interpretation among many possibilities, but no less valid or valuable because of that. Relativism does not preclude one from making assertions or building arguments, it simply reminds us of their subjectivity (ibid), which in itself can be viewed as an opportunity, not a problem (Finlay, 2003). Indeed, a *"balance needs to be struck between recognising the constructed nature of qualitative analysis and saying something coherent and relevant about the research topic itself"* (Finlay & Gough, 2003: 2).

The epistemological and ontological positions are reflected in the choice of research methodology as discussed in 2.3.2.

2.2.1. Revisiting the Research Questions

Let us return briefly to the research aims (see 1.1.); consider the ‘investigative epistemology’ of the study and look at what sort of questions it asks and attempts to answer.

The research aims are explicitly geared towards thick description; an explanation of how things work, how they weave into others. These are what Richie and Spencer (1994: 307) call “*contextual questions*”, the ones that aim to identify the “*form and nature of what exists*”: How does police investigative skills training work? How is it connected to academic education? What is the overall context in which these processes are taking place? These are important questions to ask and attempt to answer, as “*descriptive work can serve as a starting point for normative argument*” (Thacher, 2001: 401). It will open up for scrutiny and debate that which has been implicit; in this case, the world of police (investigative skills) training and its relationship with academia.

Within the exploratory questions and arising during the developing argument, there are further levels of inquiry. These include “*diagnostic questions*”, aimed to uncover the reasons and causes of what exists (Richie & Spencer, 1994): Why is police training moving towards academic education? Why is the police professionalising? There is also a small aspect of developmental approach to the research questions, i.e. asking how something has come about. This is explored in the historical overviews of detective work, police training, and developing of links between academia and police (and professions in general). At the deeper level, there is an experiential question that probes at the meaning of things: What does it mean to be a profession? What does it mean for the *police* to be a profession? The tentative answers to these will come to focus towards the end of the thesis.

2.3. Doing Research

Research is a social process, influenced by the interaction between the researcher and participants (Burgess, 1984). This section aims to share both the pragmatic and analytical steps taken during it.

2.3.1. Sampling, Access and Participants

At the start of the research, when the aims were still focussed on the training for covert operations, a number of forces were approached in writing regarding access to interview trainers and trainees and possibly even observe the training itself. Those forces that responded did so with a negative; the topic of covert policing was considered too sensitive, despite the research concentrating on training, not on past or active operations. The reaction is unsurprising when one considers the media and legal scrutiny such activities have faced over the recent years; undercover officers have been revealed to, for example, maintain their cover even when giving evidence under oath, have sexual relationships with people they are investigating and act as agent provocateurs.

In light of this, the research shifted focus to investigative skills training, which I hoped was considered less sensitive in nature and thus more easily accessed. Once more, contact was initiated and a number of police forces approached via letters addressed to the Chief Constables (Appendix 1), who formed the first level of 'gatekeepers', i.e. those individuals with power to either grant or withhold access (Burgess, 1984). The decision regarding the research clearly filtered down the ranks until finally reaching me. The following discussions with the second level gatekeepers (usually the actual officers responsible for crime training) eventually resulted in a fruitful research relationship being established with two force training schools and the first round of interviews was set up (see next section). Gaining access to NPIA was quicker and more straightforward. A letter addressed to the then Chief Executive Peter Neyroud was followed by an invitation to discuss the research with him over the phone. The brief call resulted in access being granted and establishing contacts with the persons involved in the design and co-ordination of investigative skills training at the national level. The discrepancy between gaining access to the individual forces and NPIA is interesting; the relative ease of it with NPIA possibly due to the agency's and Mr. Neyroud's own established positive relationships with the world of academia. Access needs to be continuously negotiated and renegotiated during the course of the study (ibid), and I aimed to maintain it throughout the fieldwork period (see next section).

The sampling method for the current study was a mixture of convenience/opportunistic and judgement/purposive/theoretical (ibid; Bryman, 2008; Silverman, 2010), informed by both

pragmatic and topic-related considerations, i.e. the experience or special knowledge of investigative skills training. The 'purpose behind purposive sampling' was theoretically guided, and the sample is meaningful to the account being developed (Silverman, 2010). This can be described as selection of 'key informants', not because they are particularly typical or atypical of their group (here, officers and staff involved in police investigative skills training) but simply because of their specialist knowledge of the topic and settings in question (Burgess, 1984). The forces approached were selected based on their relative locality; a necessary consideration for a research project with single researcher and limited budget. I was keen to get a national as well as local perspective into the issues, and including NPIA, which holds central responsibility for police training and development (see 3.2.1), was crucial. The study purposively targeted those involved in investigative skills training – theoretical sampling. However, in the end, the sample was also somewhat self-selective, including those willing to participate (see below for discussion on the perceived voluntariness of the study).

The majority of participants (10/14, ~71%) were male and all but one (13/14, ~93%) were police officers (or had been; it is relatively common for officers to return to the force as civilian staff after their retirement, which was the case with one participant). Taking into account that the one fully civilian participant was also female, the end gender ratio of ~77% male officers and ~23% female officers corresponds to that of the police service as a whole (Sigurdsson & Dhani, 2010). Four participants were from the NPIA while the rest were crime trainers placed in the two local forces. No information about the age of the participants was collected per se, but all (with the exception of the one civilian participant who had worked for the police only two years) were either in the middle or end of their careers in the police (indeed, two participants retired after the first interview round). The thirteen officers were of varying ranks from Detective Constable up to Detective Chief Inspector, all with several years of operational experience behind them – something highly valued in trainers (see 5.3). All participants were somehow involved in investigative skills training; either as force trainers delivering crime training or designing and co-ordinating it at a national level. Educational backgrounds of the participants were not noted in a systematic way, but many talked about the topic in the interviews. Several mentioned having, or being in the process of gaining, training related qualifications, such as a Certificate in Education, while some also discussed their past experiences of higher education.

This final sample is characterised by various strengths and limitations. Openly acknowledging both will hopefully help the reader to better understand these 'key characters' in the story of the current research.

On purely numerical terms the small sample size – fourteen participants across three research locations – may not impress. However, for a qualitative research project interested in collecting rich in-depth data, conducted by a single researcher and limited in terms of time and

financial resources, the sample size is appropriate. Moreover, the majority of the fourteen participants were interviewed twice, resulting in a final sample of twenty-four interviews (see next section for a more detailed discussion). This meant that while I had originally worried about the having enough primary data, it soon became obvious that I in fact had more than it was feasible to fully analyse and include within the thesis. Thus the relatively small sample did allow the study to reach the point of data saturation.

As explained above, the sample consisted of individuals directly involved with police investigative skills training design and/or delivery. This quality is what makes the sample both pertinent for the specific study and unique in the broader field of police research. This focus allowed for gathering of new empirical data in an area and from a group that had previously been largely neglected i.e. police training and police trainers. It does also pose challenges regarding representativeness and generalisability, and these issues are discussed in detail in Section 2.4.4.

2.3.2. Interviews and Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues have become increasingly central to social science research. While the current study did not include any of the big tripping points (e.g. sensitive topic, covert research, deception, vulnerable participants), it is still important to discuss the ethics of it. As the issues are closely linked to the interviews, it makes sense to address the two together to provide a holistic narrative of the process. The research secured ethics approval from the University Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of the fieldwork.

When conducting research it is not only necessary to ask what is to be researched (i.e. the research questions/aims) but *how* it is to be researched. The latter depends largely on the former, as well as on the epistemological and practical considerations that impact on the feasibility of various methodological approaches. For a study with a limited time-scale and a single researcher, the use of survey design would have offered some practical benefits. For example, self-completion questionnaires are relatively cheap and quick to administer and take respondent convenience into consideration (Bryman, 2008), something the current study was keen to do due to the nature of the sample. However, designing such a survey would have been problematic. As established in the previous chapter, the topic of police investigative skills training is under-researched. So while it would have been possible to draft traditional closed survey questions around the key themes, such an approach would have seriously limited the data. To explore new areas of which there is little prior knowledge it is more advisable to use open-ended questions (ibid). Those can, of course, be utilised within a survey, but written responses would undoubtedly been much shorter and lacked the richness and depth that can be gained via a more interactive approach.

I therefore chose to conduct interviews in order to gain understanding of the research topic from the perspective of the participants and how and why that was held (King, 2004). It was also a method that was deemed to cause least disruption to the participants' working day whilst still providing rich, in-depth data. Interviews were also considered well suited for the topic and setting. As King (ibid: 21) observes: *"most people like talking about their work – whether to share enthusiasm or air complaints – but rarely have the opportunity to do so with interested outsiders."* The decision, I feel, was a correct one for the purposes of the research. Indeed, as discussed above, the central issue of police-academia relations and its role in police professionalisation arose directly from the rich qualitative data produced during the first round of the interviews. This is something that highly structured questionnaires with emphasis on closed questions would have been extremely unlikely to elicit.

Upon deciding on semi-structured interviews, there was still the choice of conducting those via telephone instead face-to-face. The former approach would have undoubtedly allowed me to collect more data as such an approach has the advantage of speed and lower cost as well as

reduced interviewer bias (Bryman, 2008). However, in the context of the current study these benefits were outweighed by the negatives. Telephone interviews are typically unsustainable beyond 25 minutes (Frey, 2004; cited in *ibid*) whereas the length of the interview schedule (see Appendix 3) required a longer time to fully cover the relevant topics. When one factors in the time needed to explain the purpose of the interview and obtain informed consent, the face-to-face interaction provided the best context for this kind of ongoing negotiation of access and cooperation. It also allowed me to establish rapport and build trust with the interviewees, which in turn improved the quality of the interview data and, hopefully, resulted in a more personal and enjoyable interview experience for the participants.

The first ethical issue to consider was the participants' right to be informed about the general nature of the study. The access letters sent to the Chief Constables and NPIA Chief Executive outlined the purpose of the research as it stood at that point. But, as Burgess (1984: 199) reminds us: *"All research is to some extent secret, as researchers do not know everything they wish to investigate at the beginning of a study, a situation which makes informed consent difficult."* I have already talked above about the way the research focus shifted during the course of the study, meaning the original access letters and interview briefs did not in the end fully reflect the final product. However, the change was one of emphasis and did not significantly affect informed consent.

Once I established contacts with people involved with the research more directly, I emailed over the research proposal and sample interview questions. This was to ensure that relevant people were informed about the nature of the research as the impression I got was that what had filtered down the ranks was the suggestion to participate without much other detail. I also asked the contact persons to distribute the material to those interested in participating so that they could make an informed decision, but judging from the discussions during the pre-interview brief, this was not always done. This highlights the issue of voluntariness. As explained, research was approved by higher ranking officers, and while I stressed the voluntary nature of the interviews at all stages, I had no control over how the research had been presented to the trainers by their superiors or e.g. how much the importance of co-operating with me was emphasised.

Written consent forms (Appendix 2), outlining the rights of human participants and designed after standard British Psychological Society (BPS, 2006) guidelines, were used. At the beginning of the interview, the participants were asked to read and sign two copies, one for me and one to keep themselves as this included my contact details and the interview number, which they would need e.g. in case of further questions or wishing to withdraw their data later on. I also made sure to verbally explain the key points of the consent form to the participants: voluntary participation, anonymity of responses, right to not answer questions and withdraw consent at any point without having to provide a reason.

The first interview guide (Appendix 3) was devised around the aims as identified during the Stage 2 of the research (see above). It included 4 broad themes (training arrangements, use of psychology, relationship between police and academia, professionalisation) derived from literature, personal knowledge and experience and informal discussions with colleagues and supervisors (King, 2004). The interview guide for the second round of interviews (Appendix 4) was refined in the light of the emerging findings as well as the shifting focus of reading and theorising about the topic. It too followed the same flexible semi-structured format and included more detailed and clarifying questions about different aspects of investigative skills training with emphasis on the links to academia and professionalisation, as well as some respondent-specific questions.

While the interview guides included complete questions, these mostly worked as 'aides-memoires'. Topics were covered in the order that was natural to each interview and sometimes certain questions did not need to be explicitly asked as the participants discussed the topic unprompted. I began with common opening/introducing questions, which participants could easily answer (King, 2004; Bryman, 2008). At the end of each interview, I asked a final 'anything else' question, encouraging participants to bring up any issues or topics related to the issues of investigative skills training, relationships with academia and professionalisation that they wanted to elaborate on or that they felt was important but had not been mentioned. I also asked if participants had any question about the research, which typically prompted questions about my opinions on the topic.

All interviewees agreed to be digitally recorded, which allowed me to pay full attention to the interview, building a more natural rapport uninterrupted by note-taking. The recordings and transcripts as well as the NVivo file containing both were stored in an encrypted and password secured folder in three places: my personal computer (also password protected), online back-up (protected by additional password) and portable USB memory stick. The consent forms were kept separate from the interview data and will be destroyed once the research is over. Anonymity of the responses was emphasised and maintained as far as possible. Neither of the forces is identified in the thesis as doing so would make it relatively easy to identify the interviewees due to the small pool of crime trainers. However, its unique role in the police training landscape means it is not feasible to do this for the NPIA and thus it is openly identified as one of the research sites. The anonymity of the interviewees is protected throughout the thesis, and they are referred to by their participant number. When necessary to contextualise the interview excerpts, details such as whether the participant was a local force trainer or from NPIA are included.

I conducted the interviews myself, at the time and location convenient for the participants. In all cases, I travelled to interview the participants at their place of work during working hours in various police training centres. The risk for myself was minimum, nothing

beyond that experienced by any single researcher during travel. It is worth noting that all participants took time out of their busy working days to talk to me. Most times, I got the impression that this was seen as a welcome and interesting change, but there were times when the interview seemed to be an unwanted interruption despite being agreed on previously. On these occasions, I offered to reschedule at a more convenient time, though none of the participants took this up and the interviews went ahead as planned. The interviews usually lasted less than an hour, the shortest being 26 minutes, the longest 76 minutes long.

None of the questions in either the first or second interview guides touched upon topics that could be considered sensitive or likely to cause distress. Moreover, as police officers, the participants (excluding the one civilian respondent) were in the unique position of being well-acquainted with interview situations, albeit in a rather different context. However, during the course of the interviews, I picked up on the need to reassure some interviewees that there were 'no right or wrong answers' to the interview questions and that it was all right to answer 'I don't know'. This was as a response to the few occasions when participants appeared apologetic for not knowing enough about a particular topic to articulate an opinion or tagged 'did that answer your question/was that what you were looking for?' type of questions at the end of their answers. On one hand, this kind of reaction demonstrates participants were keen to co-operate and unlikely to be holding back their opinions. On the other, it also shows a level of social desirability bias/interviewer effect, tendency to provide an answer deemed acceptable for the interviewer. That said, the interviewees were not reluctant about expressing negative and critical opinions, either about police training, academia or the increasing links between the two:

"What we don't do well is we don't seem to get in early enough with student police officers and young detectives and they are somewhat corrupted by practice, bad practice that goes on out in the organisation. So when they come here for training, they're potentially steered in the wrong direction." (Participant 7)

"Sometimes the universities are not delivering the training and some of the feedback I've heard is that some of the lecturers are anti-police." (Participant 11)

"Trying to push PIP to senior managers is difficult. And also I think a lot of senior police officers, and I include Chief Constable and the ACCs [Assistant Chief Constables] and the Command Team here, I don't think they've grasped the concept of what PIP is all about." (Participant 12)

This further supports the assumption that the participants felt comfortable during the interviews.

The exact setting varied from a quiet interview room specifically reserved for the occasion, to busy and noisy common areas where the interviews were occasionally disturbed by people talking and moving around. Familiarity of the interview surroundings and the careful consideration given not to inconvenience the participants more than necessary, hopefully worked to put the interviews at ease and off-set any power dynamics implicit in the situation. It was the interviewee, not the interviewer, who had the 'home field advantage'. This coupled with the participants' status and experience with interviews as mentioned earlier, means that the interviews could be described as a discussion between equals.

Overall, twenty-four interviews were conducted during the research. These were done in two stages: thirteen interviews in the first set, which took place during the spring and summer of 2009, and eleven interviews in the second in February and March 2010. This left several months between the active fieldwork periods. The 'rest period' in between was deliberate for both practical and intellectual purposes. Interview appointments were dependent on my and the participants' availability and convenience. It was also necessary to allow time for transcribing and reflection of the material from the first interviews, which led to a deeper insight of the topic. Another reason for leaving time between the fieldwork periods was that many of the issues addressed were – and still are – in a state of flux and by spacing out the interviews it was possible to map out some of the changes that were occurring, both in concrete terms and in the participants' attitudes and understanding.

"I actually find, the first time we spoke was before I started my learning journey, shall we say, in relation to me Cert.Ed. And I would've probably had the conversation with you now, very differently, that I'm doing today because I'm looked into it for me Cert.Ed. and I find it [professionalisation] fascinating as well." (Participant 6)

"I remember talking about this last time. And I was a bit unsure of it myself and you asked me, but I've done a lot of work on this since." (Participant 8)

Participant 8 then goes on to talk about the issue at some length. Moreover, one of the forces where interviews were conducted was in the process of linking their training programme to a Foundation Degree with a local university. This was something that very much coloured the content of the interviews as participants used it as a reference point to frame their thoughts on the broader topic of police and academia.

"At the moment, I understand there's some work being done with [name of the University] at the moment to introduce changes but that's not really been fed down to me yet and I don't really know what the big plan is. I've got an idea but I can't say I know categorically what the bigger picture will be." (Participant 9)

In the second interview the same participant is able to talk about the 'bigger picture' in more detail, bringing up on several new issues including the concept of professionalisation.

"We've made massive progr—Weeks and weeks of progress really since the last time. [...] I think just by its very nature it will probably make us more polished, because we're doing to another standard as well as our own occupational standards. I think it will heighten our awareness of how things got to be a certain way in order to criteria sort of thing. Because by its very nature we'll become more polished in what we do. Not that there's anything wrong in what we do now but I think it will professionalise us even more. In terms of the students it's a win-win situation. They're anyway, they're training for the role they want to do in CID and at the same time they get something to show for it at the end of it. And for training point of view with that in mind you think well it's a big selling point to the student's. There's a massive 'well what's in it for me' to give them on the day one of that course. So, it's all positive as far as I'm concerned." (Participant 9)

In the end, it was possible to conduct repeat interviews with ten out of the fourteen participants. Out of the four single interviews, one was because the participant declined the second interview, two because the participants retired after the first interview period and thus were no longer

available, and one because the participant was new to the role (replacing one of the retirees) and had not been there for the first round of interviews.

Qualitative interviews should be understood as a relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, which forms part of the research process (King, 2004). Interviewer characteristics inevitably frame the role she or he can take and the nature of the interaction (Burgess, 1984). My own role as a researcher can be described as an 'outside outsider' (Brown, 1996; see previous chapter) when it came to the police (but 'inside insider' when it came to interpreting and analysing the material pertaining to the world of academia). In addition to being an academic and thus 'civilian', I was also 'other' in terms of gender, as a woman in male dominated research setting, and nationality, being of non-British (though still white European, which falls within the inconspicuous and thus easily accepted realms of difference) origin. However, I did not feel as though the last two aspects influenced the interview process in any noticeable way, although I suspect this is largely due to the participants' role in training (and often the management level rank), which comes with a particular emphasis on diversity issues, not to mention interpersonal skills. Indeed, past experience suggests that the interaction would have been quite different among 'street cops'.

2.3.4. Transcription and Analysis

“Qualitative analysis is essentially about detection, and the tasks of defining, categorizing, theorizing, explaining, exploring and mapping are fundamental to the analyst’s role.”
(Richie & Spencer, 1994: 309)

Data analysis is not a discrete event or period with fixed start- and end-points, detached from the rest of the research process. It is pervasive, continuous and ever-evolving (Silverman, 2010) and indeed, I have found myself returning to the interviews regularly. I aimed to hold an ‘ongoing dialogue’ between existing theory and primary data, negotiating the two to develop an ‘emerging fit’ that satisfied both (Ezzy, 2002). The analysis grew out of the process of writing, which facilitates both thinking and lack of thinking, i.e. what is understood and what is not (Wollcott, 2009). In many ways, this started at transcribing the interviews as the research progressed, both during and after the two active fieldwork periods. Doing the transcription myself allowed me to keep close to the data, and the repeat listening, writing and reading meant I became familiar with the contents of the interviews.

This was followed by reading through the finished transcripts in order to identify some initial themes. This heuristic mapping fed into the next stage of analysis: thematic coding, which was done using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo8. Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) greatly facilitate the thematic and cross-sectional indexing of large volumes of data (Seale, 2010). However, in doing so, they can impose their own epistemologies, providing only a limited range of analytical approaches (e.g. most software packages are not particularly useful for narrative analysis or, at the other extreme, close analysis of small data extracts) (ibid).

Thematic analysis, to put it simply, is about identifying themes within the research data (Ezzy, 2002). The process of coding brought with it a sense of organisation, a systematic approach to the data. I had the general issues that were of interest in mind (the broad themes) when starting coding and analysis. These *a priori* theoretically derived codes of Academia, PIP (Professionalising Investigation Programme, see Chapter 3), Professionalisation, and Training corresponded with the key areas explored in the interviews. However, their exact shape and content emerged from the data and NVivo’s ability to facilitate hierarchical coding (tree codes) made it immediately possible to start identifying different aspects of the same phenomenon. The four themes formed the top level of the hierarchical coding (‘tree nodes’), each with several *in vivo* codes under them (see Appendix 5 for the full list). In addition, a number of freestanding themes that appeared not to ‘fit’ into the hierarchical structure of the four main categories were also identified (see Appendix 6 for the list of ‘free nodes’).

Unsurprisingly, some of the codes overlapped significantly as it was not unusual to code several sections of the interviews into two or three different themes or subthemes. However, this

type of ambiguity and blurriness of categories is, of course, typical of qualitative data, the analysis of which requires a high level on uncertainty tolerance from the researcher. Furthermore, the emerging co-occurrences and combinations facilitate drawing connections (Bazeley, 2007). Indeed, the thesis aims to convey the dimensionality and interconnectivity of the various concepts throughout (e.g. how external qualifications and comparisons with other professions seemed to link – something that coding comparison also suggested: see Appendix 7 for an example of node matrix).

The danger of attempting to include all the concepts is an analysis that is both too thin and too complex (Silverman, 2010). With this in mind, limiting the data was an ongoing task. From the initial coding and themes, there were several that, whilst important or interesting, it was nevertheless necessary to leave them aside for the purposes of the current thesis. For example, participants provided detailed description and criticism of the specific investigative skills programmes (PIP and ICIDP, see Chapter 3), which proved fruitful for developing my overall understanding of the training arrangements but peripheral to building the argument of professionalisation via academisation. Similarly, there were code categories that turned out to be more or less significant than first anticipated, as is typical of qualitative analysis (Bazeley, 2007).

The data was explored in a variety of ways, from reading and re-reading the code categories that appeared most relevant to the developing argument to utilising the various NVivo functions. For example, using keyword analysis ability of CAQDAS provided a snapshot view of the data, serving as a useful starting point for analysis (Seale, 2010). A word frequency query of words with minimum five letters (to eliminate common words such as 'I', 'you', 'and' etc.) showed some interesting results (see Appendix 8 for the 'tag cloud'). While it includes a lot of the terms one would expect to find simply based on the interview topics (police, training) as well as other common words (think, because), it is interesting that terms such as 'degree', 'qualifications' and 'university' can also be found among them suggesting their centrality to the discussions. Tellingly, the words 'difficult' and 'unclear' are also among the top hundred, which implies that the current arrangements and transition to academic police training is not without its problems (see e.g. Chapter 6).

Another analytical strategy employed was to probe at factors that differentiate past from the present (it used to be X but is now Y) and the factors likely to differentiate present from the future (it's now Y but it will probably be Z). Schofield (1990) calls the latter approach 'studying what may be' and offers it as one way to increase the generalizability of the study. However, I have chosen to discuss the technique in the context of analysis, because it proved useful in bringing an additional dimension to the thematic analysis that forms the basis of the analytical approach. There are a number of instances when the participants provide explicit comparisons between how things used to be and how they are now as well as making predictions of what the

future of policing and police training will be like. For example, one interviewee drew a telling parallel between PACE and PIP:

"It's like when PACE came in, in 1984. When PACE came in, we weren't trained in PACE, we were just given a whole tome of papers and said 'that's PACE, get on with it'. Massive issues on PACE. 1984, 2010, 26 years down the line, PACE has just become part of the scenery. But I can remember pre-PACE, and probably one of the only few people who can. I can remember pre-PACE and we used to write pocket books, and when we used to do contemporaneous notes. And where I used to go to bed and have sleepless nights because it was like Life on Mars [the TV-series]. But we've evolved, PACE has evolved. And when it comes to 2014, everybody will have been brought up in PACE. [...] And in the same way with PIP. [...] It, you know in 2034 we should all be, we will be professionalised."
(Participant 12)

This and other similar instances of its kind provided a temporal dimension to the analysis and understanding of the data, strengthening the view of police professionalisation as a continuous process.

Yet another different pair of lenses through which to interpret the data was provided by the distinctions made between perceptions and reality (people think it's X but really it's Y).

"The general public wouldn't know about stuff like that [PIP]" (Participant 1)
"With the police sometimes I think there's a romantic perception of it and the actual truth is, could be, it's not that at all." (Participant 10)
"I think police force actually looks more professional from the outside than it is."
(Participant 8)

More than anything, this reminds us of the constructed meaning of the interview data. The plurality of interpretations is also evident in how the participants spoke in 'multiple voices', expressing different parts of their identity (Silverman, 2010). The most prominent was the 'training/trainer's point of view', which was often explicitly emphasised and makes sense considering focus of the interviews. However, the participants were also adept at 'wearing other hats'. For example, Participant 13 explicitly framed his talk at various stages as coming e.g. 'from government, Police Federation, personal, policing, business, or management point of view' and such phrasing was also common for others. More private talk also emerged, especially when people related their personal experiences with academia and/or police training.

Interestingly, there were also occasions when participants expressed a particular identity in order to frame their answers. For example:

"I'm not an academic myself. I'm a practical practitioner in investigation." (Participant 5)
"I see myself as a professional." (Participant 6)
"I always describe myself as a product of the job." (Participant 10)

Toward the end of the research, my interest turned to considering professionalism and professionalisation as something that is actively constructed, to bring new aspect of meaning to the identity of individuals and the organisation. This evoked questions of narrative, of how the story of 'police as a profession' and 'detectives as professionals' might be constructed by the officers themselves. However, the interview data was not collected with these questions or a more comprehensive narrative analysis in mind and thus answering it is beyond its and the

study's scope. Nevertheless, it presents some intriguing possibilities, which will be explored in the conclusions.

2.4. Evaluating Qualitative Research

“All field work done by a single field-worker invites the question, Why should we believe it?” (Bosk, 1979: 193; cited in Maxwell, 1992, 37).

Reiner (1992) offers some criticisms of academic police research, such as the failure to contextualise it within the broader economic and political changes, to provide cross-cultural comparisons and to develop a theoretical framework. Similarly, Brown (1996) argues that the police often view academic research as narrowly focussed, inaccessible and self-absorbed. The current study has tried to avoid at least some of those pitfalls; wider context of social change is a key to understanding the core argument, which draws from other professional cultures to build a theoretical framework for police professionalisation via academisation. Brown’s criticisms may hit closer to the mark as the study’s theoretical focus means its practical implications are not immediately obvious. Chapter 7 tries to tease them out, and Thacher (2001: 400) reminds us of the value of qualitative research in developing knowledge of *“nuances of police practice and thinking”* by clarifying, questioning and seeking justifications for everyday, taken-for-granted activities.

Evaluating the trustworthiness of data collection, interpretations and inferences is an essential part of the research process. Brinberg and McGarth (1985; cited in Maxwell, 1992) emphasise that the integrity and character of the research must be assessed in relation to its purpose and circumstances. In qualitative research, it is often less possible to eliminate threats to validity prior to the research, because of its inductive nature and interest in deep understanding rather than generalisations (Maxwell, 1992). When we question the validity of the research, we refer to the *relationship* between the account itself and the phenomena that it tries to account (ibid). Of course, rejecting the positivist concept of objective reality, it is possible to have different accounts of the same phenomena without that impinging on the validity of those accounts. This view on validity therefore focuses on the account rather than the data or the methods – neither of which possess some inherent quality of validity that is independent of their purpose and circumstance (ibid). To paraphrase Maxwell (ibid): validity is relative because understanding is relative.

There has been plenty of discussion about the usability of ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’ for qualitative research. The most well known alternative criteria is that of trustworthiness, which evaluates the interpretation in terms of its credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Guba, 1981, Guba & Lincoln, 1982), and authenticity, which refers to the broader impact of the research such as fair representation of different viewpoints and the understanding, change and empowerment it facilitates (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, 1994). Some of these will be considered next within the framework Maxwell (1992) provides for thinking about validity in the context of qualitative research.

2.4.1. Descriptive Validity

Descriptive validity refers to the factual accuracy of the account (Maxwell, 1992). Here we are concerned with the specific situations and events, i.e. the twenty-four interviews conducted, the accuracy of interview transcripts and quotations used in the study, i.e. did the participants really say what the study claims. This, as Maxwell (*ibid*) points out, is relatively easy to demonstrate, at least in theory, as the audio files of the interviews and transcripts ought to be available for scrutiny should the question over their descriptive validity arise. However, in practice, completely free access would challenge the promised confidentiality and anonymity of the data. As explained above, the transcripts do not include any directly identifying information, such as participant numbers or names, but neither are they fully anonymised and still contain, for example, any references the participants made to the names of specific forces, universities and individuals. Thus, access to check descriptive validity would have to be selective and require further anonymisation of the dataset.

Descriptive validity is not just about the accuracy of the account, but also about the completeness of it (*ibid*). Unsurprisingly, the longer interviews tended to produce richer data. However, I did not feel this skewed the presentation of the data in any significant way as a participant giving a short interview on one occasion was usually able to provide a longer one on the other. All interviews provided an abundance of material for analysis (see the previous section), and quotes from all the interviewees are used throughout the thesis. Of course, it is impossible to include all the data in any given study, and thus the researcher is always in the position of having to choose what to bring to focus and what to omit, as discussed in the analysis section above.

2.4.2. Interpretive Validity

Interpretive validity goes one step deeper and looks at what the phenomena under study (behaviours, words) actually mean to people engaged in them. This includes both the narrow communicative dimension and the broader aspects of belief, intention, cognition, affect and evaluation (ibid). Maxwell (ibid) argues that accounts of meaning must be emic, i.e. based on the conceptual framework and the language used by the people whose meaning is in question. For the current study, this is reflected in trying as far as possible to use participants' own terms during the analysis (e.g. as names of code categories) and their own words in the quotes included. However, participants' accounts should not be accepted uncritically either: people sometimes remember events incorrectly, are unaware of their own views or feelings or may distort or conceal them either unconsciously or on purpose. Therefore, no matter how closely linked to participants' accounts, the meaning is always constructed and invariably coloured by whatever assumptions and bias the researcher and participants' themselves bring to it.

2.4.3. Theoretical Validity

“Theories can, and usually do, incorporate both descriptive and interpretive understanding, but in combining these they necessarily transcend either of them” (Maxwell, 1992: 51).

Theoretical understanding refers to an account as an *explanation* as well as a description or interpretation (ibid). Theoretical validity therefore scrutinises the theoretical constructions the researchers (and participants) bring into and develop during the research (ibid). These include both the concepts and categories the theory comprises of, and the relationships between them – the first dimension corresponding with what is commonly known as ‘construct validity’, the second including aspects of internal or causal validity (ibid). Theoretical validity is about the application of theoretical constructs onto descriptive and interpretive understanding of the phenomena. When theory building and evidence are closely tied, the empirical validity of the resultant theory is high; the researcher answers to the data (Elsenhardt, 1989). On reflection, it seems that the current argument has turned more literature and theory driven than intended, unsurprising perhaps considering the shift in overall focus as discussed above. Nevertheless, this suggests that more in-depth utilisation of interview data would have strengthened the theoretical validity of the study.

The current research posits a *specific* theory about *specific phenomena* – namely that of police professionalisation and academisation. The danger of course is becoming too narrow and idiosyncratic, especially as the empirical basis is limited in both its scope and timescale. One way to alleviate this is to carefully situate the argument and emerging theory in the broader context and make explicit the links to other relevant theories. Issues of police professionalisation and academisation link to general theories of professions, social capital and so on, as the following chapters will hopefully illustrate. The ‘specific theory about specific phenomena’ does not exist in isolation but can be seen almost as one module in a spider chart of interconnected ways of thinking about the social world.

2.4.4. Generalizability (Ecological Validity)

“One cannot just look at a study and say that it is similar or dissimilar to another situation of concern. A much finer-grained analysis is necessary. One must ask what aspects of the situation are similar or different and to what aspects of the findings these are connected.” (Schofield, 1990: 193)

Generalizability refers to the degree the account of the particular situation or events can be extended to people, settings or times *within* the group or institution studied but not directly observed or interviewed (internal generalizability) or to other groups or institutions outside the ones directly studied (external generalizability) (Maxwell, 1992).

Interviews can pose particular problems to the internal generalizability because they are necessarily only snapshots into the participants’ views limited in terms of time spent and topics addressed (ibid). Generalising from views and thoughts expressed during an hour long interview to the rest of the participant’s life and perspectives runs a risk of drawing false inferences. It is therefore crucial to understand the nature of the interview situation and the relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer and how these might change depending on the time and context (ibid.). The time allowed between first and second interview, as explained earlier, can be seen to increase generalizability. Schofield (1990) calls this approach ‘considering the lifecycle of a phenomenon’, and while the current study did not include the type of lengthy fieldwork periods that characterise ethnography, the two interview periods with time in between still provide a more comprehensive picture of how things are changing than a single round of interviews would have done. This, of course, ties to analytical strategy of considering the chronological aspects of the data as discussed earlier: *“Qualitative research, when studying a dynamic phenomenon, is like a movie. It starts with one image and then moves on to others that show how things evolve over time”* (ibid: 188). Ten out of the fourteen participants were interviewed twice with several months between the interviews. While the natural development and refinement of views and attitudes was evident (especially as the topic is one that is in constant state of flux) there were no instances of obviously contradicting statements made by the same participant. This indicates that the views expressed in the interviews were consistent with those actually possessed by the participants.

Qualitative research rarely aims to provide systematic generalisations, being more concerned with the applicability of the theory, i.e. whether the theory developed to make sense of particular phenomena in a particular context can be used to make sense of similar phenomena in different context (Maxwell, 1992). This is what Stake (1978; cited in Schofield) calls ‘naturalistic generalisation’, taking findings of one study and applying them to understand a similar situation. Schofield (1990) emphasises the issue of *typicality* of both settings and participants. The current study included three research locations: the training schools of two police forces and NPIA, which as a separate agency was targeted specifically because of its unique position, not its typicality.

Convenience and access, rather than search for representativeness, was the reason behind selection of the two police forces. However, they are arguably *typical of their kind*, large metropolitan forces with diverse issues. The typicality of the training schools is more difficult to evaluate. Both are long-established police training centres with reputations as centres of excellence, regularly providing training to police forces other than their own, as well as various external organisations. How typical this makes them of all police training schools in England and Wales, however, is questionable. Nevertheless, the fact that the participants were drawn from two forces (though restricted to single geographical area) and a national umbrella agency lends credence to the representativeness of the views presented – at least among police trainers.

Generalising from trainers and from the specific context of detective work to the rest of the police service is more problematic due the variety of roles and requirements. Consideration must therefore be given to how well the developed theory serves to explain the processes police professionalisation and the role of academic education for the organisation as a whole. Police trainers are in the unique position of straddling the world of policing and the world of education, and thus have a specific (Brown's [1996] 'inside outsider') view on organisational processes and changes. Fielding (1988) describes how the very nature of the job sets trainers apart from the rest of the force: Any system dedicated to training and education can pose a challenge to the existing values because in assessing performance it must define what qualifies as 'good' or 'bad'. Trainers have knowledge of policy and proposed changes and are often able to compare practises in different forces. They are in a position to encourage different ways of doing the job and alternative adaptations to the police role. As a result, instructors are able to develop a degree of 'outsider's perspective' and maintain a somewhat detached stance from the operational ranks. Indeed, nothing provides an incentive to reflect on one's understanding of the organisation like the need to explain it to others. This 'outsider perspective' was reflected in the interviews when participants themselves occasionally remarked on looking at things from a 'training point of view' – presumably as, if not opposed to, then at least distinct from a police point of view:

"Particularly being in training environment and seeing how things change and looking at the bigger picture rather than from a divisional level." (Participant 6)

"[Academic qualification] is recognised in some areas, particularly coming to a training environment, obviously a bit of academic background is needed for delivering a course. But again it's more recognised in these circles than maybe at division." (Participant 14)

There have been several alternative concepts to generalizability developed that are seen to better serve the needs of qualitative research. Goetz and LaCompte (1984; cited in Schofield, 1990) suggest looking at the study's 'comparability' and 'translatability', i.e. how clearly its components (concepts, units of analysis, settings etc.) are defined so as to be used as a basis for comparisons, and the thorough description of theoretical stance and research techniques. As explained in the Introduction, the arguments developed in the current study already draw heavily

from theories of professionalisation in other contexts. Nursing and social work, as 'people professions' that have relatively recently adopted university level education as a basis of professional training, seem particularly comparable (5.5.). The resulting discussion should therefore strengthen the external generalizability of the various theoretical concepts used broadly in different areas of social enquiry.

2.4.5. Evaluative Validity

Evaluative validity refers to the *evaluations* placed on the issues under study, i.e. not simply describing, interpreting or explaining them, but making value judgements over whether they are good or bad, right or wrong (Maxwell, 1992). Of course, most researchers claim to make no such judgements, at least not explicitly. However, an evaluative framework is often implicit in any account, and thus it is important to raise questions about it (ibid).

In the current study, this means looking at any *evaluations* of the academisation of police training or police professionalisation that may be present. It is not the purpose of this study to evaluate whether these processes are the right or wrong path to take, but to understand how and why they are happening. However, as part of that, the participants' evaluations of the process were sought. There were interview questions that explicitly asked about the value judgements participants place on the issue, e.g.

- What do you think the attitude among the police is toward academia, academics and academic education?
- Is academic education valued within the police, e.g. in terms of selection and promotion?
- Do you think professionalisation is a positive development?

In addition, some of the prompts used in the interviews included things like "Do you think this is a good thing or not?" when probing participant's opinions and thoughts on a particular issue.

However, the issue of evaluative validity is not so much about the evaluative framework of the participants as it is about the evaluative framework of the researcher. As an academic one is almost duty-bound to start from the position where academic education as a value is viewed as a 'good thing' (the balance in terms of where it fits with 'job training' is the matter at hand). There are, of course, precautions to take. I was careful in introducing topics and asking questions in a way that was neutral and sought to elicit participants' opinions, not to confirm mine. I deliberately included questions that asked about positives *and* negatives, both the potential benefits and problems of academisation of police training and the professionalisation process, in order to provide a balanced argument and hopefully avoid undue 'anecdotalism' (Silverman, 2010). The core 'decree' of my evaluative framework – academic education is a 'good thing' – did not change, but it became more complex, refined and critical.

2.5. Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, I have told the ‘story of the research’, acting as a voice for the qualitative data, which, despite its richness and complexity, does not speak for itself. I have traced the development and refinement of the research focus and conceptual framework; from use of psychology in covert operations and investigative skills training, to providing a general picture of investigative skills training in England and Wales and analysing the broader themes and theoretical underpinnings of police professionalisation via academic education. The research strategy is best described as iterative, weaving between primary and secondary data in its ongoing task of theory building through layers of interpreting and making sense of participants’ thoughts and experiences. The interpretivist epistemology of the study is paired with an ontological viewpoint of constructionism, which reminds us of the contextualised and interactional nature of data and the existence of multiple perspectives. Next, the chapter turned to discuss the practical aspects of ‘doing research’: sampling, gaining access, participants, conducting interviews and the ethical considerations. The process of transcription and analysis was described in some detail in order to provide the reader with sufficient information to evaluate the validity of the research and findings – something I also aimed to do in the last section of the chapter and throughout, acknowledging the inevitably subjective and limited point of view of not just myself, but the data I have gathered, interpreted and analysed. A number of limitations can be identified, for example the size and scope of the sample, choice of single method of data collection, lack of contextualising demographic data about the participants, specificity of the focus (investigative skills training) and participants’ role (trainers) and viewpoints (training context) and the problems of generalisability these bring. Section 8.2 in the concluding chapter will critically consider the methodological issues of the thesis further. In there, I will also discuss the ‘could-have-beens’ of ‘research in utopia’ of limitless time and resources as well as considering the potential avenues for future research.

Together with the Introduction, this Methodology chapter has hopefully provided a substantive foundation to the arguments which follow. The structure of those arguments, and how the fieldwork data is presented and written up, is a reflection of the research process itself. It was clear from early on that the traditional way to organise research reports (literature review, methodology, results, discussion) would not be a comfortable fit for my study. The iterative approach to theory building made it impossible to enforce any artificial separation between extant literature and the rich qualitative data of the interviews, and demanded a different, thematic presentation of the topic and arguments.

In the next chapter, I will turn to directly address the first research aim of the thesis and examine the development of police training in England and Wales in general and the current state of investigative skills training in particular.

CHAPTER 3

Setting the Scene on Investigative Skills Training

“Training is fundamental to any organisation: ensuring that its people have the skills and knowledge effectively to do the jobs for which they were recruited should be paramount.”
(HMIC, 2002: 11)

Police training is not a homogeneous practise but covers various types and levels of training, all of them with their own needs and concerns (Southgate, 1988a). It has also, quite rightly, been described as problematic, fragmented and unnecessarily complicated (Howlett Bolton, 2005), taking place at different levels (district/regional, local, national), making identifying a clear responsibility or interest group and tracing decision- and policy-making relatively difficult even for the police themselves (Allard, 1997). Another complicating factor in mapping the development of police training is the sheer quantity of relevant divisions, organisations and programmes, the names and roles of which have gone through repeated changes, usually as a result of Government policy.

Before the 1963 Robbins Report on Higher Education, the training for the majority of professions, among them policing, but also e.g. engineering, accountancy, architecture, was hidden from outside view (Allard, 1997). The subsequent Higher Education ‘revolution’ moved a lot of such training into universities and colleges. However, the police remained unaffected with their separate training establishments. Some exchange with other educational institutions has taken place in forms of visiting lecturers and small numbers of officers being sent to university/college courses, but in general, police training has remained an insular practice until relatively recently – a development that we will examine in more detail and in the wider theoretical context in later chapters.

This chapter then aims to provide a general historical overview of police training in England and Wales, building on the history of detective work discussed in the Introduction. It also sets the scene on the current investigative skills training and its increasing emphasis on professionalisation, laying the foundation for the key role of higher education in the process. Finally, training cannot be seen in isolation but must be considered in the wider context of organisational development and change (Southgate, 1988b) and the impact of such broader issues is interwoven throughout the chapter.

3.1. History of Police Training

“At police schools, policemen learn from policemen what policemen have learned from policemen.” (Reitz, 1988: 33; translated and cited in Jaschke & Neidhardt, 2007: 314)

As explained in 1.1.1., a detailed historical analysis is not the central purpose of the thesis. Nevertheless, in order to understand the current situation of investigative skills and more general police training and the process of professionalisation they illustrate, it is necessary to provide an overview of the developments that have led there, which is what this section aims to do. It should be understood in light of the issues already examined in 1.4., particularly when it comes to developments of investigative skills training and the impact of broader social and policy changes on policing.

At the beginning of the organisation, the training provided was minimal and largely drill-based. After all, there was little need for it: the work consisted mainly of foot patrol and occasional riot control, and the turnover was great (ibid). However, as the complexity of the work increased, so did the time and effort spent on training. Establishment of specialised departments, including the CID in 1878 (see 1.4.), led to corresponding training courses starting particularly in the large urban forces (ibid). A key influence on policing during the inter-war years was the Desborough Committee, which started to standardise conditions of service and elevated police’s economic and social status – something Martin and Wilson (ibid: 37-8) speculate to have been *“a conscious attempt to put police work on a more professional footing.”* Notably, one of its recommendations was that the *“system of training and education be improved and assimilated throughout the Police Service”* (Home Office 1919-1920). While such changes were slow in coming, police training during the period nevertheless saw an increased co-operation between forces and investment particularly in specialist training courses, including detective training (Martin & Wilson, 1969). As a result of the deliberations of Committee on Detective Work and Procedure (1933-1938, reporting on the final year), detective training centres were established in Hendon and Wakefield in 1936 and a couple of years later in Birmingham, offering courses first to constables and then sergeants (Martin & Wilson, 1969).

Training of new recruits is one of the most standardised aspects of policing (Southgate, 1988a). It is also the type of training that has received the most research and attention, understandably when one considers the sheer number of officers going through it at the same time and at the stage where they are, at least potentially, the most susceptible to ideas of how the job should be done (ibid, Fielding, 1988). For example, in 2002-3, constables and sergeants received 94% of courses while only 1.5% were offered to superintendents or higher ranks (Howlett Bolton, 2005). Since the start of organised police force in 1829 until the early 1970s, the training of new officers concentrated largely on detailed learning of the law and procedure by rote and informal ‘job shadowing’. The recruitment of large number of ex-servicemen after the

Second World War and the growing investment in training resulted in establishment of dedicated District Training Centres in 1946 (Martin & Wilson, 1969; HMIC, 2002). It standardised the recruitment training and moved it away from local forces to a few regional training centres (Martin & Wilson, 1969), mirroring the wider trend toward centralisation brought by the beginnings of the welfare state. In there, probationers were put through an Initial Training course lasting between ten and fourteen weeks (Southgate, 1988a). The new curriculum was laid down by a committee of Chief Constables and teaching methods modelled after those used in the military (HMIC, 2002). For example, Mathias (1988) describes the probationer training at the Metropolitan Police Service as predictable, safe and simply repeating what had always worked before. “[I]t was training for the masses, mass produced”; teacher centred, knowledge based, done in a traditional classroom setting and completely from the point of view of the police officer (ibid: 101).

The post-war period saw increasing specialisation and labour division among the police, which was reflected on the development of specialist training courses, particularly for detectives (Martin & Wilson, 1969). The CID courses lasted around ten weeks and were in high demand as the need for training grew in response to the increasing complexity of the job and related legislation (ibid). This meant that reforming the curriculum to meet the changing requirements of the job was difficult (ibid). By mid-1960s, the emphasis within the police shifted to “*technology, specialisation, and managerial professionalism*” (Reiner, 2010: 79). The practice of visible patrol, the ‘bobby on the beat’, began to decline as walking the streets was not seen to represent value for money (Howlett Bolton, 2005). Instead, the officers “*retreated into vehicles, disappeared behind screens and disengaged with the public*” (ibid: 89) resulting in decrease in public confidence. Many officers no longer viewed policing as a lifelong career, and while they received more training compared to the industry standards at the time, it was of little value outside the service and became a strain on the manpower capacity (Martin & Wilson, 1969). Already the 1960 Royal Commission had lamented the poor educational standards and lack of graduates within the police, and overall the recruitment and training were deemed not up to the general standards of the time or adequate for the complex and changing social context of police work (Reiner, 2010). The police legitimacy had begun to erode.

The late 60s and early 70s were characterised more by “*the demand for change, the response to change and the understanding and handling of change*” rather than any one event in particular (Mathias, 1988: 102). Rise of counter-culture, anti-war and anti-apartheid demonstrations contributed to a renewed politicisation of policing (Reiner, 2010). The developments inside the organisation included e.g. an increased number of women in the service, growth in public and private transportation, and advancement in information, surveillance and investigative technologies and techniques. As a result of expansion of state schooling and mass

media, the public became more educated and demanding. To survive, it was no longer enough just to get better at the old things; it was necessary to ask difficult and fundamental questions about the very purpose of the organisation (Argyris & Schon, 1974; cited in Plumridge, 1988).

