Chapter 1

PROFESSIONALISATION OF THE POLICE SERVICES

Throughout history, communities everywhere regardless of size have developed their own systems of norms and taboos, and methods for dealing with situations which occur when these are broken. Traditionally these have involved the use of socially accepted forms of mediation applied by community leaders, or in some cases individual actions have been taken by the victim's family. But no evidence exists to indicate that police systems, as we know them today, operated prior to the Roman Empire (Hoebel, 1961).

It was during the rule of Caesar Augustus, in 27 B.C., that the first paid police force emerged as a separate component of the government (Bayley, 1985; Kelly, 1987). Following this a structured system of policing was developed over the period of the Roman Empire and different specialised groups were formed within the police each performing different tasks: the Praetorium Guard was the political police, the Urban Cohorts were a uniformed police for Rome, the vigiles were a specialised group in crime and firefighting, the Frumentarii were the
provincial police, and the Emperor Trajan made up the central investigation bureau (Mawby, 1990).

Despite the advances made by the Roman’s, the concept of a public police force was forgotten following their demise and the Anglo-Saxon and Norman invasion of Europe resulted in a return to the system of local lords and magistrates. As such, it is in fact Sir Robert Peel who is generally hailed as the first person to have put forward the idea of a professionally trained, public police force (Stansfield, 1996). Aware that England was going through a series of transformations from an agricultural to an industrial society and that this was having an enormous impact in terms of urban expansion, Robert Peel asked:

"Why, I ask should we entrust a grocer, or any other tradesman, however respectable, with the direction and management of a police for 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants? Why should such a person unpaid and unrewarded be taken from his usual vocations and called upon to perform the laborious duties of a night constable?"

(Reported in Critchley, 1972; p.48)

Furthermore, the end of the Napoleonic Wars saw the return of numerous soldiers and sailors many of whom were homeless, unemployed and wounded - a factor which contributed to the rising levels of crime and disorder across the country (Edwards, 1999). Thus in line with his
Poor Law and other social policy reforms, Peel argued that the government should take increasing responsibility for the provision of services and the control of unrest (Dicey, 1950). But when the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, requested the formation of a ‘military corps’ to control the civil disorder in London, Robert Peel argued fervently against the creation of such a system, urging instead that a more professionally organised, publicly funded, police system be established with specially trained officers (Repetto, 1979). His primary objective in creating a police force was to produce a “homogenous and democratic body in tune with the people” (Critchley, 1972), and whose aim was to work in the interests of the community.

However, the concept of a professionally trained police force was not introduced without considerable opposition. For one, there were fears based on the strength of the people during the French revolution. For another, regardless of Peel’s desire for a rationalised, preventative, policing system (Radzinowicz, 1956), any professional force had to take into account its law enforcement role, as well as its function as a force that maintains peace (Wilcox, 1969). Despite Peel’s claims that “the police are only members of the public who are
paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of community welfare", in reality the police served the interests of the Crown and not of the people.

After several unsuccessful attempts, in 1929 Robert Peel finally established a public police system in the City of London (Stansfield, 1996). However in reality this force was far from being the democratic body he had envisaged, and could instead be described as having quasi-military features with a steep pyramidal structure or chain of command, strong accountability to rules, and strong codes of honour (Repetto, 1979). Despite criticism, Peel’s model was widely adopted and his ideas have had a serious impact in terms of sparking the debate on the value of police training and education.

The implications of Peel’s work have been highlighted by many writers (Alderson, 1979; Hylton, 1980; Mawby, 1990) and over the past century police systems internationally have changed from being private to public, unspecialised to specialised and non-professional to professional. Moreover growing pressure has been placed upon the criminal justice systems to become legitimate, structured
and functional (Mawby, 1990). Police education and training has been central in this process.