In 1973, based on a training needs analysis, a Home Office Working Party recommended a shift away from legislation and drill and towards 'public relations'. Another consequence of the report was the creation of Central Planning Unit (CPU); predecessor of the National Police Training (NPT) (itself a predecessor of Centrex and then NPIA, see below), which took on a central role in training design and delivery. The decade also saw the full integration of female officers into police ranks and active recruitment of ethnic minority officers (Mathias, 1988). Introduction of 'Social Skills Training' during the early 1970s heralded an official recognition that police work went beyond law and procedure (ibid) and aspects of social psychology, sociology, public administration and communication studies started to be incorporated into the recruit training (Bull & Horncastle, 1988). This, together with increased use of media and emphasis on team work, paved the way to the 'new philosophy of training' that were to come to fruition in the wake of the events of early 1980s.

In 1983, a second inspection of probationer training was prompted by inner city disorders and the subsequent report by Lord Scarman (1981). The following two-stage review started by Police Training Council (PTC, 1983; cited in Home Office, 2001) and finished by University of East Anglia (MacDonald et al. 1987) recommended the replacement of the existing system with a 31-week modular Foundation Course, including race relations training, workplace learning, tutor constable scheme and a comprehensive revision of module content. At the same time, the procedural changes wrought by PACE and the greater emphasis on the need to take the views of local communities into account when making policing decisions had to be incorporated into training. The philosophy of police training in the 1980s was characterised e.g. by active student centred approach, variety of training methods including computer-aided learning, equal emphasis on practical skills and theoretical knowledge, external consultation and multi-agency approach (Lightfoot, 1988; Mathias, 1988). The training programme was re-modelled again after a further NPT review in 1995 (Bray, Woodcock, & Parkhurst, 1996; cited in HMIC, 2002) until finally in 2003 the responsibility of initial training shifted to individual forces.

Training of senior officers has a potential to introduce changes at the management level and thus affect policing practises in a much larger scale (Southgate, 1988a). Interest in the command level training had began to grow as early as the inter-war years, when Lord Trenchard established the Hendon Police College in 1934, designed for individuals deemed 'officer material' both from inside, and controversially, outside the police (Martin & Wilson, 1969; see also 5.6.). Despite being short-lived (the college was shut prior to the Second World War), a number of high-ranking officers attended the courses (ibid). The first national level training project was the

founding of the Police College in 1948, providing command rank courses (ibid; Lamford, 1978). It moved to its permanent headquarters in Bramshill in 1960 and new courses for officers on accelerate promotion schemes were introduced, while the courses for senior ranks shifted their focus to management, administration, and command skills (ibid; see 5.6. for Bramshill's links to higher education). By the 70s, the courses at Police Staff College at Bramshill fell into two distinctive categories of 'academic' and 'professional', the former being concerned with wider understanding of society and taught mostly by civilian instructors, the latter consisting of courses on policing skills, tactics and strategies by police trainers (Lamford, 1978). Such distinction is particularly interesting in the light of the recent developments that are equating professional training with academic education. Interest in incorporating 'best practice' from management world outside the police grew in the 1970s, but training at Bramshill was still mainly aimed at moulding officers into the readymade roles and reinforcing the models of policing that were believed to have worked so well in the past (Plumridge, 1988). However, it was also at that time that the officers on Bramshill scholarships to universities were returning to service and starting to ask some fundamental and uncomfortable questions about the way things were done (see e.g. Young, 1991).

In the 1980s, the police service experienced what could be called a something of an identity crisis. Neither the organisation itself nor the society at large seemed to agree on what the role of the police should be (Brown, 1983). This was certainly reflected at Bramshill; unsure whether it was supposed to be *"a staff college, the policeman's university, the centre of higher police training, a management and organisation development centre, or a resource centre"* (Plumridge, 1988: 129). The decade also saw a closer scrutiny of management practices, exposing them as far from the ideal they were thought to be (ibid) as the 1985 disturbances in London and Birmingham brought home the shortcomings in training and preparation, especially at the command level (Butler, 1988). Pressure from the Home Office regarding the police training meant that the staff at Bramshill College soon realised that they were unable to meet the demands themselves. Thus the logical and most effective course of action was to help forces to take over some of the training themselves (Plumridge, 1988). This was coupled with a wider trend in the service to employ experts in areas such as human resources, finance, IT, research, corporate strategy, and behavioural sciences (ibid). The increasing financial restraints of the public sector put emphasis on operational effectiveness, value for money, identification of policing priorities and political accountability (Butler, 1988). It also resulted in what Butler (ibid) calls a 'siege mentality' among the police senior management, who was often more focused on making excuses than creating opportunities for improved service; part of which should have been investing a strategic plan for training and raising it higher on the agenda.

Police training in the 1990s was influenced by reports from a variety of agencies (e.g. Audit Commission, 1989; ACPO, 1992; Home Office, 1993; last two cited in various). One of the main themes to emerge was the confusing state of management of police training, which involved a number of organisations (Allard, 1997), and the new arrangements divided management of police training between Regional and National User Committees. However, Allard (ibid: 269) questions the sincerity behind the move, seeing Home Office as possibly *“attempting to control the police by stealth in private whilst extolling the virtues of the local approach to policing in public”*. Indeed, the Audit Commission (1989: 6) report explicitly stated that training was *“an item of expenditure over which there is a stronger case for retaining central control than most”* due to tensions between line manager’s immediate concerns for the job and the long-term benefits for the individual and the organisation as a whole. Emphasis shifted to effectiveness and efficiency and market-led management of training (ibid). In addition to the growing demands on resources and pressure from Home Office, police training was shaped by various internal (sexism, racism, corruption) factors, resulting in a ‘crisis of police leadership’ (Charman, Savage & Cope, 1999). The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999) brought into to focus the need for improved community and race relations training while gender equality and women’s role within the criminal justice system also gained increased attention during the 1990s both within the police service and academic research community (Martin, 1996; Heidensohn & Gelsthorpe, 2007). The government’s response was to set up various actions plans to address the problems faced by both ethnic minority and female officers (Home Office, 2001) while in general, the police diversity training widened to include not just race and gender but also disability, sexuality, age, religion, nationality and so on. This was reinforced by the Human Rights Act of 1998, which came into force in 2000 bringing with it a shift to continuous personal development within a learning organisation through recruitment, training, supervision and evaluations (Neyroud & Beckley, 2001). Such orientation is also seen as a part of police professionalisation as explored later (see Chapter 6).

“There just seems to be more emphasis on training; up the supervisors to support people in the force after the training rather than sending you know... In the old days, sending someone on a course, ‘oh go on a course and you’ll be able to do it then come back and off you go.’ It’s. It does seem to be a bit more. That whole thing about professionalising it.”
(Participant 1)

The overall push has increasingly been towards a competency based definition of a policing *profession* (Beckley, 2004), and the recent reforms in police training and policing in general have continued to remould the police image as a highly skilled customer- and community-oriented professionals. The next section narrows the focus back to detectives and investigative skills training in order to further demonstrate this trend.

3.2. Current Investigative Skills Training

"I'm a dinosaur. I've 34 years. I could quite easily say 'oh things aren't as good as they were when I was...' A lot of people will say that but to be perfectly honest, I look at what we turn out from here are far better, good detectives, than they were ever." (Participant 12)

Continuing from above, this section charts the more recent developments and brings the focus back to investigative skills training, drawing from both the interviews and secondary sources to provide a picture of the current arrangements. Earlier, we explored the gradual specialisation of detective work and the calls for professionalisation throughout the history of policing. However, their impact remained limited until relatively recently. Stelfox (2009) argues that the model of the 'omni-competent constable' capable of dealing with any and all policing issues – including criminal investigations – that dominated British policing is the main reason for the lack of distinctive and teachable investigative practice. Detectives' own understanding of their work was a 'dialectical synthesis' of craft and science, intuition and rationality, where a combination of natural instinct and experience was seen as the key to becoming a skilled investigator (Innes, 2003). One interviewee described it like this:

"You were more reactive in the way that you dealt with things, it was perhaps thought to be more natural, as opposed to being a thought-out process" (Participant 2)

Stelfox (2009) identifies three interrelated factors explaining a more systematic approach and development of professional practice for criminal investigations. Firstly, there were a number of *legislative changes*. PACE was followed by a range of other legislations (e.g. Prosecution of Offences Act 1985, Criminal Procedures and Investigations Act 1996, Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000, Criminal Justice Act 2003), which together facilitated and enforced a more inquisitorial and non-partisan way of conducting police investigations (ibid). The second catalytic factor is *technical and procedural changes*. Developments in forensic science and information gathering, collection and analysis are historically linked with investigative specialisation (see 1.4). The rapid increase of such changes (DNA and other forensic techniques, surveillance, electronic data tracking, etc.) has led to creation of new areas of specialisation and expertise for the detectives to be aware of and utilise (ibid). Finally, *concerns over police conduct and effectiveness* became more and more prominent. I have already mentioned the significance of various corruption and miscarriages of justice cases that shook the public and government confidence in the police. Furthermore, the detection and conviction rates declined strikingly during the last two decades of the 20th century, from 40% recorded crime detected and 18% leading to conviction in 1980 to 24% and 9% respectively in 1999-2000 (Home Office, 2001). This was probably at least partly a result of increased recording of crime due to procedural and technological advances, and, interestingly, police having become more professional (Langan & Farrington, 1998). Nevertheless, the 2000 HMIC report found significant differences in the investigative performance in major

crime inquiries and detection rates among the forces in England and Wales. To be effective, the resulting procedural reforms needed to be coupled with improvements in the investigative skills (Stelfox, 2009). As one crime trainer commented:

“When you look at the crime investigation and how they do it, it ain’t changed an awful lot since 1943 and it quite amuses when I look at it really. I’m not saying there’s anything wrong with what we do, but I’m, we must be able to do things better. Must be able to.”
(Participant 10)

The increasing emphasis on individual competencies can be seen e.g. in Smith and Flanagan’s (2000) study, which identified various skills, abilities and personal characteristics essential for the role of Senior Investigating Officers. An effective SIO was argued to need a combination of investigative ability, knowledge of relevant processes and procedures and management skills (people, general and investigative management). While the report concentrated on the wider issues such as selecting potential SIOs, mentoring and self-development, it also emphasised the importance of formalised training and the need to balance it with on-the-job practical experience.

3.2.1 NPIA: Centralisation, Standardisation, Professionalisation?

“And then you got like the forty-three different forces and it’s almost like running a, working with forty-three individual businesses in a way because they all got slightly different local procedures or policies and then we’re trying to pull something together nationally, which [...] is quite a challenge.” (Participant 1)

“If you want to be considered a professional organisation, somebody needs to set the boundaries, or put down protocols and best practice.” (Participant 10)

The call for more systematic and rigorous investigative skills training coincided with – and was bolstered by – the trend of police centralisation that had been steadily continuing since ‘New Labour’s’ rise to power in 1997. It is therefore not surprising that the answer came in the form of a national training programme and a new centralised policing agency to design and implement it. Before looking at the current investigative skills training arrangements in more detail, it is necessary to understand the role the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA) plays in them.

In speculating on the future of British policing, Cope, Leishman and Starie (1995; cited in Leishman, Cope & Starie, 1996) provided two possible scenarios. The first of these posited that the centralisation would remain the dominating trend, any privatisation and ‘Europeanisation’ being controlled by the central government and eventually leading to a nationalised police force. The second scenario predicted a further ‘hollowing-out’ of the police, seeing the service torn apart by the processes of decentralisation, privatisation and ‘Europeanisation’. Fifteen years later, the creation of various national policing agencies (see 1.4.) and the continuous increase in policing powers, justified by the threat of terrorism and organised crime with no respect for jurisdictional borders (Rowe, 2008), suggested the first of these had come true. The move toward increased centralisation has accelerated during the last decade reinforced in particular by the Police Reform Act 2002, which gave Home Secretary greater powers over operational policing and increased central regulation and monitoring (Ormerod & Roberts, 2003).

Centrex (the Central Police Training and Development Authority [CPTDA], formerly known as the National Police Training [NPT]) was established under the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001. For six years, Centrex had the primary responsibility for police training and development England and Wales until being replaced by NPIA in April 2007. NPIA was established under the Police and Justice Act 2006 and brought together a number of police supporting agencies with the main aim of creating a more coherent and effective national framework of research, training and operational support (NPIA, 2011c, Rowe, 2008). Specifically, its remit covered providing critical national services and professional expertise to police forces and authorities as well as building capability across the service (NPIA, 2011d). There was another, less obvious, consequence of the new agency, a decrease of local control and accountability. Some twenty years earlier, Lightfoot (1988) had criticised the centralised police training system for allocating most of its resources to maintenance and mechanisms of central control and being inherently resistant to change.

A search for flexibility and responsiveness seems to be behind the recent consultation document *Policing in the 21st Century: Re-connecting the police and the people* (Home Office, 2010). On one hand, emphasis is placed on community policing, moving away from national targets and ‘empowering the police professionals’ (note the term) to effectively deal with local issues: *“The Government will continue to have a role in setting the national strategic direction for the police, but it will have no role in telling the police how to do their job”* (Home Office, 2010: 20). On the other, the continued reality of transnational crime and the cutbacks to public sector funding necessitate the sort of ‘leaner and meaner’ national policing approach Cope, Leishman and Starie (1995; cited in Leishman, Cope & Starie, 1996) envisioned: *“Our approach will involve ending the practice of procuring things in 43 different ways when it makes no sense to do so either operationally or financially; and introducing much stronger national coordination in respect of some cross-boundary operational policing challenges. We will also establish a new National Crime Agency to improve, in particular, our response to organised crime and enhance the security of our borders”* (Home Office, 2010: 30).

The consequences for the NPIA are discouraging; as part of the ‘streamlining of the national policing landscape’ the agency is to be phased out shortly (by March 2012) (NPIA, 2011e) – a decision many feel is unduly hasty. Looking to take over is the planned Police Professional Body, representing all levels of the organisation and consolidating functions of NPIA and the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) (Neyroud, 2011). Its responsibilities would cover national standards, qualification framework, leadership and training, including a national delivery body that would provide training in such police specific areas (e.g. covert skills, firearms and forensics) that could not be commissioned out to further and higher education institutes (something that the report in general recommends, see thesis chapters 6 and 7).

The balancing act between national standards and local responsibility was a familiar issue to the interviewees. For example, each force has its own policing priorities and there are often inconsistencies in the function of a particular role between the forces:

“Forty-three police forces that exist have forty-three Chief Officers, individual Chief Officers who would individually have their own policing priorities. Those policing priorities, the map of that is never the same. So to do some national training that meets everybody’s needs, the improvement of that would create a much more flexible approach to training delivery, to training products. Rather than making them more role-specific, make them more function-specific so that people can pull out what they need for a particular function. Because most police have the similar sort of functions but the priority, the investment in that is going to be different from force to force based on their priority.” (Participant 4)

So, local policing must be delivered to a *national* standard. The risk of decentralisation is disparity, as the interviewees pointed out:

“Taking away the old sort of post-code lottery of how the member of the public will get dealt with. I think that’s one of the biggest things; making sure that the, it’s one way of trying to ensure that the standards are consistent whether you are dealt with, you know by an investigator in Nottingham or, you know, in Cambridge. It, it should be. You should

be confident that you get the same level of... um, competency I suppose really.” (Participant 1)

“The trouble with this job is that you’ve got forty-three police forces throughout the country, haven’t you. All I guess until recently doing things differently. So if you want to be professional as a force throughout the country if you like, then we do need to, you know, to have, well, the current Investigation Doctrine really, which is the workshop manual on how you should investigate crime. And I guess until a few years ago we didn’t have that. So it didn’t only, it varied from force to force, it varied from individual to individual. It often depended, if you were the complainant it depended on the luck of the draw who would turn up your house.” (Participant 10)

Besides legislative requirement for national standards of service delivery, training may need to be delivered centrally for reasons of restricted or confidential training materials, low number of trainees and occupationally competent trainers, highly specialised and technical knowledge and skills, requirement for specialist equipment or secure facilities (Neyroud, 2011). What is particularly interesting for the current study, however, is the way standardised quality of service is seen as an indication of professional conduct. Indeed, universally applied and publicly recognised standards of behaviour are considered to be part of what characterises professions and gives them their authority (Dingwall, 1983; Sciulli, 2009).

Typically, these are set and monitored by a central body or professional association, as this interviewee (from NPIA) recognises.

“When you try to ensure consistency and standards across the board, you need to have some degree of centralisation. There is a need for a body like the NPIA or Skills for Justice. Might be Skills for Justice or Skills for Justice should be part of the NPIA, I don’t know. But in terms of standardising what people should learn and know and be able to do. And what they should get from training to help them to do the job. That should be standardised. So you should have a some sort of central unit like the NPIA.” (Participant 3)

Sciulli (2009: 230) argues that professionalisation results in establishment of an ‘independent socio-cultural authority’, the role of which consists of *“codifying, standardising and disseminating stands or accomplishment – epistemological and didactic, instructional and occupational – which are intersubjectively cognizable and, therefore, in principle open to inspection.”* Importance of a central overseeing agency was not emphasised only by NPIA respondents. The below are all comments by trainers from the two local forces, expressing wishes for NPIA to have more authority and involvement when it came to training arrangements.

“I would like to see NPIA quality assure what we do a bit more. I mean we’re getting aims and objectives written down and we get training on how to deliver a course on those aims and objectives, but there’s not much quality assurance followed up, no evaluation of what we’re delivering. There seems to be a... NPIA seems to be a Ivory Tower where a lot of people sit and make rules and regulations, aims and objectives. We don’t really see them an awful lot in training establishments like this. I know we’ve had representatives here but nobody’s ever come to my class and said ‘you’re not doing that right.’” (Participant 7)

“I think there needs to be more, more ‘this is it, this is’ you know ‘you must do this’. What we tend to get is supposedly there but they keep saying ‘well the Chief Constable can do anything they want’, you know, whereas I really think there needs to be a strong drive towards ‘you must do it.’” (Participant 13)

“Then I think your NPIA could be more, not influential, but could be more involved with the regions’ needs and linking in with the region. So there’s room for them to become more involved.” (Participant 14)

However, such a wish was by no means unanimous. Indeed, the same participant from NPIA who is quoted earlier arguing in favour of centralisation continues:

“On the same token I think we have too much control. We’re trying to put too much control on how individual trainers or training units deliver training programmes. [...] And I think the NPIA are moving away from having complete control of delivery as well as development and having less control now over how individual training departments deliver programmes. I’m not sure that’s a good thing yet. Certainly the initial training has moved away from centralised, you know become completely decentralised. So apart for the central ‘this is the standard that you much reach’ part, the NPIA or IPLPD other parts of the organisations, other forces should I say, other training units are delivering that very much on their own, they way that they want to. I don’t know whether that’s a good thing or... Time will tell. But as a general rule; I think the less central control you have, the better, because the less central control you have, the more we’re able to, the local people be able to train according to what they need.” (Participant 3)

Issues of standardisation, control of police training and the potential role of higher education in that will be returned to in later chapters (see also 4.2.4. on the topic of socio-cultural authority). The next section will look at professionalisation of investigation through establishment of national standards and centralised training programme.

3.2.2 PIP and ICIDP

“Yeah, I think the PIP is a good thing, I think it, it’s doing what it days on the tin. It’s professionalising the roles that we’re doing, it’s making people more accountable for their everyday work. Not only about the investigation, but about the way that they conduct the investigation, the way that they speak to people, the way that they interview people, the way that they treat people [...]” (Participant 12)

The Professionalising Investigation Programme (PIP) was launched in 2005. It is an ACPO sponsored national training and development programme designed to *“improve the professional competence of all police officers and staff who are tasked with conducting investigations”* (NPIA, 2011c). Phased implementation of the programme began in March 2007 with the expected final handover date two years later in 2009 (NPIA, 2011b), although in practice this was not the case in every force. Stelfox (2009) suggests the term ‘professionalising’ was chosen deliberately and is used by the police to denote improvements made through *training and development* as opposed to other strategies such as changing of business processes or management systems. Indeed, the concepts of professionalisation and standardisation were often used almost interchangeably by many of the participants.

PIP was a concrete realisation of the increased interest in professionalising investigations that stemmed from the concerns over police conduct and effectiveness as discussed earlier.

“If you look at PIP [...] and how that’s come about because of short fallings in high-profile cases; Stephen Lawrence, [...] the Harold Shipman Inquiry. The shortfalls, which is all about forces having different levels of investigative ability, I think it can only be a positive thing that the PIP process gives a minimum, a minimum that people would work to. And hopefully people would go above that. So you know that you always know what the investigative ability is of your detective. Or the minimum standard of that detective. So it can only be a good thing, absolutely.” (Participant 5)

The necessity to ensure that officers were on the ‘right path’ and conducting their investigations to national standards was keenly understood by the participants.

“And like I said before you’ve got to have a standard and I think over the years – I mean I’ve been here nearly twenty years – and I have seen people slip through the net who are substandard. And if this is a way of making sure everyone is brought up to speed then obviously that’s got to be a good thing.” (Participant 9)

“We talked, we talked before about police officers becoming corrupted – not corrupted, corrupted is a bad word really – but kind of directed along the perhaps the wrong path through working rules basically. And PIP kind of grabs them and brings them back in the line.” (Participant 7)

PIP has three levels, each deepening the complexity of investigative understanding and practice and aimed at officers at increasingly senior positions. It offers a ‘cradle to grave’ curriculum designed to bring a more systematic approach to training than the previous ‘craft model’ where the majority of training happened ‘on the job’ (Stelfox, 2009). Appendix 9 provides a detailed overview of the content of the different PIP levels, but they can be summarised briefly as follows:

PIP Level 1 covers investigative and interviewing skills related to volume and priority crime. It includes the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) as well as some specialist courses, such as Road Death Family Liaison and Initial Response in Sexual Offences.

PIP Level 2 covers investigative and interviewing skills related to serious and complex crime. It includes the Initial Crime Investigators Development Programme (ICIDP) as well as various supervisor level and specialist courses, such as Initial Management of Serious and Complex Crime, Detective Inspectors Development Programme, Specialist Child Abuse Investigator Development Programme and Interview Advisor Development Programme.

PIP Level 3 consists of the Senior Investigating Officers Development Programme that covers managing of major and complex investigations.

The way PIP is structured is a deliberate attempt to frame investigative training as a *continuum*, a programme of continuous professional development. Therefore, while the current study focuses specifically on the ICIDP, it would be impossible and inadvisable to consider it in isolation.

Indeed, with PIP comes an emphasis on investigative skills being firmly embedded in the police work from the beginning:

“We’ve also broadened it out in a sense that traditionally investigative responsibilities largely fell on the CID camp, Criminal Investigation Department, and whatever detectives that did all of that. We’ve pushed investigative skills training out to the forefront of policing. So now police officers that join the police organisation for the first time, start to get some of those decision-making, evaluation type skills that you’d expect investigator to have, to be able to improve their investigative knowledge, skills, competence. The idea being to be able to improve our detection rates, to create greater confidence in the public in what we do. Because largely frontend cops, police officers, were basically form-fillers. That’s the very... that’s quite negative [...] they were very process-driven instead of being able to think a little more laterally. Investigative skills is about being able to think more laterally about... So that’s the big change.” (Participant 4)

The above quote illustrates the current ethos of *“every police officer is an investigator”* (Bryant, 2009a: 25), building on the research findings about the importance of uniformed officers to solving cases (see 1.5). The training for investigative skills starts the moment the new recruit joins the service. The IPLDP is a 35 week programme comprising part of the two year training period student officers go through before attaining a full Police Constable status and, from 2010 onwards, the relevant mandatory qualification of Diploma in Policing (NPIA, 2011a). IPLDP incorporates the PIP Level 1 material, mainly the Skills for Justice National Occupational Standards (NOS) relating to priority and volume crime investigations and interviewing of victims, witnesses and suspects involved in them (Bryant, 2009a).

The next step in investigative skills training (PIP Level 2) begins with the ICIDP, which covers the basics of complex and serious crime investigations and is linked with various Skills for

Justice NOS (ibid). ICIDP represents a fundamental change from the previous detective training in terms of its content and format, as one participant elaborated on:

"I started working on ICIDP, the old course which was, which were pants, basically. And I said this nationally, in a meeting, that it lacks, it had a lot of content of law but it had no structure. And no sort of 'so what' factor, how does that outside, it was just a delivery of a load of subjects. I then in 2006 after a lot of banging on a door, got on board with, we were the pilot force to use the case study, which was similar to the theme what the Skills for Policing was. And that was a better vehicle for the learning really. [...] The main radical change came with ICIDP because I was fed up of wheeling speakers in and delivering legislation. It didn't really fit in with any application, some kind of simulated reality that gives them a connection of how can I relate this to what I know, how the detective world is to me and how is it gonna sit when I go back out. It was just a lump, this is B&E, this is burglary. Whereas now they're going into the burglary thinking 'well is it a burglary, is it not burglary, why aggravated, why is it this, what else could it have been'. You know: 'Is it a crime? What's a crime?'" (Participant 11)

It was not just a case of bringing in a more realistic case study or new training methods – though those things were important – but introducing a deeper, more critical approach to criminal investigations. The interviewees referred to this as the *'investigative mindset'*, a term used in the ACPO (2005) Core Investigative Doctrine for critical and evaluative approach to information, decision-making and developing explanations. This was a skill consistently emphasised as important, implying a fundamental change in understanding of what it means to be a detective and how investigations are to be conducted.

"And it's... being innovative, stretching their boundaries, using as many resources available to them as possible to conduct an investigation. Moving themselves away from this, from the specific detective role that they think that they're in. Young officers can easily be... What the word I'm looking for? Corrupted in a way. Not corrupted, but kind of given the wrong way, the wrong impressions of what they need to do for a particular investigation. Whereas we ask them to open their eyes and look at it broader, not to listen to perhaps more experienced people who are set in their ways. To try break open this concept of 'The Detective', make them a more rounded individual, bit more of a deep thinker, bit more innovative more creative in the way they do things, compared to perhaps what the old school think." (Participant 7)

"I think all crime investigation now is, the positive is about developing their skills as investigators, not giving them just the law and procedure, but actually developing themselves as thinkers, as motivators, as inquisitors..." (Participant 12)

Both the interviewees and literature (e.g. ACPO, 2005; Stelfox, 2009) also identified various *other* investigative skills that detectives need, but to discuss them at any length is beyond the scope and beside the focus of the current study. However, they included, for example, communication and interpersonal skills (including cultural and diversity awareness), decision-making and ability to record and justify reasoning behind it, problem-solving, hypothesis-building, information skills (gathering, analysing, evaluating, utilising, managing), as well as knowledge and skills related to legislation, procedure and various investigative methods.

The next sections outline the ICIDP in some detail, covering the different stages of the programme, curriculum content and training methods. They draw as much, if not more, from the primary interviews as well as the referenced secondary sources. However, instead of including

lengthy descriptive quotes from the participants, their explanations are, for the most part, summarised within the text. It should also be noted that some of the details of the programme, such as the application process, exact length and content of the course, the work based assessment etc., vary from force to force (Bryant, 2009a; supported by interviews). These are the variations dependent on local priorities and resources; a double-edged sword of necessary flexibility of content and delivery and a problematic lack of standardisation in quality assurance. The key stages, however, are the same nationally and what is described below reflects the typical process officers embarking on a career in criminal investigations go through.

The ICIDP, while nationally designed by the NPIA, is locally delivered at the majority of force training schools. A few of the smaller forces do not deliver the programme due to the low numbers of officers requiring it, instead choosing to send the candidates to receive the training at the larger neighbouring forces. The ICIDP is a *development programme*, consisting of three distinctive phases:

Phase 1. National Investigators Examination (NIE): The access to the ICIDP is through an applications process, which usually includes an interview with personnel and a senior ranking officer. Successful candidates are registered onto the programme and typically attend an Induction Day at the force training school. They then enter a fourteen-week-long period of self-study of the recommended textbook of the *Blackstone's Police Investigator's Manual* and the accompanying *Workbook* (Connor et al., 2010a and 2010b for the latest versions). This culminates in the NIE, the purpose of which is *"to identify the candidates who have sufficient levels of knowledge and understanding of relevant law and procedure to perform effectively in subsequent stages of the ICIDP and as a trainee investigator"* (NPIA, 2011f: 12). The two hour examination is by 80 multiple choice questions (each with four possible answers, one of which is correct) and covers the law and procedure in four key areas: 1) Assaults, Drugs, Firearms and Defences, 2) Evidence, 3) Property Offences, and 4) Sexual Offences (ibid). The previous pass rate was 48.5% and criticised as being too low (Bryant, 2009a and also remarked on by a number of interviewees). The current pass mark is 55.7%, i.e. 39 correct answers out of the 70 core questions (ten of the questions are validation questions) (NPIA, 2011f), but Bryant (2009a) points out the problematic practice of compensation where a low score in one subject area can be balanced by a higher score in the other. He also criticises the seemingly low consequences of cheating. While the current guidelines (NPIA, 2011f) state that a candidate found in breach of the examination rules will be reported and their results nullified, there seems to be no restrictions on retaking the examination and continuing with the programme (Bryant, 2009a). Candidates failing to achieve the required pass mark can re-sit the examination twice, after which they are not allowed to apply again for another 18 months (NPIA, 2011f).

Phase 2. The Course: The next phase of ICIDP consists of the six-week taught course (five in the forces choosing to run the interview element of the course separately) delivered at force training schools. The course material is provided by the NPIA and is *“bells and whistles; it’s all lesson plans, all supporting materials and case studies”* (Participant 2). The forces are given considerable flexibility in what, how and in what order the material is covered as long as they cover the learning descriptors and fulfil the aims and objectives as set by the NPIA (Bryant, 2009a). In essence, the course aims to take the theoretical knowledge of law and procedure gained during Phase 1 and consolidate it into practical skills. The course is based around a case study of an incident (at the time of the research, this was an aggravated burglary with some sexual offence elements), which the students investigate during the six weeks all the way from the reporting to the court. The curriculum content covers e.g. relevant legislation including human rights issues, evidence, investigative techniques and procedure, interviewing victims, witnesses and suspects, recording and making decisions, crime scene management, and media relations. The Core Investigative Doctrine (ACPO, 2005) provides the conceptual framework around which much of the content is structured. Many of the participants summarised the course with references to instilling the students with the ‘investigative mindset’ as discussed above. It is the NPIA’s responsibility to maintain the product, to keep it relevant and current and update materials annually. However, based on the discussions with interviewees at both NPIA and the two local forces, this was not the case in practice, and the fact that some elements of the case study were outdated was remarked on. A major internal review of the course materials was finishing at the same time as the fieldwork period, and the preliminary findings as discussed with those participants involved in the process indicated that an overhaul of the case study was planned. Of particular interest to the current study is how some forces are linking their ICIDP with local universities for the purpose of awarding Foundation Degrees at the completion of the programme. This is a trend that will be explored at greater depth later on.

Training Methods: The training methods on the ICIDP course are varied. They include, for example, individual and group exercises, research tasks, quizzes, role-play, facilitated plenary discussions, reflection, written work (students are e.g. required to keep a decision log of their activities during the ‘investigation’ which will then be scrutinised by the trainers and used as a basis for cross-examination by barristers) as well as more traditional didactic training methods such as lectures and presentations by the trainers or various guest speakers and subject matter experts (e.g. lawyers, forensic scientists, academics). A number of trainers referenced Bloom’s (1956) Taxonomy of Learning Domains when explaining the choice of training methods. Overall, the current approach seems to indicate an improved balance between training (skills, tasks, procedure) and education (research, evaluation, understanding, interpretation, application, communication) (Haberfeld, 2002; cited in Tong, 2009). A recent review of relevant literature

(Neyroud, 2011) also suggests that training that integrates both practice and theory and collaborative (i.e. one that utilises shared learning and peer support) continuous professional development are key to changing attitudes and behaviours. In the interviews, a strong emphasis was placed on active student-centred learning and keeping the training as realistic and current as possible, which reflects the growing influence of andragogical approaches in police training (Tong, 2009, see also Astley, 2006).

“One of the biggest features of cop culture is they’re all pragmatists. They like things to reflect the way things are [...] they like their training events to reflect real life. But what we’ve given them in the past is just a whole bunch of theory, stand in front of them and just talk at them, give them a whole bunch of theory, expect them to make sense of it. So now what we’ve done is, we’ve gone into this cop culture and said ‘look c’mon, you need something that’s going to reflect what you’re going to do at the workplace.’” (Participant 3)

What makes the above quote especially interesting is the ready reference to the influence of occupational culture. Pragmatism, as discussed in the Introduction, is an integral part of police culture, especially the subculture of the CID (e.g. Young, 1991; Innes, 2003). The culture of an organisation strongly affects the training that takes place within it, and the police is no exception (e.g. Fielding, 1988). The developments in police training, its methods and rationale, briefly touched on this chapter are the early echoes of a much deeper *“cultural police training change”* (Participant 3) as explored in the later chapters. Similarly, we will return to the concept of organisational culture again when discussing the relationship between academia and police.

Phase 3. Portfolio and Workplace-based Assessment: After the course, the trainee detectives *“go out into the real world”* (Participant 11), beginning – or more typically *resuming* – their work at the CID. They have six months from the end of the course to complete a work-based assessment in the form of a personal development portfolio. It is based on the national occupation standards and the integrated competency framework, covering three Investigative Units: 1) conducting serious and complex investigations, 2) interviewing victims and witnesses in relation to serious and complex investigations, and 3) interviewing suspects in relation to serious and complex investigations (NPJA, 2009, Skills for Justice, 2008abc). The candidate must produce practical evidence to demonstrate that she or he fulfils each performance criteria and knowledge requirement (NPJA, 2009). The portfolio is marked by a qualified assessor (usually the candidate’s Tutor Constable or Detective Sergeant), signed off by a crime manager and finally sent off to an Internal Verifier responsible for the standard of evidence of their Command Unit (ibid). After a successful completion of the portfolio, the officer is registered as PIP Level 2 qualified investigator.

The last phase of the ICIDP is also the most problematic one.

Part 1 and 2 is understood and implemented appropriately. So the exam part, studying. Everybody accepts that they got to get through that national exam. Everybody knows that they have to come on the five week course, the national course. But the part 3, the work-based evidence, is really completely misunderstood.” (Participant 5)

Some interviewees were heavily critical, e.g. calling the standard of some of the portfolios “*abysmal*” (Participant 11). There is a lack of standardisation and quality assurance surrounding the portfolios. They can, in theory, be dip-sampled by the Force Central Verification Team (often the training department) and by the NPIA to ensure that they meet the required standard. However, based on the discussions with the interviewees, it seems this is rarely done in practice due to lack of time and resources. The level and quality of support trainee detectives receive from their tutors and line managers varies greatly. For example, one participant explained that sometimes people were being assessed on their ability, but not necessarily on the written work they’re producing, reducing the portfolios into an administrative exercise rather than a proper assessment tool. The format of the portfolio was also criticised for being fiddly, time-consuming, unrealistic and laborious, breaking things down too much to accurately reflect the candidate’s professionalism (Participants 2 and 9). The demands of the job are such that finding the time (and understanding superiors) to complete the portfolio is difficult. Chatterton (2008) remarks on the detrimental effect the shortage of experienced detectives at the General Office CID level coupled with a heavy workload has: Trainee Detective Constables are often expected to carry a full workload with very little support. In light of this, it is not surprising that the anecdotal evidence from the interviews indicates that the overall completion rate of the portfolios is low.

PIP in general was not without its problems. While the interviewees were mostly positive about it, they were often critical of its practical implementation.

“I think it’s ‘how’ rather than the ‘what’ which is the problem at the moment.” (Participant 9)

“I think the concept’s right – the concept of us having, professionalising people, being more professional in how they deal with the investigation, making sure that they are competent, that they’re demonstrating their competency – is great. I think the application’s been poor.” (Participant 13)

Such problems are perhaps to be expected as centrally controlled programmes typically require a lot of institutional and political energy and take time to implement (Lightfoot, 1988). A comprehensive review of the challenges and points for improvement for PIP is beyond the scope of the study, although all interviewees were able to provide sophisticated critique of the programme. Other problems identified by interviewees and e.g. Chatterton (2008) included convincing senior management of the importance of PIP and training in general and the emphasis on meeting performance targets over professional investigative practice. The revenant of new public management lingers on, conflicting with the aims to professionalise investigative practice (ibid; Long, 2003). PIP requires a cultural change from quantity to quality and the organisational structures to support that:

“But it’s also a cultural change from what they were used to. You go on a course, it equips you, you do two weeks of a course, you come out and you’re an expert. No, that’s not the case. It requires development, it requires support, it requires all those things to make that person ready and fit for purpose.” (Participant 4)

“We get the message across here about how important it is in the training school. Students take it onboard and understand it. [...] I think where it falls down in division is management on division; it’s not a priority to them. They know it’s got to be done. They see it as a process that needs to be rubberstamped at some point and I don’t think they’re giving the individuals the support they need to get them through that as quickly as possible. So I think we lose it somewhere. It gets lost in the ethos somewhere between here and at the other end at the division. I think that’s because of priorities you know. Priority of the crime manager is to get crimes detected and the street safer. [...] It’s like there’s a lack of value out in the workplace. [...] I don’t really know if that’s anybody’s fault because everybody’s so busy with the work world.” (Participant 9)

Lack of understanding and awareness about PIP was attributed to the overtly complicated and bureaucratic nature of the programme itself. The different levels, problems of work-based assessment and quality assurance, the issue of retrospective accreditation (so-called ‘grandparenting’ of officers trained prior to PIP implementation) and perceived lack of consequences for not going through the process were all difficulties mentioned by the interviewees.

3.3. Chapter Conclusions

British policing has been shaped by a constant and simultaneous pull in two directions: toward centrally defined and controlled standardisation and consistency on one hand, and toward local responsiveness, engagement and accountability on the other. These forces are not conflicting per se. Indeed, local delivery to national standards echoes the concept of public service within a regulatory code of ethics which legitimates the power of the professions (see Chapter 4). Nevertheless, they have created an atmosphere of ever-present tension and struggle for power between the myriad stakeholders (state, local, professional, organisational, interest group etc.). It is in this context that the British police has developed to the organisation it currently is, a 'work-in-progress' (Participant 5 – see Introduction).

The definition describes equally well the convoluted landscape of police training, fraught with almost constant restructuring and struggle for relevance and consisting of multiple levels, programmes and stakeholders. To caricature slightly, the police has in turn regarded training as either a convenient solution to problems or as an unnecessary drain on financial and human resources. It has been strongly influenced by wider social changes as well as reacting to specific events, such as public disorder, miscarriages of justice and corruption scandals. The first third of the chapter mapped the progress of police training from drill-like, law- and procedure-based practice to an increasingly specialised and standardised activity, emphasising diversity and community responsiveness.

Underlying this is the gradual process toward professionalisation, which the chapter explicated through the prism of investigative skills training. The development of professional practice for criminal investigations stemmed from legislative, technical and procedural changes as well as the increasing concern over police conduct and effectiveness. At the same time, the establishment of the National Policing Improvement Agency in 2007 provided a concrete manifestation of the continuing trend of centralisation, standardisation and professionalisation. Albeit short-lived and due to be phased out this year (though not perhaps in spirit as the new Police Professional Body seems set to consolidate many of its functions), it played a key role in rolling out the Professionalising Investigation Programme, which I discussed in detail in the final sections of the chapter. Particularly close attention was paid to the Initial Crime Investigators Development Programme, which is the basic training programme for officers wishing to specialise in investigations. It covers investigative and interviewing skills related to serious and complex crime and aims to instil a critical approach to the process. By synthesising information both from the interviews and existing literature, I was able to provide a rich description and analysis of the current investigative skills training arrangements and thus meet the first of the three research aims of the thesis.

This chapter has provided the necessary context to understanding the way developments in police training in general and detective training in particular form a part of a deeper process toward police professionalisation. The new challenge facing investigative skills and police training are the increasing links with higher education as one of the interviewees notes:

“The only thing that is on the horizon I’ve noticed is the collaborating with universities. Now that’s coming through certainly from the ICIDP point of view, because that’s something that is in the pipeline at the moment.” (Participant 8)

Taking up this theme and drawing from relevant theoretical literature and my interview data, the rest of the thesis turns its focus to analysing the relationship between professionalisation and academia within the policing context. First, however, it is necessary to establish what is meant by ‘professions’ and examine whether the police displays any of their characteristics.

CHAPTER 4

Theorising Police Professionalisation

So far I have focussed on laying the foundations for the professionalisation of detective work and what this means for detective training, although in the previous chapter we saw how such processes follow – or, perhaps more accurately, lead – the developments in police professionalisation and police training in general. The reasons for using detectives as an illustrative example of police professionalisation were discussed in the Introduction, and throughout the thesis, I remain aware of generalising from them to the rest of the police. Nevertheless, such changeability is inevitable and particularly apparent in this chapter, which explores the concept and process of professionalisation, drawing from the scientific literature on the sociology of professions which provides the theoretical framework for the study. There does exist a body of research and theorising on ‘police professionalisation’ to consider, but not on detective professionalisation or, for example, professionalisation of family liaison officers – just as there exists such a body on nursing professionalisation, but not on professionalisation of oncology nurses or paediatric nurses.

Thus, in the second round of interviews when I asked the participants about what characterises a profession and the relevance of this to the police, the discussion was situated in the broader context of policing instead just investigative work. The answers proved highly illuminating and in a complex fashion reflected matters already located within existing literature. The primary and secondary data illustrate ‘representations of professionalism’, and the chapter synthetically integrates them to provide an overview of the definitions, characteristics and functions of ‘professions’ and argues that it is possible to place the police among them based on e.g. concepts of expert service, technical competence, market monopoly, normative social control, and entrenched positions of power. It will end by discussing the one key feature of professions that has traditionally been missing for the police (including the detectives) – instructional abstraction; in this way, it paves the way for my examination of this core relationship between professions (including the police) and academic education in greater depth in Chapter 5.

4.1. Defining Professions

What do we mean by the word 'profession'? What makes something a profession, what makes something not a profession? The answer, it seems, depends on who you ask and is further clouded by the fact that terms such as 'professional' and 'professionalism' are often used colloquially, because many expert occupations do share qualities of the professions (Sciulli, 2009). The problem is thus one of abundance; there are a number different definitions and lists of characteristics to describe professions, and we will discuss some of these shortly.

However, no standard definition of professions seems to exist, no ideal type of analytical distinction robust enough to provide the concept with sufficient abstraction and epistemological grounding (ibid). Instead, professional behaviour varies historically and cross-nationally and is not fixed to a particular set of occupational tasks or the fields they are performed in (ibid). Sciulli (ibid: 51) points out how *"none of these listings of empirical characteristics distinguishes professions unambiguously from middle class occupations on any invariant basis, ideal-typical or analytical."* At best, Burrage, Jarausch and Siegrist (1990; cited in ibid) argue, such a listing provides a 'yardstick', one possible way of many in which one group of occupations can be distinguished from others.

But does that really matter? On one hand and from a theoretical point of view: yes it does. For how can we talk about police as a profession if we cannot define what a profession is? But on the other hand, such rigidity of labels can be both restrictive and unproductive. We talk about things we do not fully understand all the time, using concepts fuzzily defined to discuss and describe. It is often this type of talk, unburdened by the need for accuracy and unlimited in its scope, that leads to hypothesising, discoveries and progress. If we were to wait until every term was conclusively defined and universally understood before using it, scientific and intellectual inquiry would grind to halt. In other words, there is nothing wrong with using a yardstick; it would be difficult to build a house without one. So, finding a watertight definition of a profession may be a Platonic ideal, but that does not make the concept useless (Elliott, 1972). Because even a working definition that maps typical characteristics and relationships allows us to examine and discuss the phenomenon in a way that lack of a shared concept would not.

The definitions and lists of empirical characteristics arise from research and theorising within the sociology of professions and its two main approaches. The first of these is the **structural functional approach**, heavily influenced by Durkheim (1957), who saw professions as moral communities that would bring cohesion into a society fragmented by the division of labour. He regarded occupational groups as larger scale versions of the family and thus maintaining the moral and social order needed to keep anomie at bay (Elliott, 1972).

The professions' influence on social order and social change was also a key feature in the work of Talcott Parsons who emphasised their 'service orientation' both as an institutionalised value and an internalised norm. He argued that professionals bear unique fiducial responsibilities toward their clients by exhibiting 1) technical 'competence' whilst delivering expert services or undertaking research, and 2) general 'integrity', i.e. behaviour that consistent with 'valued cultural patterns' of the society" (Sciulli, 2009). Parsons saw these two as substantive-normative, in that they apply to professions and professionals always and everywhere (ibid). To these he adds the characteristic of 'professionalism', defined as a sort of detached 'disinterestedness' and acquired due the socialisation processed during the lengthy instruction and training period professionals go through (ibid). Parsons also drew from Weber's concepts of legitimation and regulation of power, arguing that it was this as well as the functional specificity and universal application of impersonal standards where the professions' authority lay (Dingwall, 1983).

Parsons' tenets were rejected by a group of sociologists (Eliot Friedsohn, Terence Johnson, Magali Larson, Randall Collins and Andrew Abbott) who formulated a narrower **socio-economic approach** that saw no difference between professions and other expert/middle-class occupations and emphasised the monopoly professions maintained over the expert labour market. This then serves to strengthen the occupational hierarchies and socioeconomic inequalities, and thus, indirectly, the status quo (e.g. Larson, 1977). The revisionist approach to professions views professions as 'structures of privilege' characterised by normative social control, political power, and various networks, cliques and allegiances (Collins, 1979 and 1990; both cited in Sciulli, 2009).

Themes from both approaches recur in the definitions offered by various authors. In his classic paper, Greenwood (1957) identifies the five essential elements of the ideal-type profession:

1. **Systematic body of theory**, applied via the scientific method and best achieved through formal education in an academic setting,
2. **Professional authority**, recognised by the client group and controlling its relationship with the profession,
3. **Sanctions of the community**, in the broader sense of approval of profession's powers and privileges such as control over admission, training and qualifications, as well as autonomy, confidentiality and relative immunity,
4. **Regulative code of ethics**, monitoring the client-profession relationship and its inherent power differences in a way that guarantees the welfare orientation and Parson's principles of universalism and disinterestedness, and

5. **Professional culture**, i.e. the profession's values, norms, symbols and behaviours sustained both formally through groups and associations and informally through the interactions and relationships between its members.

One of the more current descriptions of professions comes from Burrage, Jarausch and Siegrist (1990: 205; cited in Sciulli, 2009: 45), who define it as:

- A full-time liberal (non-manual) occupation;
- Holding a monopoly in the expert services labour market;
- Self-governed and autonomous of external control;
- Requiring specialist, systematic and scholarly training;
- Controlling entry via system of examinations, diplomas or titles;
- Offering member rewards that are both material and symbolic and tied to competence, work ethic and belief that expert services provided by the professions are of special importance to the society and common good.

Siegrist (2002; cited in Sciulli, 2009: 51) adds further empirical characteristics to the definition of professionalisation/professions:

- *“Capabilities and skills which are justified scientifically or systematically;*
- *Knowledge which is exclusive, profound, inaccessible, or not easily understood by laypersons, and acquired in special institutions of advanced education;*
- *Rules and attitudes regarding application of this knowledge, from formal procedures to collegiality and a general orientations toward the common good, which are designed to promote trust more generally across civil society.”*

Sciulli (2009: 181-2) offers what he considers a more robust definition and identifies six structural qualities of professions that are constitutive and invariant, i.e. applicable always and everywhere. It is worth quoting him at length here. Professions:

1. *“Provide expert occupation services within structured situations on the basis of an independent socio-cultural authority.*
2. *Are held accountable structurally (or positionally) to two fiducial responsibilities, one immediate and other institutional.*
3. *Are also held accountable structurally to occupations orientations, one epistemological and the other didactic.*
4. *Establish and maintain ongoing deliberation and relative disinterestedness, not through unwarranted social closure or occupations monopoly.*
5. *Privilege merit structurally in both instructional entry and then occupational placement and advancement, as opposed to permitting open nepotism, patronage or venality to displace or subordinate demonstrable merit.*

6. *Establish and maintain identifiable jurisdiction or fields (if not monopolies) in the labour market for expert services which are relatively well-patrolled. Effective patrolling is only possible, however, because these jurisdictions span structured situations. As a result, the jurisdictions are warranted both structurally and culturally, never gratuitous.*

Finally, we can consider professionalisation as a **process or a continuum**. Johnson (1972), for example, argues that professionalisation can be observed as 1) group mobility through occupational upgrading that relates to status, class and income, and 2) ideology of professionalism resulting from occupational group consciousness. He identifies four meanings for the term:

1. Broad changes that occur in the occupational structure as a result of an increase of an existing occupational group relative to others or an emergence of a new one,
2. Increasing attempts to formalise recruitment and training, often by specific qualifying associations,
3. Occupational group's acquisition of certain attributes thought to characterise a profession, and
4. The sequential and predictable process through which the above takes place.

But *"to speak about the process of professionalization requires one to define the direction of the process"* (Freidson, 1983: 21). Elliott (1972) addresses this in his definition of professionalism as complex continua of factors and patterns of behaviour that are interlinked but operate in different combinations in different situations. There exists an 'ideal type' profession, and this end of the spectrum is characterised by the following (ibid: 96):

- Knowledge – broad and theoretical
- Tasks – non-routine situations
- Decision-making – discretion
- Authority – over society's needs
- Identity – centred around the occupational group
- Work – key life interest
- Career – individual achievement including meeting of entry qualifications
- Education – extensive, meeting status requirements
- Role – total, i.e. extending beyond specific expertise or situations

In all the definitions above, a number of common themes become apparent. Next, the chapter will examine these in turn, discussing the extent to which the police can be seen to 'match' or 'fulfil' the various criteria.

4.2. Police as a Profession?

The historical overviews of detective work and police training established professionalisation as an ongoing trend. This is driven by a complex variety of factors, including aspirational need for higher socioeconomic status, strengthening police legitimacy and perhaps even a strategic repositioning within their field of influence. These reasons and motivations will be explored in the following chapters, but for now, I wish to evaluate whether and to what degree police meets the various criteria of professions. Before that, however, it is important at this point to again acknowledge the problems of discussing the police as if it is a uniform (pun not intended) profession, when in fact it encompasses myriad roles, functions and hierarchies. Each of these has their own unique path along the process of professionalisation, their acceptance of or aspiration for professional status and its various benefits and responsibilities is likely to differ both in quality and extent. Nevertheless, a certain degree of generalisation is both practical and necessary, and so the section draws both from the interviews which address professionalisation in the context of investigative work and policing in general both and the existing literature, which mostly deals with the latter.

Elliott (1972: 112-3) describes the 'natural history of professionalisation' as follows:

"Occupations seeking to establish themselves as professions commonly claim that the service they provide is important, if not vital, to the society. One way in which a profession may first develop as a separate occupational group is when some individuals recognise a social need and become committed to providing for it. These initial pioneers, entering the field from a variety of routes, will be united by their common concern. The development of a new occupational group may open up new career possibilities for others in relatively marginal or terminated career positions, for example those retiring early from the Armed Services. As time goes by and the process of professionalisation continues, qualifications will be laid down for entry to the occupation and entry routes institutionalised. And occupation with pretensions to professional status cannot afford to be seen as a refuge for the unqualified. Good intentions will no longer be enough."

The parallels to police work are noticeable. Police, as a distinctive organisation, was seen as an answer to the increasing social problems, including crime, attributed to the rapidly changing structures of the society (Rawlings, 2002; Rowe, 2008). Officers came from a variety of backgrounds, including the armed services, and police work was regarded as route to social mobility as mentioned in the previous chapters.

However, the process of professionalisation seems to have now reached a tipping point, gaining qualitatively different dimensions of late. As Neyroud (2011: 45) explains:

"...the police service has now reached a position where the developing nature of the knowledge requirement and skills development within the occupation, mean that formal professionalisation has potentially significant benefits for policing and the public it serves. In particular a professional body, in the right form, would provide the opportunity to provide clearer standards, a service-owned qualification framework, greater focus on professional development across all roles and, as a result, a new more productive relationship with other providers such as Further and Higher Education."

Siegrist (1990; cited in Sciulli, 2009) emphasises how professionalisation can be actively and self-consciously promoted by the occupation leaders. This is indeed what seems to be happening in the police. Professionalisation, as a process and a concept, is actively pushed to the forefront of practice and language, routinely employed in official documents and exemplified by the Professionalising Investigation Programme (see previous chapter). Both of the above quotes stress the importance of qualifications, and they, together with the necessary educational structures for gaining them, form the 'missing bit' of police professionalisation as discussed at the end of the chapter.

Concern over police professionalism and professionalisation is not new, and neither is the idea of achieving it via improved training and education (e.g. Greenhill, 1981; Potts, 1982; Hawley, 1998; Roberg & Bonn, 2004; Carlan & Lewis, 2009). For example, Walker (1977) argues that for the American police professionalisation had gained hegemony since the late 19th and early 20th century as evidenced by the view of police as a career, emergence of police literature, formalised training, commitment to public service and betterment of the society – all qualities considered in the following sections. A lot of the commentators are doubtful of police's place among the professions. Potts (1982) argued that at best the police can achieve 'limited manifestations' of professional status because of public acceptance based more on performance than trust, police's role in society, and social and political variations between departments. Officers are claimed to have only a very narrow understanding of professionalism that emphasises its descriptive dimensions rather than the invariant analytical characteristics found in scholarly work, and as a whole, police standards appear to fall short of professional ones (Carlan and Lewis, 2009). There is also a danger that moves to professionalise the police only lead to further bureaucratisation, as Walker (1977) argues happened to early attempts in the US when emphasis on management efficiency and professionalisation manifested simply as administrative reform.

The interviewees were equally uncertain about whether the police could be classed as a profession. At one end of the spectrum, the answers included e.g. an unreserved "*Yes, definitely*" (Participant 14) and "*I think of an investigator as a professional*" (Participant 3); an interesting qualification, possibly reflecting the elevated specialist status of detectives, which, as argued in the Introduction, makes them an ideal 'forerunner' of police professionalisation. It also illustrates the problem of generalising from detective professionalisation to police professionalisation that shades the current discussion. Some participants were more doubtful of police being a profession for reasons of particular interest to the current study (see 4.3.). Generally, however, there seemed to be a strong sense of the police being "*in between the idea of profession*" (Participant 4) and "*middle of the road*" (Participant 13) when it came to professionalisation. This echoes the idea of 'occupational upgrading' and progress along the continuum of professionalism (Elliott, 1972; Johnson, 1972).

The next part of the chapter takes some of the key analytical characteristics of professions as discussed above and examines how and to what degree the police appears to fit the criteria. The section draws from interview material relating to participants' thoughts on the various aspects of professionalisation, including e.g. what characterises a profession and a professional investigation and whether police fitted the definition.

4.2.1. Expert Services: Market Monopoly and Service Orientation

“The profession claims unique responsibility for some aspect of the public good. It also claims to know how that good should be achieved.” (Elliott, 1972: 147)

The notion that professions hold a monopoly over the expert labour market and that what they are offering is a service of special importance to the society and the ‘common good’ is central to several definitions. These descriptions are of particular interest as they seem to fit well into the contemporary policing mandate. For example, unpacking Parsons’ definition of professions from the previous section (Sciulli, 2009) makes the similarities apparent. The police deliver ‘expert services’ as defined by their traditional role of public protection, order maintenance and crime investigation. The level of ‘technical competence’ they exhibit can arguably vary, but, as we will see later, improvement and increase of that has been explicitly provided as one of the reasons for police professionalisation.

Bayley and Shearing (1996) famously argued that the police were experiencing the ‘end of a monopoly’ due to increase in both commercial (private security sector) and voluntary (community crime prevention initiatives) policing (see also Johnston, 2000). Both of these are set to increase as result of the upcoming Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill, which emphasises community involvement and allows for commission of private providers of policing functions (Innes, 2011). The police’s market monopoly on their expert services therefore appears progressively more tenuous – if such dominance ever was anything but symbolic (Jones & Newburn, 2002) – although so far they retain their monopoly on state supported coercive power (see next section).

The service and ‘common good’ orientation is a core value among the police, embedded in the very vision and purpose of the organisation and is emphasised in the participants’ comments:

“I would say they [the public] look at us more as a service than a profession. Which is why again, if we do a good job and we do that professional service – heh, I’ve tagged the two words together – then yeah. [...] catchphrase there is a professional service, isn’t it? You know, it’s still providing a service but having the professional application to it really.” (Participant 14)

“I can only talk about the police as a profession, which is a vocation. You know, it’s not an occupation where you’re a joiner or a plumber. It’s a twenty-four hour a day job. And I do think it is a profession, especially when you get to the specialist side of it. You know, providing a service to the public, but caring.” (Participant 5)

Indeed, Greenhill (1981) argues that police’s professional status claim is based largely on the social value of their work.

In summary, the police can be argued to meet the criteria of maintaining a market monopoly of their expert services reasonably well as well as exhibiting a strong service orientation. In addition to these qualities, professional work must be done in a way that is accountable and fair and supported by legitimate and public sanctioned powers.

4.2.2. Legitimation and Regulation of Power: Accountability, Responsibility and Ethics

One of the central concepts of the thesis is that of (re-)legitimation, and we will explore this further in Chapter 7. However, the dimensions of accountability, responsibility and ethics that characterise professions also characterise the police. As argued above, professions wield considerable power and authority over their clients and in society more generally (e.g. Elliott, 1972). This power needs to be seen as legitimate – ideas of expertise and competence also come into play here as discussed later on – and thus carries with it public accountability and responsibilities (the welfare orientation). There is an immense amount of symbolic as well as real power and authority that comes with the police role (Fielding, 1988). This power is granted by the state, making the police “*the custodians of the state’s monopoly of legitimate force*” (Waddington, 1999: 20).

For professions, power is regulated by a code of ethics (Greenwood, 1957), which is typically in place in order to monitor the client-profession relationship and if needed, impose sanctions. For the police, this takes the form of the comprehensive legislative and policy framework. With regards to criminal investigation, law provides structure by specifying their objectives, regulating their conduct (Roberts, 2007), defining the rights of those involved, and ensuring integrity of and facilitating access to information (Stelfox, 2009). Providing an overview of the relevant legislation is beyond the scope and purpose of the current study, but both of the previously referenced sources fill that role admirably. In addition to the law, there is large and complex body of policy regarding criminal investigations, produced by the Home Office (including NPIA as well as HMIC and IPCC), ACPO (covering its various business areas and portfolios) and even individual police forces through their annual objectives (ibid). The existing policy around criminal investigations includes areas such as national and local political objectives, achieving national standards, good practice, customer service, resource management and inter-agency co-operation (ibid: 78-82). Guiding the conduct of individual officers are the *Standards of Professional Behaviour* as provided by the Home Office (2008) that cover abstract ideals such as ‘honesty and integrity’ and ‘authority, respect and courtesy’ as well as the more practical considerations such as use of force and confidentiality of information. However, the degree to which any of such guidelines are internalised varies. Bayley (1994) argues that officers do not accept individual responsibility for the organisation’s objectives and their relationship with it is often adversarial, making them workers who are directed and supervised, not professionals who are managed. Findings by Carlan and Lewis (2009) suggest that commitment to organisation as a referent point (i.e. source of guidance and standards) is influenced by demographic variables, being higher for officers who were older, had longer service, held management level ranks and, most interestingly to the current study, possessed at least a bachelor’s degree level education. Of

course, the above can all be viewed as markers of privilege, so perhaps it is not so surprising that officers who hold them, also regard their work as a profession, while those who lack them, do not.

Part of Sciulli's (2009) definition of professions was that they are held structurally accountable for their actions. Police accountability has traditionally been ensured through the tripartite system of the Home Secretary, chief constables and local police authorities (see e.g. Newburn & Reiner, 2007) while the government's new plans aim to shift the balance away from centre and to the hands of directly elected Police and Crime Commissioners (replacing police authorities) (Home Office, 2011; Innes, 2011). However, regardless of the formal structures of police accountability, the concept itself is regarded as an essential part of professional policing (see also the opening quote to 3.2.2.):

"We police by consent and we should be doing that in a professional and accountable manner and I think the professionalisation of that process will make us more accountable." (Participant 6)

Accountability and ethics were also tied to the notion of transparency and recording of decision-making as is apparent in these two answers to the questions 'How would you describe a profession?' and 'What makes an investigation a professional one?'

"It's a body of people that go about a task in a structured, defined manner, justifying the direction they're going in, whatever the direction, [...] having that audit trail, having transparency and being open to being looked at and you know from an external, and being open to that and being able to being scrutinised as to how they go about their business." (Participant 14)

"Ethical and sound recording I think, decision-making and recording them appropriately, being transparent. [...] And it all comes back to recording. How you record what you've done and why you've done it. And that should ensure professionalism, because we are now an accountable police force. You know, Life on Mars [TV-show] or cutting corners in investigation doesn't exist anymore. Everything's got to be done in a very transparent manner." (Participant 5)

Detective work in particular has always been characterised by a high level of autonomy, practiced through various enabling rules, information control and low visibility (Ericson, 1993), although such a description was more accurate three decades ago than it is now. Indeed, Ericson and Haggerty later (1997) point out that the low visibility of the police has been exaggerated and that the communication rules, formats and technologies through which the police knowledge is disseminated (and marketed) make police work highly visible, both to internal management and to external organisations.

Finally, Parson's idea of 'disinterestedness' (Sciulli, 2009) also bears striking resemblance to characteristics of police occupational culture (itself different only in name to Greenwood's [1957] professional culture), the effects of which are strongest when the officers' integration into the wider community is weakest (Cain, 1973; cited in Fielding, 1988). Both are seen to be acquired through the socialisation process during the training period (Fielding, 1988; Sciulli, 2009). Isolation from larger society and a degree of emotional detachment are seen as necessary for the job; close affiliation to the police occupational culture provides officers protection against the stresses of

the work and is often the only alternative for total social isolation (Fielding, 1988). There are other benefits. Fielding (ibid) argues that police officers quickly start to perceive the overlap of sociable and professional returns that come from restricting their relationships to the police sphere and that deliberately limiting one's social life may also be a way to facilitate career advancement. This corresponds with the material and symbolic member rewards Burrage, Jarasch and Siegrist (1990; cited in Sciulli, 2009) speak about.

More to the point, however, disinterestedness and fairness can be seen as two sides of the same coin; eschewing undue emotion reduces the effect of personal bias in how people are treated. One participant, when asked 'What makes a professional investigation?' expressed it like this:

"I think it begins and ends really with an attitude of the officer involved. So the fact that they want to do the job properly, that they are prepared even if it's a less attractive kind of investigation. It might not necessarily be something that they're interested in. There are certain types of crime that may interest one person more than the other. A source of true professionalism is treating everyone the same regardless of whether the circumstances suit or perhaps the person you're investigating might not be as interesting as the other crime that you're dealing with so. Firstly I would say that treating every crime exactly the same, exactly the same priorities for every crime." (Participant 9)

Fairness, equality and diversity (in terms of race and ethnicity, faith and religion, mental and physical ability, gender, age, and sexual orientation) within the police and the wider criminal justice system and in their interactions with the public are concepts well scrutinised within the policy and criminological literature both (e.g. Heidensohn & Gelsthorpe, 2007; Phillips & Bowling, 2007; Spalek, 2008). It is crucial for the police to gain the 'sanctions of the community' Greenwood (1957) talks about, to promote a sense of trust in society (Siegrist, 2002; cited in Sciulli, 2009); something this interviewee sees as having been achieved through training and a wider cultural change:

"We now have a much fairer ethical police service than we ever had. Although there are some that would disagree with you, but not from where I sit, I see there's been an awful lot of change. We've done well. Training's been the big input because we haven't just tried to curtail people's behaviour, we've tried to make them understand why certain things are wrong and that's the important thing. We do have a much better functioning public interaction police service than we did when I joined." (Participant 3)

How successful the police (or any other professions!) have really been in securing the sanction of *all* the communities is beyond the scope of the current study (for an overview see Spalek, 2008). In summary, however, the police can be seen to meet the majority of criteria under this heading too. Police power, both symbolic and actual, is state sanctioned and thus viewed as legitimate by (at least the majority of) the society. Investigators and the police in general meet the further criteria of having a regulatory code of ethics, although the degree to which they are adhered to and internalised certainly varies. Similarly, police and detective work demonstrate the qualities of structural accountability and 'disinterestedness', the latter manifesting in occupational culture and striving for objectivity and fairness. Service orientation (considered in

the previous section) and ethical approach to providing that service go hand-in-hand. This is because of the particular kind of relationship professions, and the police, share with their clients.

4.2.3. Professional-Client Relationship: Structured Situations, Entrenched Positions of Power and Dependence, Maintenance of Social Order

“You tend to think of a profession as having some kind of authority in society as well, like with the doctors and the legal [profession]” (Participant 1)

One of Sciulli's (2009) fiducial responsibilities of professionals is for the wellbeing of anyone affected by their services, such as clients, patrons and local communities. This is necessary as professions provide these within structured situations that are considered the cultural truisms of the society and time-period in question – i.e. the prevailing ontological understandings (ibid). Unlike in the case of a simple commercial transactions or elective diversion like leisure and entertainment, a professional (as a member of a profession) and client occupy entrenched positions of power and dependence (ibid). Their relationship is structured and constrained by the current social understanding. For example, when they become ill, most people go to a medical doctor, not a homeopath. This is because medical science, not homeopathy, is the cultural truism of today, the expected and accepted solution to a common problem.

The entrenched positions of power and dependence that characterise the professional-client relationships are particularly descriptive of policing. The clients of the police (unlike say clients of chefs or other occupations offering commercial or diversionary services) are clearly in entrenched positions of dependability. They are caught in the structured situations as per the cultural truism that dictates police as *the* profession they must enter into a relationship with in certain, definable circumstances that compel them to accept the expert services of the police. In fact, the police client relationship is even more constrained than the one taking place in a medical context: doctor's orders are not really orders at all and the patient always has a choice to, for example, ignore advice or refuse treatment – not so for the 'clients' of the police, whose demands are final (Thacher, 2001). Loader (1997) explores the affective commitment to the police, drawing attention to the embodied cultural and social meanings it holds. Furthermore, as Sciulli (2009) emphasises, this entrenched position of vulnerability applies equally to clients who are well-informed about their circumstances. In other words, no matter how knowledgeable about the police/criminal justice a person is, she or he will always be dependent on them when the situation calls for it as there is no (legal, socially accepted) alternative. It does not even matter if the person is a member of the profession. When doctors get sick, they become dependent on the medical profession. When a police officer becomes a victim (or a suspect) of crime, they become dependent on the police profession. This shift in positions and power balance means they will go from being insiders (professionals) to being outsiders (clients), from being in power to being vulnerable. However, the reliance on the police is not universal, depending instead on demographic and social position of the person (Loader, 1997).

For the professionals, the structured situations bring discretionary judgement and trust, for the clients, vulnerability and apprehension (Sciulli, 2009). Discretion is a well established characteristic of the police work, explained in turn by individual traits, occupational culture and broader structural factors, and – as discussed above – controlled via legislation and policy (e.g. Newburn & Reiner, 2007). There is an inherent quality of positional power differences to the police-client relationship. In that way, the police seem to achieve Elliott's (1972) ideal type for the decision-making continuum. For example, police-victim/complainant relationship is not free but constrained and defined by the positions of structured power differences and interdependency. And, as we have just established, these entrenched positions of power and dependence are state approved, state legitimised.

Professions also play a key role within the wider power structures of society. The revisionist socio-economic approach (Collins, 1979 and 1990; cited in Sciulli, 2009; Larson, 1977) views them as maintainers, rather than challengers, of social order. The concept of normative social control has also been important to understanding of the role of the police. One of the well-established tenets of academic literature on policing is Bittner's (1970 & 1974) definition of police's main function as the emergency maintenance of social order, done through management of crime, order and security. As Fielding (2005: 106) puts it: *"The 'peace' [that the police keep] is that of status quo and the 'order' that of the established order."* Loader (2006) takes this one step further, arguing that by systematically protecting the dominant interests, policing institutions serve to undermine those of less economically and socially secure groups. Police also exhibit behaviour consistent with Parsons' (Sciulli, 2009) 'general integrity', conforming to the 'valued cultural patterns' of the society and often supporting traditional conservative values (Blau, 1994; Caldero & Crank, 2010). This, Frewin and Tuffin (1998) suggest, is maintained through discourses of police status (protecting its reputation and position within the society), conformity (fitting in with existing standards) and internal pressure (for example, ostracism of those who do not conform). The effects of academia on cultural reproduction within the police are discussed further in Chapter 7.

Police meet the professional criteria considered in this section particularly well. Their work takes place within structured situations, constrained by the prevailing ontological understanding which makes them the default response to a variety of social problems, including but certainly not limited to crime. The police and their 'clients' (which includes all the citizens within their jurisdiction, albeit arguably to different degrees) occupy entrenched positions of power and dependability as illustrated by police's use of discretion. Such structural power differences reflect police's role in maintaining the established social status – another characteristics of professions'.

4.2.4. Governance, Socio-Cultural Authority and Democracy

Autonomy and self-governance are considered some of the key characteristics of professions (Burrage, Jarausch, & Siegrist, 1990; cited in Sciulli, 2009). However, as discussed above, the police are arguably an extension of government control, not independent of it. While the restructuring of the tripartite system may “*transfer power back to the people*” and “*away from government*” (Home Office, 2010: 3), it is unlikely to change that fundamental fact. In relating the history of police professionalisation in America, Walker (1977: 3) described it as “*an attack upon the pervasive influence of partisan politics,*” which nevertheless only succeeded in replacing one form of political influence with another. It is this quality of professions that the police most struggle to meet due to its relationship with the state (see 1.1.1.).

Sciulli (2009) argues that the professions introduce invariant changes into the institutional design in the form of either public or private governance structure. Whether inadvertent or purposeful, successful professionalisation results in establishment of an independent socio-cultural authority in the civil society (ibid). This was a feature also recognised e.g. by Participant 1 who remarked: “*It’s almost like profession’s got a professional body that sits behind it.*” When asked if there was need for a similar body for the police, she commented:

“Well I often used to think that that’s what ACPO was but, I think if ACPO had more, I don’t know, or somebody to have more teeth to say that you know... Yeah, to act as that kind of overriding body, which ties back to what you said about who’s in charge of, who drives the [training]” (Participant 1)

Originally established (in 1948) as a staff association with an aim to protect the pay and conditions of its members, ACPO has over the years evolved into a highly influential policy-making organisation (Savage & Charman, 1996; Mawby & Wright, 2008; Newburn, 2008). After the 1996 separation of staff and policy/professional functions (the former now Chief Police Officers’ Staff Association), ACPO now functions as a company limited by guarantee and is responsible for the professional leadership within the police at the national level, developing standards and practice and advising the government in relevant policy matters (Neyroud, 2011). Nevertheless, its lack of clear democratic accountability means that in its current shape ACPO is unable to shoulder the role of a professional body (ibid).

NPIA too appeared unsuitable for the role. The reference to the ‘overriding bodies’ of other professions in the quote also serves to highlight the key issue of independence of such authorities. According to Sciulli (2009), this is manifested in four ways:

1. A socio-cultural authority is not controlled by leaders of the profession or representatives of the state.
2. Its consequences and externalities are not confined to the occupational field, but diffused into the larger society and culture, upgrading learning, understanding, discourse and linguistic usage.

3. How it is employed and cited and by whom is also out of the control of profession leaders and members.
4. It insulates the members of the profession from influence and interference from those outside of the profession.

While some of NPIA's functions were very similar to those of e.g. the Bar Council (2011) or the General Medical Council (GMC, 2011), the degree of independence from government is not. Indeed, Neyroud (2011) argues that it was specifically because NPIA was 'police owned and police led', dependent on Home Office and set to support ACPO, that it lacked the necessary freedom to act as a central professional body for the police. Stelfox (2009) makes this point in terms of development of professional practice, which he states is usually done by bodies independent of organisations employing individual practitioners.

"The result of this arrangement is that practices can be developed that are in the best interest of the clients and the public good rather than in the best interests of the employers, who may be more interested in the issues of profitability, productivity or minimising expenditure in training rather than the maintenance of professional standards." (ibid: 39)

While the production of professional practice is part of NPIA's remit, it is just one among various policing bodies responsible for it. And, as Stelfox (ibid) points out, it is certainly not doing that independently. In many ways, NPIA had the potential to grow to be more analogous with the National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence in terms of best practice recommendations and guidance, setting and monitoring quality standards and managing a national database (NICE, 2011). The recent – and recently more or less accepted – suggestion of an establishment of a new chartered Professional Body (dubbed 'Royal College of Policing' as it is eventually set to receive royal charter) – repositioning and merging both NPIA and ACPO functions, the latter becoming the 'head and heart' of the institution – therefore seems set to fill the requirement for a self-governing socio-cultural authority for the police profession (Neyroud, 2011 for detailed plans for the role, structure, implementation, see also 3.2.1).

The second point on Siulli's (2009) list above is also interesting when we consider police professionalisation. On one hand, police lexicon (both the formal and informal) can be seen as deliberately exclusivist. On the other, some of it most definitely has filtered into popular/common cultural understandings. One interviewee suggested that the police should in fact be more proactive in promoting police professionalisation and making sure the public understand the training officers go through, especially in the light of increasing academic ties and qualifications:

"When we're talking about professionalising police officers and now we're having these collaborations with universities for academic qualification. One of my thoughts [...] is: Why is the PIP process not marketed or not, why are public not informed of that process and what it actually means? Because they would have been aware for a number of years now that our police officers are professionals because they have followed these programmes, they have attained this accreditation." (Participant 6)

Finally, Sciulli (2009: 182) argues that professions will “*support structurally one and only one set of institutional design in particular, that of democratic, commercially competitive societies.*” Policing is seen to play a key role in building social capital and promoting law, human rights and democratic values, especially in transitional and developing countries as described e.g. by Pino and Wiatrowski (2006). Interestingly, they also posit democratic policing as an alternative to the professional model of policing, though their understanding of the latter seems at odds to what has been discussed here. Of course, policing practices can also undermine democratic political development. Loader (2006: 207) points out how demands for order often stem from self-interest, prejudice and “*parochial desires for injustice*”, potentially resulting in policing measures that are narrowly protective of middle-class social and economic capital and marginalise those who do not neatly fall into the meaningless category of ‘law-abiding citizens’. This echoes closely Reiner’s (2010: 6) assertion that “*specialist police forces develop hand in hand with social inequality and hierarchy. They are means for the emergence and protection of more centralized and dominant class and state system.*” Despite the increasingly pervasive policing and security discourse, Loader (2006) argues that it is possible for crime control and order maintenance to be done in ways that support inclusive and democratic conditions within the society; by “*fostering a sense of common belonging*” (ibid: 213), listening and addressing competing demands, ensuring that police relations with minority and disadvantaged groups are not marginalised but brought into the core of police activity and institutionally embedded into the organisation. Human rights, regulation of police powers and mechanisms of police accountability are prerequisites for democratic policing (ibid; Pino & Wiatrowski, 2006), and, as we have just argued, qualities characterising the ‘police profession’.

The analytical criteria of professions discussed in this section are the ones police fulfil perhaps the least well. As a recognisable facet of the state, the police are unlikely to ever gain the degree of self-governance and autonomy that other professions possess. They have also lacked an independent socio-cultural authority. The planned establishment of the Royal College of Policing will go some way toward addressing this, although its success in achieving the necessary autonomy to fully function as a professional body remains to be seen. Literature suggests that professions play a key part in supporting democratic societies. The role of police in and its relationship with democratic states is far from straightforward (see Manning, 2010 for a thorough treatment of the topic) and professionalisation and academic education have the potential to affect change for the better through fostering the necessary values and practices.

4.2.5. Professional Police Investigators: Other Qualities and Considerations

Other characteristics of professional police investigators also emerged as important from the interviews and literature both.

Many of the participants appeared to see 'professionalism' as a part of being a 'profession' and that 'professionalism' was considered synonymous to **competency** and proper conduct.

"That whole thing about professionalising is maintaining the competency." (Participant 1)

"To actually categorise professional would be to deal with the matter as best as you can in accordance to the training you've been afforded in the past." (Participant 7)

This view mirrors some of the literature on police professionalism where competency, effectiveness and improved performance – especially when gained through training and educational initiatives – are closely associated with the concept (Hawley, 1998). For many police, professionalism is about 'doing things better' and 'looking good' rather than matching the abstract epistemological qualities demanded by scholars of professions (Potts, 1982; Carlan & Lewis, 2009; Sciuilli, 2009).

"My understanding of professionalising is doing it better as opposed to amateurish. So it's perhaps not turning it into a profession but the way that we do our job, we do it more professionally so we do it better." (Participant 2)

"...maintaining that good public relations sometimes in difficult circumstances. The whole sort of impression and the application of being professional, that's what it's about really." (Participant 14)

In other words, 'professional' becomes an adjective as well as a noun (Participant 14's 'professional service', see 4.2.1.). An integral part of professional conduct is following the rules and procedures and ensuring an equal treatment of people. When describing a 'professional investigation', the first interviewee here invokes those concepts explicitly.

"Complying with all the rules of the law: The Police and Criminal Evidence Act. And I suppose also complying with the Human Rights legislation, the Criminal Procedure and Investigations Act 1996, CPIA. And for me it's following the principles of investigative doctrine [...] So that all those you come into contact with feel as though it's been done as professional as possible really. Through from, you know, the complainant right through to the offender. You know that they have... they have a right, do they not, to feel as though you know they've been dealt professionally." (Participant 10)

"For me, my definition of professional is somebody who is open-minded, fair and deals with everybody impartially, and is open to feedback and does their job to the best of their ability. [...] I see myself as professional in the way that I deal with my work and the way that I deal with, when I was out in the division, dealing with my work out there when I was on investigation, the people that I meet." (Participant 6)

Fairness, impartiality and existence of regulative framework as characteristics of professions have been discussed already, but it seems clear that they form a part of practitioner, as well as theoretical, understanding of professions and professionalism. In order to provide their clients what Elliott (1972: 145) calls "a guarantee of quality," the professions must have some standard of behaviour to compare and aspire to:

“I do think we need to have a standard that is expected of officers that they need to maintain in order to be professional in the workplace. We have the competencies that set forward that reason and our appraisals set that reason [...] It’s about having that standard in place, which we’ve had for a number of years now.” (Participant 6)

Standardisation and the aim of ‘taking away the post-code lottery’ through training was discussed in the previous chapter, but it is worth noting how the concept crops up here too in relation to competent and professional conduct.

Comparisons with **other professions** were also common in the interviews, especially so in relation to the issue of education and qualifications. Although that particular dimension will be discussed later, it is worth noting the theme of interprofessional relationships here also.

“I understand there’s only two professions in the country. Why that’s the case I’m not sure. But it’s an interesting question in fact because most police officers would say they work for a profession and they are professional.” (Participant 10)

Perhaps then it matters less whether the public think of police as a profession than whether the police themselves do so. And perhaps more important still is whether the other professions think it. After all, professions are defined and classified by other professions (including academics), i.e. those with the sufficient status (symbolic capital) to do so (see also Chapters 6 and 7). Indeed, Freidson (1983) talks about the importance of negotiation that occurs between professions, emphasising the importance of interaction and relationships with other occupations and the drawing of boundary lines around areas of work. One participant saw the police as a profession explicitly because of its close contacts with other professions:

“I think we are a profession because the others that support us, the other partners are professions as well. So if you look at the you know we’ve got the medical professions linked in some respects, you know, the legal professions linked to it, and then obviously the financial, from the management point of view. The management in other industries is professionalised. Things like HR is seen as a HR professions and they’ve got all the qualifications. There’s lot of things that bolt on to policing that are professions, and that we’re not a profession or are not seen as a [profession], then we’re a little bit out. It’s a bit like are we white-collar, are we blue-collar, are we working class, are we upper-class? Well, the police is a bit of everything.” (Participant 13)

Ericson and Haggerty (1997) argue that the work of ‘risk professions’ is centred on communicating risk through systems and to other risk professions, such as the medical and legal ones supporting the work of the police. This is reflected in the increasing emphasis placed on interagency or multi-agency policing and the problems within (e.g. Joyce, 2011: Ch. 5). From this point of view, professionalisation can perhaps then be seen as making the police better equipped to communicate with other risk professions.

The demand for better and more policing has been met by creating a plethora of specialist units allowing the cultivation of specialist skills and knowledge in the police (Waddington, 1999). This **specialisation** was also seen as a sign of professionalism by some interviewees:

“The more specialised you become, the more professional you become. Because rather than being a jack-of-all-trades, you have the ability to, well, hopefully to have a greater

understanding of what you're dealing with really as opposed to the PC on the beat who has to know everything in some degree." (Participant 10)

"It depends on at what level they [the public] come to contact with the police. I don't think they would consider uniformed officers as a profession. I think they view them as enforcers. Of when they have a problem, an instant problem occurring there and then and they phone the police and the 999-system, they want an enforcer. I think as you move up into your specialisms then yes they might consider you as a profession, depending on what your specialism is." (Participant 5)

Greenhill (1981: 65) agrees, arguing that one of the obstacles for police professionalisation is their perceived role as *"a cheap and handy, all-purpose, twenty-four-hour social agency."* Specialisation is linked to higher professionalism in other 'new' professions as well, like nursing (Schwirian, 1998). Burden (2005: 96) warns that *"...there is a real danger that training will remain too general in the attempt to continue to train police officers in a generic set of skills. It may be time for people to think the unthinkable: recruit direct into a particular stream of policing so that training can be concentrated to skill up officers in their chosen specialism."* However, Waddington (1999) identifies several organisational drawbacks for increased specialisation, such as the deskilling of patrol units, as the most competent officers move on to specialist attachments. In this view, specialisation leads to decreased competency, thus undermining that key aspect of professionalism as discussed above. Conversely, for a trainer of investigative skills, it is the broad job remit of uniformed patrol that results in deskilling:

"The student officers that join, the year zero, go through the two years of student officer training and get, whatever training they get during that two years. And at the end of that two years they're being classed as PIP level 1 competent. But what's happening now is when these officers are then moving into more thorough investigative role, it's beginning to be clear that they're probably no longer PIP level 1 competent, which is normally the sort of threshold to move into the investigative role, is that you are already competent. But because of the role of the response, they become deskilled very quickly, because they're not investigating." (Participant 2)

Specialisation of investigative work is not a new feature of policing (see 1.4.), but it has arguably become even more fragmented lately with the creation of various specialist units. The increased transfers and long-term secondments to these and Major Incident Teams have depleted the general CIDs of experienced detectives (Chatterton, 2008). This has led to not just staff shortage and increased caseload but disaffection, alienation and lowered morale and commitment among those officers remaining at the CIDs (ibid, see also 6.2.3). Generally, officers wishing to specialise are often seen as embracing a different service orientation and vying for promotion (Fielding, 1988). Recruits soon realise that seeking specialist duty is a decision to be made, not something that either happens or not. Transfer from patrol, even within the same rank, is a first stage of career advancement and involves issues of solidarity, conformity and status (ibid).

According to Sciulli (2009), some of the empirical, occupational manifestations of professionalism include 1) a lengthy workday and workweek, 2) unavailability of professional services in strictly commercial context, and 3) expectations of a **life-long career**. Detective work especially means long and intensive working hours (Innes, 2003). The second of Sciulli's

manifestations relates to the issue of market monopoly already discussed above. The last point was echoed in the interview comments:

“It’s a career path. If you choose to be a detective, it’s a big career change. One week you’re in uniform, you’re driving a van, doing nights every five weeks. You’re like a fireman police officer, you’re responding to the jobs as they come in, picking them up, sorting them out for somebody else to take over. So when you choose to go into the CID and be a detective, you’re investigating something right from the very start right through to the end of the process which hopefully would be a court conviction or a detection of a crime. It’s a massive change. Financially it’s massive, shift pattern is completely different, I think your whole home and work life balance is really out of kilter and the demands for a detective are enormous.” (Participant 5)

“I think there’s a clear, there’s still a clear career. It’s a career. And I do think that the people see police as a long time employer. [...] I think that when people join the police they do see it as not necessarily as a transient thing.” (Participant 13)

On the other hand, while this was the case historically (Shpayer-Makov, 2004), the expectations of a life-long career hold less true today. As perhaps they should do. One participant talked about the issue at length:

“30 years is too long for a person to come into an organisation without ever looking at them, without them looking at the organisation. I think we should have 10-year contracts. [...] Because a lot of people feel tired and they feel locked in the 30-year process because they spend... First 10 years might be great, but they might want to move on to other things. They might have gotten married, gotten a mortgage, and all the rest of it that goes with it as well. So, transferable skills, transferring your pension out, having a proper PDR process where you are performing for 10 years and we will look at you. You can decide if you want to stay, we can decide if we want to keep you if you’re performing. Sign another 10 year contract and another 10 year contract and do your 30 years, do it that way. And the reason I say that is because if they were to leave, you’re still retaining expertise after 10 years, you were still to keep that. And if you were to leave, were to go, you’d keep refreshing the police service with new people, new blood, maintain that momentum and enthusiasm.” (Participant 4)

In this section, I have considered various other qualities of professions that came up in both the interviews and literature. Professionalism was equated to competency, effectiveness and adherence to standards of behaviour, including both formal rules and informal expectations of proper conduct. The theme of interprofessional relations was also invoked by the participants and achieving professionalisation seemed to indicate gaining equal status and symbolic capital needed to successfully interact with other professions. Specialisation and professionalisation are conceptually linked, through the notion of expertise and the high level of knowledge and skills it implies. Becoming a detective, or a police officer in the first place, is still regarded as a life-long career choice although less so as demand for career flexibility grows. This, however, requires externally recognised qualifications, something academia is well placed to provide. It is to this topic we turn to next.

4.3. The Missing Bit: Instructional Abstraction

"We're just playing at it at the moment. We just think we're a profession." (Participant 3)

So far we have discussed the various characteristics, descriptive and analytical, of professions and I have argued that, with the exception of autonomy and self-governance, police can be seen to meet those to a good degree. But why is it that they are perhaps still only 'playing at it' as the above interviewee puts it? Indeed, if we are now 'professionalising the police', this implies that originally it was *not* professional, was *not* a profession, but that somewhere in an undefined point in the future it will be. So what happens in that grey area in the middle; what makes something become a profession? What is the missing bit, the secret ingredient?

"I suppose the missing bit is that kind of what public perceive as the training, qualification type of thing." (Participant 1)

"We talk about police service being a professional service. If it's professional, and we're introducing Professionalising Investigation Programme, then why not give it an academic accreditation. Why not talk about police officers becoming you know, degree holder? Why not acknowledge what people do in an academic qualification sort of way?" (Participant 12)

"I would say a profession is, um, a career or a job which requires some level of training, some level of competency-based training and an achievement following that, and recognition in the public domain is a profession to me and having some academic qualifications to back it up. I would describe that as a profession."

Interview question: *Do you think police is a profession?*

It's becoming. I mean it was always called a profession but we didn't have the letters after our name to say that we are in a profession." (Participant 7)

The answer seems to be academic education, the instructional abstraction; the 'letters after one's name' as the last quote puts it. There are certain expectations that the public and society, i.e. those who pay for and are served by these professions, have of them. According to Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007: 306), we expect professions to possess a recognised academic degree, to have skill and knowledge beyond that needed in their day-to-day work, and to be able to apply those in a *"practical, case-oriented and action-oriented way."* These expectations are especially pertinent for those working at the management level of such professions. The 'practical professionalism' of the police values experience and adaptability over academic education (Greenhill, 1981), and yet the 'cultural capital' and the necessary social recognition and practitioner legitimacy it provides (Bourdieu, 1986) is being increasingly sought after. Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007) discuss professions, which, whilst requiring an academic education, would still be classed as practical, including e.g. teachers, lawyers and clergymen, all who would describe themselves as 'practitioners' rather than 'scientists' or 'scholars'. And, as a rule these professions meet the expectations placed on them; children are taught by trained and qualified teachers, legal cases handled by lawyers with a wide knowledge of law, illnesses treated by doctors with not just the necessary skills but a medical degree to back them. This creates *trust* (ibid), providing the

necessary predictability for the society that allows people to function within the social world with relative ease and comfort.

But what of the police? There seem to be some things still missing:

“We talk about professionalising investigation, but we’re not a professional, we’re not a profession. Because a profession has certain aspects that make it a profession. You got to have awarding bodies, you got to have academic literature. We’ve no integrated academic literature. You got to have some kind of registration system, people can be stroke off. You know, all those kinds of things that make a profession work. We’re kind of in between the idea of profession. And in terms of improvement; either we go down that line and have a professional institute where you can directly join as an investigator and get the skills that you need and that you are held accountable by a body of some description and can be stricken off.” (Participant 4)

“I mean there aren’t... There aren’t the sort of journals and stuff that exists for the medical profession or the legal profession, you know. Or for the teaching profession, you know. And there should be.” (Participant 3)

Stelfox (2009: 42) agrees, deploring the ‘modest professional literature’ on police investigations and the ‘narrow focus’ and ‘limited methodology’ of any academic research on the topic, while similar comments are made by advocates of problem-oriented policing (e.g. Scott, 2003). Greenhill (1981) also identifies lack of a systematic body of knowledge as one of the factors holding back police professionalisation.

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, one of the key characteristics of profession for many authors is that of expert knowledge, something that is exclusive, profound, inaccessible, or not easily understood by laypersons (Siegrist, 2002; cited in Sciulli, 2009); a systematic body of theory typically applied via the scientific method (Greenwood, 1957). Police knowledge is already exclusive, acquired from within the organisation and as such is often kept inaccessible by those outside it. As discussed in the Introduction, deliberate exclusion and suspicion of outsiders is a widely acknowledged characteristic of the police occupational culture, passed through the socialisation processes (e.g. Ainsworth, 2002; Fielding, 1988; Marion, 1998; Young, 1991). It could be that academic police training would move police knowledge more clearly into the sphere of ‘special institutions of advanced education’, thus on one hand, further ensuring the exclusivity of the police professional expertise, and yet on the other, opening it up to wider scrutiny of the academic community.

It is debatable whether policing yet counts, or ever will, as a ‘non-manual’ occupation (Burrage, Jarausch & Siegrist, 1990; cited in Sciulli, 2009) and indeed, the physicality, danger and ‘sleaziness’ of the police work are quoted as reasons why it is unlikely to gain professional status (Bayley, 1994; Greenhill, 1981). However, danger or dealing with the unpleasant and intimate parts of other people’s lives are hardly exclusive to policing, but also routine to doctors, lawyers and priests. Modern police work, especially investigations, is far more cerebral than physical.

“I think we’re probably middle of the road, you know that type. Some of our work is quite clearly could be academic, you know, and we use academic theories and academic policies etc. But not all the time. Whereas there are some professions that use it all the time so it’s

just getting that balance as to where we are. I think we are more professionalised now than when I joined and probably more professionalised in ten years time.” (Participant 13)

4.4. Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, I briefly covered the two main approaches to understanding professions; the structural functional approach, which sees professions filling an essential function in the society by maintaining social order and providing expert service in a competent, responsible and impartial way, and the socio-economic approach, which views professions as structures of privilege, maintaining occupational and socioeconomic inequalities through their normative social control, political connections, and monopoly of labour markets. These closely parallel the conservative/traditional and radical/critical approaches to policing discussed in 1.1.1., which further strengthens the case for situating the discussion of police professionalisation within the wider context of sociology of professions. The previous chapters have already illustrated the gradual process of professionalisation in detective work and police training, and this chapter continued this by framing the characteristics of professions not as distinctive categories but as qualities the police can meet to a varying degree. Police professionalisation is not a new phenomenon, and opinions on whether or not it is truly achievable vary. The majority of the chapter was devoted to assessing this in terms of the key characteristics of professions, and I argued that the police can be seen to meet most of them to a considerable degree. Police maintain market monopoly over their expert services and possess a strong service orientation. Police power is (state) legitimised and regulated by a code of ethics. They exhibit structural accountability with a central notion of fairness and impartiality. The police-client relationship exists within structured situations and are characterised by entrenched power differentials, reflecting police's role maintenance of social order (in both positive and negative connotations of the concept). The criteria of autonomy and self-governance were the one police are unlikely to fully meet due to its dependence on the state and role as an agent of state power. The police are however in the process of establishing a 'socio-cultural authority' and have at least the potential to facilitate and support democratic societies. Other qualities of professions were also identified in the interviews and literature, and these included the concept of competency, gaining equal footing with other professions, specialisation and life-long career. The last section of the chapter introduced the 'missing ingredient' of police professionalisation, introducing the key theme of the current thesis. In the context of professions, expertise refers to not just technical skills and knowledge but an underlying 'systematic body of theory', which in turn implies a need for a certain level of instructional abstraction, achieved via academic education and attested with the recognised qualifications it provides – all something the police has traditionally lacked.

So it seems that the police are "*becoming*" (Participant 7, see above) something they were previously not. Indeed, it is the police's 'gradient of professionalism' (Greenhill, 1981), deepened by an increasingly systematic and scholarly training, that the rest of the thesis will

explore. In the following chapter, I will further discuss the special relationship between professions and academic education, its development, links to social change and practical and symbolic benefits. A substantive section is devoted to the relationship between the police and academia, paving way to further analysis of the police professionalization via academisation in the later chapters.

CHAPTER 5

Professions and Academic Education

“The University fails in the trust which the country has come to repose in it as an education authority, it if omits to provide such Faculty organization for any established profession or calling, which from time to time comes to demand specialized theoretical training in its practitioners.” (Oxford and the Nation, 1907; cited in Engel, 1983: 300)

So far the thesis has analysed both the concept of police professionalisation and its connection with developments in investigative work and training. The role of academic education has been referred to at various points in my argument, and it is now time to be more exact on the nature of its relationship with professionalisation. This chapter examines the relationship between the professions and the academia, situating the two in the broader context of social change and providing a historical overview of the relationship. I develop a conceptual framework, drawing largely from theoretical literature, and argue that instructional abstraction (as typically provided by higher education) brings with it a number of practical and symbolic rewards and arguably plays its part in validating the development of a professional knowledgebase. Policing is not alone in recognising the benefits of this, and such increasing links with higher education closely mirror the efforts of various other occupational-practitioner groups, such as nursing and social work, that have sought professionalisation via academisation. The chapter concludes by discussing the relationship between police and academic education, situating it in historical context before moving to discuss it through the ideas and experiences of my interviewees.

5.1. Social Change, Professionalisation and Higher Education

“Professionalisation with its mixture of modern (science, skill, examination) and traditional (organisation, autonomy, ethos) suggests an alternative to the ambivalence of modernisation. The ambiguity of relationship between education and social change emphasises the dynamics of growth, diversification, social opening and professionalisation while at the same time indicating their very real limits.” (Jaraus, 1983: 34)

According to Elliott (1972), professionalisation is an inherently dynamic process that takes place at three levels: general social change, occupational organisation and individual life-cycle (Figure 2). All of these can be mapped onto the context of police professionalisation and its consequences, e.g. the role and function of the police in the society, the organisational changes required and the effect it will have on the training, career, work role and identity of individual officers. The last two are of course influenced by the first, which itself is characterised by shifting priorities and lack of deep consensus, making generalisations about police training and professional identity difficult.