Although public policing was well established in many countries by the turn of the century, moves towards the professionalisation of policing were slow to follow (Goldstein, 1977). With the exception of the commissioner and a few senior officers, police were generally men with only a few years of schooling or formal education (Repetto, 1979), the argument being that their work did not require a high level of education. First efforts to change this situation were made by August Vollmer, the Californian Chief of Police between 1905 and 1931. Vollmer’s vision was to create an educated police force. In 1908 he established the very first police training academy in California and later in 1917 he recruited students from the University of California as part-time police officers in Berkeley (Deutsch, 1955).

Central to Vollmer’s strategy was the importance of a college education as opposed to a in-service training, and in the view of the Great Depression of the 1930s, his campaign initially gained some support as college graduates with few other opportunities sought employment with the police. Many have argued that Vollmer’s ideas
set the stage for the next period of the 'vocationalisation' of police education and training (Deutsch, 1955; & Sherman, 1978) which resulted in the establishment of the first police programme at the University of California at Berkeley.

A later stage in the vocationalisation or professionalisation of the police force involved an interesting mix of police and university designed programmes. No longer were the degrees purely academic but the police force played a joint part in the design of the curriculum. The University of Chicago, in 1929, was the first to develop such a programme (Fike, 1977), this was followed by other programmes, some of which were called 'police science' streams (Carver, 1978). The National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickersham Commission), in 1931, was later instrumental in creating national and international awareness of the complexities of police tasks and the need for a special 'science' in police education. Its recommendations to develop an associate degree in social issues and crime and to create different levels of training and education led to the initiation of a distinctive discipline in the area of policing (Beckman, 1976; Hoover, 1975).
The drive towards professionalism within the police forces which resulted from this move can to some degree be credited to leaders like Vollmer and Peel, but it also had the support of the police themselves and the general public (Durham, 1993). That is, much of the movement's success was due to the fact that it was set up by the chiefs of police, and their officers supported these changes (Walker, 1977), since this was seen as an effective way to stress that police were intelligent people and to raise the status of police work (Goldstein, 1977). Moreover, one major aspect of the professionalisation process which was particularly popular among the officers was their education in the use of technology and problem oriented policing. The importance of forensic science for solving crime was arguably what first set the stage for Vollmer's pioneering work in police education.

Public satisfaction and their desire to see the police well equipped to deal with current issues of law and order played a major role in the move towards greater police education (Tenny, 1971). There was an expectation from the public that police should be more effective and efficient in dealing with crime, and some would argue that it was public perceptions which had the greatest impact in
terms of bringing about reconsideration for police training (Dutton, 1986; Wycoff, et al, 1980). In part, this public interest was sparked by the differing opinions among police and public between the role of the officers and what they could or should do in terms of maintaining the peace (Shearing, 1977).

During the 1970s, a quiet revolution occurred in higher education for police personnel, resulting in a proliferation of criminology, criminal justice and police science programmes, which were taught at various levels within police academies, community colleges and universities (Kilcup, 1983). In the United States of America the movement was spurred on by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which in 1967 recommended that the "ultimate aim of all police departments should be that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees" (President's Commission, 1967). Following this, in 1968, the Law Enforcement Education Programme (LEEP) was established by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to provide financial assistance and to administer federal support for criminal justice education. The implications and experiences from the LEEP program was felt not only in the United States but also in
Europe and Asia, especially in countries where education of police staff was seen to be important (Das, 1992).

Large sums of government money were supplied to finance college education of police personnel; hundreds of new educational programmes were set up; and police agencies adopted incentive pay plans that provided increments in salary based on educational achievement (Goldstein, 1977). Between 1969 and 1975, federal monies available for police education increased from $6.5 million to approximately $40 million per year (Sherman, 1978), and the number of police education programmes increased from 125 in 1965 to 1,245 in 1976 (Froyland, 1989b).

However, the massive changes have been accompanied by a growing concern that the content and quality of these programmes does not meet the growing complexity of police functions in our modern society (Kilcup, 1982; Gaines, 1978, Brown, 1974; American Bar Association, 1972)). The outcome has been an exhaustive debate over level and nature of police education required.
The Debate on Police Education

Along with the revolution in police education, a debate has emerged regarding what constitutes the best form of education. This debate has intensified to the extent that it has been described by some as the most studied topic of the seventies (Repetto, 1979). At the heart of the debate has been the question of whether police performance can be improved through education, and if so, whether this education should be conducted by universities or through specialised training at police academies.

These issues have been further refined and the current debate in the 90's is based on the notion of 'competency-based training' and the 'one stop cop' (Ryan, 1997). The literature on competency-based training is sourced from reports into training and education on policing and surrounds most police academy discussions on training and education in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom (Parsons Report 1989; NSW IPETAC Report 1989). Interestingly competency based training is not seen to be a priority in Singapore and Hong Kong. Discussions held with senior training and command officers in these two jurisdictions highlighted the importance of separating the training and education agenda and competency based training is clearly seen to be training and University
based courses are clearly identified to be in the domain of education. This debate is further refined in other sections of this thesis.

The major criticism against raising levels of police education and training has oscillated around the notion that policing is a community-based job that does not require university level qualifications. It requires knowledge of and affinity with the local environment, and furthermore increasing the level of education would serve only to seriously affect the recruitment of minorities into the police force, thereby reducing the police's ability to stay in touch with the local community (Goldstein, 1977). For many years this general perception has been greatly strengthened through the police culture, and educated police have been cynically referred to as "college cops".

To address these concerns, in 1978 the United States Police Foundation established a National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers, under the directorship of Lawrence Sherman. This Commission became known as the Sherman Commission on Higher Education, and its recommendations resulted in a new wave of discussion focussing on the following four key issues:
What is the value of higher education for the police?
What form should higher education take?
Should police staff be directly involved in providing higher education?
How should higher education programmes for police be funded?

The Value of Higher Education for Police Officers

A central question which lies at the root of the police education debate is whether higher education can and does produce more experienced, analytical and confident police, and whether this in turn can 'soften' police culture (Smith, 1992).

Sherman (1978) in his review to the National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers, strongly supported the claims that increasing the education of police officers would serve to improve their levels of confidence and dispel the myth that police functions are largely simplistic in nature (Dunham, 1993). Hence he recommended that every police officer should have a baccalaureate degree and that higher education in police officers should foster basic changes in policing (Sherman, 1978). His comments echoed a growing concern that the
police community was not keeping up which current social changes and that it would become a:

"......community soon to be so under-educated that its capacity to meet more exacting tasks will become more and more suspect by the public."
(Martin, 1979; p. 18)

Over the years, arguments in favour of increasing higher education have tended to fall into two categories: 1)those who believe that police should employ personnel with college education regardless of whether it can be demonstrated that college education is beneficial for policing; and, 2)those who argue more specifically that college education will improve their policing skills (Goldstein, 1977).

The reasoning for the first category is much the same as Martin’s (1979); the police must acquire their share of able, intelligent people within the work force (Goldstein, 1977). As the Royal Commission on the Police in London stated:

"In the past many men with distinguished careers lacked a university education, but this situation is rapidly changing: young men of ability now tend in increasing numbers to proceed to the universities. Consequently a system of police recruiting which shows no evidence of success in attracting a sufficient proportion of entrants
of graduate standard endangers the future leadership of the service”
(Royal Commission on the Police, 1962; p.94)

The second category of arguments in favour of college education for police officers suggests that the learning experience at college helps to produce “better police officers” (Taylor, 1973), who less rigid and dogmatic (Roberg, 1978), and better able to understand the causes of crime (Eastman and McCain, 1973). Similar studies by Adams (1981) and Sanderson (1977) indicated that educated officers had fewer sick days, received fewer citizen complaints and indicated higher work satisfaction.