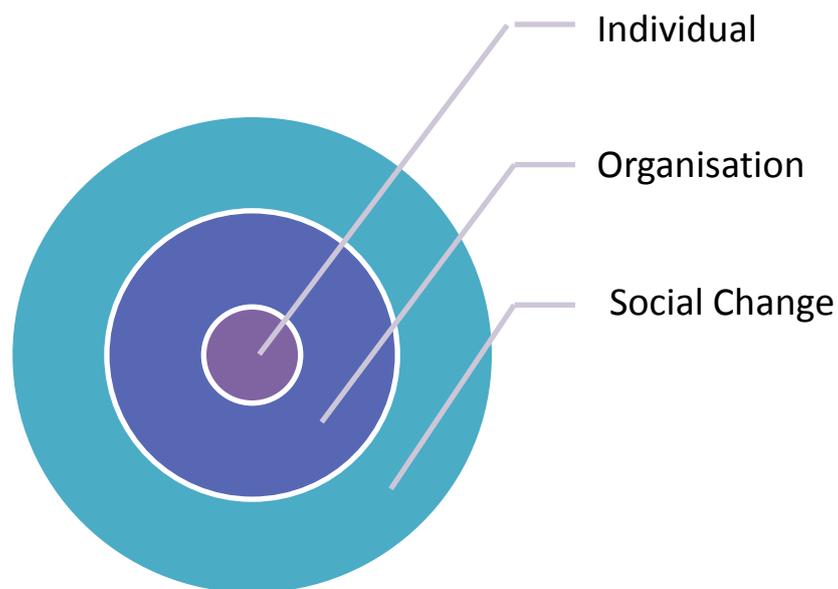


Figure 2. Levels of Professionalisation

More generally, Jarausch (1983) argues that there exists a relationship between social change and higher education that is both circular and interdependent, mirroring the similar relationship between social change and professionalisation.

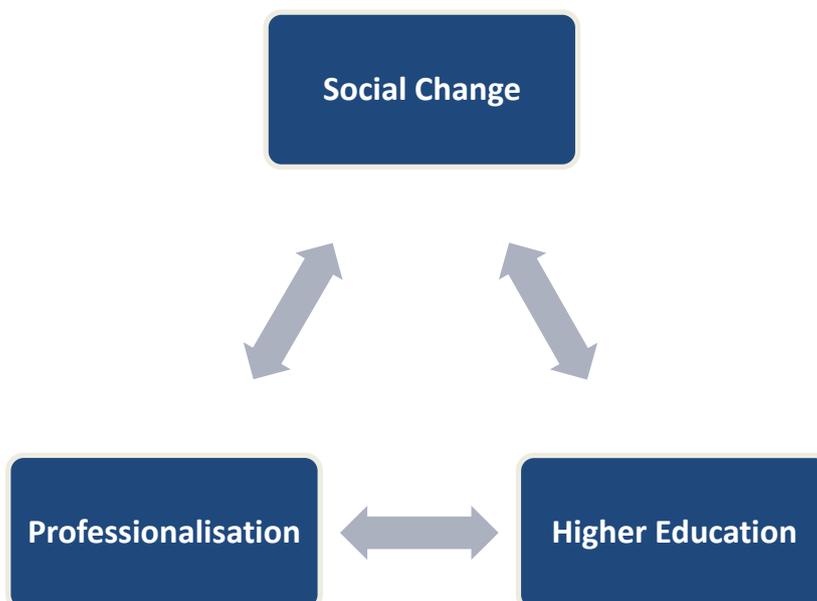


Figure 3. Social Change, Professionalisation and Higher Education

Figure 3 illustrates the dynamic relationship between all three. The placement of social change at the top is not accidental but representative of the way changes in the *conceptual* structures of the society and our understanding of them – Sciulli's (2009) ontological shift – bring about changes in its *concrete* structures, such as the system of professions and the organisation of higher education, which, by their very existence, will influence the direction and shape of the currents of social change.

Jarausch (1983) also describes the relationship between higher education, professions and the state as an 'interactive triangle'. This is represented below in Figure 4, which also summarises the roles and functions of each player. Again, the placement of State at the top of the triangle is not arbitrary, instead reflecting its influence as a *mediator* of the academisation of a profession, which, Johnson (1972) argues, shifts the power and regulation away from the practicing membership and into the hands of educational institutes and via them, the state and the society as a whole. Of course, the degree of this varies. For example, the control central government exerts on higher education depends on the country (see Henkel & Little, 1999 for European comparison) and has traditionally been relatively light in the UK until the increasing

economic demands and the 1992 expansion left it more open to (once incompatible, now less so) political and market influences (Kogan & Hanney, 2000; Middleton, 2000).

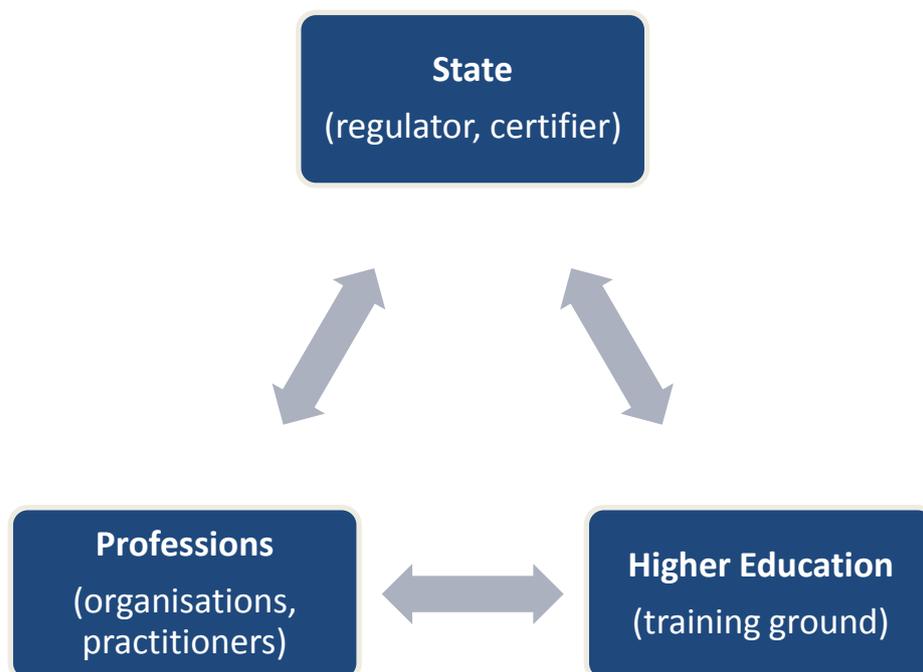


Figure 4. State, Professions and Higher Education

Astley (2006) sees professional institutions (e.g. the police, or, indeed, universities) as 'sites of struggle', characterised both desire for social change and resistance to change. This reflects Bourdieu's (1987: 837) "*principle of legitimized distribution*", i.e. the symbolic struggle between differing world-views over the right to impose a universal interpretation of the social world. In the context of the current study, this can offer a way to understand the nature of police-academia relations and the question of who – police, academics, government, or perhaps even the public – ultimately gets to define the police and policing. Indeed, Bourdieu (ibid) sees this sort of 'structural hostility' between the 'theorists' and 'practitioners' as an integral part of any system from which the 'permanent symbolic struggle' of the discipline stems. However, the situation is not stable; the power relations between the two opposites fluctuate depending on the place and time (see e.g. Garland & Sparks, 2000 and Chancer & McLaughlin, 2007 on the changing relationship between academic criminology and public policy). The relative influence of theoreticians and practitioners in turn affects the degree of normalisation and formalisation (Bourdieu, 1987). In light of this, the recent formalisation (i.e. professionalisation) of the police can be seen as a sign of the perceived prestige of academia, and wider social changes affecting both it and the police. An historical overview will further develop and illustrate this matter.

5.2. Professions and Academic Education: Historical Overview

"We must not exaggerate the extent to which universities were the progenitors of a more qualified, professional society, but academics were already on the way to becoming the key profession, the profession which provides both the expertise and the experts for most of the other professions." (Perkin, 1983: 211)

The relationship between professionalisation and academia is hardly a new one. During the Middle Ages, the main function of European universities was that of professional education (Engel, 1983) and university degrees became accepted licences for professional practice fairly early on, e.g. 1522 for British physicians (Elliott, 1972). However, the ideological and practical changes (e.g. greater intake of laity into universities) of the Renaissance led to the increasing emphasis of 'liberal arts', classical knowledge of the type the members of a cultured society were expected to possess. In other words, the university education provided individuals with tools to function as the social status of the profession demanded.

So, while the primary function of higher education was to 'discipline and cultivate the mental faculties', the professional training in England (but not in Scotland or on the Continent) was taken over by the apprenticeship system (Engel, 1983). The learned professions turned strongly against what was viewed as "*narrowness, pedantry and unreality*" of the theoretical instruction offered by the universities (ibid: 294). The actual professional knowledge and skills were acquired elsewhere, through practical experience, apprenticeship type of arrangements or, in case of Britain, stints in the continental institutions. Indeed, as Elliott (1972: 49) remarks: "*It is a peculiar irony of educational development that this 'liberal', classic form of education which seemed inherently non-vocational was made the basis for a vocational, educational system.*"

However, towards the mid-nineteenth century, the system became under increased criticism, although actual change was slow to take root. The professions had by now established their own training schools and arrangements (e.g. Inns of Court for the lawyers, hospital training for the doctors), and the attempt by universities to encroach was seen as a threat to the professions' self-control (Engel, 1983). Regardless, by the late nineteenth century, it became clear that the English industry and manufacturing was no longer able to keep up with its European counterparts. As a result, there was a call for a more rigorous technical and scientific education, which the various newly formed university colleges (Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield), eventually followed by Oxbridge, stepped up to fulfil and degree courses in e.g. engineering, architecture, agriculture, veterinary science, dentistry, mining and teacher training were established across the country (ibid). The emphasis within higher education started to shift from the holistic 'developing the person' orientation toward a more specific concern about students finding suitable employment and place in society (Elliott, 1972). The new aspiring professions became to appreciate the symbolic status and legitimation of power the university degrees provided, despite

the decrease in professional independence that came with such external certification (Engel, 1983). Indeed, Jarausch (1983: 19) argues that despite the increase in the type of education institutions available *“the price of legal and social recognition was often the adoption of the traditional university ethos or governance and the transformation of the curriculum towards pure rather than applied research and toward the humanities.”*

Perkin (1983) too sees industrialism in the broader sense as the driving force behind expansion of both professions as higher education. It is no surprise then that the first two decades of the twentieth century saw the transformation of higher education from being a sort of preparatory schools for the literate and liberal ‘gentlemanly’ professions to a much more disciplined and competitive training ground driven by the needs of business and industry (ibid). This coincided with the professionalisation of higher education itself, which according to Jarausch (1983) can be traced to four key influencing factors:

1. Increased enrolment in term of absolute and relative student numbers due to higher demand and supply
2. Institutional diversification:
 - a. externally/horizontally – greater variety of different types of institutions
 - b. internally – differentiation and proliferation of disciplines (see Garland, 2002 on the development of British Criminology as a distinctive academic discipline)
 - c. vertically – differences in levels of training/education and the prestige assigned to them
3. Broadening of recruitment
4. Process of professionalisation; theoretical and practical training and state credentialism

Professionalisation and academisation, Jarausch (ibid) argues, fed on each other by continuously upgrading entry requirements, making the curriculum more theory (science) based in both content and method, and increasing the academic demands of certifying examinations. In 1946, the Vice-Chancellor of London University observed: *“The truth is that all the professions are pressing us, the universities, to take on the greater part, if not the whole, of the requisite professional or technical training for their own professional subjects”* (Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1946; cited in Perkin, 1983: 211). Jarausch (1983) identifies three specific reasons why universities started to provide formal professional training. As we will see in the next two chapters, these echo closely some of the symbolic and practical benefits of academic education.

1. Formal admission requirements and the informal expectations facilitated the social selection of the professions and increased the high prestige attached to them
2. The theory based curriculum added to the scientific prestige

3. Examinations provided proof of competence that supported claim to the market monopoly

After the late 1960s, the educational landscape changed significantly. When before university education for many professions was a possibility dependent on funds and scholarships, it now became compulsory for some, such as pharmacy and teaching (Brooks & Rafferty, 2010). The latter half of the twentieth century was characterised by the increasing 'enterprise culture'; technical rationality and managerial approaches and the resulting changes in organisation and working practices made it necessary for the professions to reassess their role (Astley, 2006). Most notably, this can be observed in the case of nursing and social work, which will be discussed in section 5.4. It has also been coupled with the expansion of universities, beginning in the 1960s and, most notably, in 1992 when polytechnics and large colleges gained university labels (Tight, 2011). The government has become increasingly involved in higher education via legislation (e.g. 1988 Education Reform Act and 2004 Higher Education Act) (Bassett & Tapper, 2009). The push has been to create an American style mass higher education and fee-based market competition (ibid), although whether the recent funding cuts and the consequent fee rise will actually achieve that is doubtful. A recent independent report on the government's proposals (Thompson & Bekhradnia, 2011) says it will do exactly the opposite, limiting student choice and thus social mobility. The consequences to professions, such as social work, nursing, and now policing, that are both keen to guarantee equality of access and to academise the entrance route, are potentially troubling and the issue is certainly a point of debate (see 6.4. on pre-entry requirements). However, next we will consider the practical and symbolic benefits of academic education in greater detail.

5.3. The Practical and Symbolic Benefits of Instructional Abstraction

As we saw in the previous chapter (4.3.), the length, difficulty and abstraction in advanced professional training and instruction has typically been listed as a defining quality of the professions. But what is the purpose of it? The interviewees all recognised various benefits (as well as challenges!) academically oriented police training would bring. The primary research findings will be discussed in the next chapter, but first we will examine the various symbolic and practical benefits instructional abstraction (as ensured through academic education) emerging from the literature.

Collins (1979 and 1988; both cited in Sciulli, 2009) sees the purpose of instructional abstraction as strictly symbolic and thus extraneous and dispensable. He argues that it is discriminatory and stratifying, facilitating arbitrary hierarchies. For Collins, instructional abstraction is a ritualistic exercise, which exacerbates institutional mythology of professions and provides an ideological cover for their occupation monopoly. In other words, it does nothing more than provide a 'rubberstamp' of legitimacy on the occupational group in question. The formal admission requirements and the theory based curriculum of university add to the prestige of the professions (Jarusch, 1983), while certification through examinations provides proof of competence that supports the claim to the market monopoly and increases the group visibility (Elliott, 1972). The significance of credentials – defined as *"something that gives access to legitimate performance of a role or function; in other words, a socially ascribed confidence that someone is qualified for the performance of a particular task"* (Ericson & Haggerty, 1997: 441) – was certainly recognised by the interviewees, as seen in the next chapter when discussing the potential benefits of academic police training. Occupation is a common indicator of status (and of class) in society and in sociological studies (Elliott, 1972). Thus, more important than the practical knowledge and skills university education provides is the way it enables members to function as the social status of the profession demands, developing the kind of *"qualities, behaviours and, even appearances that embody professionalism"* (Schwirian, 1998: 8). As Rueschemeyer (1983) argues: it is being learned in the major cultural traditions – among them science – that ultimately grants and legitimates the status and privilege of expertise.

University education can be seen to facilitate the 'ideology of professionalism', which *"claims a direct relationship between length of training and status – that high economic and social rewards are justified by the length of training necessary to acquire certain skills"* (Johnson, 1972: 58). By doing that, it bolsters a *"moral hierarchy of intelligence, effort, dignity, and freedom"* (Larson, 1977: 241) closely linked to the concept of credentialed competence. In a similar vein, Schön (1987; cited in Astley, 2006) argues that the prevalent epistemology of professional education in research-led universities is that of 'technical rationality', which privileges systematic

and scientific knowledge and thus treats professional competence simply as an application of that to instrumental problems. Such separation of research from practice leaves little room for reflection, although arguably this is now changing due to the increasing use of problem-based and other types of action-oriented learning approaches within higher education (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004 – see below).

In contrast, Sciulli (2009) posits that instructional abstraction is necessary for directly occupational as well as institutional and structural reasons. Firstly, it prepares professionals for their everyday duties (practical or research oriented), to evaluate them with disinterestedness and anticipate problematic decisions and actions. Secondly, instructional abstraction equips professionals with knowledge and skills to persevere in the face of sustained systematic and social resistance that may arise as a consequence of professions facilitating the emergence of democratic, commercially competitive society. Furthermore, according to Sciulli (*ibid*), the main occupational reason for instructional abstraction is the necessity of being able to account for both positive and negative occupational outcomes and to openly and publically present findings, methods and techniques. Schön (1987; cited in Astley, 2006) explains this more clearly: Theory both informs and underpins the day-to-day activities of professional practitioners, and these ‘theories in use’ or cognitive maps (i.e. meanings applied to experiences) are based on ideas of effective work practices, i.e. *“what approaches work well in particular contexts, some explanations as to why they work well, and thirdly a readiness to alter ways of working as dictated by a recognisable change in circumstances”* (Astley, 2006: 58).

For Abbott (1988), professions are defined and legitimated by their possession and control of abstract knowledge of a particular topic and any practical techniques or technologies that knowledge produces. He argues that *“abstraction enables survival in the competitive system of professions”* (*ibid*: 9). According to Ericson and Haggerty (1997), a profession’s ability to demonstrate the superiority of its abstract knowledge system compared to any others directly affects its ability to maintain institutional jurisdiction and cognitive hegemony. Thus, increasing abstraction by introducing academic police training would increase the police’s chances of survival as a profession and strengthen its standing among other professions – themes which also emerge from the interviews (see 6.1.4.). Ericson and Haggerty go on to argue that abstraction allows for a continuous *“redefinition and defence of problems and tasks, and the securing of new tasks”* (*ibid*: 73). The relevance of this is obvious; at the moment, police have to work harder than ever to justify their claim for funding and powers, for a continued role in a shifting social structures and understanding of crime, disorder and security. Thus, expertise must be marketed and the risks of not doing things their way dramatised. By institutionalising the various classifications and technologies this way before bringing them to the public policy-making, the profession can ensure that their strategies are seen as a *fait accompli* (*ibid*; see also 4.2.3). Indeed, Goode (1969; cited in

Elliott, 1972) suggested that it was the scope and variety of *theoretical* knowledge available to the profession that determined its ability to persuade the society that the services it provided were essential and its expertise to be trusted. Sciulli (2009) also argues that the professionals' credibility comes from their ability to posit outcomes in the wider theoretical and empirical context, which is *"precisely why elite venues of professional instruction and training insist that their students become conversant with the theoretical or conceptual bases of occupational practice and academic research"* (ibid: 312).

As Stelfox (2009) points out, it is this theoretical knowledge that has been lacking for the police and detective work especially. One reason for this is perhaps that traditionally, police credibility comes from practical experience. The trainers interviewed in the current study emphasised this on several occasions, and it strongly emerged as a distinctive theme (within training talk) during the coding and analysis.

"We've got a very experienced team of trainers who are basically, will bring credibility to the classroom. We're all experienced and specialised in certain fields. And I think if you can stand in front of a class and give them life examples of your own, rather than just read what it says on the lesson plan, I think that's a real strength. You bring credibility and more understanding to a lesson if you've done it yourself." (Participant 9)

"I know that I can deliver what I deliver because I've got the credibility because I've done it. And also because I'm in the twilight of my career so they'll accept me, they accept that I've done twenty-five years out there and I'm a DS and I can, I know what I'm talking about." (Participant 10)

This of course has implications to where and by whom police training should be delivered. Most detectives believe that the essential skills of their job are learnt through experience in the field and not in the classroom or from the books (Innes, 2003). Indeed, localised knowledge and rules of thumb are transferred through a mentoring relationship junior detectives develop with senior colleagues (rather than in 'elite venues of professional instruction'), along with the values and attitudes pertinent for the CID subculture (see 1.4.). Police teachers, in comparison to academic ones, are perhaps seen to possess more of the kind of cultural capital the students themselves wish to gain (Karp & Stenmark, 2011). One of the interviewees spoke at length about the importance of experience and his doubt whether this could be achieved through academic education.

"I'm very conscious about going to university and just have the theoretical type of stuff. Although there are people like me who have been there, seen it, done it, turn up with the muck and bullets and dead bodies and had the difficult time in crown court, made messes of criminal investigations, done the wrong thing at the right time, made it right through what they call it, and learning through that experience. Yeah I don't think you can impart that through some, with all due respect, a university lecturer doing that. They can tell you the research, that Donald and so-and-so did this and all that. But as a trainer you can get that interaction which I think is incredibly invaluable to impart what we do. Because I know from the theory side of it and the practical side of it, there's a distance I think in most lives of it. And I think we are the experts to certain degree in that. [...] I still think you need to have a bit of street-crafting, street-cred. And that help to give a more balanced, I don't know, input from that... If I went to university and someone started harping on

about criminal investigations, I'd say well how do you know all this? Well I've read all these books and I've read this theory and this article and this journal says this. So what happened when you went to them then? What happened in your experience? I think maybe, I don't know. Some university lecturers might have practiced in the field, I don't know. Then they're given credibility over that. You've read books mate, you haven't been there." (Participant 11)

When questioned who should be delivering police training, a common answer was to keep it 'in-house' as experience and 'knowing the job' was valued highly. In this context, academic qualifications were seen as a benefit mainly in terms of how they could enhance training skills.

"Ideally, trained trainers with a credible police background in the subject they're delivering. If that can't be achieved, then a trained trainer working alongside someone with a credibility with the area that's been delivered. I think you always need to have that credibility in the classroom to deliver it. [...] It doesn't matter to me whether it's police or civilian but there still needs to be that credibility." (Participant 2)

"I still think that the best trainers are police officers who are trainers as well. As opposed to trainers who don't know anything about the police. So police officers who can train. [...] Training is best delivered by people who know the job. In a specialist role you need to know the job." (Participant 3)

"It all boils down to the credibility of the trainer. It's irrespective of whether they're a police trainer or from an academic background. It all boils down to credibility. Police officers are very, very astute people and they can see through people who haven't got the experience behind them, who can't answer the questions that are posed, basically. [...] The best thing would be, the best way to do it would be to have police trainers with academic qualification. That's the way I see it. So they're qualified as trainers and qualified as police officers or law enforcement officers to deliver that training. Hence what the drive is now, the drive is for us as police trainers to be qualified in, you know, in education qualification" (Participant 7)

Such emphasis on experience is not unreasonable. Contextualised knowledge is important for police work (Thacher, 2008) and increasingly being acknowledged as such in higher education generally as problem-based learning approaches are adopted more widely. Emerging from the experiential learning traditions and first adopted in medicine, it aims to ensure that knowledge learned during education links to the knowledge needed in the workplace and is transferred to practice (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004). This makes it particularly appropriate for professional education and, indeed, many of its principles – student-centred and interdisciplinary approach, emphasis on interpersonal, communication, and knowledge acquisition skills, intertwining of theory and practice (Boud, 1985; cited in *ibid*) – appear well-suited for the needs of the police and already evident in current training practices (see Chapter 3). For example, Werth (2011) reports positive outcomes, including (self-reported) improvements in officers' decision-making, problem-solving and technical skills, as a result of introducing problem-based learning into police training. However, such approaches also pose challenges, including the higher cost, resistance from staff and students, and the high degree of commitment and effort required from the training staff (*ibid*).

Such alternative approaches break down the theory-practice dichotomy (see 6.3.) and imply a wider understanding of what exactly counts as a professional knowledgebase and how it should be acquired. In the next section, I will look at this issue briefly.

5.4. Professional Knowledgebase and Alternative Viewpoints

“Police officers are information generators, information recorders, and information reporters. Currently they do so within specific, time- and goal-limited parameters, not for the creation of an institutional data set (craft knowledge still suffices). But one of the hallmarks of the classic professions has always been the development of new knowledge, and that link to true professional status might well be a selling point within the guild setting of police culture.” (Buerger, 2010: 142)

The impetus for professionalising investigations as discussed in Chapter 3 extended to the development of professional knowledge. Bryant (2009a: 15) describes it like this:

“The reform of criminal investigation thus became one of the development of investigative theory, which would embrace a corpus of knowledge unique to the profession itself. This theory would, it was argued at the time, lead naturally to the creation of a ‘model’ of criminal investigation that the new wave of professional investigators would utilise to both fulfil their professional role and develop their profession still further.”

What is notable here is how tightly the need for ‘corpus of knowledge’ and the professionalisation of the investigation are interlinked, developing in tandem, each answering the problem posed by the other; developing the profession would increase the theoretical knowledgebase (abstraction), which in turn would further strengthen the professional credentials of investigators. The view is not exclusive to the police. For example, speaking of nursing, Schwirian (1998) identifies the absence of a specialised knowledgebase as a serious obstacle to professionalisation.

But what do we mean by ‘professional knowledge’ and can ‘police knowledge’ be classed as such? Goode (1973; cited in Astley, 2006: 77-8) defines it as being:

1. *“Abstract and organised into a codified body of principles*
2. *Applicable, or thought to be applicable, to the concrete problems of living*
3. *Thought by the relevant members of society to be able to solve problems*
4. *That the possession of this means that problems can be solved*
5. *Should be created, organised, and transmitted by the profession*
6. *The profession should be arbiter over disputes about the validity of technical solutions, and*
7. *The amount of knowledge and difficulty of its acquisition should be great enough to give the possessor an aura of mystery not given to ordinary people.”*

Police ‘professional knowledge’ can be seen to match some but not all of the above criteria. To consider each point in turn:

1. Police knowledge is very much experience-based and practice-oriented. For example, Stelfox (2009) notes the lack of professional literature on criminal investigations. However, the existing knowledge has been increasingly organised into ‘codified body of principles’, such as the Core Investigative Doctrine (ACPO, 2005), Murder Investigation Manual (ACPO, 2006) and various other guidelines and ‘idealised models’ for criminal investigation (see Bryant, 2009a for an overview).

2. Police knowledge corresponds to this criteria in an overt way; its main purpose being to address the concrete problems of crime, antisocial behaviour and public protection.
3. As discussed earlier (e.g. section 4.2.3), police are seen as a *de facto* solution to many of society's problems – at least by majority of the society and certainly by the police themselves.
4. This echoes the recent police science paradigm with its emphasis on evidence-based practice (see e.g. Neyroud & Weisburd, 2011 and Chapter 7 for a brief discussion)
5. One of the issues for the police has been the divide between practice and research/theory (see *ibid* and also 7.2.1.). Knowledge about the former has certainly be regarded exclusive to the police, while the latter has traditionally been developed by those outside the profession (academics) and mainly transmitted only to non-police (mostly other academics).
6. The police are the key decision-maker in debates over policing tactics and technologies.
7. This too is closely descriptive of police knowledge, acquired through the unique and glamorised experiences and part of the police/detective mythology.

But does intellectual/knowledge-based framework provide the best starting point for professions such as the police? Kunneman (2005), writing from social work context, argues for bringing back the focus on the moral and existential dimensions of professional work and legitimising its contribution to the society. Alternative viewpoints to professionalism and professional knowledgebase exist and are increasingly explored by authors.

Clark (2005) describes two 'ideal type' perspectives into professional expertise. The first is 'knowledge focused', corresponding to the traditional view of professional knowledge claim in being formal, systematic, theoretical, developed via accredited research and transmitted via (academic) publications. In other words, it is based on the assumption of scientific rationality and the validity, reliability and methods it implies. Another perspective is 'agent focused', resting on the assumption that "*professionalism resides in the character of the professional as a person*" (*ibid*: 186) and is thus by necessity individualistic and subjective. This form of professional expertise consists of such qualities as spiritual wisdom, empathy, trustworthiness and sense of justice, acquired through experience and acceptance of personal responsibility.

In a similar vein, Gibbons and colleagues (1995) outline two modes of knowledge production. The first one is academic science, which is universally valid, mono-disciplinary, dominant and has its validity judged by scientific knowledge producers. Mode Two builds from above, but has practical aims, looking for solutions for problems. It is multi- or interdisciplinary, characterised by plurality of stakeholders, political and economic interests, moral and existential

values. Kunneman (2005) argues that while the latter appears the best fit for social work (and perhaps by extension policing too), the bias toward natural sciences and the lack of plurality in moral and existential values is still problematic. He suggests a third form of knowledge production, one aimed at finding solutions under specific conditions of 'scarcity and competition' and "*connecting questions of productivity and efficiency with moral commitment and existential meaning*" (ibid: 199). This form is characterised by creative communication and cooperation between professionals, inspiration, creativity, deep insight and alternative narratives to meaningful life. Such normative professionalisation would allow for connections between normative institutional arrangements and the moral and existential values of professionals and clients (ibid). This is similar to Holmes' (1981; cited in Astley 2006: 83) suggestion of an 'alternative model of professionalism', which would "*emphasise the central importance of affective knowledge based on interpersonal understanding, and not to suffer from an inferiority complex regarding the apparent 'thinness' of a cognitive knowledge base.*" It also corresponds to Thacher's (2001) point about the inherent value plurality of policing and the limits of instrumental knowledge (see 6.2.5).

This has, by necessity, been a very brief overview of alternative ways of looking at professionalism and professional knowledge-base, some which may be more suited for professions such as the police. Indeed, Bennet and Hockenstad (1973; cited in Astley, 2006) make a distinction between new 'people-worker' professions and the traditional ones, and the police seems like a natural fit among the former. The knowledgebase of 'people-worker' professions is derived from practical skills and experiences, resulting in a different, a more democratic, authority (the *credibility* the interviewees refer to, see previous section). They are also the practical and spiritual heirs of various voluntary and statutory agencies (health, education, social services – and arguably, the police), and thus not autonomous or self-employed to the same degree as many traditional professions are (or at least used to be).

The traditional, theory-based, academia-transmitted model of professional knowledgebase still carries considerable status and has undoubtedly been a key reason why new emerging 'people-worker' professions have increasingly sought to adopt it. Two examples of this will be discussed next.

5.5. Professionalisation via Academisation: Nursing and Social Work

“The up-and-coming professions have looked at the more traditional professions and invariably equated power with bodies of scientifically informed knowledge.” (Astley, 2006: 64)

In this section, I will briefly discuss nursing and social work, both of which have actively pursued professional status and as a part of that have moved their training into the sphere of universities. The two occupational groups provide an apt comparison basis for the police, due to their shared public service orientation (see previous chapter). Astley (2006) describes ‘people workers’ such as health care and social work practitioners (and arguably police) characterised by the ‘morality’ of their professions, stating they *“claim a special status on the basis of their virtuous ideas and actions. It is difficult to deny that these professions are vital to the welfare of our populations and that given the criteria available for what might be considered a worthy occupation and vocation, these practitioners can argue for special status”* (ibid: 11). There are other parallels between nursing and policing that make comparison relevant, such as traditional valuing of common-sense over academic intellect and the need to keep the power in the hands of the profession (Brooks & Rafferty, 2010). Participants themselves also invoked comparisons with other professions, particularly nursing, when discussing the possibility of academic education for the police officers (see also Chapter 6).

“I would sort of mirror us with nursing. Nursing are saying it’s a degree entry, to be a nurse. Then I think the same would be said for police officers...” (Participant 13)

“...the work that we have to do for us to be considered a par with some of the colleagues that we have to work with, social services is a partner agency or working with CPS lawyers, to be considered a profession...” (Participant 5)

For nursing, a higher status and guarantee a place among other professions has been linked to higher education and development of theory and unique knowledgebase (Cash, 2009; Schwirian, 1998). For example, Schwirian (ibid: 141) states that *“advanced education for a critical mass of practicing nurses is the key for obtaining full professional recognition.”* The calls for British nurses to be taught in Higher Education institutes originate from the late nineteenth century, but it was not until 1960 when the first undergraduate degree in nursing was established at the University of Edinburgh (some forty years behind US and Canada) (Brooks & Rafferty, 2010; Burke & Harris, 2000). In 2008, nursing officially became a graduate profession as the Nursing and Midwifery Council declared the minimum academic award for pre-registration programmes to be a degree (Brooks & Rafferty, 2010) and is set to achieve full graduate-entry status by 2013 (White & Heslop, 2011). The prior demarcation of education and training paths in healthcare professions was seen to be a major factor in the class, race and gender stratification within the workforce, which the government supported education programmes and the establishment of NHS University would, if not erase, then at least lessen (Saks & Allsop, 2007). The Royal College of Nursing explicitly cited raising the status of the occupation, gaining parity with other professions,

the complexities of the work, the need to develop professional knowledge, and improving public and student perceptions as arguments in favour of degree level education (Burke & Harris, 2000). This corresponds closely with the potential benefits of academia police education as identified by the participants (Chapter 6). The migration of nursing education from hospital training schools to universities was not, however, uncontested. Brooks and Rafferty (2010) identify a variety of obstacles, such as antipathy from the universities, undervaluing of graduates within the profession and conflicting ideologies. These too will be echoed in the next chapter when we will discuss the potential challenges of academic police training as identified by the interviewees.

Social work is another occupation that has actively sought academic credentials to enhance its professional status, though Kunneman (2005) argues that it still lacks stability and security. London School of Economics started training social workers as early as 1895 (Meeuwisse & Swärd, 2009), but the full degree level qualifying education in the UK was not gained until 2002 (Lymbery, 2009). This was followed by a system of post qualifying education and establishment of a professional register a few years later (ibid). Since then, there has been a steady increase in student numbers applying and registering to study social work in British universities, though availability of practice learning places has limited growth (ibid). Lorenz (2005) describes European social work training as characterised by progressive academisation. Weiss-Gal and Welbourne (2008) provide a cross-national comparison of social work and its professional attributes, two of which bear close relevance to the current argument. Firstly, the authors identify a unique knowledgebase as a feature of professional social work in all ten countries studied. This includes research activity and theory development (though the form and level of these varies) and dissemination of knowledge through dedicated channels (e.g. professional publications). Even more interesting is their observation of how in all ten countries the professional social work education is situated within the Higher Education system and can be pursued at undergraduate (Bachelor) and graduate (Masters) level and in most, also at doctoral (PhD) level. Furthermore, possession of a degree is a minimum entry requirement to the profession in all countries. Such standardisation is partly a result of the Bologna Process of Higher Education and the associated framework of comparable academic programmes and qualifications, which changed the relationship between universities and professional associations by taking away the task of defining what qualities graduates from professional degrees need from both and placing it into the public domain (Lorenz, 2005). Nevertheless, for social work, this move to university level education and graduate entry *“represents a major step towards professionalism at a global level”* (Weiss-Gal & Welbourne, 2008: 286). This is echoed by Meeuwisse and Swärd (2009: 369) who state that the establishment of social work as a distinctive research and teaching subject and strengthening of its position within the Higher Education system was *“a means to an independent profile, occupational maturity and professionalisation.”*

Together the developments in nursing and social work illustrate the concept of 'academic drift', originally referring to non-university institutions' propensity to align themselves with universities by emulating their activities and characteristics, but also descriptive of occupational group's effort to professionalise via academisation (Laiho, 2010, see Conclusions). Academic drift is also evident in policing as the next section on the relationship between police and academic education illustrates.

5.6. Police and Academia

“I think there’s no doubt that policing has moved much closer to academic ability than practical ability, or both hand-in-hand.” (Participant 5)

The relationship between police and higher education is hardly a new one. Already Sir Robert Peele made references to the need for professionally trained police force, and of course himself took double firsts at Oxford in classics and mathematics. Wilensky (1964) argues that one of the steps towards professionalisation is a concern over standards of training as expressed by the leading figures of the profession and the setting up of training schools, which are situated within academia from the start or make the connections within a few decades. Police may have been slow to get onto this particular path in a systematic way, but that does not mean that the links have not been there. Chapter 3 provided a general overview of the development of police training in England and Wales, and in this section, I will explore its links with higher education with more focus.

In the UK, the co-operation between police and the academia has been slow to develop (Wood & Tong, 2009) particularly compared to the US (see e.g. Eskridge, 1989; Hawley, 1998; Walker, 1977). It began with the establishment of forensic science services in the inter-war years, the period which also saw the opening of the Metropolitan Police College in 1934, thanks to the efforts of then Commissioner Lord Trenchard who aimed to develop senior leaders within the service (Martin & Wilson, 1969; Browne, 1956). It advocated a scientific approach to training and was aimed to attract (primarily middle-class) applicants with higher educational background, such as a university degree or civil service qualification (ibid; Critchley, 1967). The institution received constant criticism and was abandoned in 1939 without much opposition as the Second World War broke out (ibid, Martin & Wilson, 1969). The 1960s witnessed an increased focus on training and education of police officers as a response to the problems of legitimacy (Lee & Punch, 2004). This coincided with the publications of the influential Robbins Report in 1963, which called for expansion of higher education opportunities and the supporting government policy at the time (ibid); thus it is no surprise that some forces turned to universities as a potential solution. For example, the Essex Constabulary sent officers to university to do fulltime degrees from 1967 onward (ibid), and of course, the Bramshill Scholarship Scheme had started a year earlier in 1966, providing university education opportunities for management level officers (see 3.1). 1968 saw the beginning of the police Graduate Entry Scheme (Lee & Punch, 2004), which has continued under different names and formats ever since, currently as the High Potential Graduate Entry Scheme. This was known also to the participants:

“You know we have a promotions system specifically to those who have gone onto the higher education. So those who see themselves in a managerial role, it’s a requirement that they have got themselves a university education. And those who haven’t... I still think

the norm is for most police officers to be university educated to. It's something that's been embraced. I don't see a problem with it." (Participant 5)

Links with higher education grew steadily. The intake of graduates increased in the 1980s due to the Edmund-Davies 1978 pay awards and rising unemployment (Reiner, 2010). The poor reputation of the police service during the 1990s resulted in the new goal to produce 'reflective practitioners' capable of diffusing situations without violence and fostering good relationships between police and community (Beckley, 2004). Academia seemed to provide a potential solution to the problems faced by the police. For example, the Strategic Command Course offered at Bramshill was credited by the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge in 1996 whereby an additional four weeks of study could lead to a Postgraduate Diploma in Advanced Criminology. Indeed, as discussed in the Introduction, Reiner (1994) observes a period of 'happy rapprochement' between police and academia at this time.

This is a trend that has been even more evident in the Europe as evidenced by the promotion of police-university partnerships in several countries and the creation of the European Police College in 2005 (Jaschke et al., 2007). Such changes stem partly from the 1999 Bologna declaration, which aims to harmonise the higher education systems within the EU countries to promote better transfer of knowledge and people (Paterson, 2011). A thorough international comparison is beyond the scope of the current study, but a couple of examples from the Europe will help to situate the changes in the UK in the broader context. In The Netherlands where the National Police Academy is granted the status of University College, its programmes accredited by the same central organisation that accredits other universities in the country (Peeters, 2010). Norway's Police University College received its university status in 2004, gaining a licence to grant a Bachelor's degree and in 2006 a Master's degree (Politihøgskolen, 2007). It too operates within national Higher Education regulatory framework (ibid). Finland is in the process of rolling out a police qualification reform. Currently, the basic qualification, delivered by a National Police College, is a polytechnic level diploma, but by the time officers reach inspector and chief inspector levels they have accumulated enough credits for a 'Bachelor in Police Command'. Police Chiefs (head of regional police departments of which there are 24) are required to undertake an 'Applicable Master's Degree in Police Studies' provided at a partnership university (Poliisikorkeakoulu, 2012). The future plans will open routes to higher research degrees (ibid). While police academies in several European countries have achieved university status (Paterson, 2011), four have also adopted Bachelor's degree as the basic level of education: Ireland, Bulgaria, Norway and Slovakia (Poliisikorkeakoulu, 2012).

In the UK too the increasing overlap of interests with Higher Education and academic research is evident. Mushrooming of various university courses in policing is perhaps the most obvious sign of this and a consortium of universities offering such courses is represented by the Higher Education Policing Hub (Neyroud, 2011). Since the 2001 introduction of Foundations

Degrees – seen as an attempt by the Government to bridge the academic-vocational divide and enhance employability of its workforce (Morgan, Jones, & Fitzgibbon, 2004) – this model has become particularly popular, perhaps echoing the trend of two-year junior/community college degrees for law enforcement typical in the US (Hawley, 1998; Bassett & Tapper, 2009). In some forces, Initial Police Training is delivered in collaboration with the local universities. A typical arrangement includes probationers alternating between attending university and work-based training on the field. Students usually have an opportunity to continue on to the full degree level, though on their own time and at their own expense and so it is unsurprising that anecdotal evidence suggests this is rarely taken up. There are also a number of university courses in Police Studies (and equivalent, the titles of the degrees vary), which are aimed at those students who are considering a career in law enforcement or a related field. They do not require the students to be already accepted into the police service but often have arrangements with the local forces and encourage students to apply to be special constables or community support officers. It is interesting to note that on commenting on one such course the *Police Life* website (no date) makes some explicit links to the professionalisation agenda: “*Students are admitted to the BSc (Hons) Policing degree on terms equivalent to admission for degrees in nursing, teaching, social work, business management and much else besides. It is part of a more general and long overdue programme to fully professionalise policing in this country.*”

In addition to the probationer level partnerships, there exists also several university courses aimed at management level officers. Masters degrees are available in a variety of topics including criminal investigation, police leadership and management, international policing, policing ethics as well as more general subjects of criminal justice and criminology, which a good number of students at all levels do consider as a gateway to a career in policing. That is to say nothing about the various leadership, management and business oriented postgraduate courses that most officers now find essential if they wish to reach and work in ACPO level roles.

All of this, of course, describes only the more formalised relationship between academia and police training that has developed over the last decade. Consultation relationship between the police and academics in terms of policy and operational practice is even more established, if until relatively recently, sporadic. For example, when asked if the relationship and co-operation between police and academia were good at the moment, one participant remarked:

“I think they are yeah. I think they could be better. They exist in pockets. Investigative interviewing there’s a strong relationship between academia and policing, not just training but operational and strategically as well. A lot of academics are in strategic meetings, around that sort of thing. Public protection as well. We probably could do better in some areas.” (Participant 3)

These pockets include the specific areas where academic research has pushed through to operational practice. Investigative interviewing, based on the principles of Cognitive Interviewing as developed by Geiselman, Fisher and various colleagues (see e.g. Milne & Bull, 1999 for an

overview) and adapted to police training since 1992, is perhaps one of the most obvious 'success stories' and offered as one by the interviewees.

"There's been lots of things that have been developed, investigative interviewing is one, in line with academics. You know, the way that we deal with victims and things like that. A lot of academic research has been on that. Murder investigation, again lots of work has been done about offender profiling and behaviour that's been given information to murder investigators to structure enquiries." (Participant 13)

"I think increasingly so, the academic world is becoming influential in the way that we do training. Particularly in things like investigative interviewing. Anything, any part of the investigation where there is an element of psychology, which is an awful lot really, because you're talking about communication, you know. Most of our business is how you communicate with people and get people to do things that maybe they don't want to do, so psychology, in which case psychological research and academia have a big influence in the way that we do things now." (Participant 3)

Participant 3 is right; psychology has a lot to offer to policing and has had some moderate success in crossing the research-practice divide (see e.g. Ainsworth, 2002; Williamson, 2007). However, there seems to be a tendency for instrumental use of knowledge, which, aside for the troubling connotations of 'getting people to do what they might not want to', is still a far cry from for example the type of systematic integration, knowledge production and dissemination Scott (2003) envisions in his treatise on problem-oriented policing (see 6.3.1. for discussion of the research-practice gap). However, some progress has been made as these participants point out in discussion of police-academia relationship:

"It's probably always been there but it's much more focussed now because we have a Professional Practice area where clearly there are clear links to academia. You couldn't produce Practice Advice and Guidance without that integration and interaction from academia. So yes it's clearly there now as a deliberate interaction. We didn't have that before so it must have improved by definition." (Participant 4)

"We have doctors over the road here who are employed in writing guidance so you speak with them. We have strong links with researchers like yourself, with universities who provide a lot of the core material." (Participant 3)

Indeed, a quick look at various practice advice and guidance documentation, e.g. Core Investigative Doctrine (ACPO, 2005) and the Murder Investigation Manual (ACPO, 2006) shows academic as well as Home Office sources in their reference and recommended reading lists. In fact, the Core Investigative Doctrine states that it has been developed 'with the assistance' of academics.

The relationship between the police and academia also seems to be characterised by hierarchical structures.

"I think that, probably at the top end the relationships are very good. Certainly when you're at these conferences and you see the likes of [names academics] from [university] and they're working with [names senior police officers] at the top end they're very good. But I think it's perhaps just the perception further down the chain. I don't know, I don't know." (Participant 12)

'Further down the chain' things can indeed be different, and it seems the information can still be slow to filter down the ranks. For example, one participant answered a question about the

planned co-operation with a local university regarding accreditation of the ICIDP programme the trainers were running as follows:

"I don't know what it's about, I don't know what it means, what it entails so I can't give you an informed opinion because I haven't been spoken to about it." (Participant 9)

This was echoed by some of the interviewees who felt too uninformed to really comment on the relationship between police and academia:

"Throughout my career really I've not had much contact with academics." – (Participant 7)
"I don't know if I really have an opinion on that because I can't think of any examples. [...] It's never the twain meet really, it's not something that happens often really, we don't often... And now it will be different. Now of course we introduce this, new ideas really. But generally speaking you would get... I don't think you very often come across a police officer researcher very often, I don't know." (Participant 8)

However, overall when asked about police attitudes toward academia, the participants had plenty to say. The opinions varied somewhat although the general impression seemed to be that the attitudes were mostly positive. This was attributed to the increasing number of officers joining the service with higher education degrees.

"I think because there are probably more academics within the police service now there isn't any sort of [unclear] There's more people with degrees in all sorts of jobs all over the country. It's more accepted I think, and not looked upon as... I suppose it's looked upon as more the norm, isn't it?" (Participant 2)

"I think the modern police force now, a lot of our police officers have university education, far more when I was becoming a police officer. You know you left school at sixteen or eighteen and going to university was not the norm. So it's in today's modern policing I think it's very acceptable process and not one that people are afraid of." (Participant 5)

Similarly, when asked about the attitudes of police officers on the planned co-operation with the university, Participant 7 also pointed out:

"I think attitudes will be extremely positive because police officers come from a quite a good academic background. It's not like when I joined with you know GCSEs. Most police officers join now have Higher Education qualifications. Whether it be A-levels minimum, through to university degrees. So I think they'll be quite positive toward this and see it as achieving more, more than what they got already." (Participant 7)

Roberg and Bonn's (2004) review of various studies suggests that approximately one quarter of police officers in the USA have a university degree. I am not aware of any available figures for the UK as the official statistics on police officer strength do not collect data on the education levels, suggesting a need for a separate survey.

Participants were also aware that the attitudes were not uniformly positive and that there was a split in officers' opinions toward the academia. Interestingly, this was seen to depend on their personal experiences.

"I think the attitude towards academia is split. I think those who've been through the process, those who are graduates, they will understand it much better and accept it quite easily and I'm sure embrace it. But those who haven't feel dubious about it. People are like that about change, about new things, but there's a lot of... There is, there is an attitude in some members of staff that they're from the 'University of Life' type thing, that there's no need to do all this academia to be a cop and what [unclear]. And I think to some extent it's due to ignorance. If you've been involved in academic world, it seems like almost, it's not

such a mystery. If you've not, never been involved in it, it's like a big [unclear], you don't know. You look up to it, you don't know what it is." (Participant 8)

Indeed, as any social psychology textbook explains, repeated or prolonged exposure to a stimuli tends to improve person's views toward it, although the effect is not straightforward but depends on various factors, such as existing attitudes (e.g. Baumeister & Bushman, 2008). For example, for Participant 11 familiarity with academic education has done little to expel doubts about its suitability for policing:

"I'm not over-sold on it. I'm more of a... being a university student myself at the moment, we're going on these trails of self-discovery. [...] I'm going more around to the behaviourist, more disciplined type of learning which from which the education tries to go away, you know like the summer school type theory of if you don't want to learn, if you don't want to turn up, fine. I find it a bit, I don't know... I feel the police service is a discipline service and it's been given that free reign of universities type casual type learning." (Participant 11)

While a more thorough examination of police officers attitudes to academia and why and how they are formed and changed is beyond the purpose of the study (and indeed its empirical material, for many of the interview quotes focus on participants' opinions about other people's opinions), it seems clear that there has been a temporal shift. This too was remarked on by the participants who saw an improvement over the years.

"I know there've been a bit of antipathy in the past. I know sometimes... I think the police force is much more well-educated than it was. So we have people who have been through the formal further or higher education already, whose general education knowledge is probably greater than the greater capacity to learn. So maybe their use of academic world has changed." (Participant 3)

"But you still can get some of the old school and you know 'they come in and they get there with a qualification, not through working at the coal face so to speak, but I've certainly seen an improvement." (Participant 14)

"Strong for and a strong against I would say. Typical for the police, everything is in black and white. You got the group of people who are perhaps... maybe those who have always had access to further education and maybe younger, who will then embrace this without question. But then you get the older members who, maybe like me, left school, didn't do a great deal and then went into the police with no qualifications, who might resist it feel well 'I've been a detective for twenty years, what can you teach me? I don't need a degree, I've been...' And they'll call it the 'university of life.' You know they would take umbrage with anyone suggesting that they perhaps needed a qualification in what they do." (Participant 9)

This 'old school' thinking is familiar to the experiences of officers who attended university in the 1960s and 70s as interviewed by Lee and Punch (2004; see also Punch, 2007) and Young's (1991) descriptions of how several police officers who had embarked on academic studies were often deliberately cut off, socially and professionally, from their colleagues and the organisation. Upon return to work, they were usually assigned to a less demanding role than what they were occupying prior to their stint in the academia, ostensibly to integrate them back to the practice-oriented police work. Indeed, on completion of his anthropology degree, Young himself, who had worked as a plainclothes detective in a drug squad for several years before his time at the university, was sent to Bridewell (a central prisoner lock-up) as a uniform inspector. This was

clearly to reincorporate him to 'working in the real world' but also organisation's way to reassert control over its member by assigning them to what Young himself called a "*punishment posting*" (ibid: 121).

Reassuringly though, the interviews indicate that the relationship between the police and academia has improved over the years. As one participant puts it:

"You know we fought for, a lot of my colleagues fought for academic recognition by going on these sort of Policing Degrees in the early days. Now it's second nature." – (Participant 12)

Overall then, the change in academia-police relationship can be characterised by movement:

- 1. From rare to routine** - The interaction between academia and police seems to be going from being a rare occurrence to something far more routine, as a consequence of the increasing number of graduate entrants and links with higher education institutes.
- 2. From individual to organisational** – in the past academic personal development has been encouraged and supported for *some* officers in *some* forces. However, now the approach is far more organisational; police service as a whole linking up with institutes of higher education in a systematic manner and starting to build the supporting infrastructure for academic police training and education.
- 3. From top end only to all levels of the organisation** – The relationship between police and the academia has tended to exist mostly at the higher level of the organisation, e.g. consulting relationships with senior academics. While this is perhaps still the case, the increased links with universities is bringing academia closer to the experiences of police officers at all levels of the organisation, from student officer onward.

5.7. Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has traced the relationship between professions and academic education from a number of viewpoints, teasing out some of the general drivers behind the trend of professionalisation. It is a dynamic process, which takes place at individual, organisational and broader societal levels. Its relationship with higher education and social change is interdependent and circular, each influencing each, though the latter arguably causes the deeper, ontological shifts. The relationship between higher education, professions and the state can be described similarly, with the state typically, although to a varying degree, mediating the academisation of a profession. To this conceptual framework, I added another layer from Bourdieu (1987) who viewed professional institutions, and indeed their host discipline (or field), as locked in a permanent symbolic struggle over the tools and capital to define the social world - a theme which will be picked up again in the following chapters. In the next section of the current chapter, I moved on to consider the historical development of professional education within academia, noting the shift from holistic, liberal 'civilising' education to one that was more oriented toward equipping the students with skills and knowledge leading to employment within a specific profession. Expansion and professionalisation of academic education itself, together with growth of stricter admission and proof of competency requirements, added to the prestige academia could offer the professions. The more recent decades have seen an increasing emphasis of managerialism and technical rationality, which has impacted on the universities in the push for market competition and caused more occupations to search professional standing. It was here I also brought up the implications of the current government policy. Raised tuition fees, coupled with cuts for higher education and police funding (and consequently numbers), are likely to have massive effect on university-based education and training of potential or existing officers, particularly in terms of diversity and equality. This issue will be considered again in Chapter 7.

In the next section, I expanded on the key concept of instructional abstraction that was first identified in the previous chapter. Its practical and symbolic benefits are one of the key themes of the thesis and what I would identify as the main forces driving deliberate attempts of professionalisation: recognisable proof of competence, increasing legitimacy, strengthening market monopoly, status and privileges (both material and symbolic) of expertise, practical skills and knowledge to complete tasks, explain outcomes, defend and secure new areas of work and intellectual jurisdictions. In other words, *"abstraction enables survival in the competitive system of professions"* (Abbot, 1988: 9) and bolsters the profession's credibility as being regarded as the solution to the problem in question. In comparison, for the police, credibility has traditionally come from practical experience, which is clearly seen in the participants' wish for the police to maintain control over their own training. Indeed, the value of contextualised knowledge is

increasingly being recognised also within academia as problem-based learning approaches become more common.

Related to this is the issue of development of a systematic, theoretical professional knowledgebase; something the police and criminal investigations have lacked. While the police/investigative knowledge can be argued to meet some of the criteria even for the traditional definition of professional knowledge, alternative views on what counts as a professional expertise also exist. These encompass more existential, moral, interpersonal and emotional dimensions, drawing from and appreciating a plurality of views and disciplines. While they are perhaps more suited for 'new professions' such as policing, it is still the traditional model that carries the highest status (symbolic capital). In the next section of the chapter, I looked at social work and nursing, two professions which have sought to professionalise by shifting their training to the realm of higher education, and which parallel policing in various other ways including the strong service orientation. The purpose was to illustrate the similarities between the professionalisation processes of these two professions and that of the police and thus provide a context for understanding the benefits and challenges discussed in Chapter 6 and the kind of comparison within a larger field of public service mentioned in 1.1.1.

The final part of the chapter brought the focus back to the police and to the primary data, drawing substantially from the interview material in its examination of the relationship between police and higher education. A brief historical overview traced its development on both sides of the Atlantic, typically as a response to increasingly complex social conditions, political pressure and search for legitimacy. In the UK, a number of police-university partnerships and a variety of courses from Foundation to Masters level aimed at current and aspiring police officers have mushroomed over the last decade, illustrating a recent formalisation of the police-academia relationship. Due to increasing collaboration at all levels and the growing number of graduate entrants, the attitudes toward academia seemed largely positive. Overall, the relationship between police and academia has become more routine, takes place at organisational (as opposed to only interpersonal) level, and at all not just top levels of the organisation.

In many ways, the current chapter marks a shift toward the last two research aims, exploring the relationship between police and academia as it starts to pull together the threads of police professionalisation and higher education. It is my hope that it has provided the reader a strong understanding of the complex relationship between professions and higher education in general, and police and academia in specific. The next two chapters will continue to develop these themes further by considering the potential benefits and challenges of academic police education in Chapter 6, before turning to discuss its theoretical and practical implications in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 6

Police Professionalisation and Academic Education: Potential Benefits and Challenges

After theorising police professionalisation (Chapter 4) and discussing the complex interplay of professions and academic education generally, and police and academic education specifically (Chapter 5), my argument now moves to analyse the interview data more closely. The potential benefits and challenges of academising police training was one of the key themes covered in the interviews and the findings are explored here using interviewees' own words as far as possible. The participants typically addressed the issue through the prism of investigative skills training and detective work, the context most familiar to them. Nevertheless, and similarly to Chapter 4, the talk moved fluidly between that and the police training and policing in a broader sense. The available secondary research tends to do the same, looking at the effect of higher education on police work without paying much heed to differences in specialisms. As explained at the beginning of the thesis, detectives are well-placed for experiencing the benefits and challenges academic education has to offer, but the effects are such that they have the potential to influence, to a varying degree, all specialisms at all levels of the organisation.

One such fundamental issue that arose from the literature and the interviews both is the perceived division between the abstract theory-driven world of academia and the practice-oriented 'real world' of policing. The last third of the chapter is devoted to discussing this epistemological and cultural divide, which I have called 'two worlds thinking'. It is crucial to understanding the relationship between police and academia and what it means to the attempts to professionalise the former through the latter.

6.1. Potential Benefits of Academic Police Training

One of the key topics the interviews wanted to map was the *perceived* benefits and challenges of academic police training. This matches a lot of the previous research which has typically measured factors assumed to affect police performance either positively or negatively, although the empirical link is not always clear. In general, the reactions and opinions among the interviewees were very positive. All were able to identify several potential benefits that might come from linking police training and academic education (whichever form this might take). Indeed, this was one of the most coded themes during the analysis, including more than 70 relevant quotations, all of which it is of course impossible to include. There is also considerable overlap between the 'benefits' and other codes, such as 'external qualifications' and 'professionalisation', within the overall theme of academia. Therefore it should be noted that any separation is artificial and the potential benefits of academic police/detective training should be understood as an interconnected web. These, as identified by the interviewees, could be summarised as follows: Academisation broadens and deepens the knowledgebase, brings standardisation, opportunities for self-development and externally recognised qualifications, all of which put policing on a more equal footing with other professions and consequently improve officers' personal and professional self-confidence. As discussed above, these benefits have the potential to apply 'across the board', beyond detective work.

6.1.1. Standardisation

The issue of standardisation has already been explored at length in Chapter 3. However, it is important to note how the theme emerged also as a response to questions about academisation of police training. Here higher education is seen as something that will bring policing to the same standard with other professions and also even the educational standards within the organisation.

“Knowing that the doctor studies for seven, or five years, or seven, whatever it is. And you know the, that the legal people, the training that they do. So I guess it is about, I guess it is about standards, training and the academic sort of support for that.” – (Participant 20)

“And the reality is that we are, we are somewhere in the middle, because like, I don’t know, doctors, lawyers, they’re all of a particular standard, because of their academic background, because of the practitioner courses that they’ve done. And then they all go and specialise after that. Lawyers do all sorts of things. But up to a point they’re all of an ilk. That’s not the same in the police. You get people, we get people who’ve got PhD in marine biology who are detectives and we’ve also have people who, the last job that they did was working for Kellogg’s. And I’m not saying there’s anything wrong with that. They’re so disparate that’s the thing. And that’s what the force is like across the board, even up as far as the top line managers. All our top line management, some have academic background and some don’t, some have managerial background and some don’t. I think that’s where it’s aiming, but it’s going to take such a long time to get to the point where we’re all a level.” – (Participant 8)

Once again, the links between standardisation and professionalisation also emerge. For example, Participant 9 commented on the changes linking with a university will bring to the trainers and training by saying:

“I think just by its very nature it will probably make us more polished. Because we’re doing to another standard as well as our own occupational standards. I think it will heighten our awareness of how things got to be a certain way in order to criteria sort of thing. Because by its very nature we’ll become more polished in what we do. Not that there’s anything wrong in what we do now but I think it will professionalise us even more.” (Participant 9)

6.1.2. Externally Recognised Qualifications and Career Flexibility

The lack of externally recognised qualifications for the police is another theme previously discussed (see 4.3) and comes up both in secondary (e.g. Jaschke & Neidhardt, 2007) and primary data.

“With previous police training it didn’t give anybody anything meaningful. So all the training courses that I’ve been on mean absolutely nothing to the outside world. So when I retire, most police training course will give me nothing. Other than a bit of life experience and people might employ me because I’m a former police officer and I’m good at problem-solving But I’ve got no qualifications as a result of policing. I mean I have because I’m at the point of getting my own qualifications. I’ve got my own degree, I’ve got my own educational certificate etc. But the police service hasn’t given me it. So police training has missed a trick.” (Participant 3)

Academia would provide those qualifications, which was the most easily identified benefit mentioned by the participants. Several interviewees expressed frustration about all the training and experience they’ve had counting for nothing outside the police service.

“I’ve been in the police for 30 years. Nobody ever said to me I could gain qualifications for all things I’ve learned. And police officers, well police officers from my era, don’t appreciate how much knowledge they’ve gained during the 30 years of being police officers, you know going through the ranks. When you leave after 30 years you got nothing to show for it.” (Participant 7)

Similarly, linking the ICIDP to an academic qualification was seen as a way to value the effort trainee detectives put into the process.

“[T]he students are asked to jump through hoops to become a substantive detective for nothing more than a personal professional gain because they are the same rank as when they started. They don’t get any benefits of an increase in pay for the investigative work that they do. There is nothing in it other than being in an investigative world. And I think if they want to embark on the opportunities there they can make something of it and it makes them value more the effort and the hard work they’ve put in to become a detective in the first place. I think it’s a very positive step.” (Participant 6)

“Police officers don’t get recognised for the work they do within the police environment, training within the police environment, academically. If somehow we could link it all together and afford them qualifications for the training they do through the process that would be an ideal world.” (Participant 7)

Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007) point out how academic education is also expected to provide the practitioners with flexibility, transferable skills, and competence and techniques in a broad range or areas. And indeed, with the externally recognised qualification comes increased career flexibility, allowing people to move on to other jobs more easily, whether that is after retirement or during service in case they decide police career is no longer the right one for them. This was a clear benefit many of the interviewees identified.

“It would allow people who didn’t find police service to be what they wanted to move into another area of work, taking their qualifications with them.” (Participant 7)

“One good that comes out it is not only are they learning the practical skills and they’re learning how to do the job, but they’re also gaining qualifications that they can use outside of the force.” (Participant 8)

“A degree is a degree, but nowadays a degree is a more used as a gateway to go to sort of opportunities, isn’t it. My degree was a gateway to my PGCE. That I think has probably, is a benefit. Because it means I can find meaningful employment outside the service.”
(Participant 3)

Once more, the concepts of professionalism and professionalisation were powerfully present, intertwined with the idea of qualifications.

“Professional is someone who has a professional qualification.” (Participant 3)

“I think the public would like to see in general police officers attaining external qualification through the processes that they go through. And it’s also would raise the profile of the police officer professionally in everyday life. So they could sit alongside lawyers, teachers, professionals in the health service with those academic qualifications.”
(Participant 7)

Gaining a qualification also links to the issues of self-confidence and feeling of being valued, a theme explored more in the next section.

“If I’m working on something I like to sort of, I like to be able to do the job but also to have a qualification to support that if I get challenged as to you know ‘why you’re doing that and how do you know about that?’ Well you know it’s kind of almost like a confidence thing. And to know that you’re doing it in the right way.” (Participant 1)

6.1.3. Personal Development and Improved Self-Image

There were also several themes emerging from the interviewees that seem to group around the more individually oriented benefits. As already hinted at above, there was a sense of officers feeling undervalued for the work they do or the skills they have.

“I don’t think we’re valued enough in terms of the amount of work, the amount of theory and the amount of law that we apply in the day-to-day basis. We don’t seem to be given credit to that. So I think to be given some sort of academic accreditation at the end of all this work has got to be some sort of step forward in valuing that side of policing. Because there’s a very practical hands-on side which we all know about where you go out on the street and deal with people but you know underpinning all that is this theoretical knowledge. So I think to have some sort of accreditation for that would make officers feel valued, I think because they don’t at the moment. I think the morale is quite low.”
(Participant 9)

This matches Chatterton’s (2008) findings that criminal investigation work is perceived to be undervalued by the senior management and the overall mood of CID being one of marginalisation, alienation and feeling of being unable to affect change within the organisation or working practices. Making police investigative skills training more academic was seen as having the potential to improve things, and increased self-esteem and job motivation strongly emerges as the possible benefits.

“It might increase the confidence and you know having that, you know that sort of faith in knowing what they can do and you see, you’re talking with people who are being respected as having sort of studied in that world” (Participant 2)

“And in a way it’s rewarding. It rewards the individuals for what they actually do, because they face some horrific situations on a daily basis out there. And it’s nice to be rewarded with somebody saying ‘well the way you handled that was a fantastic piece of evidence to take towards your degree.’” (Participant 7)

“I think keep their interest going. You know it is a hard job sometimes and we all have good and bad days and I just think that it would be something they could be proud of and they would feel that the organisation has invested in them as well. Because I think, I think motivation can be a problem in my job” (Participant 10)

This corresponds with Lee and Punch (2004) and Punch (2007) who also emphasise the personal benefits higher education brings to the police officers, including improved professional and personal self self-esteem, confidence and broadening of outlooks. Indeed, the potential for personal development and the idea of seizing missed opportunities was one that emerged from the interviews.

“Other people like myself who have never gone down that route the doors are now opened. I’m hopefully starting a certificate in September which I would have never considered had I not been in this environment. And I’m hungry to learn more. So I think it’s opening doors for people like me who thought that university and academia is well pass me because I didn’t take the opportunity years ago.” (Participant 6)

Opportunities for personal development are of acknowledged importance to the police, and e.g. Neyroud’s (2011) recent review emphasises the development of clear career pathways with a supporting qualification framework for all levels of the organisation. Research (largely North American) reviewed by Roberg and Bonn (2004) suggests that officers with university degrees are

more successful in gaining promotion and leadership roles. Participants in the current study also seemed to recognise the potential as a number of them brought up accelerated promotions through the Graduate Entry Scheme.

6.1.4. Professionalisation and Relationships with the Public, Other Professions and Government

A big part of the increased self-confidence is, undeniably, the external recognition that comes from the qualifications as already touched upon in the previous sections. Friedmann (2006) makes an unfavourable comparison between ‘other helping professions’ and the police, saying it lags behind and suffers from a poor reputation due to the lack of degree level education. He argues that a degree puts police officers on an equal footing with the other professions they regularly come to contact with and is *“the first step in ensuring that the policing is taken seriously as a profession,”* while Hawley (1998) too regards higher education as a means to professionalism. Interviewees seem to agree; making police training more academic will help the policing become a profession not just in name but also in practice.

“I definitely think it’s a right step forward in professionalising police officers. We’ve always been classed as a professional occupation, but never really had... We could come here with absolutely no qualifications to do the job as long as you got the right skills and qualities to do it and the right sort of entry qualifications if you get me. So I think it will enhance the professionalism of the organisation as well. Because officers will be thinking more professionally, and with more academic thought processes to support their practical skills.” (Participant 6)

“I think that’s really the secret, the key, the police being recognised as a profession if we start having a degree for what we’ve done.” (Participant 9)

“I’m a great believer in you know in academia and the police service. It’s to me, it makes it more professional.” (Participant 12)

Of course, *how* exactly university education will do that is an issue and its potential impact on police performance and the supporting structures needed to ensure skills learned in academia can benefit practice will be looked at later (6.1.5. and 6.2.2.). Overall, however, the interviewees’ comments echo the key benefits of professionalism, accountability and legitimacy that Paterson (2011) identified in his review (see also 4.2.).

Increased professionalism of both individual officers and the organisation as a whole was seen by the interviewees to lead to improved performance and therefore improved public perception of the police.

“And it has benefits for the service as well in relation to how people outside will see the police service now. Whether we can actually now say we’re professionals because we’re attaching qualifications, academic qualifications to the training that we deliver? So I think it’s benefit to the service in how the public perceive us in the future.” (Participant 6)

The potential for improved public image is certainly there. Wimshurst and Ransley (2007), who reviewed experiments in higher education programmes for police officers in Australia, noted an improvement in the public’s respect for and perception of the police, while higher education has also been linked to less use of verbal and physical force during police-public interactions (Paoline & Terrill, 2007). Public trust and confidence in the police are particularly related to perceptions and experiences of fair treatment and the sense community engagement they foster (Jackson & Bradford, 2010), qualities which higher education may positively impact on (see 6.2.5). In chapter

4, we discussed the expectations of knowledge, skills and credentials placed on professionals (Jaschke and Neidhardt, 2007). Such expectations do not hold true for the police, at least not yet. While at the moment, the public does not expect the officer investigating a burglary to hold a degree in criminal investigation, perhaps they should. I would argue that the trend is already evident and that it is only a matter of time when the professionalism of the police will come under even closer scrutiny, not just by the government or the media, but the service-users themselves. And maybe it is the time for the police to take a proactive role in this, as the above participant suggested in her comment about marketing the PIP process (see 4.2.4.).

Police exist in a web of institutions, connected to various other professions, such as those working in other Criminal Justice System agencies, the NHS, Social Services, Emergency Services, Insurance Companies etc. Ericson and Haggerty (1997) argue that this web exists in a constant state of negotiation due to the various competing knowledge claims held in it. University degrees can then be seen to legitimise police's knowledge claim, both within the institution and outside it. The police's status among other professions and in the eyes of the public and the state, and how professionalisation and academic qualification would improve it, was certainly one of the themes that clearly emerged from the interviews.

"The other side of it is that we're not getting belittled by other professions. So we don't think we're subservient to lawyers or people in the CPS, probation service, because they've come from academia." (Participant 13)

"It's going to be more and more difficult to fight the corner for police officers with regards to government and pay and conditions and stuff like that, without I think, without that professional academic qualification behind us." (Participant 7)

Academia then is how police know-how, their experience, is turned into expertise, the kind of expertise that is recognised outside the police. After all, to a large degree, professions are defined and classified by other professions, i.e. those with the required status. This of course includes academics.

"The police are kind of, they gain their training through work life experience, but there needs to be some kind of quality assurance from an academic point of view to say that we're evaluating things correctly and our assessment processes are in accordance with, I think, you know, education in general in private sector." (Participant 7)

However, a study by Carlan and Lewis (2009) found that officers with higher education backgrounds (at least a bachelor's degree) were actually less supportive of public service orientation and expressed a weaker sense of calling. The authors argue this is due to the lack of value and recognition placed on higher education within the police, which leads such officers to feel underappreciated and lessens the devotion to the job.

6.1.5. Broader Knowledge and Deeper Understanding

“I’ve got friends who are similar, you know, no different from me in terms of ability I like to think, who’ve become Chief Superintendents. And I’ve said to them, you know: ‘What happened?’ and they’ve said, you know: ‘I discovered reading’. So that differentiates them from those that are just happy to plod along.” (Participant 10)

Perhaps the most obvious benefit of academic police training would simply be increased knowledge, a broader and deeper understanding of issues relevant to police work. This would potentially lead to a clearer definition of the police role, managing public expectations, identifying new preventative strategies, and more effective multiagency working (Goldstein, 2003). *“Knowledge, just knowledge,”* Participant 3 commented when asked about the potential benefits of academic police education; *“the more we know, the better we become.”* Participant 4 also saw an *“increased knowledge of subject areas, broader but more in-depth”* as one of key benefits. Of course, such a viewpoint is somewhat naive as transferring knowledge into practice lacks *“discernible, sustained and consistent effort”* on part of the police (Goldstein, 2003: 20).

However, if nothing else, the ‘dynamic legislative environment’ (Blakemore & Simpson, 2010) of policing poses increasingly difficult demands for the police training.

“Legislation has always been, throughout the years it’s always been a challenge because you get different sort of legislation coming through and different sort of ruling from the Court of Appeal. [...] And we have to adapt that accordingly, you know. And you’re sort of forever looking at new procedures, new laws that are coming in.” (Participant 12)

“A lot of legislation’s come through over the last ten years and it’s just been reams and reams. [...] Some of the training hasn’t been in-depth. [...] It’s simply the fact that with limited resources and limited finance, you can’t give everybody two or three day course, which would probably be the right way of doing it.” (Participant 13)

One of the arguments for instructional abstraction and the length of professional education is the complexity of the material covered and as established in the Introduction, detective work in particular meets such criteria. Neyroud (2011, see also Neyroud & Weisburd, 2011) laments how police officers lack proper education of what actually work in terms of crime reduction; a problem acknowledged by Participant 8 who says:

“You’ve got all these academic theories, psychology and everything that’s involved in these types of things but we’re not, I don’t really know if we’re delivering that. Because we’re very insular as a police training school and we’re not always open to other theories.” (Participant 8)

The issue is particularly prominent in areas of specialist training and development of expertise, which requires a deep understanding of relevant academic research and contribution to such research with potential to support professional practice (Neyroud, 2011). Already links between specialist police training and academic research centres exist, but not in a consistent systematic way, which would allow for a full partnership approach (ibid). Utilising academic research was also a potential benefit identified by the interviewees.

“There’s a research opportunity. You know, NPIA still use a lot of research, students researching for the police. And there’s always a sort of two way process where they can

come into the police service and assist and the police service can go into academia and assist there.” (Participant 12)

Indeed, generally it was felt that combining academia and police training had the potential of gaining ‘the best of both worlds’, which is a theme explored more in the next chapter.

“It may be that they apply themselves differently or look at things differently, be able to research things, analyse things, make sound decisions from that analysis. whereas before they might just rely on experience. They can do broader thinking...” (Participant 14)

Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007) point out how one of the main functions of practical instrumental knowledge favoured by the police is to ‘keep things under control’ – something that reflective academic knowledge is of course not so good at. In other words, knowledge is *not* just knowledge. Thacher (2001) discusses the limits of instrumental knowledge in the context of policing due its large value plurality, i.e. ambiguous, changing, conflicting and multiple goals. Reducing crime is only one of them (though a dominant ‘professional crime control’ model) and should not be looked at in isolation of other values/goals like just desserts, equity, liberty and safety (ibid). Here too academia can play a role, and e.g. Rowe (2008: 112) sees delivering police training in partnership with universities as tackling insularity and other potentially negative aspects of police culture by exposing officers to *“a broader spectrum of experience and learning that was available in the narrow confines of police training colleges.”* In 4.2.3., we discussed the relationship of power and dependence that exists between the police and their client. This provides a strong argument for instructional abstraction to help officers recognise, understand and take into account the inherent value plurality (Thacher, 2001) of police work.

A study by Jackson and Bradford (2010) on public trust in the police argues that their crime fighting and order maintenance agenda is best served by responding to community issues and ensuring an equal treatment of its members as this encourages co-operation and civic participation. More importantly, it can be seen to create the kind of ‘space and security for social mobilisation’ crucial for the government’s Big Society vision to work (Innes, 2011). Can higher education help police achieve this? Key research findings (as summarised e.g. by Eskridge, 1989; Roberg & Bonn, 2004; Trofymowych, 2007) regarding police officers with higher education background seem to indicate so. Compared to officers without university level education, they had better understanding of social issues, including cultural and ethnic variations, better public satisfaction ratings, fewer complaints and disciplinary actions against them, higher work morale and self-esteem. They were more open-minded, adaptable and flexible, but less authoritarian, dogmatic and cynical. The above, coupled with the creative and critical thinking and flexible value-systems higher education facilitates, should make such officers ideally suited to the community- and problem-oriented styled of policing (Goldstein, 2003; Roberg & Bonn, 2004; Paterson, 2011).

Of course, with the exception of the public satisfaction, complaints and disciplinary actions, the improvements listed above are either attitudinal or personal benefits identified by the officers, which are simply *assumed* to translate into improved interaction with the public and

other organisations (Wimshurst & Ransley, 2007; Lee and Punch, 2004). Indeed, evaluating the impact of higher education on police performance is difficult as criteria and measurements vary and one of the challenges of the field is to demonstrate if and how improved understanding of diverse community issues leads to improved interaction with its diverse members. Moreover, it is not necessarily the education per se that improves the officer's performance, but the general maturing and exposure to different experiences, groups of people and points of views that takes place at university (Eskridge, 1989). Furthermore, the effect of university education is not always positive. Interestingly, Paterson's (2011) review found that findings from Indian studies contradicted those from the West, showing mostly negative results, such as more rigid values systems and disinterest in citizen rights and legal boundaries. This demonstrates the significance of the socio-cultural context on reforming police training (ibid).

Finally, the police need better structures of practical reasoning as well as instrumental knowledge (Thacher, 2001), which, encouragingly, is also a point acknowledged by Neyroud and Weisburd (2011). The officers interviewed by Lee and Punch (2004; see also Punch, 2007) also felt that their time at the university had a positive effect on their work performance in terms of e.g. to handle complex information, present arguments and write reports as well as influence policy by being able to recognise and point out potential problems as suggest alternative approaches. Such sentiments echo Goldstein's (2003: 29-30) argument that in order to address policing problems in-depth, at least some of the staff *"must be trained in research methodology; be comfortable collecting and analyzing data from various sources; be familiar with criminological theories; be understanding of the complexities and dynamics of police operations; and have familiarity with – or have easy access to – the literature accumulated to date on problems handled by the police."* Academic education would provide such skills, as the participant below reflects, while practical policing experience would place them in meaningful context.

"I did a distance learning degree whilst I was on the job. And I think the thing that I picked out from that was things like your researching skills, your reasoning, critique. [...] I think the best way of it is to be able to argue on paper. You know, informed reasoned arguments on paper. And quite often a better police officer now because you can use that within your, the way that you present cases. So it's almost like you know producing a paper where you got your references, you've used your pros and cons etc. I think that's quite important." (Participant 13)

Later on, the same participant continues:

"Having that academic background then you're probably going to be better at reasoning and explaining and policy and writing policy and things like that." (Participant 13)

6.2. Challenges of Academic Police Training

The interviewees also identified several challenges to overcome, and over 90 excerpts were coded into this theme during the analysis. Again, the separation into different categories is somewhat artificial as the issues impact on each other. The demands on both individual officers and the organisation as a whole are such that investing time and money on education is often low on the list of priorities. This affects the level of acceptance, engagement and support such ventures will receive within the service, particularly from management. One reason for the hesitance seems to be the plurality of options when it comes to universities and degree programmes, reflecting perhaps a general lack of understanding of the British higher education landscape. Related to this is the issue of who ultimately should control police training and education, and the police's reluctance to relinquish too much of that to universities.

6.2.1. Competing Demands: Time and Money

Training and potential links with academia are hardly a priority among the police, at least not outside the training departments. One of the major concerns expressed was how practically speaking officers could cope with the additional demands placed by the academia. Things, such as time, workload, flexibility of the organisation and the supervisors, were mentioned as potential hindrances.

“It’s those extra assignments, and research and papers that... When does the detective officer who’s working at the coal face get the time to do that, or the inclination? I think that’s quite common, within some of the partnerships that we’re already in with universities with the ICIDP is that a lot of people will sign up at the start but the drop-out is very big as well because they just can’t cope with doing that.” (Participant 2)

“And the other thing is the competing demand issue; ‘this is great, however I’ve got 20 jobs stacked up and I got to go to town. Thank you very much, that’s great. How do I incorporate all this new knowledge into this practical activity that I have to?’ [...] I still got the competing demand of member of public saying to me ‘where’s my... there’s a burglary, I want the offender catching’ you know yesterday. I’ve got the sergeant, inspector, whoever it is, who then got to meet budgetary or certain targets, certain target scale. So stuff from academia, makes sense. Its usefulness to the COP on the frontline is the structure doesn’t seem to be in place well enough to translate that information from here into practical work on the ground.” (Participant 4)

“I think there are so many challenges on police officers, particularly those training in new roles, if they also got this added expectation of passing exam or meeting deadlines for certain projects etc. you know, as well as doing their actual job on the street, then that could be... Added pressure they could perhaps do without.” (Participant 9)

These types of concerns are familiar to any programmes aiming to incorporate theoretical and work-based learning. As Blakemore and Simpson (2010: 32) put it: *“how academic and analytical can a student officer be in the early hours of the morning at the end of a 10-hour shift?”* Chatterton (2008) points out how trainee detective constables often carry a full workload, noting also on the overall depletion of experienced detectives and the problems with retention and recruitment. Indeed, the interviews with the force trainers gave the impression that there was a great need for trained officers, pressure to roll out several courses per year at a fast pace and valuing of quantity over quality.

“We have [...] a sausage factory mentality. Training really is a matter of at the moment getting numbers through. [...] I want to train these officers to go out there to be better than what I could do, to be better servants of who they’re dealing with and sort a lot of criminals out and I want them to learn. And I think that the emphasis in performance related culture is to get them through the door and really as long as they’re going through they’re not bothered.” (Participant 11)

Links to budget restraints were also clear, and the cost of training (and linking with academia) versus the cost of not training (or linking with academia) was very much in the participants’ minds.

“I think there’s a lot of cost implications [...] You know some chief constables I suppose might say that ‘well the budget’s there we’ll support it’, the others might say that you know ‘no, you just do...’ I think it varies quite a lot as to the support that it would get.” (Participant 1)

“You got two major problems and they are both economic. [...] How long do you allow a member of [force] to work on an academic qualification? Do you allow them within the service or does it got to be external. If it’s within the service, does the force pay for part of it? Or does the individual pay for it? And if the force is paying for it, you know, how much time do they allow people for? [...] And the cost isn’t just quantifying it from a money point of view but it’s also about time spent versus time on the streets.” (Participant 12)

“There’s still an opinion out there, and it’s certainly not one that I’ve ever bought into, is that training is, it’s an abstractions rather than an investment. So again that goes with your question before, quantifying and evidencing what improvement can be done with training, feeding that back and saying ‘look, if you’re going on about your cost-cutting, you should remember what you do cut down with your training; you know your quality and your skill base are going to go down and you can lose that area.’” (Participant 14)

Several trainers expressed frustration at not being able to provide the best possible training and support for students due to time and financial constraints. A more systematic relationship with higher education may address some of these concerns, while educational arrangements for other professions provide potential models for the police adopt (see 6.4).

However, in the end, balancing training/education as one demand among many should not be the task for individuals. For academic police education to succeed, it needs institutional and governmental commitment, including the kind of structural support that facilitates and rewards learning and teaching. While it is arguably in the best interest of both the police and the government to provide this (see 7.4.), it involves addressing various practical and cultural aspects of police organisation.

6.2.2. Acceptance, Engagement, Support

The interview quotes about the police's relationship with academia analysed earlier in this chapter (6.1) illustrated the plurality of attitudes. From this, stems the concern over broad acceptance of and engagement with the process.

"I think with the new students, with the new student officers coming through, I don't think there's going to be an issue at all. I think they just automatically accept that because they don't know any different. But you might, I don't know you might find that somebody who's got a lot more experience in the police and the thought of them going to university to do a course, it might not fit well with them. You can stereotype it, can't you? Think 'oh university it's all academia, I won't understand it, it's not really my cup of tea, I'm a police officer, I don't really know what my place is in being in an institute of academia and does it fit.' And I think that might be an initial barrier that we need to get over." (Participant 8)

Maintaining equality of development opportunities and requirements within the organisation is crucial for securing acceptance of them.

"There's definitely have to be, for those police officers who don't come into the CID world, there's going to have to be a process developed for them to achieve a degree I think from an equality point of view, in some other way through some other specialism. Because you can't solely restrict to detectives if you want to be an equality organisation. So maybe some negativity from people who decide to stay in uniform on the process, over the process. Because if they want to achieve a degree, they have to do the three year course on their own, on their own time, which is unfair if you want to restrict your career to uniform policing." (Participant 7)

On the other hand, as discussed earlier, there are an increasing number of officers who already have gone through the higher education system.

"Some of the criticisms are they have a degree: 'in fact I've got two degrees, I've got a Masters degree, why do I need to do a Foundation one in policing?'" (Participant 13)

Finally, how do you deal with those officers who are not interested in gaining academic qualification but 'just want to be coppers'? What is the minimum you can demand of officers, reasonably? And does that minimum need to be an academic one? Or do we, as Participant 11 asks, aspire to make all police officers criminologists?

"I think the challenges are going to be for people who are resistant to it, who don't particularly want to be involved in the educational side of it. [...] I imagine there will be something slightly more than we're actually doing at the moment that's going to be required by the university. And it's how are we going to deal with those students who don't want to be involved in that process. You know these are already experienced police officers and we can't enforce that kind of training." (Participant 5)

"Some of the students have come in saying 'what is the least I have to do?' So what I suggest is that with the university side of it you can strive and go on. Whereas I don't know, some people just want the minimum bit. How do you, how do you give them just enough to get over? Or do we always aspire to make them criminologists?" (Participant 11)

As Eskridge (1989) points out, introducing educational requirements for officers mid-career is often met with suspicion or outright hostility. Courses are viewed as irrelevant and civilian instructors lacking in credibility (which for the police is synonymous of experience – see 5.3.)

Success of any police-university partnership depends on the quality and commitment of the leadership and the understanding and support of the middle-management (Blakemore & Simpson, 2010). Ideas and concepts learned in the classroom are often ignored by supervisors and administrators, leading to frustration and cynicism. Eskridge (1989: 23) points out how *“Forcing educated officers to function in a closed organizational structure is to pressure them to either quit or conform. In either case, the original benefits of the officer’s education are almost certainly forfeited.”* Interviewees seem to agree:

“My own personal view and it is my personal view. Experienced detective bosses see, often see training as an abstraction. They don’t value the investment for the future. And I really, I think we need to change that emphasis really. And I think if we want to be a forward thinking, great profession, then we need to wake up to that.” (Participant 10)

“It will be a success if the police or the managers within the police training environment give it support it deserves.” (Participant 7)

As Blakemore and Simpson (2010: 37) put it: *“If the vision has not been communicated effectively throughout the organisation, then the change is unlikely to succeed.”* So, for academic education and police training to come closer together, the move must receive support and acceptance at:

1. Formal organisational level (various professional associations, executive ranks, ‘the party line’, structural changes), and
2. Informal personal level (individual officers)

However, it is not enough to receive passive acceptance and support. The police, as an organisation and as individuals, must also actively engage with the concept. To facilitate this – and as a consequence of professionalisation (Sciulli, 2009; see Thesis Chapters 3 and 4) – the relevant structural and institutional changes must take place. But the police organisation can be resistant to change, and continuity and uniformity are integral aspects of the police culture (Loftus, 2010; see 1.3.). Often it is the case of work being adapted to the organisation rather than the other way around (Bayley, 1996) as new practices are shaped by the existing structures and culture (see e.g. Manning, 1992 on information technologies or Innes, Fielding & Cope, 2005 on intelligence-analysis). There is also an internal reticence to criticise, however mildly, the organisation because the concept of silence is strongly tied to that of loyalty (Young, 1991). We will return to the topic of change later on in the thesis, but as discussed earlier in the chapter, there is cause for optimism. The ‘younger generation’ of police officers currently on the first steps of the career ladder are as a whole better educated than their predecessors. And what’s more this has been a deliberate move on the part of the police as their recruitment drives targeted at university graduates demonstrate. We may therefore be introduced to a police service that is not just more open-minded toward academic education but expecting it.

6.2.3 Plurality of Options

One of the identified challenges for academic police training was the perceived plurality of options when it came to routes to academic police education.

“There needs to be some standardisation as well. And I’m not sure how achievable that is from the university point of view. And, and from the police point of view as well because again... Although we would imagine all 43 forces would be looking to train people in the same way, it does vary greatly. The assessment of people throughout the country varies massively from one force to another.” (Participant 2)

There is recognisable disparity in what is offered and in what format, due to in part the lack of central national leadership both from the police with its 43 forces and British academia with its over 300 universities and colleges.

“It’s problematic to enter in the partnership with all the universities, probably impossible. It would be difficult for us to justify partnership with some but not others.” (Participant 2)

“You’re dealing with 43 separate police forces and other law enforcement agencies if you bringing in police service in Northern Ireland and in Scotland etc. And each one of them works slightly differently, just like each university is slightly differently.” (Participant 13)

Individual forces linking with individual universities is something that is seen to make comparison and setting of objective standards difficult. However, it is no different from educational arrangements for other professions, such as lawyers, doctors, teachers or social workers, all of which are taught different curriculums (though with the same or similar core elements) at different universities. What has of course been missing for the police is an overseeing professional body to set or monitor standards, as is in place for a number of other professions (e.g. General Medical Council for doctor or General Social Care Council for social worker courses). Whether the new Royal College of Policing will take over such a function remains to be seen. Nevertheless, the lack has possibly fed into suspicions about where universities’ priorities lie. Astley (2006) calls attention to both individual and institutional motivation of academics in wanting their specialisms included in the education/training curriculum of particular profession. Is it done out of genuine (evidence-based) belief that doing so will enhance the course and the skills professional acquire from it or to reproduce their own status? Is it simply pandering to the conventions and requirements set by statutory and regulatory bodies which often insist on the inclusion of academic bodies of knowledge?

“It’s difficult to say, you know understanding what some people’s agendas are. Because one scientist will say one thing and another scientist will say another, so which are you going to put your pitch?” (Participant 3)

Of course, a large part of university education (particularly within social sciences) is about learning to appreciate the ‘shades of grey’ and the kind of plurality of goals and values Thacher (2001) talks about. Ironically, this should be familiar territory for detectives who must possess a high degree of uncertainty tolerance, an ability to deal with ambiguity and approach any situation with an open mind.

Astley (2006: 79) further argues that increasing emphasis on market-value of academia makes some academics and universities *“jump on the training ‘bandwagon’ as a means of survival.”*

“Now you name it, you name the university, they’re wanting to come onboard.”
(Participant 12)

The criticism about the possible financial motives (over desire to improve educational standards) of Higher Education Institutions partnering with the police is not new (Paterson, 2011). This was commented on by some of the interviewees who worried about the academic quality becoming the casualty of market forces.

“I would be concerned that we need to make sure that the quality stays there and not just pulling people through the door and kicking them out at the end with some form of qualification and sacrifice the quality of it. And there is a disparity, a disparity between some different types of um... Different quality of training goes on at universities. Um, particularly investigative interviewing, investigation. [...] some people are putting on a course and expecting a massive [unclear] signing. Whereas some will actually make you go through a proper assessment regime. It’s just a longer programme. I’m saying it’s educational as well Some universities will take you in, take you in, take your money off you and kick you out at the end.” (Participant 3)

“a number of academic institutes. I don’t know if they see the pound signs, ‘we’re going to make some money out of this.’” (Participant 13)

Participant 2 expressed his concerns in both interviews:

“My work on the ICIDP with the way different university operates, say that the credits that were awarded towards the degrees. Some universities thought the programme was worth 60 and some thought it was worth 120. Now that’s a massive disparity, isn’t it? Perhaps... I don’t know where that was coming from. Perhaps it was regards to funding, I don’t know.” (Participant 2)

“it can’t be just a profit-making benefit for the universities, which is... I’ve seen some examples of that where it’s just been done for profit-making and there’s no extra benefit to the police [...] It was clear that making money was very important to universities. And they are a business.” (Participant 2)

While the concern over disparity is genuine, it also reflects lack of understanding about the UK higher education landscape, which includes over 150 degree awarding institutes, ranging from small single-discipline focussed institutions, to local colleges with certain degree level programmes, to large multi-faculty universities (Tight, 2011). And of course, they all come with different levels of prestige (and economic costs to match) attached to them. Manning (2010: 97) describes academic police studies as ‘stratified’. A small number of universities act as ‘knowledge producers’ with established research and study programmes, while below them in the higher education hierarchy are the ‘wholesalers’ and ‘retailers’ of knowledge, i.e. those institutes who produce *some* research and researchers, and those that are ‘professionally oriented’. Selecting a suitable partner among them can indeed be difficult.

From a practical point of view, there is also the issue of how to map higher education achievements to career progression within the police, from initial training to senior positions.

“So come and join the police and perhaps you in the first two years of your policing, you, you achieve a first level on a degree of some sort. And then if you advance into say

investigator roles then you can gain the second level and so forth as you move along, up to perhaps a degree or something higher.” (Participant 7)

Can it follow the foundation degree, bachelor, masters, PhD progression of academia? Are more/different steps needed? How should work experience be credited? For the basic social work qualification, the minimum requirement of both ‘supervised practice’ and ‘structured academic learning’ is set by the Department of Health (Lymbery, 2009). Such centrally issued parameters are something still lacking for the police education.

“I don’t know how much difference universities have in terms of influencing what the qualification would look like, how it would delivered, what the criteria would be. You might end up with, you know, hundred different interpretations of that qualification. Whereas if you had it in one central point or one body [...] I can see that working more easily in some ways.” (Participant 1)

“It isn’t just a matter of a few people at university thinking that’s a good course and we can work together. There’s this other bit of where does it fit nationally. Because say for instance if we did one, if we decided that all our detectives should do this. Then, and other forces don’t do that. Then we may lose officers thinking well I can be a trained investigator in [Force name] and they don’t have to do that. So we got to get a balance really. And I think NPIA can do a bit more in relation to structure and who we’re going to use. Because they could do a national procurement for every force and say ‘right, we’ve gone through all these 200 and odd universities and three we recommend and approve are this, this and this’. And then that makes it much simpler.” (Participant 13)

This is exactly what Neyroud (2011) suggests, explicitly calling for a more systematic relationship with further and higher education where qualifications would be commissioned from those institutions specifically accredited by the proposed Police Professional Body. He notes that the absence of a professional body has hindered the relationship between the police and higher education and the development of relevant training and research. Individual forces pairing up with individual universities means the system is of variable standard and underdeveloped compared to the relationship between higher education and other professions. The practice has led to *“confusion over required standards (local or national), funding regimes and copyright of curriculum and resources”* (ibid: 87). Moreover, full and equal partnerships with focus on learning delivery should replace the current practice of using universities simply to credit in-house training (‘rubberstamping’). A coherent and standardised system of police higher education would also have the potential to improve cost-effectiveness, workforce mobility and customer service, as well as changing the police culture for the better in the long-term (Blakemore & Simpson, 2010).

6.2.4. Control and Management

Related to the issue of standardisation is that of management and control over how and by whom police officers should be trained. Such questions are familiar to all professions and echo Bourdieu's (1987) 'conflicts over competence' and the right to determine, define and produce professional knowledge; i.e. in this context, the form and substance of 'professional policing' and 'professional investigation'. This line of theorising will be pursued in the next chapter, but for now, it is important to point out how the participants expressed desire for the police training to stay under police control.

"[the concern is] that the academic side might take over the practical side. I think that's something that needs to be monitored and kept in check. So that they work together and one doesn't come the bigger beast than the other. Because officers definitely need practical skills alongside the theory and the academic. That's the biggest worry for me." (Participant 6)

"I've no problem with linking with them [universities] I'm just thinking; well how far does it go down the line where you just hand over to universities to deal with that." (Participant 11)

"I think certainly that there's more openness to academics. But there needs to be that balance between academia and operational. [...] We don't want to be way over the point where we're ending in too much in academic influence." (Participant 13)

This is hardly surprising considering the importance the police place on credibility as gained through experience (see 5.3). It also links closely to the concept of professional autonomy (Chapter 4) and idea that only the members of the profession are qualified to evaluate its actions (Dale, 1994).

The previous section referred to the need for a central body to oversee some of the practical issues around academic police training. Paterson (2011) emphasises the importance of government support in developing a fruitful relationship between higher education and the police. Some of the interviewees see the necessity of it in terms of enforcing the standards:

"looking from a government point of view, there needs to be some sanctioning in place as to say we want people to be accredited, we want people to be more, lead to academic qualifications Therefore if you don't do it, you're not going to get, you're not going to move up or you're not going to get donor's payment, you're not going to get income payment." (Participant 13)

State mediation, for example through occupational recruitment, can have various effects to the profession and it is worth quoting Johnson (1972: 79) at length here.