However their findings were not corroborated by other studies suggesting these officers can often be over-qualified, and without intrinsic rewards available to them within the restrictive police environment, they can often became dissatisfied and frustrated quickly (Glenn and Weaver, 1982; Buzawa, 1984), resulting in higher than average turnover rates. Many argue that the present organisational structure of police officers cannot handle the new model of “educated police officers” since officers soon become demoralised and have a sense of powerlessness (Franz & Jones, 1987).
Such arguments against advanced education have been strongly supported and researched. In 1971, a study by Tenny of 238 graduates from various police programmes showed that while 93% did feel their education was worthwhile, 62% felt it had little direct value in terms of their positions as police officers (Tenny, 1971). His conclusion was that college graduates within policing tend to be frustrated (Kilcup, 1982). Later in 1978, Barry argued that although the number of officers who had gone on to complete education has increased dramatically over the years, no hard evidence exists to indicate that this has contributed to improved police performance or a change in crime control (Kilcup, 1982).

Similarly, the implementation of higher educational standards as a prerequisite for entry into police services has faced strong resistance, primarily from police management and particularly police unions (Bell, 1980). Although unions are not inherently against the goals of professionalism, current evidence suggests that union behaviour has systematically prevented the process of professional status, lateral transfer, accelerated promotion, position classifications and the development of higher recruitment standards (Jurvis, 1971).
Despite on-going criticism, there has been massive support for and investment in police education, and much research exists to support the positive impact of higher education on police officers. Nevertheless, there is a growing acceptance that education alone is not a panacea. The complexities of the debate imply that we cannot look at the topic simply by itself (Le Blanc, 1989), but instead must view it in terms of organisational structure, attitudes, communications and policy making. Assessments for supporting college education must be improved and judged within this complex context. As recent studies have shown (Smith, 1992), much of the earlier research which was carried out, lacked clearly defined goals for police officers, making it impossible to carry out reliable evaluations on the impact of higher education. The issue of what exactly can be measured as an indicator of improved performance is conflicting and frequently researchers have had different views to those of the senior police officers (Smith, 1992). For example, many studies have relied on the ratings of superiors as an indication of performance, but these are notorious for their inadequacies (Gottlieb and Baker, 1974). The question of what to measure and how to obtain the information remains a major issue and some would argue that as yet research has been unsuccessful in bringing
about any clear views on these issues (Saunders, 1974; Froyland, 1990).

To overcome this problem, in recent years, studies on the link with specific police characteristics have tended to shift their focus away from identifying specific issues towards the general question of training at various levels of police personnel (Wright, 1995; Molden, 1993; Ness, 1991; Carter & Sapp, 1992; Copley, 1992). The research has identified specific issues and compared educated and non-educated police officers levels of ethical behaviour or rule violations (Tyre & Braunstein, 1992; Reed, 1988; Carter & Sapp, 1992). While the research findings have been important, there is no clear evidence from all this regarding the content of police education curriculum and an improvement in police performance. The issue regarding what police officers, at various levels, see as being important to their training and educational needs has not been addressed by such research. A study on the relationship between content of training and the amount of retention by police officers concluded that there is no actual connection between the perceived benefits of training and the actual change in knowledge (Wright & Senese, 1995). The importance of this research, however, has been the establishment of a connection between the
level of police training and the officers' confidence to make decisions and apply their knowledge (Wright & Senese, 1995). It was this finding that paved the way for the focussing of research on the connection between education and levels of confidence rather than specifically on police performance.

Models for the Higher Education of Police Officers

It is widely recognised today, that despite being at the bottom of a highly structured organisation, police officers in their daily work rely heavily on their own judgements and as such could benefit from some form of higher education. Given this, the next questions which emerged have been related to what form this higher education should take, what should be the essence of the curriculum, and should the courses be in-service or pre-service? In the past, the curricula of different police education and training programmes have varied primarily in relation to the organisational structure of the countries' police forces. Whereas in America and Canada, decisions regarding the recruitment and training of police have generally been under a centralised association of chiefs of police (Grant, 1980), in Britain recruitment and training has been undertaken by the respective
jurisdictions. As such, unlike in the U.S.A., police services in the United Kingdom have until recently done little to seek university partnerships and instead jurisdictions have chosen their own colleges, like the London Metropolitan Police who chose Hendon College as their main training ground (Kilcup, 1982). This has meant that whereas in the United States and Canada specialised policing curricula have been developed through a partnership of police leaders and higher educational institutions, in Britain, in 1996, there were still only two universities offering undergraduate programmes in policing. On the contrary, British police forces have sponsored police personnel to undertake studies in a variety of disciplines such as Law and Business and then have provided them with the more practical skills in house. Both Hong Kong and Singapore Police Services train and recruit at two levels. The recruitment of school leavers to fill positions in the lower ranks and the recruitment of college and University graduates to fill positions at higher ranks.