"The control of recruitment to an occupation is an important means open to the state of ensuring that a universal service is provided, and it can achieve this end by expanding academic channels into the occupation. [...] While under professionalism entry to an occupation is regulated by professionally controlled schools and examinations, state mediation has the effect of placing greater power in the hands of academic institutions such as universities and technical colleges. While it may be that these institutions are themselves staffed by members of the occupation, the shift in emphasis has the effect of changing the distribution of power within the 'community' at the expense of the practising membership."

The relationship between control, power, status and standardisation is complex, and to find the balance participant 13 mentioned, police and academia must be willing to compromise.

Finally, the theme of organisational control and management is connected to that of *individual* accreditation and continuous professional development. As Neyroud (2011) points out, the cultural expectations in the police are for the organisation to deliver the training and for the individual to receive it. This is opposed to individuals taking active role in and responsibility of their own learning and development as characteristic in higher education institutes and other professions.

“You know if you were a nurse you would appear on a national register as being accredited to be a midwife or something like that. My understanding is that if you’re a plumber or a midwife, you have to attend certain course to keep your badge. You know like a plumber as to go on a Gorgi registered course every couple of years, otherwise they can’t deal with gas-appliances. And I think the same should apply to the police. And it doesn’t. I mean once you get it at the moment you keep it. And that doesn’t seem right to me. Because what happens for example if you get trained up to deal with vulnerable and intimidated children or children who have been you know subject to sex abuse and you don’t get a chance to use it, because you go on a maternity leave or you can work in a different department for 5 years. Again you know you’ve not had a chance to put that theory into practice. And I think we need to look at the accreditation of people very closely and make sure they are still up to doing the job.” (Participant 10)

“In other industry or business, if you’re inadequate, you’re not going to get paid. You make sure you’re adequate to get paid. Whereas there are quite a lot of police officers there that are lacking or they’re not accepting that they’re lacking in themselves and prepared to do their own, work in their own time. [...] Personal development, is it a responsibility of the individuals to actually take ownership of it? If we’re saying we’re a profession – you’re a doctor, nurse, solicitor, accountant; you’ve got a lot of work to do in your own time to get qualified. From the police point of view, you work for your sergeant’s exams, you work for your inspector’s, but after that there’s not much that isn’t provided for you.” (Participant 13)

Flanagan (2008) noted the same thing; in other sectors, such as health, social work or education, pre-employment training is the responsibility of the individual and involves completion of relevant degrees in order to gain eligibility to enter the profession.

6.3. Two Worlds Thinking

So far in this chapter, I have mapped the potential benefits and challenges academic police education would bring and will now turn my attention to another, though closely related, issues which arose during the research. For Bourdieu (1987), similarity of world-views is fostered by similarity in family and education backgrounds. Traditionally, these have been rather different for the police officers and academics, although the background gap between the two groups is certainly narrowing (6.1.). Despite this, one of the key themes underlying both literature and interview discussions about the relationship between the police and academia and using the latter to professionalise the former was what I have chosen to call ‘two worlds thinking’. It is the viewpoint that emphasises the differences between academia and academic education on one hand and police and police training on the other like the following quotes illustrate.

“The police is very much about get on, get do it, get it done, you know, instant decisions, instant... um, driving things forward and getting results. And I think that sometimes conflicts with you know what they see as some sort, you know in the world of sort of academia is perhaps not being as responsive, reactive and [...] Yeah, that’s almost on the sort of differences between what’s being achieved at the end of it. But I think they still want to see results very quickly, and I think that’s where they perhaps see in the academic world of it being probably widespread as opposed to achieving one particular goal of, you know finding out ‘who did it.’” (Participant 1)

“But I think there is a gulf I think as well between perhaps me as a, who’s an operational office who’s now training, as opposed to somebody from academia. [...] whether it’s my view or whether it’s pragmatic police view; that you like things to be based on real things to back up theory.” (Participant 2)

The purpose of Table 1 is not to provide any invariant definitions, simply to present some of the descriptive characteristics of academia and police found both in literature and interviews. They are deliberately presented as opposites for illustrative purposes even though such dichotomy is entirely artificial (see 7.2.2).

Academia	Police
theory	practice
research	experience
analysis	management
long-term	short-term
interest-led	needs-led
formal learning	informal learning
independence	collectivity
originality	loyalty

Table 1. The Two Worlds of Academia and Police

Academia is seen more interested in theory, research, and analysis of information, of broadening one's perspectives. Typically, academic research has long-term goals and taking a relatively long time to produce results is both accepted and almost expected. Even the courses that clearly lead to a profession are led much more by academic and personal interest, not a result of careful scoping and needs analysis. Academia is a place of formal learning but values freedom of thought, independence and originality (Henkel, 2000).

Police, on the other hand, rate experience and practice over theoretical knowledge. They are more concerned with decision-making and management of practical issue. The emergency nature of policing, the necessary focus on immediate problems, and the time leaders must devote to administrative, organisational and political concerns, all explain the absence of long-term management commitment to development of knowledge through research (Goldstein, 2003). While academics are used to unrestricted exploration and the possibility of negative as well as positive results, policing, structured by law and public expectations, can rarely afford this type of risk-taking (ibid). As Marx (1988: 1) observes: *"Those with the practical task of enforcing the law rarely have the luxury of thinking about the broad questions. Their concerns are immediate, short-range and pragmatic"*. The training is needs-led, responding to the needs of the organisation. Despite more formalised training of the last few decades, a lot of the learning still takes place informally through the socialisation processes. The occupational culture is rooted in collective 'policing family' ethos, which values loyalty to the organisation.

The two broader aspects of 'two worlds thinking' are the much-written research-practice divide and equally familiar concept of occupational cultures, both of which will be looked at next.

6.3.1. Theory/Research-Practice Divide

“The word ‘academic’ bears a pejorative implication in British culture; ‘academic’ knowledge is counterposed to practical, common-sense knowledge.” (Fielding, 1988: 140)

Chapter 5.1. already touched upon how structural hostility between ‘theorists’ and ‘practitioners’ contributes to the ‘permanent symbolic struggle’ of the discipline (Bourdieu, 1987), and this section will look at the perceived divide in more detail.

Policing (and the police) and science are hardly strangers, and there are a number of specialist disciplines (e.g. criminology, forensic science) already enjoying an established academic status (Jaschke & Neidhardt, 2007). It was in the twentieth century that crime detection became engrossed with the advances of science (Rawlings, 2002). Identifying offenders with the aid of careful kept records, photographs and fingerprinting became routine; the possibilities of forensic science further expanded by the work of Dr. Locard, famous for his theory of exchange based on the credo that ‘every contact leaves a trace’ (ibid). However, even then any scientific and other external expertise was seen as a tool, the ultimate craft of crime detection being something intangible and unclassifiable.

“But when every mechanical and scientific aid has been provided the burden still rests with the individual Detective Officer. Guided sometimes by flashes of intuition which even the hero of a detective novel might envy, but more often dependent on the sweat of his brow, he follows the trail to the end, sometimes of success, sometimes the bitter end of failure.” (Scott, 1949: 21; cited in Rawlings, 2002: 179)

Fraser (2008) argues that reason research is being undervalued lies with the common sense approach of the police. Common sense is the ‘knowledge engine’ that drives the whole organisation, creating a culture where *“you don’t need rigorous evidence to back up any argument or decision, just personal experience”* (ibid: 163) and characterised by the local variation in tactics. This describes well the ‘craft’ approach to detective work, which values intuition and past experience and typically views information not as constructed or interpreted but as simply either correct or incorrect (Sanders, 1977). Such approach is a representation of and necessary for the legal framework of guilt/innocence, either/or and at odds with the academic world of probabilities and multiple interpretations. It is also reminiscent of the concept of ‘lay theories’, i.e. the everyday, novice, ambiguous and implicit understandings that maintain and contribute to behavioural states as opposed to the scientific theories, which are more formal, coherent, explicit, based on principle of falsification and taking external factors into consideration (Furnham, 1988). Of course, the distinction between the two is hardly clear-cut; lay theories can possess positive qualities of scientific theories while some academic theories fall short of scientific criteria. This can be seen in what Innes (2003: 155) calls the *“rhetoric of ‘hard science’”* (presumably as opposed to ‘soft social sciences’), i.e. the considerable sway of forensic technologies in modern crime investigation. However, despite their status as objective and factual, the so called ‘hard sciences’ should not be accepted uncritically. The constructionist sociology of scientific knowledge

approach argues that even so called 'laboratory science' is largely a creative and interpretative endeavour (Latour, 1985; Knorr-Cetina, 1980; both cited in Innes, 2003). Furthermore, scientific practice often uses particular techniques of representation, such as technical and clinical language, to frame the results in a manner that aims to improve their perceived objectivity (e.g. Latour & Woolgar, 1990; cited in Innes, 2003). As any textbook on the topic will tell you, language is an integral part of organisational cultures and a way to define boundary lines between in- and out-groups. Academic jargon and impenetrable techno-babble has been held culpable for the division between research and practice.

Another reason for the theory-practice divide may be that academic theories often aim to provide systematic, generalised explanations. These do not necessarily meet the needs of the 'lay person' or practitioner, who often require answers to a specific problem or regarding a particular individual, as Wilkes (1993) argues in his discussion on the relationship between common sense and scientific psychology. Participant 2 reflects on this problem of application:

"I think to the lesson that we give to the regard to how memory works and the factors affecting the memory and all the, the process in between you and me and transferring information where things go wrong. Now as I wrote that and as I, because I was very interested in it and then when I delivered it I could see blank faces sometimes with regard to that and they... It was diff- Because it was based on... Because it came from academia I suppose, it wasn't, people found it hard to accept. [...] Some people would apply to it. So I think, yeah I think it comes down to policemen like real facts. That I suppose, that's the environment they work in, isn't it?" (Participant 2)

For example, in order for the forensic experts to provide meaningful results for the investigators, they need contextual understanding of the crime (Innes, 2003). The briefing provided by the detectives gives forensic scientists the hypotheses to test and, more epistemologically, gives logic and purpose for the entire endeavour. However, as one participant commented:

"Sometimes it's difficult for them [academics] because we're talking about a very narrow area of work, investigation, and we're asking them to contextualise their knowledge towards what we're trying to achieve." (Participant 4)

Fraser (2008) discusses the tenuous link between research generated knowledge and the practical benefits. The view among the police seems to be that if the research has no immediate practical uses it also has no credibility (Irving, 1984; cited in Young, 1991).

"I think generally, it's a sweeping statement but as police trainers I think we tend to steer clear of too much academia and I think that might because of the audience, because a lot of the students aren't interested in the academic side of things. They just want to know how am I supposed to do my job and what's the best way of doing it to the greatest effect. That's what an awful lot of students come in here for. It's a little bit different." (Participant 8)

Thacher (2008; see also Goldstein, 2003) comments how the majority of academic police research is oriented toward managerial and policy needs, while neglecting those of the practitioners, i.e. the frontline officers (supporting the view that relationships tend to be better at the top end of the organisation, see 6.1.).

“if you’ve got some of the students that have gone to university to learn, I don’t know, a degree in law or something. It’s a completely, can you see what I mean, it’s a completely different animal. So, I’m sure there’s a place for it but I’m not sure a lot of the student would be open to listen to a lot of academic discussion about things before they actually get into the practical skills of what they’re here to do. Depends on the course I guess. But on a practical course, from a practical point of view, I don’t think, I don’t [know] if that has a place.” (Participant 8)

Other persisting barriers for fruitful practice-research relationship include different expectations of research and different conceptions of effectiveness and timeframes, stemming from different language and culture traditions can act as barriers, good relations with the police management do no guarantee co-operation from the lower ranks, government policy may be driven more by public and media opinion than research findings (e.g. Buerger, 2010; Punch, 2010; Stephens, 2010). Moreover, Hoover (2010; see also Buerger, 2010) argues that police and criminal justice system in general remain more concerned with the process rather than the outcome, doing what they are used to instead of actively seeking to change in light of any research findings. This is not because of some unwillingness to provide better quality policing, but often simply a question of available resources and staff and the need to maintain rapid emergency response capacity.

Finally, it should be noted that the path from theory and research to practice becomes even more convoluted when the end product is something as intangible and difficult to measure or define as ‘good policing’ or ‘better investigative skills’ (as opposed to say, a more efficient microchip or a plane engine). Understanding the process of knowledge exchange and the different stakeholders involved in it is crucial (Fraser, 2008).

6.3.2. Occupational Cultures

Fundamental to two worlds thinking is the notion of two different types of organisational cultures, which is a theme that emerged from interviews as well as being a familiar concept from the literature. Culture serves four broad purposes. It expresses a sense of identity, fosters commitment to an outside entity (e.g. profession, organisation), stabilises social systems, and enables sense-making to guide behaviour (Kuh & Whitt, 1988; cited in Savin-Baden & Major, 2004). Similarly, Waddington (1999) posits that culture works as a rhetoric, providing meaning to experiences and sustaining a sense of purpose.

In any field, there exists a division between those qualified to participate in it (the insiders) and those who, even if affected by it, lack the necessary requirements (knowledge, skill, language) to enter it (the outsiders). Bourdieu (1987) talks about a 'social space', which in many ways corresponds to the concept of 'occupational culture', and describes the division as "two systems of presuppositions, two systems of expressive intention" and "duality of mental spaces dependent upon the different social spaces that sustain them" (ibid: 828 and 829), resulting in a 'postural discordance' which then forms a structural basis for misunderstanding. Astley (2006: 151-2) explains the same thing in less abstract terms:

"...organisations are people and the sets of relationships that they have with other people. Internal relations contribute a large part to what constitutes any organisation's culture, its way of life, replete, of course, with considerable symbolism. The relations that members of an organisation have with 'outsiders' is also crucial in understanding the nature of organisation. A good deal of an organisation's symbolic activity is invested into creating and maintaining boundaries, separating this 'community' from that."

Tied to the concept of culture is that of *learning culture*, of learning organisations, which Senge (1990; cited in Astley, 2006: 133) defines as ones where "people continually expand their capacity to create results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together." The 2009 HMIC Thematic Inspection on Major Crime pointed out the lack of organisational learning, commenting how there was very little systematic linking between training and the 'lessons learnt' from investigations, reviews or debriefings. The couple of interviewees who brought up the concept of learning organisations, tended to agree, pointing out that police did not yet qualify as one

"Because I think we still got some entrenched attitudes, we still got some old, um, old ways of looking at things, we've still got a 'throw a course at it' culture that exists in some senior officer. I think there are some very good people in the police who try their best to make it a learning organisation, but I'm not sure they've got a loud enough voice. I think the police are not really a learning organisation. Even though they claim to be. They've got ways to go, but they're on their way and certainly better than they were ten years ago, but not yet." (Participant 3)

"The police culture, the learning culture, may not necessarily be the same thing. So we might need a shift toward a more deliberate learning culture, which might require some sort of psychological, corporate psychological change." (Participant 4)

It is equally possible to question whether universities qualify as learning organisations either, and as Bayley's (2011) commentary below indicates, they may not.

Over three decades ago, Lewis (1976: 183; cited in Young, 1991: 25) commented how *"there is a deep feeling that academic training gets between a policeman and his knowing and getting the respect of the crude masses of a very crude, very egalitarian and anti-intellectual European race."* Police occupational or 'canteen' culture is a topic well researched (see 1.3.) with its suspicion of outsiders, value of practical experience over theoretical knowledge etc. as previously explored. Participant 10 uses binary have/have not and am/am not descriptors to define his professional identity:

"You know I have the basic training qualification. I've not endeavoured to progress that to a Cert.Ed. or a degree or anything so a... I suppose I'm sort of a poacher turned game keeper but um whilst I like to think I know the mechanics of crime investigation and legislation I wouldn't particularly, I'm not an academic, I'm very much more practically based." (Participant 10)

The last part of the above quote is particularly telling, illustrating the kind of either/or thinking where academia and practical police work are seen in opposition and the idea that one could be an academic *and* a police officer seems unfathomable. It echoes the 'Us/Them' division of police culture, which positions the police as separate from the rest of the society (e.g. Reiner, 2010). Walter (2001: cited in Jaschke & Neidhardt, 2007) sees the police's scepticism about or even outright rejection of the value of academia as symptomatic of a deeper paradigmatic division; police are concerned with decision-making and management of practical tasks, academics focus on analysis and broadening their perspective. Such dichotomous thinking is not exclusive to the police but evident e.g. in nursing, which is another profession that has only recently made the move to academic education and thus indicative of the problems facing the police. Schwirian (1998) lists perception of obscurity and irrelevance, isolation of practice from academia and the gulf between theory and research as 'barriers to unification' while the notion that *"intellectual nurses are not practical nurses"* was one of the reasons delaying the move to academic education (Brooks & Rafferty, 2010: 582).

But universities are organisations too, and 'aca culture' is as important as the 'cop culture' to understanding potential pitfalls of police professionalisation via academisation. Of course, defining 'academic culture' is as problematic as it is to talk about a general 'police culture'. It is shaped by national, disciplinary and institutional culture (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004), resulting in a wide spectrum of variation, including discipline specific sub-cultures, each with their own epistemologies and values (see Ch 1 of Henkel, 2000).

Lee and Punch's (2004) interviews with officers who attended university some 30 or 40 years ago strongly convey cultural differences between the two organisations and the sense of shock experienced. As Bourdieu (1988) points out, university culture is not always positive. In a recent article, Bayley (2011: 313) makes some apt comparisons: *"Universities deliver classes and*

hope for education in just the way police deliver patrol or criminal investigation and hope for the prevention of crime. Output is delivered in both cases on the presumption that institutional goals are being achieved without solid evidence in either case.” He criticises universities for their rigid adherence to the tried but rarely tested – that is, systematically reviewed – delivery-systems (lectures, credit hours, standardised examinations) and lack of accountability and peer or external observation and feedback. As senior police officers are promoted from the rank and file, so university managers are promoted professors, both usually lacking in managing experience, reluctant and unable to make any fundamental changes and suffering from lack of confidence from those colleagues now below them in the hierarchy. Reforms in higher education institutions and police remain superficial, effectiveness is measured in terms of *“units processed and resources deployed, not objectives achieved”* (ibid: 314). Bayley’s observation of how universities devalue their core function of teaching (just like the police devalue patrol work), paying little concern for evaluating teaching methodologies or performance, fostering teaching skills or discussing any ethical or value dilemmas related to it, hits uncomfortably close to home in the time when the increasing financial constraints mean more and more higher educational institutes are explicitly shifting their focus toward research activities. Central government driven ethos of efficiency, effectiveness and ‘value for money’ has brought increasing pressure for higher education institutions (Astley, 2006) so perhaps it is no wonder that *“teaching suffers from the perception among professors that it is uncreative, boring, and a distraction from scholarship”* (Bayley, 2011: 316). This is perhaps even truer for teaching of practice-oriented subjects, such as policing or nursing. Miers (2002) points out how nursing lecturers do not seem to enjoy equal academic status to other university teaching staff and the perceived risk of the discipline becoming the ‘Cinderella’ of higher education. It is likely that police science will have to grapple with similar issues. Indeed, Bourdieu (2000: 137) laments the *“scholastic blindness”* of professional thinkers that has led them to overlook *“the specificity of practical knowledge.”*

As already mentioned, socialisation into the police professional culture begins during training (Fielding, 1988). Moving at least part of that into universities should then mitigate some of its negative aspects (Wimshurst & Ransley, 2007; Blakemore & Simpson, 2010). However, Heslop (2011) employs Bourdieu’s theories and concepts to demonstrate how they can also be reproduced within academic settings. His interviews uncovered a wealth of negative experiences, such as lack of mutual respect between academics and student officers, enforcing of ‘us/them’ divide by isolating student officers from rest of the student population both physically and psychologically, and dismissal of their views and experiences. Such things were not unheard of for the interviewees. One trainer commented:

“Sometimes the universities are not delivering the training and some of the feedback I’ve heard is that some of the lecturers are anti-police.” (Participant 11)

Participant 6, a force trainer, talked about her negative experiences with some universities during the process of trying to set up a partnership.

“Other universities that we’ve had meetings with; when their staff have come over... there has been that [academic divide]. Making me feel like I’m not worthy to deliver the course, that my practical experience, my 17 years in the police counts for nothing because I’m not qualified academically. [...] One particular group came in and... very snooty. Spoke down to me and... annoyed me a little bit. I was very professional, don’t get me wrong. They would never learn that they’d upset me, but my boss did when they’d gone. And they didn’t want to continue with the collaboration either.” (Participant 6)

This, Heslop (2011) argues, is nothing short of ‘symbolic violence’, an imposition of one set of (academic) meanings and values over another (professional) set. It fits Atkinson’s (1983) view of professions as ‘self-replicating collectivities’. He too draws from Bourdieu’s work on cultural reproduction, i.e. the way education promotes and legitimises certain types of knowledge, while masking others. Thus the existing cultural code is transmitted for new generations and the ‘cultural capital’ differentially distributed. Atkinson (ibid: 235) further cautions us to remember that:

“all educational knowledge – be it that of primary schools or universities – is in a sense arbitrary. There is no absolute, pre-given corpus of knowledge which self-evidently presents itself as a ‘curriculum’, and which is inherently endowed with order, sequential organisation and so on. The curriculum is a device whereby knowledge is classified and combined: it is a cultural imposition. There is no ideal ‘law’, ‘medicine’, ‘theology’ or whatever ‘out there’ to which the curriculum corresponds as a mere reflection or copy.”

Practitioners marginalise academics and academics marginalise practitioners, often settling into an uneasy agreement of no interference wherein neither party infringes on the ‘territory’ of the other (Astley, 2006). As Bourdieu (1987) points out, competition for control leads to a social division between professionals and ‘lay people’, which in case of the police means everyone who is not an ‘insider’ (read: police officer, maybe police staff), including academia and academics. In the end, no one benefits, least of all the students. Writing from within a nursing context, Cash (2009) observes how the curriculum is pulled in two, often incompatible directions by academic institutions providing nursing education aimed to be broad and liberal, encouraging reflection and critical thinking and the NHS Trusts that purchase it for the purpose of gaining a skilled workforce. Wood and Tong (2009) discuss the status of student officers expressed in three areas of contention between the police and academia:

1. the conceptual tensions between training and education and the erroneous view that the latter is too removed from practical problems (the current emphasis on relevance and impact of research should belie this if anything),
2. the issues of discipline, and the perceived lag of it within universities: *“I feel the police service is a discipline service and it’s been given that free reign of universities type casual type learning”* (Participant 11). This also closely relates to change to student-centred learning and greater individual responsibility (see e.g. 3.2.2. and 6.2.4.), and

3. the question of 'student ownership', i.e. whether the student officers are resource and under control of the police or occupying a clear trainee status within police training school and university. This is familiar from earlier discussions on status of training and acceptance and support for academic education within the police (see 3.2.2. and 6.3.2.).

So are police and academia, and police training and academic education really too different to find fruitful ways of working together, too far apart to achieve anything but unsatisfactory compromise? Participant 2 seemed think so.

"I was at an event in the middle of last year when, a large event where, there was Higher Education there and Further Education, different groups around again trying to see how we could build the relationship, but then that seems to have wilted away. [...] It seemed fairly clear to me that we seemed a long way apart, police training and academia the group that ours, that I worked for, was wide-ranging; there was principles and there was deans and there was police constables and it seemed... Perhaps we are too diverse to be sat around the same table from completely different perspectives for what should be done, what shouldn't be done." (Participant 2)

I, on the other hand, am inclined to be more optimistic, and in the next chapter, we will look at the ways to move beyond the 'two-worlds thinking' (and behaving!) and how to turn sites of conflict into sites of co-operation.

6. 4. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the potential benefits and challenges bringing police training into the realm of higher education would present. Analysis of the interview data allowed me to identify a number of each, and the chapter relied strongly on the participants' own words. As acknowledged, there was considerable overlap between the themes and the benefits and challenges often affect investigative work and policing in cumulative and parallel ways.

Overall, the interviewees seemed positive about the potential of academic police education - unsurprising perhaps, given their involvement with training. Higher education was seen as a way to level out the educational standards within the police. Gaining externally recognised qualifications was perhaps the biggest benefit identified by the participants, providing a way to prove transferrable skills and competencies, and thus leading to increased career flexibility. Overall, academic education was considered a benefit to the personal and professional development of the officers, bringing for example a sense of being valued for their knowledge and skills and improved self-esteem and job motivation. It was also seen as a way to gain equal standing with other professions, and there was a great deal of overlap between talk of professionalising the police and academising it. Both of these were then assumed to lead to improved performance and thus improved public image and confidence and a stronger position with regard to the state. Indeed, by legitimising the police's knowledge claim, university education turns police experience into the kind of expertise that is recognised outside it as well. The final benefit, which I discussed, was the promise of broader knowledge and deeper understanding of the policing issues. The increasing complexity of detective work (see 1.5.), and policing in general, suggests also increasing the length and abstraction of the instruction officers receive and a need for new research. However, simply increasing the instrumental knowledge has its dangers and limitations, and the existing literature stresses the potential of academia to expose officers to a wide spectrum of diverse views and experiences. The research findings suggest that improved interaction with the public is one possible positive outcome of higher education, although exactly how the effect comes about is debatable. A clear benefit of time spent in academic education is the various transferable skills to do with analysing information, presenting arguments and written communication.

The interviews also identified a number of potential and again, interconnected, challenges, which the chapter turned to examine next. First of these was the availability of sufficient and suitable time for the student officers to devote to any academic studies, considering the demands the organisation places on them, and of course the demands placed on the organisation to deliver frontline services. The increasing financial restraints also affect the priority given to training and education, including any potential links with higher education.

Gaining acceptance, active engagement and support to such enterprise from all levels of the organisation is essential to its success but difficult to achieve. This includes a firm commitment from the leadership, efficient communication and changes to both formal structures of the organisation and the attitudes and behaviour of individual officers. This section provided the early echoes of the concept of change within the police, which the next chapter explores more thoroughly. Another challenge identified by the participants was the perceived plurality of potential partners within higher education and the disparity in length, content and format of courses offered. Lack of an overseeing professional body to set and monitor standards has led to doubts about the motives of academics and universities to get involved. A related issue is lack of understanding 'stratified' nature of UK higher education and the academic police studies in particular. The current landscape of police-academia partnerships is disparate and confusing, something that the planned Police Professional Body hopes to address. The participants also expressed concerns over the control and management of police training/education slipping too much into the hands of academic institutions. I briefly mentioned the role of the state in facilitating the police-university partnerships and will be returning to the topic in the next chapter (7.4.). The issue of individual responsibility over learning and accreditation was also picked up by the participants, particularly in comparison with other professions.

In the final part of the chapter, I discussed the perceived divide between the 'two worlds' of academia and police, between academic education and police training. This manifests in two broad areas. The first is the much talked about gulf between theory/research and practice within professional fields, reflecting Bourdieu's concept of permanent symbolic struggle. Despite some well-established links between policing (particularly investigations) and scientific research, the latter tends to be undervalued due to commonsense approach to the 'craft' of police work, reliance on lay theories and experiences. Lack of generalisable, clear-cut explanations or immediate practical applicability of the research, its insufficient contextualisation and focus on policy and managerial rather than frontline needs exacerbate the issue. The second aspect of 'two worlds thinking' is the perceived cultural differences between the police and academia. It echoes the 'us/them' view of police culture and posits the two as separate social (and mental) spaces of which people can occupy either one or the other, but rarely both. Such assumptions of deep paradigmatic differences is typical also for other professions. However, there seem to be more similarities than differences between academic and police occupational cultures, and the section drew parallels between some of their characteristics. While academic police education possesses an ability to mitigate some of the negative aspects of police culture, it can also exacerbate them through differential distribution of cultural capital. Academia-practitioner relationships are often coloured by mutual marginalisation, conceptual tension and uneasy compromise, none of which benefit the students wishing to occupy both worlds of academia and policing.

This chapter has deepened the analysis of the police-academia relationship that began in the previous one. It is firmly rooted in the primary data of the interviews, synthesising it with the existing literature to examine the various issues surrounding academisation of police training. The next chapter aims to tie together the threads my thesis has so far followed. It will focus on the central concept of police professionalisation via academisation, the reasons behind the move and the symbolic benefits it brings. The practical and theoretical considerations of moving police training to the realm of academic education and the ways of making such a change happen are also discussed, paving way to a more detailed look at implications it holds to various stakeholders. Before moving to the final concluding chapter, I will also present some of the arguments against professionalisation and academisation.

CHAPTER 7

Police Professionalisation and Academic Education: Theoretical and Practical Considerations

There are, according to Elliott (1972) two strands to professional development that can be observed: status professionalism (as achieved through liberal and generally civilising university education) and occupational professionalism (as achieved through practical, occupationally relevant training). It seems that the police are aiming to advance both. Siegrist (1990; cited in Sciulli, 2009) emphasises how professionalisation can be actively and self-consciously promoted by the occupation leaders. It appears that this is indeed what is happening in the police. Professionalisation, as a process and a concept, is actively pushed to the forefront of practice and language. Things like the Professionalising Investigation Programme, the 2001 Home Office White Paper on Police Reform and the recent review of police training and leadership (Neyroud, 2011) are prime examples. This is also typical of the recent more academic work on criminal investigations (e.g. Stelfox, 2009, and Tong, Bryant, & Horvath [Eds.], 2009), which explicitly reconceptualise police as a profession, police officers (especially detectives, i.e. the trained investigators) as professionals and police work (especially criminal investigation) as professional activity.

The previous chapter concentrated on looking at what benefits higher education could offer for the police as well as the challenges it brings, including the conceptual divide between the two worlds of academia and police. This chapter expands on the line of argument that began in 5.3.: that academic education has benefits beyond the practical and that these benefits are in police's interest to acquire; that police professionalisation can be viewed as deliberate occupational upgrading redefining the police role and re-legitimising its power through acquisition of social and cultural capital academic education brings. After that, the chapter moves on to provide a synthesis of the identified issues, practical and theoretical, that would bring academia and policing closer together and move beyond the perceived dichotomy. It will consider how this can best be achieved by exploring the concept of change within the police and the implications it presents to the three key stakeholders of police, academia and the government as well as society

as a whole. The chapter concludes by briefly considering some of the key arguments against professionalisation and academisation.

The discussion explicitly expands to cover policing beyond its investigative function. It is in this chapter that the wider practical and symbolic causes and consequences of professionalising the police via academic education become obvious.

7.1. Redefining and Relegitimising Policing: The Symbolic Capital of Academic Education

“Anything that can heighten in any degree the respectability of the office of the constable, adds to the security of the state, and the life and property of every individual” (Colquhoun, 1795, A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis; cited in Reiner, 2010: 44)

Police legitimacy arises from law, political and community authorisation, professional autonomy and claim of unique knowledge, skills and values (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Their respective importance, however, varies over time and from place to place (ibid). Reiner (2010, Ch 3) explains at length the decline of police legitimacy during the latter half of the twentieth century due to increasing politicisation, the well-publicised corruption scandals and particularly the deterioration of relations with ethnic minority communities.

Section 5.3. outlined how possession and control of abstract knowledge and the techniques and technologies stemming from it both defines and legitimates a profession (Abbott, 1988) and strengthens its institutional jurisdiction and cognitive hegemony (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). Professionalising the police via academic education then is a process that serves, and is perhaps deliberately aimed, to redefine and relegate the police. It is a way to renew and reinvent what has become a stale, unsustainable and outdated mode of operation. The name of the game is survival: survival in the ‘competitive system of professions’ (Abbott, 1988), in the increasingly discerning market and in the changing society that places more demands on the police while at the same time openly questioning its ability and means to meet them.

Academic education, the qualifications and status it brings, grants the police the advantage they need to stay ahead. It will help them maintain their eroding market monopoly, privileges and status (see Chapter 4) and even regain any ground lost as a consequence of increasingly critical public opinion, civilianisation of the police and the privatisation of security services. Indeed, Wilensky (1964: 157) observed this as a general trend almost half a century ago.

“In the recent history of professionalism, the organisation push comes before a solid technical and institutional base is formed; the professional association, for instance, typically precedes university based training schools, and the whole effort seems more an opportunistic struggle for the rewards of monopoly than a natural history or professionalism.”

In Chapter 4 (see especially 4.2.2. and 4.2.3.), I discussed the symbolic and concrete power the professions wield over their clients and in the broader structures of the society. Professions can do this because their power is seen as legitimate. It is seen as legitimate because they are professions and being a profession equals things like accountability, regulation, ethics, and service-orientation, which safeguard the use of power – it is a form of reasoning that is almost circular. In other words, the process of professionalisation serves to justify and legitimise the occupational group’s exercise of power. For Bittner, open-ended ability to use power (force, both violent and incapacitating) in situationally legitimated way is the defining feature of the public

police, its unique competence both at the level of individual officers and the organisation – even though its actual use is exceptional, employed mostly only as a response to demand (Brodeur, 2007). Ericson (1993) argues that professionalisation can also be seen as an ‘ideological preparation’ for *expansion* of power, as it tends to increase the autonomy and control of the occupational group over their activities: *“giving more authority to the police authorities through professionalization in the hope that internal control will function as a panacea is unlikely to do anything but to enhance police autonomy. When this solution is examined closely, it cannot even be seriously entertained as a possibility for control of the police. Rather, it serves the interests of control by the police”* (ibid: 223). The question then isn’t why would the police professionalise, but why *wouldn’t* they?

Weiss-Gal and Welbourne (2008) differentiate between internal and external power. The former is the profession’s ability to exist as an organised group that can influence the behaviour of its members. The latter refers to its ability to influence those outside the profession, including decision-makers, other professions and public perception. The police have possessed internal power since its conception, but its external power has arguably been diminishing as the recent financial decisions demonstrate. In a move that the Police Federation has called an *“unprecedented attack on police officers’ terms and conditions of service”* (Rennie, 2011), the government plans to severely cut the police budget, predicted to negatively impact frontline services. The current economic situation aside, would any previous government have done such a thing? More than likely they would not have *dared*. Reiner (2010) predicts that the recent pragmatic ‘necessary evil’ approach to policing and fragile re-legitimation will shatter further under the pressure of increasing unemployment, poverty and socioeconomic inequalities.

I have already (6.1.4. see also below) talked about the way academic education and qualifications will legitimise the police’s knowledge claim in the eyes of government, other professions and the public. Academia is a profession among others, and it too holds an entrenched position of power (4.2.3.), being the *de facto* source of knowledge people and other professions are expected to turn to. Therefore, it is no surprise that for all their valuing of experience, the police too are looking at academia as a way to lend credence to the claim that they *“are the professionals that know policing”* and thus *“should be the ones shaping the future of the service”* (Rennie, 2011).

Knowledge is indeed power. Bourdieu (1987) defines the body of professionals in terms of their monopoly of tools, control over production, training and licensing. In other words: control of knowledge, to whom and how to pass it on, how and who is allowed to utilise it. He differentiates between economic (material wealth), cultural (knowledge, education, taste) and social (relationships with others) capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It is the last two that are of main interest here, though it should be noted that accumulation of social and cultural capital usually allows for

securing of economic capital as well. In other words, obtaining recognisable qualifications (cultural capital) improves police's status with the public, other professions and government (social capital), which makes it easier to 'fight the corner' for the policy in terms of pay and resources (Participant 7, see 6.1.4.)

"I think as well that once people realise that this might be an answer to getting more money from the Home Office ultimately the stake-holders will want to see how professional we are, I suspect. So you know, I think that's the way we have to sell it with the cynics. You know we'll never get more money off the stake-holders if we're not professional or if we're seen to be not professional." (Participant 9)

The power of knowledge comes from the cultural and social capital it carries. Culture can be viewed as knowledge, a 'learned product of group experience', and organisational culture as "*a pattern of basic assumptions – invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integrations – that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems*" (Schein, 1985: 9; cited in Chan, 1997: 68). This is a definition that appears particularly applicable to the police organisation, seeming to describe the socialisation process experienced by the new recruits as they adapt to the new occupational culture. Sackmann (1991; cited in Chan, 1997) takes this viewpoint further, classifying cultural knowledge in organisations into four categories:

1. Dictionary knowledge, i.e. definitions and names of things and events,
2. Directory knowledge, i.e. descriptions of how things are done,
3. Recipe knowledge, i.e. instructions of what should and should not be done in given situations,
4. Axiomatic knowledge, i.e. understanding of why things are done the way they are.

Culture can also be understood as a construction. Shearing and Ericson (1991; cited in Chan, 1997) view police culture as a 'tool-kit' that is actively used by officers to produce a sense of order, by creating language and telling and re-telling of narratives to guide their thinking, understanding and behaviour. The 'tool-kit' of academia can be seen to be the same, only its influence is farther-reaching than the police's.

Bourdieu regards culture as series of relations (Chan, 1997). We will return to his theories throughout the chapter, but for now, it is useful to define two of his key concepts: field and habitus.

"A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporal schemata or perception, appreciation and action." (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 16)

Neither field nor habitus are static entities. The field consists of the changing structures, institutions and activities that form a site of conflict for individuals and institutions to compete over capital (Heslop, 2011). Already Sherman (1978: 56) noted how higher education turned crafts

into professions “not necessarily for improving practical skills but for increasing the social status of the occupation.” In commenting on the potential benefits of academic education to the police, Participant 1 seems to be grappling with the same concept:

“I’m thinking again, it depends on what you’re looking to gain from it. Is it a personal thing where they have more, not pride, but more sort of ownership of what they’re doing by being qualified to do it? And does, so is there, whether there is more of a perception of the certain roles in the public that it goes to the kudos of having... It gives it that signal of being more professional.” (Participant 1)

It is the general opinion of professionals (*communis opinio doctorum*) that produces the agreed interpretation (‘reality’), and I have already touched on Bourdieu’s (1987) ‘principle of legitimized distribution’ and struggle over the right to define policing (see 5.1.). Moreover, part of profession’s power is the ability to include and exclude people in a socially recognised way such as attribution of names and titles (Boudieu, 1987) – like, say, academic qualifications.

So, academic education and credentials increase the competence and therefore the social and cultural capital of the police, providing a much needed edge in ‘conflicts over competence’ they will find themselves embroiled in. This will also augment their power of naming, i.e. the ability “to transform the world by transforming the words for naming it, by producing new categories of perception and judgements and by dictating a new vision of social divisions and distributions [...]” (ibid: 839). Academia comes with its own highly developed system of labels and categories, its own language. And, as a vast body of relevant social and linguistic theory (overview of which is beyond the confines of the current study) asserts, there is power in language. Language of academia has plenty of it due to the wealth of social and cultural capital it possesses (Heslop, 2011); it is both something the police seek to adopt (at least to a degree) via academisation of the profession and something that can act as a barrier between the two as we will discuss later in the chapter.

Loader and Mulcahy (2001: 42) talk about the development of the ‘elite police voice’, how senior officers exercise their power of ‘collective naming’ by being able to: “authorize, categorize, evoke, represent, reinforce and undermine elements of the wider culture, whose presence as interpreters of social institutions, conflicts and hierarchies presupposes something significant about the ownership and framing of relevant issues, and whose individual and collective utterances circulate meanings that contribute in potentially telling ways to the formation of opinions and belief.” Indeed, Estland (1977; cited in Astley, 2006) observed how various routine definitions of social issues are grounded in the forms of expertness and the professional bodies that hold them. They become ‘dominant categories of thought’, seemingly value neutral and non-political, self-evident and unquestioned, i.e. the ‘prevailing ontological understandings’ (Sciulli, 2009; see 4.2.3.). The symbolic power that the police wield ensures their importance to the production and reproduction of our sense of security (Loader, 1997). It is a role based not on rational assessment of police’s capabilities but on emotional commitment to the mythology of

policing (ibid). The symbolic power and symbolism of both the police and academic education play to people's need for ontological security, but this does not diminish their value or validity. In 4.2.4., I touched upon the relationship between democracy, professions and policing.

"I joined a police force, not a police service, they changed our name. But you know, it is actually been a bit of a change in culture and philosophy." (Participant 3)

Participant 3's comment highlights both the power of naming and the strong service orientation of the current brand of professional policing (see 4.2.1.). Social capital builds trust, facilitates dialogue between the police and their clients and encourages civic engagement (Pino & Wiatrowski, 2006; see also Chapter 4), all of which are essential to government's vision of policing supported by community involvement and responsibility (see 7.4).

7.2. Bringing Police and Academia Together

This section will cover some of the practical and theoretical issues for bringing police and academia together, looking at different models for doing this, including the topic of pre-entry qualifications and briefly touching on the argument for an integrated discipline of police science.

7.2.1. Content and Format

There are two sides that need to be considered in designing academic police education:

1. Content, i.e. *what* should police officers be taught, what knowledge and skills they need.
2. Format, i.e. *how* should police officers be taught, covering anything from teaching and assessment methods to length, levels and set-up of the courses

The matter of content of course depends on how the role and function of the police are defined, and different 'policing philosophies' will clearly provide different answers. It is also linked closely to the concept of professional knowledgebase (see 5.4). Neyroud (2011) criticises the overwhelming quantity and the ad hoc development of the guidance and standards documentation, seeing 'clearing the undergrowth' and consolidating the complex current system of police governance and doctrine as one of the important tasks for the Professional Body. The new system would provide a clear hierarchical structure, consisting of 1) core knowledge, 2) national standards, 3) professional practice and authorised guidance and 4) tactical guidance and local best practice (ibid: 72-3). Of relevance is also the establishment of an integrated academic discipline of 'police science', which Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007) view as one that systematically discusses and formulates fundamental questions about theoretical issues as well as key practical problems, thus bridging the gap between practice and research (see 7.2.1.) and covering for example

"operational subjects that are characteristics for police doctrine (operations, tactics, traffic theory, criminal investigation), on elements of jurisprudence (especially the law of criminal procedure and police law, but also criminal law, which essentially establish the conditions for admissibility and the legal rules for specific measures), on elements of public administration and business management (concerning such issues as efficiency, usefulness, economical use of resources, structures and procedures), on elements of social science (such as history, criminology, political science, psychology, sociology, and social psychology, which allow a better understanding of actions and of the actors), and finally, information theory and specific aspects of natural science disciplines" (ibid: 309).

They argue that 'police science' does not fundamentally differ from other integrated disciplines but has simply developed late due to the relatively recent concept of 'police work' as a distinctive profession. A more thorough exploration of police science is beyond the scope of the current study, but for other discussion relevant to the possible content of academic police education, see

for example Welsh (2006) on evidence-based policing, Moore (2006) on improving policing through social science methods, Jaschke et al. (2007) for an European approach to police science and Neyroud and Weisburd (2011) for a recent treatise on the topic. Clark (2005: 187) cautions against the traditional approach to higher education which treats individuals as empty vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge:

“Professional expertise clearly does and should draw from scientific knowledge. But it is an error to think of professional expertise as if it consisted only of a body of rigorous scientific knowledge that is somehow downloaded into the head of the professional through training or other means. The practice of a professional’s expertise consists not only the application of formal knowledge but its selection and interpretation through the character of the professional as an individual and unique person. Practical reason is always personal.”

Echoing the shift to problem-based learning approaches touched upon in Chapter 5, Thacher (2001: 406) suggests academic study of police and policing should follow the model of legal inquiry, which can *“support both empirical study and normative analysis in a theoretical sophisticated way.”* It begins by considering individual cases or judgements, which will serve as a starting point for analysing and developing general underlying principles. In the same way, study of a specific, practical policing problem should look beyond the surface issues, understand the broader context and harvest the learning for the future.

In terms of institutional arrangements, White and Heslop (2011) differentiate between three models of professional education in the UK:

1. **Education for the professional** – This is exemplified by teacher training, the competencies and qualification of which are regulated by national bodies. Nevertheless, students are still clearly ‘owned’ by the universities that also have considerable academic freedom to set a broad and contextualised curriculum. Teaching education enjoys strong academic legitimacy.
2. **Education for practice** – This is exemplified by nurse training, which is both funded and regulated by the professional body (Nursing and Midwifery Council). Students spend equal amount of time in the workplace and at the university, and the curriculum aims to develop professional nurses, which places the discipline on the academic periphery.
3. **Accessorising the professional** – This is exemplified by the current police training arrangements where higher education institutes offer professional *studies* degrees instead of professional *practice* ones. They receive no funding from the police and are not regulated by any professional police bodies (though content is mapped against police competencies). These courses are additional to the training provided by the police themselves. The relationship between academia and the profession is characterised by distance and exchange of income revenue to accreditation.

However, as teaching staff (myself included) on such ‘accessorising’ courses, for example criminology degrees, recognises, many students do regard them as stepping stones to a career in

policing. Nevertheless, this academic component is still viewed as separate from the vocational one, as the authors' use of the term reflects. This is evident also in adoption of **consultation** (police training *with* some academic education) and **degree models** (police training *after or during* academic education) as discussed in 5.6. Police training consults with individual academics on various specialist subjects, and in some areas, academic research is integrated into police training, while a number of UK forces have linked up with universities to provide different types levels of degree programmes. For example, in Wales, the Universities' Police Science Institute, a partnership between Cardiff University, the University of Glamorgan and South Wales Police, contributes to the probationer training as well as research activities (UPSI, 2010) while in New South Wales, Australia, Charles Stuart University has been commissioned to provide the initial recruit training of police officers (Neyroud, 2011). The success of such programmes is often difficult to ascertain. Blakemore and Simpson (2010: 34) point out the lack of rigorous evaluation of the different police-higher education schemes in the UK and propose a framework for doing so, which covers the key criteria of *"producing a more reflective practitioner, maintaining equal opportunities for employment, developing a learning organisation, and value for money."* The authors further suggest that programmes should be evaluated according to their impact at four levels: the reaction of the students/student officers, immediate effects of learning on work practices, intermediate effect on job performance, and the broader effect on the organisation as a whole.

Moving beyond such ontological separation is the **synthesis model**, where police training *is* academic education. It describes the aim to establish a distinctive and integrated academic discipline of police science and a separate institution to support it. Neyroud and Weisburd (2011), for example, talk about the importance of making police training scientific and embedded in higher education via establishment of policing centres at universities and 'practitioner professors'. Peeters (2010) provides a way to achieve this through various pedagogical considerations, recommending e.g. student-centred learning, clarifying of professional competencies and linking academic research and theoretical concepts into practical outcomes. The synthesis model can be found in other countries, particularly in Europe where, as mentioned in Chapter 5.6., police academies in several countries have achieved university status (Paterson, 2011).

Of course, providing tailor-made policing degrees at isolated 'Police Universities' may have its downsides. Lee and Punch (2004), for example, see great value in providing higher education for police officers regardless of whether the course they take is directly related to policing or not. The key benefit, they argue, is the opportunity for the officers to 'step outside the organisation' and thus gain the ability to understand and promote alternative points of view, new thinking and new ways of doing things. It would also allow the officers to recognise and resist any

policy or crime-control model that does not take into account the complexities of policing and the issues they are charged with (Punch, 2010). This take is not new and closely echoes the sentiments expressed by Carr-Sanders and Wilson almost eight decades ago.

“It is most desirable that the indispensable technical training not be conducted in too narrow an atmosphere. The association of students studying different techniques, medicine, law, dentistry, engineering, chemistry, and so on, such as occurs in a modern university, may do much to widen understanding and to create diversity of interests. Moreover, since research is a prominent feature of university activities, the atmosphere is less likely to be heavy with instruction than in purely teaching institutions. On this account there is much to be said for the training of entrants to the professions in universities, and much to be said against isolated professional schools.” (Carr-Sanders & Wilson, 1933: 373-74; cited in Engel, 1983: 304)

Similarly, Potts (1982: 54) observed how compared to other professionals which are *“trained and socialised prior to beginning practice, even though they may practice their profession within a bureaucracy, the police are trained and socialised within the bureaucracy itself.”* While university education has the potential to expose the officer to a wide spectrum of human living and thinking, the experience of diversity depends largely on the institution and is likely to be shaped even further by the rise of tuition fees (see 7.4. and 7.5.). Tailor-made policing degrees can further counteract the benefits of academic education by keeping the focus too narrow, potentially depriving students of the wider benefits of academia.