This contrast in approaches has sparked a debate around the appropriateness of the two models and the relative advantages and disadvantages of specially tailored curricula in policing versus more general curricula in the
broader discipline of criminology. Discussions have been fuelled not only by the police themselves but also by the universities who have questioned whether police 'training', both pre-service and in-service, warrants a programme of higher education suggesting that such programmes may be merely disguised training programmes (Hoover, 1975). For example, should police officers be specially prepared for their job through skills training or should they obtain a general degree which is not a preparation for any particular area?

This debate between a technical versus a liberal education in fact has not always been so clear cut. As Repetto (1980) pointed out, where should the line between liberal and technical education be drawn? To some, liberal arts implies the study of any traditional discipline, such as English, history, law, etc., which arguably makes the individual more able to analyse and learn the practical duties of being a police officer. On the contrary, some critics have disputed that the preparation of officers for criminal justice, requires a higher education curriculum that includes every segment of criminal justice, such as, policing, courts and corrections (Hoover, 1975). As Hogarth (1973) indicated, the function of the police is
that of a social service integrated at the planning and organisational level with other social services:

"Being part of a larger system, police policy must be integrated with the criminal justice system as a whole" (Hogarth, 1973; p.7)

From this perspective, it is imperative that police understand the goals and objectives of other services, since social cooperation and social acceptance are critical. This requires that police personnel are educated and trained at a level that promotes peer relationships with other agencies, and facilitates innovation, flexibility and integration (Kilcup, 1982). Higher education of officers through a social science degree is vital for police officers to understand the nature of social problems so that they will be able to deal successfully with those problems. From this perspective, the student should study criminology, urban sociology, deviant behaviour, psychology, public speaking and other relevant areas (Repetto, 1980).

Still others, would argue that the student who has actually been introduced to policing in the field, is much better prepared to deal with the duties which arise in daily practice. By recruiting non-college staff and then
training them in specific skills, middle and higher level police have side stepped challenges to their existing practices and maintained control over the content and orientation of training programmes (Goldstein, 1977). However, it is fair to say that police officers have often preferred in-house or small college training programmes (supported by the police). The reason generally being that they have been easier, and have been taught by other police staff, so officers have not come face to face with the biases which academics have towards them, and which have often created serious communication problems for them. The question which arises, however, is to what extent do these programmes produce officers capable of introducing change, with new mind sets that can work to break with the current 'police culture' and deal effectively with the changing needs of our modern society (Toffler, 1972)?

In 1978, the National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers, in its report entitled "The Quality of Police Education", better known as the Sherman Report, favoured the broader liberal arts model of police education. Among their recommendations were the suggestions that college programmes in policing provide a broad liberal arts background, that narrow courses on
police tasks be replaced by analytical and conceptual courses on issues related to those tasks, and that specialised courses in policing should constitute no more than one fourth of the total course work in any police education programme (Sherman, 1978).

Moreover the study recommended that police officers should place more emphasis on recruiting the educated and less on educating the recruited (Sherman, 1978). It argued that specialised courses in policing and criminal justice in the United States should constitute no more than one fourth of the total course work in any police education programme, and it recommended that community colleges should phase out their terminal two-year programmes (Kilcup, 1982).

Despite the fact that the report served to polarise the debate, more recently, there has been a move to view the two models of curriculum not as opposing but rather as complementary. As Whitehead (1980) pointed out:

"There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal and no liberal education which is not technical" (Whitehead, 1980; p21)

As such, the debate has changed its focus to how much of each type of education is required and does this vary
according to the level and position of the officer? Do senior officers require a more liberal, open education or with limited knowledge of technical/managerial skills? Or do sergeants who work directly with the public also need a more general education, emphasising communication, conflict resolution, problem-solving, and people skills? If this is the case, should they study sociology, criminology, social control and problems of racial and ethnic minorities?