The police-academia relations are also coloured by the question of national requirements for pre-entry qualifications, which the police do not currently have in the UK, unlike e.g. in countries that have embraced the synthesis model of academic police training (see above; note that these tend to be countries where police training is nationalised rather than organised by individual forces like in the UK, Australia or USA). Very little importance is placed on education levels and academic qualifications of recruits, evidenced by the lack of reliable data (Flynn, 2000; cited in Howlett Bolton, 2005), although a vast majority of entrants are both older (22-30) and educated to either graduate or ‘A’ level (Neyroud, 2011). Views on pre-entry qualifications are divided. A survey commissioned by Neyroud (ibid) found that while 57% of officers were in favour of minimum universal entry standards, the rest raised concerns over equality and diversity should they be imposed. The interviewees had equally varied thoughts on the purpose and usefulness of graduate entry.

“We do get quite a lot of graduates joining the police. They’re only a few of them that actually join to do the job. And when I talk about that I mean being a police officer. They seem to climb a ladder. Nothing wrong with that either, but that seems to be what happens. So you seem to get a perception from officers that are constables and sergeants that academics are those that want to rise the ladder; ‘I joined the police to be a police officer, so I don’t need academia.” (Participant 6)

“I can see a time in the future where the police officer will have to go through the basic training and pass to a certain standard before they get accepted to the job. I can see that coming at some stage. Not here yet, but we’re not far from it.” (Participant 8)

Neyroud (2011) suggests developing and implementing national pre-entry Policy Initial Qualification (PIQ), which would bring the police in line with other professions and ensure it is recognised as one by the public. Pre-qualification and registration as a qualified member of the professions would also enhance the status of constables. Wood and Tong (2009) recommend pre-employment training programmes (degrees) because they would clarify the issue of 'student ownership' and clearly mark individuals' status transition from a student to a police officer. Neyroud (2011) envisions flexible routes to achieving the PIQ, giving entrants e.g. the opportunity to demonstrate vocational competence prior or after the entry to the police. As a consequence, the initial training offered by the police would be reduced to a short induction to the organisation and development of such work specific skills that cannot be learned prior to entry (e.g. IT systems, police driving). The report goes into great detail in outlining a 'professional development model' for the organisation with four core elements of operational, specialist, command and leadership training, which would offer clear career structure and promotion routes. The plans are comprehensive and provide a map for police professionalisation – one that the police and government now seem more or less prepared to follow – but unfortunately are beyond the scope of the current thesis.

From a practical point of view, Lymbery (2009) raises a number of key considerations about social work education, but these themes bear direct relevance to the design of academic police education as well. First is the fundamental issue of role, i.e. what is police work for – a question I have also touched upon (see 1.1.1.). This reflects Jaschke and Neidhardt's (2007) 'big questions' of a discipline, which serve both analytical and normative function, providing direction and orientation for what it is that the discipline be concerned and are an important part of what forms a paradigm (Kuhn, 1973; cited in *ibid*). They are the fundamental and general framework for research, develop the discipline's identity, and enable communication among the participants (*ibid*). Lymbery (2009) also points the importance of workforce planning: How many qualified police officers are needed, where and for what type of tasks? What level qualification is needed for each role? Should university recruitment be tied to needs of police forces to ensure availability of placements and future jobs? What value is based on general vs. specialised academic education? Finally, the practical arrangements regarding financial rewards, funding of courses, staff, placements, assessors etc. is crucial to planning of academic police education.

Overall, the dimensions of content and format map onto the ones of legitimacy and legality that Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007) use to discuss the police science discipline but are also helpful for framing the relationship between police and academia more generally. Academic police training/education must establish a strong foundation in terms of:

1. **Legitimacy**, i.e. gaining recognition and acceptance among academia *and* the police, depended on the rigour and applicability of the content, and

2. **Legality**, i.e. the institutional structures required to facilitate this, the infrastructure supporting academic police education

7.2.2. Beyond Dichotomy

“Simply put, in both policing and higher education the people are wonderful but the systems are stupid. [...] Unhappily, both institutions make it impossible for talented, dedicated and farsighted front-line personnel to be as effective as they and their communities want them to be.” (Bayley, 2011: 3-4)

In this section, I will look at some of the epistemological and ontological issues bringing academia and policing closer together evokes, attempting to move beyond the dichotomy of ‘two worlds thinking’ observed in the previous chapter (6.3.). The above quote is deliberately provocative, but it highlights the striking similarity of police and academic cultures. People can talk about getting the best of both worlds all they want – and they do, as discussed in light of both the secondary and primary data. And yet this, I feel, is problematic. It is based on the assumption that there *are* two worlds: the practical world of the police and the theoretical world of academia. Indeed, Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007:315) themselves reinforce such asymmetry by emphasising that police work and academic work reflect *“two different kinds of competence, two kinds of behaviour, two professional milieus, two different kinds of group behaviour, different dispositions of individual behaviour, which are not easily compatible.”* On one hand, they argue for an integrated discipline of ‘police science’; on the other they emphasise the inherent duality of such an enterprise. So can academic police education become a truly integrative experience or is it destined to straddle two worlds, two cultures, never fully belonging to either yet unable to carve a niche of its own? Chancer and McLaughlin (2007) outline the involvement (and lack of it) of an academic discipline (criminology) in public policy and the tensions between ‘relevance’ and theory. Sometimes it seems that no matter what you do you just cannot win. Either you are a sell-out, a money-grabbing ‘consultant’ (and what a nasty ring that word has) providing ‘theory-lite’ courses to criminal justice system practitioners and helping to maintain the status quo. Or you are sitting in an academic ivory tower, clinging to your intellectual elitism like a safety blanket, content to know what should be done without actually attempting to do it.

But we must not be discouraged by such false dichotomy. ‘Not easily compatible’ does not mean ‘incompatible’. As Bayley and Bittner (1984: 36) point out, *“the antinomy between policing as a craft and policing as a science is false”* – learning through experience and learning in a more systematic way ought to complement each other as critical analysis of the choice, appropriateness and context of goals, tactics and ‘presence’ (demeanour) used by the officers would only benefit the new recruits. Furthermore, I would argue that any obstacles are largely structural, rather than a symptom of some fundamental and insurmountable differences. So is there a happy middle ground? Can and should academia involve itself with the workings and training of the police and if so, how and to what degree? There are big questions here, about both the quality and quantity, and about the legality and legitimacy of such involvement – questions I

feel are best answered by moving beyond the “either-or” rhetoric that still characterises much of the thinking around the topic.

“When I applied to the police it was based on commonsense and life experience, which is great and there’s definitely a place for that. But if you can link that to academia as well then everybody’s a winner.” (Participant 5)

“If you have an input from the police side of it and the practical side of it and then you have the input from the academics who are there to think that sort of things, then it can only, to me that can only be a benefit. It can only be a benefit, the best of both worlds really.” (Participant 8)

To gain ‘the best of both worlds’ should not be an impossible task. After all, search for new and innovative solutions and forging of links between areas of enquiry are characteristics of both good academic inquiry and good police work.

To join any field means to accept and adopt its agreed understanding and expressions, its constitution of reality (Bourdieu, 1987). But it need not be a one-way street:

“I would like to see more people from the colleges and universities coming in to see what we do on the day-to-day basis here. Just so that there’s a bit more a two-way understanding of what the difficulties of the topics that we have to deliver and the way we deliver them.” (Participant 7)

“Science cannot become useful in the practical world of policing unless the practitioners embrace some aspects of science as an important part of the way they do their work. We have to create the equivalent in the profession not only of academic researchers and clinicians, but also of clinical professors, and reflective practitioners; and they have to learn to work together in a kind of intellectual and practical partnership to solve concrete problems as best they can – not compete with each other over whose knowledge is more authoritative.” (Moore, 2006: 335)

There is room for improvement on both sides – flexibility, understanding, developing trust (Boba, 2010), open communication (Stephens, 2010) and building of ‘common vocabulary and common expectations’ (Buerger, 2010) – and the section 7.4. will discuss the implications of this in more detail. The gap between theory and practice, between an academic and a practitioner that is so often commented on and lamented over, can be seen as an artefact of institutionalised separatism, rather than any real division. We are all, to some degree, caught up in our narrow worldviews depending on background, experiences, organisational context and so on. But there are overlapping areas and opportunities for expansion between the police/detective and academic worldviews – to be both discovered *and actively created* if we are to improve either.

Indeed, it can be argued that all science is in its heart *experience*, which has been systematically organised, tested and reflected on, while progress in professional practice is made possible largely by ideas and discoveries generated by academic research (of course such impetus does come from other sources as well e.g. politicians and policy makers, public, professional associations etc.) (Jaschke & Neidhardt, 2007). Bourdieu (1987) also comments how those representing the more theoretical side of the discipline are likely to introduce changes and innovations crucial to the development and survival of the system. Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007) outline the four interlinked arguments that led to the establishment of an academic discipline of

'police science' in Germany. These were professionalism (need academically educated police leaders due to the increasing complexity and demand of police work), call for an establishment of a 'Police University', need to catch up with standards set by other countries, and crucially the research-based approach and recognition that both theoretical and empirical police research are necessary for progress of the profession.

Heslop (2011) concludes that it is the individual habitus of officers and academics and their interaction that shapes the immediately experienced field of academic police education and the degree for which it becomes a site of conflict. Participant 6 explains how the university the force decided to partner with displayed a more inclusive attitude, which swayed the decision in its favour.

"[Name of the University] have got more of a team approach. They've never made me feel that they look down on the fact that I've got no qualifications. Quite the opposite. They've offered us an opportunity to develop if we so wish, but there's never been 'you must in order to continue delivering the course, you must.' I think that might come in the future and more and more people are doing a Certificate in Education and moving on in that direction anyway. But no, I'm quite positive about it. Personalities involved and the professionalism of all those involved, I think will make it run smoothly, because the force wants it." (Participant 6)

Similar views were expressed by another trainer at the same force:

"It's all been very friendly and it seems not quite as formal as people are used to in the world of academia. They think it's all going to be very starchy and formal, I haven't had that impression at all so far, it all seems quite relaxed and approachable really." (Participant 9)

So, while academia may be an inevitable part of police training in the future, there is considerable latitude for the individuals and organisations involved to make the transition either a positive or a negative experience.

Even Bourdieu (1987: 823) is optimistic, pointing out that the "*hostility between the holder of different types of [...] capital, who are committed to very divergent interests and world-views in their particular work of interpretation, does not preclude the complementary exercise of their functions.*" In other words, it is not about two different worlds but more like the two sides of the same coin.

"I would imagine with what we have in the police as police trainers and combining it with universities as well, I would imagine we would come up with a better package [...] because we've got both sides of the coin really." (Participant 8)

If the different factions, while adversarial, can still work toward fulfilling mutual needs (ibid,) the question then becomes what 'mutual needs' academia and police have and how can they be fulfilled in a way that satisfies both. Participant 10 gets to the heart of the matter:

"The two [police and academia] need to meet somewhere but I don't particularly know where really. It goes back to do cops accept academia. And I think they see it as a... I think they resist change. I think change is a very slow process, particularly in the police." (Participant 10)

7.3. Making Change Happen

Introducing academic police education as a rule not an exception, implies a massive change for the police, not just in terms of practical arrangements but individual and organisational identity, and deeper cultural shift. In this section, I want to return to the point made right at the start of the thesis: that while there has scarcely been a time in its history that the police have not been subject to some type of reform, their impact and success has often been nominal. The police are aware of the issue; for example, Participant 7 observed how *“Police service is somewhat belligerent, shall we say, with a massive change.”* Loftus (2010: 16) argues the resistance stems from the *“enduring peculiarities of the police role itself,”* i.e. law enforcement, danger, and the position of authority that affect the occupational culture despite the hopes that community policing philosophy and the increasing number of female, ethnic minority, and lesbian and gay police officers would have diluted its negative effects. This, of course, also harks back to the relative ‘uniqueness’ of the police and its function as discussed in 1.1.1., which then bears relevance to any discussion about changing it.

Manning’s (2010: Ch7) review of various attempts to reform policing conclude that the changes have been largely technological, short-lived and limited in organisational scope. Several commentators have pointed out the vicious cycle the service appears stuck on: actual or alleged corruption and malpractice followed by an introduction of new rules and norms, which are then adapted to the old ways of working and not the other way around, and so the cycle starts over (Bayley, 1996; cited in Johnston, 2000; Neyroud & Beckley, 2001; Reiner, 2010). The stubborn adherence to the crime fighting ethos and ‘law and order’ framework and refusal to recognise their limitations acts as an effective barrier to change (ibid). *“Change is therefore resisted if it challenges existing definition of the problems, if it makes officers feel more vulnerable and their work less predictable, if it deviates from the accepted methods of how their work is to be accomplished, if it does not accord with ‘commonsense’, if it violates their collective values, and if ignoring the change has no consequences”* (Chan, 1997: 235). In light of this, it is necessary to question if repositioning detective (and other police) training to the realm of higher education – and the wider professionalisation process of which such move is a sign of – will turn out to be anything other than a cosmetic change? Is ‘professionalisation via academisation’ simply yet another facelift for the same old body of policing, credentialing and reinforcing the taken-for-granted assumptions of its role and function without truly challenging or changing them? It is too early to make an informed judgement, and so far both optimistic and cynical commentators abound both within and outside the police.

What I can do is review the ways of achieving long-lasting and far-reaching change; one that challenges *“principles that have hitherto been regarded as sacrosanct”* and addresses

“previously avoided questions”, for example, about the role and relevance of constable, introduction of national standards, potential for learning from outside the service and the structure of organisation (HMIC, 2004: 173). The answers to these, i.e. the *content of change*, appear to be found in professionalism and the knowledge, practice and values it implies (Chan, 1997; see 1.3.).

Then *why* would police be willing to adapt academic education for their detectives and wider in order to achieve them? Schein (1985; cited in Chan, 1997) identifies two main motivations for organisational learning: problem-solving (positive, rewarding) and anxiety-avoidance (negative, defensive). The latter usually leads to the more negative aspects of police occupational culture as in order to avoid cognitive (overload of stimuli and information), role-related (inherent danger of the job), and social (isolation, getting into trouble) anxiety, officers rely on quick, reactive responses provided by the existing directory and recipe knowledge (ibid, see 7.1.). Resistance to change is a result of its perceived cost (when existing behaviours and attitudes have been learned for anxiety-avoidance reasons) and lack of incentives and sanctions to encourage it (ibid). In Chapter 3, I mentioned the wish for more central direction when it came to the training arrangements and particularly the PIP. Participant 13, head of training at one of the local forces, explicitly spoke of the importance of consequences, stating that in order to ensure individual forces’ (and Chief Constables’) adherence to national standards when it came to training *“There’s got to be some sanctions or whatever. That might be even funding reduction.”* Later in the same interview, he continued:

“What they didn’t look at was what time and effort it would take for somebody to get that [PIP accredited detectives] and what were the sanctions. There were no sanctions. So why do it when, you know? So they should’ve, the NPIA should’ve put sanctions in. So ‘if you do not do your PIP accreditation you will no longer be able to interview people for these offences.’ And if that had been the case then people think ‘oh, I go up on court, I won’t be able to... my, my job’s in threat if I don’t do that.’ And they’ve probably gotten a better understanding.” (Participant 13)

But would imposition of official sanctions work in the context of adapting academic police education? More likely, the negative consequences of not doing so will arise from the failure to attain professional status and the legitimacy and symbolic capital it would bring.

The next consideration is *how change occurs*, i.e. how higher education is introduced to police training in order to advance professionalisation via academisation. Reform and changes to policing policy usually stem from government officials and various interest and pressure groups (Leishman et al., 1996) or, increasingly, from within the police itself (Savage & Charman, 1996). In addition to the ‘insiders’, policy-making can be influenced by various ‘outsiders’, such as the public, media, judiciary and Parliament, but typically only in times of instability and crisis when routine methods are deemed inadequate (Leishman et al., 1996) – which is also when the academic community tends to be invited to give input or gets vocal enough to be heard. But the moment of crisis can be when an organisation is most to open to challenging of its practices

(Goldstein, 1990; cited in Townsley et al., 2003). This is the first stage of Lewin's (1958; as summarised by Townsley et al., 2003) model of organisational change which includes:

- 1) *unfreezing* present practices by demonstrating their unsuitability for the current context and thus altering individuals' perceptions of the situation,
- 2) *changing* to new practices by explaining and demonstrating their benefits in operation as ensuring required structural support systems (e.g. financing, communication of changes, training and education, and effective management) are in place, and
- 3) *re-freezing* the new practices, i.e. solidify them through monitoring, positive feedback, commitment to long-term goals and benefits.

To adapt the model to the issue police professionalisation via academisation means the process would require:

- 1) Realisation of the inability of
 - a. the established policing methods to meet the demands of the rapidly changing society,
 - b. the current training arrangements to provide the highly (and broadly) educated officers needed to do that, and
 - c. the police to secure the level of legitimacy, monopoly and symbolic capital needed for achieving professional status without the above two.
- 2) Demonstrating (through research, more of which is needed) the benefits of academic education and meeting the challenges posed by the transition (see Chapter 6). This can be difficult as the participants acknowledge, although there appears to be some cause for optimism:

"There's been so much change over the last few years; the restructure of divisions from having a responding group, an uniformed group, to response group and neighbourhood policing teams that I think officers are just getting fed up with change after change after change. What I think... there's positive change going on at the moment, it's just about getting them to see that and work with you."
(Participant 6)

"It's about changing views and attitudes and you got to start somewhere and try and do it. It's like, someone once described to me about changing attitudes that it's like an oil tanker. To stop an oil tanker probably takes ten miles. You, when they decide they want stop they got to think about it ten miles before they do. [...] Tony Blair said, didn't he, that if you get to forty and your views and attitudes haven't changed then you've learnt nothing in life." (Participant 10)

- 3) The final stage requires long-term commitment to the academic police education, e.g. establishing basic educational prerequisites, laying out clear, standardised and flexible routes of continuous professional development and linking them to career advancement and developing fruitful co-operation between police and academia in terms of practice and research. However, re-freezing new practices must not mean putting them in permafrost. Change should not be seen as something temporary or

transitory to be gotten over but as an endemic and constant feature of police work (Savage & Charman, 1996; Reiner, 2010).

Conceptualising 'culture as knowledge' and 'culture as construction' (see 7.1.) provides a good starting point to consider how police culture can allow and facilitate change (Chan, 1997). However, to fully address the social and political contexts of police work, it is necessary to look at culture also as series of relations. Let us then return to Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'habitus' (see 7.1.). The former can be compared to a game, a configuration of relations that follows certain rules and regularities that are often not explicitly codified, while habitus can then be understood as a 'feel for the game', a subtle knowledge of the unwritten rules (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). It is the set of dispositions developed and internalised during individual's life; durable yet continually shaped by interactions with others and the outside world (Heslop, 2011). Chan (1997: 76-80) outlines the 'habitus of policing', using Sackmann's (1991; cited in *ibid*, see 7.1.) four categories:

1. Axiomatic knowledge, i.e. the 'police mandate', the reasons for why things are done they way are. For the police, this translates to the perceived aims of their role: enforcing the law, maintaining order, protecting the public and catching criminals.
2. Dictionary knowledge, i.e. the 'police categories', the routine ways officers categorise people and events with particular attention paid to what is 'normal' and what is 'abnormal' in a given context.
3. Directory knowledge, i.e. the 'police methods', the tried and tested actions and patterns of behaviour that drive operational policing, usually based on commonsense, experience and discretion.
4. Recipe knowledge, i.e. the 'police values', the embedded cultural norms that provide suggestions as to what should and should not be done in certain situations.

Section 6.3.2. discussed the differences and similarities of police and academic cultures, the socialisation into the latter being as intense and all encompassing as socialisation into the former. Thus, in order to 'make change happen' and successfully introduce academic police education, it is also important to consider the academic field and habitus and how change-oriented they are. Bourdieu (1988) described two routes to academic career: scientific/intellectual capital through research (funding, projects, publications) and academic capital (teaching, networking, leadership and gate-keeping activities). The relative emphasis placed on the two varies between institutions and departments, although research culture has become increasingly prominent in UK universities due to Research Assessment Exercise and the struggle for funding (Deem, & Lucas, 2005). It is, however, weaker in vocational fields (*ibid*), which will perceptibly lessen the status of academic police education, making it the next 'Cinderella' of academia (Miers, 2002; see 6.3.2.). Higher education (particularly Anglo-American) is increasingly characterised by "*processes of*

corporatisation, casualisation, commodification, contractualism and compliance” as well as continuous competition (over research funding, publications, student numbers), making it “*work against, and undermine, collegiality and cooperation*” (Reay, 2004: 34; Baudeur, 2006) – both qualities essential to moving beyond the two-worlds thinking (7.2.2.). Socialisation into any professional community (police, academic or police-and-academic) creates the professional habitus. Forms of symbolic capital in academia and the academic habitus are highly gendered and classed, masculinity and whiteness being valued (Reay, 2004) as they are, of course, in most professions and particularly in the police. Academia can exacerbate social inequalities, marginalising those who have not acquired suitable academic habitus through socialisation or possess the necessary tools of social and cultural capital (Gopaul, 2011). Concerns over equality and diversity should thus be given serious consideration during the process of moving police education into academic settings.

Both habitus and capital can only be understood in the context of the field, i.e. what is needed and valued within each given context (Gopaul, 2011). For example, White and Heslop (2011) point out that the social capital of academic education is not particularly valued within the field of policing. The interviewees’ opinions on this were ambivalent; some saw it carrying certain value, mentioning e.g. the graduate entry scheme and the importance of higher education for managerial roles, while others stressed the overriding importance of relevant work experience. Conversely, the value of situated and subjective knowledge is often overlooked within academia, as discussed previously. The close relationship between the habitus and field of policing is clearly recognised in the literature, which often describes police occupational culture as a coping strategy, made necessary by the conditions of the job (Chan, 1997). In turn it is also taken for granted – with less clarity and support – that it is the cultural knowledge (habitus) that steers police practice (ibid). But such a linear model is misleading, as it assumes that changes in structural conditions will automatically filter down, resulting in changes in police practice (ibid). This has, of course, been the downfall of many a reform attempt as changing the rules and regulations tends to lead to merely the appearance of change, not actual change. Indeed, it is clear from interviews that while it is necessary for the structural changes to happen in order for academic police education to take place, they alone will not guarantee its success or acceptance.

Together, capital, habitus and field create practice, i.e. the actions individuals take within the given context (Gopaul, 2011). The relationships between the three elements (field, habitus and practice) are multi-directional and evitable, and it is the interaction between structural and conditions and cultural knowledge that matters (Chan, 1997). To treat them as separate entities, to *change* them separately, will, ultimately, change nothing. Thus, to change the practice of police education, one must change both the internal and external structures of policing and academia (field) and their cultural knowledge (habitus) and to change them *simultaneously* (ibid). To make

such change *sustainable* requires motivation, willingness and ability (Schein, 1985; cited in Chan, 1997), and the key to that is facilitating a more positive culture by “*establishing a working environment which rewards problem-solving and innovation but also allows people to learn from, rather than be punished for, their mistakes*” (Chan, 1997: 235). This resonates strongly with the idea of learning culture and whether or not police can be classed as one, as discussed in the previous section, and the ‘cultural change’ from quantity to quality interviews talked about in the context of PIP (3.2.2.). Indeed, Patterson (2011) observes how higher education is typically introduced to police training during periods of reform, reflecting a wider organisational and cultural shift toward such values as reflectivity, lifelong learning, flexibility of responses, and appreciation of complexity.

Finally, as hinted in 7.2.2., the role of individuals should not be underestimated. Organisational change does not occur spontaneously (Schein, 1985; cited in Chan, 1997). It needs impetus, direction and leadership, all of which those inside the organisation, police officers and academics *at all levels*, are in the perfect position to provide. Indeed, while axiomatic knowledge is considered the logical source of change as it shapes the other types of knowledge, it is typically held by the top levels of the organisation but not necessarily shared throughout the organisation (Sackmann, 1991, cited in Chan, 1997). If that is the case, then changes to the axiomatic knowledge would be unlikely to have much of an effect beyond the top management. Wood et al (2008) emphasise the importance of nurturing rank and file officers as change agents, empowering new ways of thinking and acting, particularly through participatory research. This is important as it is often those not yet invested in the existing professional conventions (field and habitus of academia and/or police), i.e. students and junior staff, who are in the best position to affect change (Baudeur, 2006). Unfortunately, they also lack the necessary authority and resources to initiate transformation, whereas those who possess them are already invested in cultural and institutional reproduction (ibid). It is for these reasons that introduction of academic police education requires acceptance, engagement and support from all levels of the organisation (6.2.2.) and comprehensive and fundamental adjustments to the political, cultural, social and economic structures of policing and academia both.

The recent decision to follow Neyroud’s (2011) recommendations and establish the Police Professional Body seems a step in the right direction and a sign that the relationship between the police and the academia has indeed changed for the better like this participant comments:

“It’s changed. I think it’s changing. And it’s just a cultural thing, as old forces are changing through sort of culture and attitude. That’s one area I think where we are changing. Again there is some way to go but I’ve seen a vast improvement over the last ten years...”
(Participant 14)

Maintaining the direction and momentum of such change, carries implications for the various stakeholders affecting and affected by it, and it is these I will consider in the next part of the chapter.

7.4. Implications for Stakeholders

Marx (1988) observes how having two audiences for one's research – academic and policy/practitioner orientated – poses some problems. Those with a social science background are looking for theories and classifications based on empirical data while policy makers and practitioners have little use for knowledge purely for its own sake, instead looking for advice and best-practice type examples. Research findings rarely result in a single unambiguous policy recommendation, despite what policy makers would prefer (Eck, 1983). The links between research and policy are tentative and indirect, based on assumption, logical argument and other research findings (ibid). Policy implications are just that, *implications*.

Continuing from the two previous sections on 'moving beyond dichotomy' and 'making change happen', I will now attempt to provide some. Figure 4 (5.1.) identified the 'interactive triangle' of higher education, professions and the state (Jarausch, 1983). Thus, it is important to address implication for all three: academia, police and the government.

An essential part of the establishing academic police education is to build lasting and fruitful relationships between practitioners and academic community. Literature provides some suggestions on how to achieve this. Academia must be willing to engage with research topics that are meaningful to the police and do so *in collaboration* with practitioners by utilising participative and action research methodologies, and adopting a multi-discipline and –partnership approach (e.g. Buerger, 2010, Goldstein, 2003; Rosenbaum, 2010). The focus should shift from simply evaluating programmes to improving them, addressing why they do or do not work, and creating new ways of doing things (Thacher, 2008). Researchers must accept the value and usefulness of situated, subjective knowledge, i.e. expertise gained through experience instead of insisting on abstract, decontextualised universal knowledge (ibid; Goldstein, 2003). All of this requires a change in the academic reward system to value engagement with external partners and dissemination of research through means beyond the often inaccessible academic journals (Buerger, 2010; Rosenbaum, 2010). The growth of problem-based learning approaches (5.3.) and the widening of views on what a professional knowledgebase ought to comprise of (5.4.) suggest the move to this direction is happening.

A move like this need not be seen as some sort of altruistic 'reach out' activity but as a necessary opening of the gates of the ivory tower. Garland and Sparks (2000), reflecting on the position academic criminology, argued that the consequences of social change are such that the discipline can no longer afford to maintain separation between theoretical and empirical, strategy-oriented research. Moreover, retaining a pure 'expert role', i.e. simply providing policy recommendations based on research findings, means remaining reactive with no real control over how the data produced will be used. The aim then, and indeed the *responsibility*, of the discipline, the authors posit, is to be more critical and more public. To do so, criminology must step outside

its comfort zones and engage with the wider, interdisciplinary frameworks, ask new questions and make new connections (ibid) – all actions that should also facilitate the links between police and universities.

Overall then, the recommendations are to move from research done *on* the police to research done *with* them (Innes, 2010). However, at the same time, research *for* instead of the police carries a potential danger of becoming a purely regulatory exercise that reinforces and amplifies police concerns and tactics, without proper understanding of their nature and consequences or questioning their underlying assumptions (Manning, 2010). Indeed, Manning (ibid: 106) argues such a trend is easily observable, much of the police research being “*embarrassingly eager to study any currently fashionable question without theorising it*”, dependent as it is on “*policy-based, short-term crisis funding*”, and restricted by a narrow understanding of what qualifies as ‘scientific’ research. As with any discipline rooted in concrete problems, seeking solutions while maintaining a sufficiently critical approach to how they are applied, and why the problems exist in the first place, is a delicate balance to strike. It is thus important for both police and academics to acknowledge the ambiguity of organisational priorities and the plurality of goals (Thacher, 2001 and 2008).

The current thesis also evokes the more profound questions about the, changing and increasingly contested, role of universities in the society, which higher education has been grappling with for some time now. Is the purpose of universities to develop well-rounded individuals, able to think critically and appreciate a variety of viewpoints? Or is it to transfer technical skills and knowledge, aimed to help graduates secure a place on the labour market? And why should the two be mutually exclusive? It is beyond the scope of the current thesis to review the relevant literature and theorising, but it is worth noting that the concept of police academic education strongly brings these questions to the fore and requires the academia to openly engage with them. In doing so, it embodies the growing tension between broad (‘general’, ‘liberal’, ‘civilising’) education and one explicitly tailored toward a certain vocation or career.

Introducing academic education to the police requires both cultural and structural changes within the organisation (see 7.3.). Professionalisation, and as a part of that, academisation, will happen, but the police has considerable scope to seize this as an opportunity. The ‘age of austerity’ calls not just for a more effective organisation but one that fosters close links with the society it serves. If the police want to align themselves with the public, then they must become an organisation that understands the diverse needs, goals and values of the society today. Being an isolated inward-turning organisation that stubbornly clings to the old ways of doing things will not achieve this. Undue defensiveness does not facilitate problem-solving. Neighbourhood policing and partnership working, on the other hand, are lauded as the way to ‘reconnect with the communities’ and should, at least in theory, allow the alternative voices to

emerge and (hopefully) be heard. Academic education has a potential for increasing the chances for community policing to become what it purports to be.

Indeed, professionalisation should benefit the whole of the society, via the expert knowledge professions develop and maintain and the essential services they provide (Potts, 1982). Particularly so for the police, which *“distributes and redistributes social goods on behalf of the collectivity”* (Manning, 2010: 248). And yet, *“police professionalisation has tended to emphasise pursuit of professional status in order to obtain its perceived rewards for the occupational group, much to the neglect of concern with providing society its own rewards of professionalism”* (Potts, 1982: 51). Ericson (1993: 227) reminds us that *“in society as a whole there has not been fundamental change in the structure of power, but only in the tools by which this power is exercised.”* Police officers and detectives are some of those tools. Professionalising simply for the sake of professionalisation, or gaining academic qualifications just for the status and symbolic capital they bring, will make them more effective and efficient tools, but it does not change their purpose.

Crime (and its investigation) is a complex phenomenon that requires an interdisciplinary approach (Fraser, 2008). Schwirian (1998) offers strategies for unification through structured research utilisation, collaborative research and incorporation of theory into research and practice. Though it is beyond the scope of the current study to examine them further, they provide some practical ways for advancing the same within the police, who currently do not appear to be making the most of their human resources. Finding out exactly what those are is the necessary first step; information about officers' education and specialist knowledge and skills they bring from outside the organisation is something that is only now being collected, though not, to my knowledge, systematically. Providing the frontline officers with structured and supported opportunities to gain *and* use knowledge and skills higher education can offer would enhance and validate their professional status. It would also demonstrate in a concrete way the trust and respect of the organisation and the government. At the same time, a long-term shift to the community policing paradigm would grant these highly educated officers the autonomy of a professional working environment (Roberg & Bonn, 2004).

In discussing the 'learning of the police profession', Karp and Stenmark (2011: 5) emphasise the importance of 'ideologies', i.e. *“conceptions about what the ultimate purpose of police work should be, how the work should be done, and how its content should be communicated to police students.”* The ideologies include formal and informal values, as well as rational (practical knowledge and skills) and fostering (expectations of behaviour) goals. Together with constitutional (e.g. government regulations), organisational (e.g. financial limitations) and physical (e.g. access to materials) frames, they dictate what is considered both useful and acceptable for police students to learn in order to do the job. The knowledge and skills higher

education can provide must then become embedded into the ideology of the profession, while the police officers self-image, their professional identity, must extend beyond the rank-structure into the world of academic education and externally recognised skills and qualifications it brings (Jaschke and Neidhardt, 2007).

Punch (2007) identifies two trends likely to hinder the recent 'intellectual emancipation' of the police. First of these is the continued adherence to NPM and quantitative performance targets. The second, particularly relevant to the current discussion, is the instrumental hoarding of qualifications in order to achieve professionalisation. He argues strongly in favour of non-vocational degrees and the value of 'liberal-arts' approach, quoting officers themselves who are seeing the benefit in acquiring a broader view of the world and a different way of looking at things. Higher education is not the only source of gaining that either. Punch (2007) recommends a model where every officer would have the opportunity to 'step out of the police culture' by taking a paid sabbatical year to either study or e.g. work in another service organisation or do volunteering work.

Whatever form it takes, the move toward a more academic police training (for investigative skills and more generally) must be accepted at all levels of the organisation – from the officers undergoing the process, to the supervisors having to give allowances for that and to the senior levels of the organisation negotiating the practical arrangements. Roberg and Bonn (2004) suggest various supporting policies, including a competitive salary scales dependent on education levels and graduated timetable for phasing in the higher education requirement. In addition, closing the perceived gap between police and academia requires police practitioners to be willing to engage with academics, to facilitate research access, to understand and accept the need for longer timeframes and the possibility of negative findings and ones that challenge or criticise established beliefs and practices (Goldstein, 2003).

The introduction of elected Police Commissioners will have a direct impact on all of the above. Greater politicisation and fragmentation seems likely, and there are fears over the return of the 'post-code lottery' as Commissioners exercise their power and individual discretion over policing matters, including whether and how much to invest in training and education of officers and how to utilise them afterwards. Education, like research, takes time, and the rapid electoral lifecycle of Commissioners is in direct conflict with the call for long-term approach to planning and problem-solving.

Actions of both police and academics are limited by 'external sovereigns', including e.g. politicians, courts, organisational demands, struggle for funding and so on (Buerger, 2010). We have already discussed how successful change depends on transforming not just the cultural assumptions of individual officers (or academics!), but also the wider political and organisational framework in which they take place (Chan, 1997). Police develop constituencies for objectives

(what they should do) and operational strategies (how they should do it) based on the expectations of stakeholders, such as the government, other criminal justice system agencies and the community (Scott, 2003). To change constituencies about investigative work (or police work more generally), what knowledge and skills officers need for it and how they should be gained and validated (qualifications), perhaps then it is the expectations of the stakeholders that must change?

The government has a crucial role to play here. As Bourdieu (1987) points out, the relative power (professional capital) held by the different positions within a field depends on its general position within the wider power structures. In other words, the status of both police and academia depend on the state's view of and respect for them. If government in its policy making is unwilling to listen to the expert opinion (usually equals academia), then why should the police? And if the government does not view the police as important to the function of the society, then why would the academia? As cuts are predicted to decrease the number of frontline officers, the emphasis should shift to quality over quantity, i.e. professionalism of the service provided.

Of course, funding is going to be an issue not just for the police, but also for the higher education, evoking a similar question to above about the perceived worth academia. Market forces are not simply managed, but mobilised (e.g. via fostering competition between universities, reconceptualising students as paying customers) for political ends in order for the government to exert remote control over higher education (Middleton, 2000). For Middleton, the ulterior motive is still well-meaning: improving skills and employability of graduates. Regardless of the motivations, the impact of increasingly educational costs on accessibility and equality is feared to be severe. Manning (2010: 132 – American context, but arguably highly applicable) criticises political discussion of policing for being clouded by *“ideological commitment to equality paired with the denial of inequality, even as it grows.”* It is a depressingly small leap to wonder if the same is true of government rhetoric on higher education. If the police aims to ‘recruit the educated’ rather than ‘educate the recruited’ as was argued in the US some 35 years ago (Sherman, 1978), then it is up to the state to ensure that the ‘educated citizens’ with aspirations to become ‘citizens in uniform’ represent all sections of the society. At the moment, the government's policies do not look promising to achieve this.

A question that arises then is whether the government is really interested in a professional, academically educated police force with all that entails. After all, as already established, it will legitimise their knowledge claim, strengthen police's social and cultural capital and professional status, and with that the ability to ‘fight their corner’ as one of the interviewees put it. And yet the rewards for the policy makers could be substantial. As argued above and in the previous chapters, academically educated officers are well suited for neighbourhood policing, which gets results at lower economic and social cost through fair treatment and community

engagement (Jackson & Bradford, 2010) – an approach that feeds perfectly into the government’s rhetoric of citizen participation and responsibility. Thus, their policymaking should support any endeavours aiming to enhance police training and education.

7.5. Against Professionalisation and Academisation

“If you put all these people through university and you get them educated and then they have all these qualifications, what is it going to matter?” (Participant 11)

In the current thesis, I have addressed the myriad causes and consequences of professionalising the police via academic education, both at practical and theoretical level. However, before the concluding chapter, it is necessary to also briefly consider the arguments against such a move. Professionalising the police (or even just detectives) via academisation is not uncomplicatedly a ‘good thing’, although it does appear to be an inevitable one. There are tensions around education, training and professionalism (Lee & Punch, 2004), and the relationship is far from straightforward.

“Is the professionalising the police service part of the qualification or is, should we be professionalising the police service per se? The police service should be giving a professional service to the community irrespective of whether they’re getting a qualification to do it or not. If we’re undertaking qualifications, is the main reason for us to deliver professionalism because we’re been, going to get a qualification from it? And that’s wrong. We should be delivering a professional service and the academia side should be ancillary to it.” (Participant 7)

There have been negative as well as positive consequences to academic education for police officers: negative attitudes of peers and supervisors, feeling unable to ‘fit in’ or even ostracised (e.g. Young, 1991). Of course, the increasing amount of officers with graduate and postgraduate degrees has gone some way to ‘normalise’ higher education within the police and changing attitudes (see 5.6.).

However, *“hiring college graduates may not guarantee professionalism”* as Carlan and Lewis (2009: 382) point out. *“Undergraduate education may assist occupational groups (for example: teaching; nursing; social work; and the police force) to upgrade their status but it is debatable whether it is uniquely critical to creating a more skilled workforce given that so many of those skills can be acquired through job training rather than in higher education per se”* (Bassett & Tapper, 2009:139). Indeed, Cordner and Shain (2011) caution against ‘naive university-envy’ as higher education institutes, and the courses provided to the police are not without their problems as already discussed (Bayley, 2011; Heslop, 2011). Moreover, adopting a progressive, student-centred problem-based learning approach is often more easily done within training schools than in universities (Werth, 2011). White and Heslop (2011) question the planned uniformity of education for public sector professions (nursing, teaching, policing), reminding us that the different training models (see 7.2.1.) are a result of specific historical, cultural and political influences. Universal adoption of one can have unforeseen consequences to both the profession and academia. The authors conclude that for the police the creation of higher education policing degrees has changed ‘nothing at all.’ They predict the recommended pre-employment training model (Neyroud, 2011) would only lead to increased theory/practice divide as *“top-down*

imposition of the model does nothing to tackle the powerful inertia of the police service itself" (White & Heslop, 2011: 9). In similar a vein, Ericson (1993) argues that professionalisation will do nothing to increase visibility of police work and despite what changes are made to legal and administrative rules, detectives will still be able to filter and adapt them into their practical rules, which remain known only to those within the occupational group and culture. Strongly then, the above points echo the need for a simultaneous change of field and habitus as discussed in 7.3.

One of the main arguments against police professionalisation is the organisation's deeply rooted ethos of being 'citizens in uniform' and the view of professions as elitist institutions isolated from 'common society' the police are supposed to represent (Neyroud, 2011). Worries that professionalisation may result in social isolation and deteriorating relations between the police and community (Potts, 1982) are also familiar for social work (Cree et al, 2009) and nursing (Burke & Harris, 2000). Raising the educational requirements is feared to have a detrimental effect on recruitment of ethnic minorities, who may not have equal access to higher education, making such requirement discriminatory (Roberg & Bonn, 2004). This concern was also raised by my interviewees who worried that a prerequisite of academic skills and qualifications would potentially raise the bar too high and 'leave some people behind.'

"It should be the person that makes the police officer, not the qualification." (Participant 2)

"You don't need to be educated to a degree level, I think, to do a pretty good job in the police. And you would miss all those people who are not academically gifted, but would be really, really good cops. You would have a smaller workforce to draw from. You wouldn't have so much diversity and abilities to draw from." (Participant 3)

"I think it's exclusionary to some of our communities. I think our police force needs to reflect the communities we police. And for us to better understand diversity, we need to have a diverse police service" (Participant 6)

"I wouldn't want to shut the door on people who wouldn't have gone through that academic gateway because there are plenty of people out there who perhaps haven't had those opportunities to go through university, who would make incredibly good police officers. And I sit here as one of them." (Participant 5)

These are echoes of the nineteenth century concerns over the emergence of a new 'professional' police force, which revisionist reading of police history suggests came from the need to distance the police from their working class loyalties and thus bring them more on the side of the powerful (Reiner, 2010). They are not without basis in the current context either, as the government's plans for the higher education sector pose increasing challenges in terms of equality of access (see 5.2.). One suggested strategy for dealing with the issue for the police is targeted recruitment over a broad geographical area (Roberg & Bonn, 2004), but as the research on the topic is largely US-based, there is a need to investigate how higher education requirements can be introduced to the police in the UK context in a way that facilitates diversity. Furthermore, it may be that higher education has reached a saturation point, and increasing numbers does not mean increasing access there (Bassett & Tapper, 2009) anymore than it does in the police.

Finally, professionalisation may prove to be nothing but a myth while reality brings

increased regulation and bureaucratisation, hierarchical relations, restrictions and continued adherence to new public management principles (Evetts, 2006). Furthermore:

“...occupational and professional workers themselves are accepting, incorporating and accommodating the idea of ‘profession’ and particularly ‘professionalism’ in their work. It is also apparent that in the case of many, if not most, occupational groups the discourse of professionalism is in fact being constructed and used by the managers, supervisors and employers of workers, and it is being utilized in order to bring about occupational change and rationalization as well as to (self-)discipline workers in the conduct of their work.”
(ibid: 139-140)

The current discourse of professionalism within service work (such as policing) then operates as a way to control the occupational group from a distance (ibid). This has already been recognised in other ‘new professions’, and e.g. Timmons (2010) argues that the shift of emphasis from gaining autonomy to increased state regulation means that the traditional process of professionalisation is no longer a straightforwardly positive experience for many healthcare workers. However, this does not mean that there is no value in professionalisation; the rewards of professionalisation may be less than expected but the consequences of deprofessionalisation would be severe (Potts, 1982).

7.6. Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, I have developed the theoretical framework of police professionalisation via academisation, building on the foundations laid earlier, particularly in 4.3. and 5.3., regarding the significance of instructional abstraction to the professions. Police legitimacy, its position within the market and its ability to meet the increasing demands of the society have been experiencing something of a decline for a while now. Academic education and the externally recognised qualifications it provides present a potential solution to the problem. I argued that professionalisation via academic education can be seen as a deliberate attempt to redefine and re-legitimise the police, its exercise of power and its knowledge claim - particularly in relation to those outside the organisation: the public, other professions and the government. Academia acts as a depository and distributor of knowledge, the control of which is one of the ways to define professional and disciplinary boundaries. It also carries immense cultural and social capital, and through them, the potential for equally great economic capital. I provided an overview of the complex conceptual relationship between knowledge and culture in the context of organisations such as the police. Culture can be viewed as knowledge, a construction, and a series of relations, all of which add to the framework of police professionalisation via academic education. Some of the key conceptual tools of the thesis, however, turned out to be Bourdieu's notion of field and habitus. The former consists of the structures, institutions and activities that make up the 'sites of conflict' within which the competition over competence and capital takes place. And it is here that academic education and credentials prove a valuable commodity to have, strengthening, for example, the profession's power to define and interpret the social world, and the prevailing ontological understandings of it.

The next section of the chapter moved on to consider the various practical and theoretical issues of bringing police and academia, police training and academic education, closer together. The content of police academic education depends on what exactly the police's role is expected to be and, as discussed back in the Introduction, there is no simple answer to that. The current policing knowledgebase is in need of clarification and extension. One suggested solution is the establishment of an integrated discipline of police science, which would synthesise relevant knowledge and methods from other existing disciplines. The options for the institutional and structural arrangements of academic police education are varied. The current formats and degrees are characterised mainly as 'accessorising', referring to the way higher education is seen as separate, something additional, to the main vocational training. Attempts to move toward a synthesis of the two can be found outside UK, where police academies have achieved university status. Such a model may be too isolationist, however, depriving student officers of the wider experience of academia and its diversity of views. In this section, I also briefly covered the much

debated question over the introduction of pre-entry qualifications for the police and some of the key questions re-organisation of police education evokes. In summary, the issues of content and format reflect the ones of legitimacy and legality, both which academic police education must gain. In the next section, I turned my attention to the ways of moving beyond the false dichotomy of 'two worlds thinking' and the artificial separation of theory and practice. I argued that while the worlds of academia and police may not seem easily compatible at the first glance, they in fact have a potential to complement each other if we pass the either-or rhetoric and the various structural and institutional obstacles in the way of a true and fruitful partnership. There are opportunities for organisations and individuals to make this happen through choices and behaviour.

Indeed, the next big section of the chapter focussed entirely on the concept of change within the police. Its track record with reform is far from stellar, and any change has been characterised as superficial and short-lived. After briefly touching on the motivations of change, I moved on to discuss how police academic education could be successfully introduced. A crisis point often provides the required impetus for the organisational change process, and it is possible to map police professionalisation via academisation onto the stages of acknowledging the unsuitability of current practice, changing to new practice by demonstrating its benefits and committing to the new practice while allowing for the potential of further change. I also returned to the concepts of culture, knowledge and Bourdieu's analytical framework. The professional habitus (the internalised dispositions) of both the police and academia and their forms of symbolic capital (what is valued) possess traits that work against a successful partnership and its fair and equal implementation, while academic capital tends not to be valued within the field of policing and vice versa. The relationship between the field (structural conditions) and habitus (cultural knowledge) is interactional and so creating sustainable change such as a long-term shift to police academic education means changing both of them at the same time. This does not happen spontaneously but requires leadership, commitment and communication at all levels of the organisation.

Next, the chapter turned to consider the implications police professionalisation via academic education carries to higher education, police, government as well as the society as a whole. Policy implications are rarely as precise and detailed as policy makers would want, and so this section provides suggestions of shifts in focus and priorities, ways to facilitate that rarest of all compromise (where everyone benefits). For the academia, this means more public co-operative engagement and research with practitioners, while maintaining a critical approach. It also evokes some fundamental questions about the purpose of higher education and the role of universities in the society. For the police, the key issues to remember is that it should not just be the providers of public service who benefit from professionalisation and academisation but

ultimately the consumers of it. While 'improved service' was one of the perceived benefits identified in the previous chapter, it does seem to come second to the hoped for improvements to legitimacy and market monopoly. Thus academic education should be harnessed to foster the kind of skills and knowledge 'neighbourhood policing' and community engagement need and not exacerbating the already considerable power differences between the police and those they come into contact with. Perhaps even more importantly, the officers need freedom and opportunities to utilise what they have gained within higher education and organisational context that values and facilitates such activity in practical and intangible ways. Neither police nor academia exists in a vacuum. Government policy has a huge impact on the direction and fruition of academic police education. Here I once more returned to the issue of equality and diversity within higher education and police service both and the detrimental effect financial cuts are predicted to have on them. I argued that such a move contradicts the government's own agenda of increased citizen participation in and responsibility for policing and other public services.

The final section of the chapter provides a brief overview of some of the arguments against professionalisation and academisation. Their consequences are not straightforwardly positive, and it is far from clear whether such a move is necessary in the first place, albeit it seems inevitable at this point. The most notable criticism is the by now familiar issue of equality and the fear that higher education will only further isolate the police from the communities they serve as well as limiting the pool of potential entrants. One consequence may also be an increase of state regulation instead of the hoped for autonomy and freedom to exercise wider professional discretion.

In this last substantive chapter, I have attempted to obtain further theoretical purchase on police professionalisation and academisation and tie together the key themes that have been developed throughout the thesis. I have also discussed the various policy implications arising from my research and presented some of the arguments against police professionalisation via academic education. Finally then, it is time to provide a summarising overview of the arguments, consider again the methodological issues of my research, discuss some possible directions for future research and offer some concluding thoughts.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions

My interest in police training began several years ago, sparked by my own work experience within organisational training and the brief placement at a police training centre I had completed during my Masters degree. The topic appeared a natural fit with my background in criminal and investigative psychology, resulting in the initial plans to examine the use of behavioural science ‘knowledgebase’ in training officers for covert operations (another interest of mine, and an area under-researched particularly in the UK). Of course, as described in Chapter 2, which recounted the ‘story of the research’ and the development of the surrounding analytical framework, the eventual journey and destination of the thesis turned out quite different. The context of police training remained, albeit in a slightly different focus as covert work turned into a blind alley when it came to gaining access for empirical research. Psychology, however, melded into the broader issue of academic knowledge and skills and their transference to and use within detective and broader police training and work. The partnerships between police forces and universities, and the overall deepening of police-academia relationship, formed a landmark of sorts that caught my attention and drew it to the context of police professionalisation within which they seemed to reside in.

While I in no way claim to be building a fully grounded theory, and indeed am very frank about the iterative approach I adopt, Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) distinction of substantive and formal theory still offers a way to frame the progress of the argument. In answering the research aims (1.1.), my thesis first focused on the *substantive* area of detective work and investigative skills training, their development and links with academia. I then moved to advance a more *abstract* theory of professionalisation via academic education in relation to the police and to other similar ‘new professions’.

In this concluding chapter, I will recap the key arguments of the thesis before discussing the methodological issues of the study and considering some intriguing avenues for future research. I will finish the thesis where I began and return to the concept of change, not just as it pertains to the police organisation and transformation of its training arrangements to encompass university education but a deeper, ontological change taking place in the society. The final section of the thesis will then speculate on the issues of agency, extension of professional ideology and the consequent shift in police narratives and identities.

8.1. Summarising the Arguments

In this research project, I have explored police professionalisation via academic education and through the prism of detective work and investigative skills training. The thesis has generated new empirical data via the interviews and advanced the knowledgebase and understanding in areas of police studies, sociology of professions, professional and higher education. By crossing disciplinary boundaries, it has integrated existing research and theoretical frameworks by applying them to the relatively neglected topic of police training and professionalisation. Using Innes' (2010) terms, the current research has acted both as a 'mirror', illuminating the current investigative skills training arrangements and the relationship between professions (including police) and academia, and as a 'motor' by highlighting the reasons, benefits, challenges and pathways for the police to achieve professionalisation via academisation.

"The draft to professionalise it I think is positive one because if it means that we can give people qualifications that equate to things they would get in outside life and recognises that value of what we do at work, then that's great. More to the point, it creates a philosophy of constantly learning. So you don't just finish a course, get ticked off and that's it, you're qualified and ten years down the line you're still qualified. What it means that once you go off at the end of your course you're actually learning at work and you continue to look for learning opportunities and you become proactive in actually seeking opportunities for you to learn. And you start reading about the advance in the field and you start to subscribe to professional journals and things like that. Things that will increase your knowledge and will keep you current, at the top your game. And I think that's what professionalisation's done. It's changed people's attitudes towards qualifications and the training that they get." (Participant 3)

The above excerpt effectively covers many of the key themes discussed in the preceding chapters and does so with an optimism I too wish to sign, albeit with some reservations. The arguments presented in this thesis can be summarised into the following table:

Core Thesis:

Society is changing. To be able to meet its needs and demands, so must the police. Professionalisation realised via academic education is viewed as a way of achieving this.

Establishing detective and police professionalisation:	Professionalisation via academisation:	Benefits and challenges of academic police education:
<p>Specialisation and professionalisation are conceptually linked via implications of expertise higher status.</p> <p>Detective work is a highly complex and specialised area of policing, requiring a range of knowledge and skills and possessing an elevated status.</p> <p>This makes it an ideal exemplifying focus with which to illustrate the deeper trend of police professionalisation.</p> <p>Professionalisation is a long-term process, and it is possible to trace its historical progress within detective work and in the gradual reorientation and reframing of police training toward continuous professional development.</p> <p>Investigative skills training in England and Wales has moved toward centralisation (establishment of NPIA), standardisation and formalisation of professional knowledgebase (establishment of PIP).</p> <p>Sociology of professions provides a sense-making conceptual framework for theorising police professionalisation.</p> <p>The police (including the investigative specialism) already displays many of the characteristics and functions of professions, maintaining a</p>	<p>The ‘missing ingredient’ of police professionalisation is the instructional abstraction expected of professional education, and the externally recognised qualifications, development professional knowledgebase and systematic body of theory it leads to.</p> <p>The drivers behind the trend of professionalisation via academisation include deeper social changes (ontological shifts), aspiration for the various material and symbolic benefits, and search for legitimacy.</p> <p>Instructional abstraction (equated typically with academic education) brings a variety of benefits to the professions in the form of power, status, recognition and social and economic rewards.</p> <p>It prepares professionals for everyday duties by equipping them with knowledge and skills to evaluate decisions and actions, anticipate problems, present findings and explain both positive and negative outcomes. It also facilitates maintenance of institutional and cognitive territories and defence of existing and claiming of new tasks.</p> <p>By strengthening knowledge claim, legitimising the status of expertise and thus market monopoly, abstraction enables the survival of the profession and provides it the means to</p>	<p>The number of ‘policing degrees’ delivered by higher education institutions often in partnership with the local police has grown, and the police-academia relationships are now routine and take place at all levels of the organisations.</p> <p>The interviewees identified a number of perceived benefits of academic education for the investigators and police more generally, including broadening and deepening of the knowledgebase and understanding of the issues relevant to police work, opportunities for self-development, improved motivation and self-confidence as well as more career flexibility. Academia is how police experience is turned into expertise that, thanks to the externally recognised qualifications, is acknowledged by the public, other professions and the government.</p> <p>The potential challenges identified by the interviewees included lack of financial or time investment in training/education, the difficulty of gaining support, acceptance and engagement at all levels of the organisation, debate about the control and management of police education, and the lack of clear systems in place to support the university-police partnerships.</p>

<p>market monopoly over expert services, demonstrating a strong orientation toward service and ‘common good’, using legitimate power (both real and symbolic), regulated through a code of ethics, bearing accountability and responsibilities, and possessing a relationship with clients entrenched in positions of power and dependence.</p> <p>While the police lack the degree of autonomy and self-governance characteristic of professions due to their unique relations with the state, the planned establishment of a Police Professional Body has the potential to fill the role of an independent socio-cultural authority.</p>	<p>persevere in the ‘permanent symbolic struggle’ over the right to define and interpret the social world.</p> <p>Instructional abstraction as provided in an academic setting is also the traditional and arguably most valued way of developing a professional knowledgebase, and the police is not the only ‘new profession’ choosing this route. The current developments in police training and education closely parallel those in nursing and social work not too long ago.</p>	<p>The key obstacle is the perceived epistemological and paradigmatic divide between the police and academia. Such ‘two worlds thinking’ reflects the alleged gap between theory/research and practice and between police and academic organisational cultures.</p>
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Understanding police professionalisation via academic education:

Police professionalisation via academic education can be seen as a deliberate occupational upgrading with an aim to reconceptualise and relegitimise policing by increasing its social and cultural capital, which academia can richly bestow. Academic education will help police strengthen its position within a deteriorating market monopoly, status and privileges, giving it a new edge in conflicts over competence and the right to define policing.

Implications:

Police and Academia – key stakeholders		Government – mediates the relationship between professions and higher education and provides the wider policy framework
Content and format, legality and legitimacy of academic police education	Moving beyond ‘two worlds thinking’	Academic education has the potential to produce officers capable and motivated to deliver the kind of policing government rhetoric calls for; one that empowers and engages citizens and understands the importance of doing so.
↓	↓	↓
Tailored police science degrees or broader non-specialist education	Simultaneous change of cultural dispositions (habitus) and internal and external structures (field)	Yet recent policy seems likely to hinder rather than facilitate higher education opportunities for the police
↓	↓	↓

Recommendations:

Police Professional Body

- acts as an 'independent socio-cultural authority'
- facilitates closer and more systematic relationship between police and academia
- develops benchmarking standards for police education in cooperation with relevant academic bodies
- provides integrated framework for educational and career development
- encourages culture of continuous professional development

Increasing entry requirements as per Neyroud (2011) and Winsor (2012)

- reflects the increasing education levels in the society more broadly
- attracts and retains a higher calibre workforce
- furthers professionalisation by ensuring complexity of police work is appropriately recognised
- academic qualification does not guarantee someone makes a good officer *but* symbolic value and potential for exposing officers for broader perspectives is immense
- the latter is not exclusive to academia so flexible routes to achieving and demonstrating knowledge and skills are needed
- careful consideration of equality and diversity implications

Opening up the police to outside influences:

Relinquishing cognitive hegemony and loosening organisational boundaries in the short-term will in the long-term help police more effectively secure and maintain them

Table 2. Summary of key arguments

The concept of 'academic drift', catalysed by ideology of professionalism, provides an analytical device to understand what is taking place in policing context and beyond (see Laiho, 2010 on this within nursing). This can be examined through six related and mutually reinforcing processes, capable of taking place simultaneously or triggering chain-reactions at different levels (Kyvik, 2007).

- 1. Student drift** refers to increasing number of students choosing academic education out of desire to gain social and cultural capital and a competitive advantage within the labour market. Of course, the recent structural barriers erected by the government are predicted to turn the tide in opposite direction. Regardless, although no official figures are available, anecdotal evidence suggests that more and more police officers either possess an academic degree upon entering the service or take steps to gain one during their career, increasingly as a part of their professional development. The police certainly are recognising both the practical and symbolic value of higher education and qualifications it provides.
- 2. Staff drift** refer to the way some staff members even in 'lower ranking' (in terms of academic rigour) institutions or disciplines (the 'Cinderella' subjects such as nursing or policing) are more oriented toward scholarly communities. The line between police practitioners and police scholars is becoming increasingly transparent as staff (and with them, knowledge) move between the two organisations (and identities) with more and more ease. The ambitions to establish police science as a discipline in its own right is particularly illustrative of this.
- 3. Programme drift** refers to academisation of curriculum content, degree structure and research activities in traditionally vocational and professional programmes – as witnessed e.g. in nursing, social work and now policing. A professional body takes on an overseeing function, setting minimum standards, something the new Police Professional Body seems set to do. Professionalisation is linked to 'scientification' of knowledge while practical skills and value of subjective, experiential knowledge is in danger of being devalued – a familiar criticism for the newly professionalised occupational groups and a tangible concern for the police.
- 4. Institutional drift** refers to the constant status competition among educational institutions and the attempts to achieve a status higher than the one originally granted by the central government. This can clearly be seen in the expansion of the British university sector as more and more institutions aspire for degree-granting status (Tight, 2011). If we broaden the concept beyond educational institutes, it also explains the tendency of professional organisations, such as the police, to seek higher status through academisation (see Chapter 7).

5. **Sector drift** refers to the sector-wide trend for the non-university institutions to seek university status, the introduction of incentives and career pathways favouring academic practice, and, in case of several institutions in non-English speaking countries, translating names to encompass the word 'university' in some way. Similarly to above, if we expand the concept, it effectively illustrates the sector-wide move of the so called 'new professions', such as social work, nursing and now policing, toward professional status, formed via academic education and qualifications.
6. **Policy drift** refers to the way state authorities become to value university education more than non-university education, often as a result of changing circumstances that require reformulation of ideas and systems. This is a curious aspect to look at in the context of the current government policy, which appears to value higher education only as it pertains to a limited section of the society. The consequences for the police (and other traditionally 'working-class' occupations) aspiring to professionalise via academia remain to be seen.

In this section, I have aimed to summarise the central arguments of the thesis into a number of key points and also examined them through the concept of 'academic drift', which I argue the police is currently experiencing. Next, I will return to the methodological issues of my study and consider some possibilities for future research.

8.2. Methodological Issues and Future Research

Schwirian (1998: 59), speaking from a nursing context, frames research as an ‘action path to professionalisation’ arguing that when *“an occupation moves toward full professional status, it increases its research productivity.”* Potential for more research was certainly identified by participants as one of the benefits of academic education:

“There are some parts that we do where we have relatively little influence of the academic world and where we could maybe do with it a bit more. [...] Investigation per se is one of those areas.” (Participant 3)

However, most were unsure about exactly *what* they would like to see more research *on*. Not a problem I personally struggled with as the potential for related and follow-up research on the current topic is huge.

In this section, I wish to present some of those possible avenues of future research. Many of them seek to address the limitations of the current study, the descriptive, interpretive, theoretical, ecological, and evaluative validity of which Chapter 2 has already examined. This section aims to add to that evaluation and consider the methodological issues of my research and ways to address them in future projects.

Research is shaped by interest; it also serves some interests more than others and should therefore be evaluated based on the balance and fairness of interests it addresses (Thacher, 2008). In the current context, this means acknowledging the inherently subjective perspective of the research, shaped by an academic interest not just on policing but on the underlying societal processes shaping it and higher education. I spoke in 2.4.5. about my own ‘evaluative framework’ of academic education being a ‘good thing’; a view so closely tied to my sense of identity as an ‘academic’ that it is impossible to divorce from it completely. It has, however, certainly become far more qualified than at the start of the research, and throughout I have endeavoured to acknowledge the problems academic police education brings, the possibility for negative outcomes, and the less than ideal aspects of academia. Despite this, I still believe that higher education has the potential to improve policing (including investigative work) and change the service for the better, if such partnerships and arrangements are given support and approached with an open mind.

Considering interests and viewpoints also draws attention to another key methodological issue: the limited participant- and location-pool. The small sample size of 14 interviewees across 3 research locations is not atypical for a qualitative research project with a single researcher (see 2.3.1. for discussion on sampling). However, in an ideal world of limitless time and resources I would have liked to interview more people; not necessary more trainers, but officers in different roles and at different levels within the service as well as key informants in for example ACPO, Police Federation, Home Office, the various universities involved in partnerships with the police

and so on. This would have added a further dimension to the study, increasing the complexity and nuance of the findings, and any future research on the topic would seek to solicit the ideas and experiences of a broader cross-section of officers and other stakeholders.

Generalising from the limited point of view of investigative skills training and detective work to the policing and police service as a whole is not without its problems. However, as discussed in section 2.4.4., qualitative research does not aim to offer systematic generalisations but to develop applicable explanations, which the current thesis has attempted to do. As emphasised throughout the thesis, the process of professionalisation via academisation takes place in arenas beyond criminal investigations or even policing. As trainers, the interviewees were ideally placed to provide a unique and in many ways, more objective 'inside outsider' (Brown, 1996) view on the topic. And so, from the primary research and the breadth of the addressed literature, a broader understanding of the role of academic education in the process of professionalisation has stemmed.

Schofield (1990) provides one possible framework for a future study. She discusses the potential of 'selecting a site that sheds light on what could be', i.e. focussing on a case that has worked exceptionally well, one that perhaps approximates a theoretical ideal (without being too tied to and blinded by a specific theory). This can then provide insight into how and why something works and what the remaining problems are. For the current topic, this would mean returning to the field in a few years time when academic police training has had a chance to become more established and its implications to police professionalisation clearer to see. One of the participating forces that was in the process of linking its detective training with a Foundation Degree provided by a local university could potentially be such a case study, provided everyone's optimism over the arrangements proves founded.

Not collecting more contextualising information about the participants I did interview is one clear shortcoming of the study. While I did ask about their background and experiences at the start of the interviews, this mainly acted as a way to open the dialogue and put the participant at ease. A more systematic collection of demographic data, for example with an accompanying questionnaire, particularly regarding the educational and work history of the participants would be an invaluable addition to a future research. I have also mentioned on a couple of occasions the lack of any figures about the education levels of police officers in the UK and feel that conducting a force-wide survey on the topic is essential. Anecdotal evidence suggests that while there are still large variations due to the low pre-entry requirements, many of the recruits entering the service now are educated to a graduate level.

A survey research also offers a possibility of methodological triangulation. The analysis of the qualitative interview data from the current study has revealed a rich variety of themes and issues, more than enough for the development of pilot questionnaires to thoughts and attitudes

about the topic of academic police education itself. Different methods and sources of data to examine the issue can also be identified. For example, Web 2.0 technologies offer a variety of research tools and sources for social scientists. One that presents intriguing possibilities for the current topic are the various online policing forums. During the course of the study, I read some lively and frank discussions of police training and academia, many of the posts appearing much more apprehensive about the value of higher education than the opinions expressed in the interviews.

At the start of the research, I had hoped to be able to conduct some observations of police training, and perhaps also academic police education, but in the end, this proved to be beyond the time and resources available. My earlier placement experience at a police training centre and a visit to a class of police studies delivered at a university certainly suggest that much could be gained through this methodological approach also. I have already mentioned the value of interviewing those involved in delivering academic police education at universities. Combining this with an analysis of the various documents such arrangements produce, such as contractual and policy documentation, meeting minutes, syllabi readings lists and so would provide further insight into the topic from the point of view of academia.

Another avenue for future research comes from the topics I discuss in the very last section of thesis: organisational agency, narratives of a profession and the construction and negotiation of professional police identity. The interviews were not conducted with these issues or the analytical approaches they require in mind, and so it has not been possible to pursue this line of theorising in any depth. I believe that researching police professionalisation through use of biographical interviews with officers at different stages in their career and in different roles and narrative analysis has the potential to provide further insight into the issues identified.

Several times, I have mentioned the importance of collaboration and participative research in affecting change, bringing police and academic closer together and building successful university-police partnerships. Police academic education is clearly a subject in which both police and academia have a vested interest. Therefore, developing its content and format requires jointly designed, implemented, analysed and utilised research.

Finally, it is important to remember that 'scientification of police work' can lend itself to both instrumental and ideological pursuits, offering new ways of doing things but also new ways of legitimising police power (Ericson & Shearing, 1984; cited in Marx, 1988). What this implies is not that scientific enquiry into policing should be stopped, but that with it becomes a responsibility to consider the motive and uses of any research conducted. A ready criticism of the current study is that by looking at the ways police training can be improved it ignores the need for a more fundamental change in policing. However, things are not that black and white. For one, there is a point when improvement of an old way of doing things becomes so extensive that it

turns into a completely new way of doing things. A systematic, comprehensive and carefully thought-out police academic education has the potential to effect deeper changes for policing and the police. As we have seen even in the limited interview excerpts in this thesis, there are voices coming from within the police that are critical, at times radical in their suggestions for change, that talk about the need to be more open and inclusive, to widen their knowledgebase, to engage with others. This I feel is significant, that these criticisms and sometimes radical suggestions for change are coming from *within* the police service, from *within* the system. And while that alone doesn't make them any more or less right or valuable than the voices from outside it (including those of academics'), it does perhaps make them more difficult to ignore.

8.3. Final Word: On Social Change, Agency, Identity and Narrative

What makes professionalising occupations of particular interest is that they are zones of transitions (Dingwall, 1983), echoing the concept of professionalisation as a continuum (see 4.1.) along which occupational groups move. Much has been written about the transitional status of the police (see e.g. Reiner, 2010 for an overview of the so called ‘transformation thesis’), and in this last section, I want to return to the theme which I started with in Chapter 1: concept of social change and the need for the police to match it. The historical overview of detective work recounted the emergence of the ‘professional police’ and ‘professional investigators’ at the time of rapid social change of industrialisation and urbanisation, and the profound (ontological) ‘shift in people’s mentalities’, i.e. their understanding of the social world (Gaskill, 2000; see also Walker, 1977 on police professionalisation in the US at the time of wider social reform). 5.1. further emphasised the role of social change in shaping professions and higher education and the interdependent dynamic relationship between all three (Figure 3).

One of the characteristics of professions as discussed in 4.2.3. was the way they exist in structured situations, shaped by the cultural truisms and prevailing ontological understandings of the time. Sciulli (2009) argues that should these change *dramatically enough*, it would allow for professionalisation to emerge in new areas. Throughout the thesis, I have draw attention to police professionalisation as a long-term *process*. But it is over the last few decades that social change has reached a sufficient degree of saturation to finally push police professionalisation to its tipping point. Indeed, academisation of police training (or, as we should perhaps now call it: police professional education) and the confirmed plans to establish a Police Professional Body can be seen as outward indicators of a deeper ontological shift.

It can certainly be argued that society is already moving into the new structured situation which not only allows but *demand*s professionalisation of the police. As Reiner (2010: 35) puts it: *“The social, economic, and cultural transformations of the last quarter of the twentieth century multiplied the problems facing the police.”* This is something the police themselves are acutely aware of:

“The demands of 21st century policing, with counter-terrorism, with technology-enabled crime, with all of those new arenas of... how do I put it? Not even a physical landscape. It’s an electronic landscape to police. We start talking about child exploitation online. And all those kinds of things. That’s the response, the police response. We can’t, you know you don’t get a Bobby to go to that. That’s somebody sitting down, with some skills who will be able to identify where those offences are taking place, to be able to target those offences. That requires skills to do that and requires training. [...] We’re dealing with that kind of environment, and to deal with that we got to be more professional, more skilled policing service for the public. I think that needs a much more professional institute. I think the whole idea of two-year probation, to be able walk out in the street and be the master, the jack of all trades but master of none – I think we are coming to a close and I think 21st century policing requires a different approach...” (Participant 4)

"The benefits of change, to the public and police professionals alike, are too important to lose, and a failure to act would be damaging. So we will continue to drive reform. There is room for debate, but no time for denial. The world is changing. Successful organisations will change with it." (Policing and Criminal Justice Minister Nick Herbert, 28/09/2011)

Neyroud (2011) begins his review on police training and leadership by commenting on the inability of the old model of policing, rooted in local geography and ingrained occupational culture, to meet the demands of the 21st century society. Paterson (2011) emphasises the impact of social changes on police role, particularly in terms of the increased complexity, interconnectivity and global breadth of crime and other problems the police are dealing with. The changing context and increasingly sophisticated crime mean that traditional approaches to its control are no longer sufficient. Of course, the police's ability to do that is limited in the first place, as crime and disorder are ultimately a result of the social and economic inequalities and divisions caused by the political discourse of the last few decades (Reiner, 2010). This does not, however, make improving (changing) policing inconsequential. The health of the population depends largely on the overall socioeconomic equality and quality of life society can guarantee its citizens. And yet, the health service serves an important function and is expected to do so in a competent, fair and professional manner with all that implies. What then will the role of the police (see 1.1.1.) be in the changing society? Newburn and Reiner (2007) predict it will consist of 'keeping the lid on underclass crime' set to grow as a result of increasing and unsustainable consumption, increasing inequalities, disorder and anomie. Such an outcome may be likely, but it is not inevitable. Throughout the thesis, I have pointed out the potential of higher education to facilitate understanding of causes and consequences of these broader social issues and inequalities and their impact on a local level. In other words, academic education can help policing stay 'rooted in the local geography' while at the same time expanding the reach (and, hopefully, protection) of its branches.

In the previous chapters, I have argued that police professionalisation can be seen as a *deliberate* occupational upgrading, and, as a part of that, academisation as a way to regain market monopoly, legitimise police's knowledge claim, strengthen their status and increase their symbolic capital. In contrast, this section has considered the process as a reaction to wider and deeper social change. What then becomes debatable is the degree to which an occupation can actively and consciously *choose* to professionalise or not to professionalise and to what degree they are actually dependent on the changing circumstances that force their hand in that? In other words, we have arrived at one of the most enduring questions in social sciences: structure vs. agency (of which Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus are a version of). Contemporary sociology has largely moved beyond such dichotomy and into a more interactional and reflexive models of social world (see e.g. work of Anthony Giddens – a review of the topic is well beyond the current thesis). Similarly, I would argue that the drivers behind police professionalisation via academic education are complex and interdependent. What consequences, if indeed any, it will

bear for the police, the academia or the society at large remain to be seen. Regardless, what we are seeing is a shift in the police organisational discourse to that of professionalism and a building of a new narrative of the police profession, both at organisational and individual level.

Identity is a central concept to any area of study that includes human beings. It is a *“task under continual construction, with actors having responsibility for this, mediated by abstract expert systems of knowledge”* (Spalek, 2008: 11). As the current thesis posits, those expert systems of knowledge are then controlled by the professions, which themselves form an important basis for identity (Henkel, 2000 – see also 5.1. and Figure 2). Strong identification with peers in the profession is one of its defining characteristics, measured by the degree person’s self-concept is tied to their professional role (Schwirian, 1998). On Elliot’s (1972, see 4.1.) continua of factors, the ideal type of professions is characterised by work being a key interest, occupational role that is maintained outside the work-specific contexts and ‘total identity submersion’, one sign of which is being aware of the general behavioural expectations professional status demands – all of which are easily recognisable descriptors of the police. Indeed, becoming a police officer is a process that requires renegotiation of one’s self-identity (Fielding, 1988). And increasingly, ‘being a police officer’ and ‘being a professional’ are starting to merge together:

“I see myself as a professional. Whether others do or not, I don’t know. Because I do my job to the best of my ability and I strive to continually develop [...] I see myself as professional in the way that I deal with my work and the way that I deal with, when I was out in the division, dealing with my work out there when I was on investigation, the people that I meet. So I feel that officers are professional.” (Participant 6)

Professional groups engage in world-making, constructing meaning and building the narrative of the profession:

“Through countless acts of attention and inattention, naming, sense-making, boundary setting and control, they make and maintain the worlds matched to their professional knowledge and know-how. They are in transaction with their practice worlds, framing the problems that arise in practice situation and shaping the situations to fit the frames, framing their roles and constructing practice situations to make their role-frames operational. They have, in short, a particular, professional way of seeing their world and a way of constructing and maintaining the world as they see it.” (Schön, 1987: 35-6; cited in Astley, 2006: 99)

The police are no different. Together the construction of individual ‘professional police identity’, adoption of professional ideology, and the various discourses of professionalism (such as increasing usage of the ‘vocabulary of professionalism’ in official and everyday language) form a new professional narrative of ‘police as a profession’. In a way, what the research has aimed to do is to tell the story of the police professionalisation, or at least one part of it, namely that of training and education. Throughout the chapters, I have considered the various cultural resources – important among them being academia – that the process of police professionalisation draws from.

Institutions define and confirm identities; their knowledge systems come with ways of categorising and differentiating, and inevitably, discriminating (Ericson & Haggerty, 1997). Police,

Ericson and Haggerty (ibid) argue, go one step further; they help define identities of even those outside the organisation. Through the routine production of identity categories, the police patrol the symbolic borders between groups, institutions (professions) and individuals. Indeed, Loader (1997: 2) sees police as *“a principal means by which English society tells stories about itself [...] an interpretative lens through which people make sense of, and give order to, their world”* while, in similar vein, Rowe (2008: 17) describes the police as *“an important element of narratives of national identity.”* And yet, as quaint as some such narratives seem (for who doesn't love the image of a village Bobby or feel vicarious pride at the myth-shrouded reputation of those canny Scotland Yard detectives), they also accentuate differences and divisions, dictating who belongs and who is left outside, whose voices are heard and whose silenced (Ericson & Haggerty, 1997; Loader, 2006).

Writing from the context of diversity and police culture, Loftus (2008) describes how the emerging (non-white, non-male, non-heterosexual) police identities are being subordinated and marginalised by the 'narratives of resentment and discontent' constructed by officers with dominant (white, male, heterosexual) identities. Will the emerging identity of (academically educated) police professionals and the new narrative of (academically educated) police profession fare any better? And more crucially, can they make a difference to the way police officers think and act, with each other and with the public? Primary and secondary research findings (see 6.1.5.) hint at a positive answer while Punch (2007) sees the increasing acceptance and welcome of academically educated officers representing a change in the police organisational identity (see also 6.1.). Higher education certainly plays an important part in individual's identity formation. For example, when reflecting on his own research process, Heslop (2011: 303-4) explicitly states that:

“My own experience of combining university study with a police career has, I believe, had a positive influence on my professional identity. Having joined the police without having previously been to university I proceeded to study for degrees in politics, sociology and education. For me, this experience was literally ‘transformational’ [ref] and it opened my mind to new ways of thinking about the world.”

As Barnett (2003: 179; cited in Savin-Baden & Major, 2004: 51) points out: *“Universities are not, in the first place, sites of knowing but of being. Knowing comes, if at all, through the being.”*

And yet, vitally, professional education socialises the individual into what they already are, as well as what they *will or might someday be* (Elliot, 1972). And so, achieving professional status requires the police to internalise and evaluate not just their current role but also their future one (Hawley, 1998). In other words, professionalisation via academisation is all well and good, but it is a journey that requires a map and directions, i.e. understanding of what the police are now, what they aspire to be in the future, and a clear vision of how academic education can help them get there.

Ultimately however, it is through doing, i.e. fieldwork training and practical experience, that the police professional identity is developed (Karp and Stenmark, 2011). Heslop (2011: 307)

reminds us that “*professionalisation is not merely about police officers having an academic qualification, but critically it is a sensibility about how they as individuals think, feel and act.*” Negotiation of organisational identity is a continuous process (Fielding, 1988), and socialisation on the job is still stronger than socialisation in the classroom, regardless of whether that classroom is in a police training school or university. It is therefore *there* that the change of field and habitus must take place in order to be effective. For criminal investigation, for *the police* to become a profession in name *and* practice, individual officers must *feel* like a professional (and feel that they are expected to behave accordingly) *all the time*, during their everyday work, and not just when attending a course or receiving a qualification for it. It is not enough for the learning, experience, knowledge and skills to be recognised at the *point of achievement* but at *every point forward* as the officers take them into the streets and stations, and enact them, day after day, as members of the police profession.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Access Letter

Dear Chief Constable [Name],

My name is Katja Hallenberg and I'm a PhD student at the School of Law at the University of Manchester. Under the supervision of Drs. Hebenton and Medina-Ariza I'm doing research on police specialist training and the role of psychology, with a special focus on investigative skills training. We hope the Greater Manchester Police will consider the opportunity to take part in the research with strong potential benefits to both practitioners and the academia.

It is an exciting time to undertake policy-relevant research on the police in England and Wales and the study aims to integrate three operational aspects of modern policing:

1. Specialist training, which, due to the recent and future changes wrought by the Government's Police Reform, is very much in a state of flux.
2. Conduct of criminal investigations.
3. Role of psychology in police work in general and its specific use in investigative skills training. Criminal investigations present unique challenges for the officers involved and provide ideal opportunity for applying psychology into real world problems. Integrating relevant psychological research into the training would help to better equip officers with knowledge and skills they need.

The aims of the study are threefold:

1. To provide a picture of the current state of specialist police training in England and Wales, especially with regard to training in investigative skills
2. To find out whether and to what degree psychological research has been integrated into police training in regards to investigative skills training
3. To identify the areas where psychology would benefit the investigative skills training

The success of the research of course relies on the help and cooperation of the police forces. It is essential to the validity of the study to include the opinions and experiences of those providing the training as well as those who have undertaken it.

We hope to conduct interviews with a variety of participants, including police and civilian trainers, officers undergoing investigative skills training, and officers involved in criminal investigations (past and present). Second part of the data collection would involve observations of investigative skills training situations, which would help the researcher to get a realistic picture of the current training practices.

The study has been approved by the University of Manchester ethics committee. The interviews and observations would be completely anonymous and concentrate on the issues related to training and how it translates to practice. No sensitive information regarding operations or information of personal nature will be required.

We are keen to establish contacts with personnel in the [Force Name] who would be interested in the research. Any assistance with access to participants would be greatly appreciated. The new empirical data generated by the research will expand the knowledge-base of police training, investigative skills, and the contribution of psychological research to police work. Both academic and practitioner audiences are expected to benefit from the results.

Attached is a more detailed research proposal, which will provide more background information into the study. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors.

I'm looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely Yours,

Katja Hallenberg

School of Law
The University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester
M13 9PL

E-mail: [email address]

Appendix 2. Consent Form

Consent Form

Participant number: _____

This is a standard consent form used in research with human participants. It outlines your rights according to the British Psychological Society ethical guidelines.

Please read and sign at the bottom and keep for future reference.

The participant has the right to:

- participate voluntarily free from coercion.
- be informed of the general nature of the research.
- not to answer any questions and withdraw from the study at any time without needing to give any reason and without incurring any penalty.
- expect that any information disclosed during the study will be considered confidential and private.
- expect that reports of results will reflect group views rather than individual opinions, and that no participant will be individually identified.

Researcher Consent:

I, Katja M. Hallenberg (name of researcher) agree to comply with the rights of the participant outlined above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Participant Consent: (Please read and sign)

I, _____ (name of participant) have been informed about the purpose of this study and my rights as a participant. I understand them and voluntarily consent to participating in the study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Contact details:

Katja M. Hallenberg

Tel: [number]

E-mail: [email address]

Supervisor contacts:

Dr. William Heberton: [email address]

Dr. Juanjo Medina-Ariza: [email address]

Thank You for participating

Appendix 3 – First Interview Guide

Interview Guide – First Round

Introducing questions: (to set the context and to give background information about the interviewees.)

- Please tell me about your role and what your job entails.
- What happens during a typical day in your job?
- How long have you been in your current position?
- Where did you work before that?

Training arrangements:

First I would like to get a good picture of how the investigative skills training is arranged.

- Please tell me how you are involved in investigative skills training.
- How are investigative skills courses designed? What is the process like?
- How are they delivered?
- What sort of training methods are used?
- What is the curriculum content of investigative skills training?
- What would you say are the most important topics that investigative skills training needs to cover?
- Have there been any major changes to the arrangements over the last few years? What type? How have they affected your job?
- What do you think are the main strengths of the current arrangements?
- What do you think are the main areas for improvement?
- How are the theoretical and practical aspects of training balanced?

Psychology:

I'm especially interested in whether and to what degree psychology, such as theories, models, research findings, and practical applications is included in content of investigative skills training.

- Do you think they are included in the investigative skills training? How, to what degree?
- Please give any examples you can think of.
- Are there any particular areas of investigative skills training that psychology is used in more than others? If so, what?
- Are there any other areas where you think psychology could add value if it was included more? If so, what?
- Can you give any "best practice" examples, i.e. when psychology has been successfully integrated into training in a way that has been of practical value

Relationship between police and academic research community:

Now I would like to move on to talk about the relationship between police and academic/external research community in general.

- How much do you use external consultation in investigative skills training design and delivery?
- Who is involved (interest groups, research centres, individuals) and how?
- How well do you think these arrangements are working?
- What the main benefits of using external consultation?
- And the main challenges?
- More specifically, I would like to ask about any links with academic institutions (universities, research centres) or academics you may have.

Some forces such [examples of specific forces and universities] have close links with universities, where part of the probationer training is actually delivered at the university and by university lecturers.

- What is your opinion on this type of development?
- Do you think it's something that would work at more advanced level of training such as the investigative skills courses?
- In general, how would you describe the relationship between the police and the academia?

Professionalisation:

Finally, I would like to hear your thoughts on the issues to do with the process of "professionalization" of the police and other public service occupations (New Labour's drive "workforce modernisation").

- Do you think this is a positive development?
- What are the current arrangements for accreditation of the training?
- What do you see as the main issues/challenges in the ongoing process of further professionalization and accreditation?

Anything you'd like to add? Any final comments or thoughts? Anything important that we haven't talked about?

Appendix 4 – Second Interview Guide

Interview Guide – Second Round

The purpose of this second interview is to follow-up on and to clarify some of the issues that came up in the first round of interviews. You will probably find some of the themes familiar and some of the things we may have already talked about while some may be new to you. Do not worry about repeating yourself, that's sometimes necessary for me to get a clear understanding.

General

- What makes a successful investigation?
 - How would you measure the success of an investigation?
- What makes a professional investigation?
 - How to measure it?
- What do you think about a two-tier system of policing where people enter the police either toward the uniformed route for day-to-day policing response or to the investigator route?
- Who/what do you think are the most influential people or organisations in policy-making matters for law and order/policing?

Training – General

- What do you think are the biggest training needs for the police at the moment?
 - How about for investigators specifically?
- Who do you think should have the responsibility for police training? Why?
- Who should control police training? Why?
- How much do you think formal training courses such as the ICIDP actually affect what the officers do once they are back in their jobs?

Training - Budget

- Do you think forces/your force invests on training? Why/why not?
- Has the training budget been affected by the recession? How?
- What are the consequences?

Training – Central/Local

- Is the balance right with NPJA and local forces regards to training?
- Do you wish for more central leadership from NPJA?
- Flexibility was often mentioned as one of the strengths of the current arrangement, i.e. how the content of the courses could be changed to match local needs. However, the structure also seems to vary, e.g. different selection and assessment procedures. Do you think the training process should be standardised nationally? I.e. things like selection and assessment criteria and procedures, length of the course etc.

Training - Trainers

- Do you think trainers should stay operational?
- Who should deliver police training?

Training – Academic Links

- Do you think police officers need an academic training? Why/why not?
- What form academic police training should take? e.g. Consultation/degrees/synthesis
 - (There seem to be three different models of how police training has moved closer to academia.
 - Complementing police training with some academic education, i.e. using consultation, academics coming in to speak
 - Having academic education as something that happens before or parallel to the police training, i.e. the various policing studies foundation courses and degrees
 - Finally, there has been some discussion and speculation of making police training academic training in the first place, i.e. establishing Police College or Police University like they've done in other countries, with its own academic staff and credentials)
- Should it be done in the first place?
- What do you think about the idea of a centralised Police University/College like they have in some countries?
- In your professional role, what sort of experiences have you had with academia or academics? Consultation etc?
 - Have your experiences been positive or negative? How?
- What do you think the attitude among the police is toward academia, academics and academic education?
- Do you think police training and academia are compatible? Do they have anything in common? How/why?
- One of the things mentioned was the possibility for increased academic research of policing. What areas or topics you would like to see more research on, that you think having some systematic academic research on would benefit the police?
- Is academic education valued within the police, e.g. in terms of selection and promotion?

Graduate entry

What do you think about an idea of having a university degree as a pre-requisite for entry to the police?

PIP

- Do you think the PIP process is understood well throughout the organisation? Why/why not?
- What are the main issues with PIP?
- Do you think the Developmental Programme model, with its process of 'application, interview, selection, course, portfolio, accreditation' is good? Why/why not?

Professionalization

- How would you describe a profession?
- Do you think police is a profession? Why/why not?
- Do you think the public views police as a profession? Why/why not?
- Would academic education change this? Why/why not?

Respondent-specific questions:

NPIA

How is the review of the ICIDP going?

What were the findings?

How about the changes?

Has the case study been updated now?

There was talk about the plans for NPIA becoming an academic auditing body and plans of mapping the courses over the police career progression. Any progress on those?

[Force Name]

How have things developed with [University Name] since we last spoke?

What can you tell me about the process now?

What do you think about it now? Good or bad? Problems/benefits?

What changes is it going to bring to you, to the course?

How are students taking it?

Have people from [University Name] come to visit the training centre, to see what you do in practice?

Last time you talked about a review of the CID that was going on. Any results from that yet?

Appendix 5 – NVivo Tree Codes

Code Name		Sources	References
Academia		0	0
	benefits	23	76
	challenges	25	90
	control	7	10
	courses	14	20
	criticisms	6	18
	generic skills	6	7
	police university	15	25
	practicalities	5	21
	prerequisite	11	30
	professionalisation	20	72
	qualifications	23	92
	relationship and two worlds thinking	21	69
	utilising research	13	28
PIP		2	9
	aims	7	15
	assessment	11	29
	challenges	14	56
	evaluation	2	4
	ICIDP	10	48
	NIE	7	18
	portfolios	8	16
	tutors	6	11
	register	1	1

Professionalisation		0	0
	accountability	5	5
	challenges	3	13
	characteristics	15	32
	conduct	9	20
	CPD	7	12
	management	7	15
	other professions	17	48
	police as a profession	14	32
	public image	14	40
	registration	4	6
	self-image	1	2
	standardisation	18	33
Training		1	1
	auditable	1	3
	changes	12	33
	delivery	3	3
	design	4	16
	experience	16	56
	external consultation	6	11
	flexibility	19	46
	grandparenting	5	11
	locally designed courses	7	13
	matching expectations	1	5
	methods	10	39
	national	11	28
	needs	9	17
	purpose	1	3
	realism	6	12
	selection	1	2
	status and investment	18	71
	theory and practice	20	37
	weaknesses	12	29

Appendix 6 – NVivo Free Codes

Name	Sources	References
Career structure	5	7
Centralisation	7	29
Civilianisation (of investigation)	3	9
Core Investigative Doctrine	3	6
Currency	5	11
Demands	2	3
Disparity	10	31
Doctrine	2	2
Expertise	2	3
Influence	11	35
Investigative Skills	16	64
Knowledge and understanding	1	1
Methodology	2	6
Ontological shift	1	2
Organisational culture	18	50
Psychology	15	79
Quality-Quantity	5	10
Trainers' pov	3	4
Two tier system	12	38

Appendix 7. Example of Coding Comparison

Node matrix of overlapping codes in two themes: Academia (column) and Professionalisation (row)

	Prof: challenges	Prof: characteristics	Prof: other professions	Prof: police as a profession	Prof: public image	Prof: self-image	Prof: standardisation
Aca: benefits	0	0	4	1	3	1	0
Aca: challenges	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Aca: control	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aca: criticisms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aca: prerequisite	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Aca: professionalisation	1	4	12	8	10	0	1
Aca: qualifications	1	2	9	3	5	0	0
Aca: relationship and two worlds thinking	0	0	1	0	1	0	0

Appendix 8. Example of Tag Cloud

Tag cloud of 100 most frequent words with 5 or more letters

about academic actually again always anything areas around **because**
before being better can't certain coming could **course** courses crime degree deliver
detective different difficult doing **don't** example experience first force forces getting
going having icidp interview interviewing investigation investigative involved learning
level little looking making might moment needs officer **officers** other particular
people perhaps point **police** policing probably process profession
professional programme public qualification quite **really** research right service
should skills somebody something sometimes still students terms **they're** they've
thing things **think** those through trainers
training trying unclear university **we're** we've where whether
which within working **would** years you're you've

Appendix 9. Overview of Professionalising Investigation Programme

This table adapts and condenses information from various sources, including primary research and Stelfox (2009) and NPIA (2011b, 2011c, 2011f).

PIP Level	Courses	Content	Comments/additional information
1	Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP)	Investigation of volume and priority crime, e.g. theft, antisocial behaviour. Interviewing victims, witnesses and suspects in relation to above.	Qualification: Diploma in Policing In some forces IPLDP is also tied to a Foundation Degree in Policing as awarded by a partner university. Completion of IPLPD results in PIP Level 1 competency.
	PIP Level 1 Stand Alone Course	As above. Flexible modular programme including various optional sections.	This course is designed to bring existing staff to the PIP Level 1 competency and includes elements that can be picked according to individual training needs.
	PIP Level 1 Specialist Family Liaison Officer (Roads Policing)	Developing investigative ability as applied to the role of a Family Liaison Officer in Road Death Investigation.	Aimed at specialised roads policing officers who are already PIP Level 1 qualified.
	PIP Level 1 Specialist Sexual Offences - Specially Trained Officer Development Programme (STODP)	Providing initial response to sexual offences. Co-ordinating forensic retrieval from medical examinations. Conducting interviews with sexual offences complainants and co-ordinating support for them.	
	Investigative Interviewing for Volume and Priority Investigations	Interviewing victims, witnesses and suspects in relation to volume and priority crime.	Content covered by IPLDP for new to role staff and by PIP level 1 Standalone Course for existing staff. Aimed at PIP Level 1 staff who may need to have enhanced interviewing skills due to their role and force policy.
2	Initial Crime Investigators Development	Planning, conducting and evaluating investigation of serious and complex crime, e.g. murder,	In some forces ICIDP is tied to a Foundation Degree in Policing (or a second year of that if

Programme (ICIDP)	<p>rape.</p> <p>Planning, conducting and evaluating interviews with victims, witnesses and suspects in relation to above.</p> <p>Specialist victim and witness interviews.</p> <p>Specialist suspect interviews.</p>	<p>IPLPD has already started the process) as awarded by a partner university.</p> <p>In these cases it is possible for the officers to continue to a full First Degree, but on their own time and at their own expense.</p> <p>Completion of ICIDP course and the subsequent portfolio results in PIP Level 2 competency.</p>
Initial Management of Serious Crime Course (IMSC)	<p>Managing serious and complex investigations and relevant resources. Topics covered:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional standards • Investigative methodology, e.g. murder model, decision-making • Investigation within a diverse society • Media strategies • Forensic science support • Co-operation with other agencies and community partnerships • Management and supervision strategies • Interview strategies 	<p>Aimed at PIP Level 2 staff who conduct or manage serious and complex investigations.</p>
Detective Inspectors Development Programme (DIDP)	<p>Managing initial response to major incidents.</p>	<p>Aimed at DIs or DCIs who are likely to carry out initial response role in major incidents due to local deployment needs.</p>
PIP Level 2 Specialist Specialist Child Abuse Investigator Development Programme (SCAIDP)	<p>Planning, conducting and evaluating child abuse investigations and interviews with child victims and witnesses. Co-operating with other agencies, partnerships and communities.</p>	<p>Aimed to achieve, develop and maintain professional competence and registration of child abuse investigators.</p>
PIP Level 2 Specialist Family Liaison Officer (Major Crime and Mass Fatality)	<p>Developing investigative ability as applied to the role of a Family Liaison Officer in complex and major investigations, e.g. major crime, mass fatality, and deaths abroad.</p>	<p>Aimed at specialised officers who are already PIP Level 2 qualified.</p>
Investigative Interviewing for Serious and Complex	<p>Interviewing victims, witnesses of suspects in serious and complex investigations.</p>	<p>Aimed at staff required to conduct interviews for serious and complex investigations as a significant part of their role,</p>

	Investigations		including those working toward PIP Level 2 competency or in need of refreshing or updating the relevant skills.
	PIP Level 2 Specialist Managing and Co-ordinating Interviews for Complex or Major Investigations Interview Advisor Development Programme	Interview coordinator training. Managing, advising and co-ordinating interviews in complex or major investigations. Assisting an Investigating Officer or Senior Investigating Officer to manage an interview strategy and the processes arising from it.	Aimed at staff working as Interview Advisor or Interview Manager. Not restricted to a particular grade or rank.
3	Senior Investigation Officers Development Programme (SIODP)	Managing major investigations into serious and complex crime and relevant resources. Topics covered: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigative methodology • Management of initial response • Involving individuals, families and communities • Co-operation with other agencies, partnerships and communities • Management of family liaison • Management of resources • Co-ordination of the gathering, recording and retention of material (information, intelligence and evidence) • Recording and constant review of investigative decisions and actions, being able to justify them in proceedings • Forensic science support • Evaluation of own performance and that of the investigation team. 	Completion of SIODP results in PIP Level 3 competency and place in the Professional Register for Senior Investigating Officers (registration status subject to Continuing Professional Development activities).