Police versus Academic Staff Involvement in Higher Education

Issues emerging from this latter point have led to another key question, that is: if police require some conceptual or academic education, then to what extent should police staff be directly involved in this training or, should universities have total independence with regards to making educational decisions (Goldstein, 1977)?

For many years, relations between the police and academic institutions have been strained largely due to the differences between the closed, rigid structure of the police services and the open, flexible character of academic institutions. As a result, police have been held
in contempt by radical academics, while the intellectual snobbery of academics has enhanced the police’s dislike of the university environment (Goldstein, 1977). Moreover, the officers, many of whom have gone to university with the expectation that their lecturers will be people with a broad knowledge of the problems and with solutions to their problems, have been disappointed to find that lecturers are not always storehouses of knowledge. The quality of academic work can vary greatly. The outcome has resulted in a general feeling by the police that their professors unlike their senior officers have little experience of the ‘real world’, and hence there has been a strong group of support for increasing police involvement in the design and training of higher education programmes.

Some have argued that creating a better relationship between police and academic institutions depends on a clearer understanding of the functions of policing, with the aim to designing more relevant educational programmes. For example, universities are increasingly designing vocational programmes in this field which address more specifically the needs of police officers. But in cases like these, where universities have been willing to engage in a joint collaboration with the police, universities have argued that police should enrol in a cross section of
existing courses run by the university. That is, courses such as conflict management, communication skills, organisational development, criminology, and so forth, should be taught together with only few more job-specific courses, in which police staff can play a major role in defining content. But a question which arises is to what extent are such courses merely "add ons" to existing training programmes or do they genuinely create an educated police force (Bell, 1980). This situation has not changed much in the 1990’s but what has taken over the debate is the issue of competency-based training and how such training can be incorporated as part of University educational programmes.

While the concept of designing higher education programmes to meet the needs of police has its merits, the process of redefining their functions has been and is likely to remain slow. Perhaps then the role of education, should be directed more ‘actively’ towards developing officers capable of initiating and responding flexibly to change (Goldstein, 1977), rather than waiting passively for the police to redefine their functions. Moreover, it could be argued that universities which merely put together a programme in response to police-defined needs, are doing a disservice to the field and to the broader community.
(Goldstein, 1977). Universities have a key role to play in terms of tailoring policing in our society. They can question it, change it, and influence its functions, methods and priorities. To have police officers on the academic staff has the danger of reinforcing old concepts and traditions, while academics can have an enlightening role, and can lead to radical changes in police thinking and practice.

While the preceding arguments are appropriate in a large number of cases, there is another whole group of police officers who entered the services because they did not wish to study or who are now in their fifties and do not wish to be pressured into studying psychology or some other liberal arts programme. In cases like these, community colleges offer a much better alternative and there are far greater opportunities for the use of experiential learning techniques, with studies relevant to the problems which police experience on the streets. Programmes can be organised to help officers understand and deal with issues such as criticism, antagonism, and conflict management, and such courses offer greater opportunities for senior staff involvement.
Since the 1990's, this issue has been further complicated by reduced funding in Universities, with the police education arena being an important source of funds. Many Universities and community colleges are vying to become involved in police training and education solely to increase their commercial income from such activities. The positive of this move is that the curriculum should be more client focussed and the negative of this is that there may be low quality programmes that are offered by Universities overzealous to 'please' their clients.

Resourcing of Higher Education Programmes

Finally, if education/training programmes are to become increasingly necessary, then, how should these programmes be funded and what responsibility should police or universities play in the resourcing of the programmes? If police are recruited from the educated, then little direct funding is needed from the police services. However, if greater emphasis is placed on in service training then the police services will have to contribute to the funding of the officers' studies. This raises the question, should all participating officers have to complete every unit, or will some be exempt from certain components in recognition for prior learning?
Furthermore, in cases where universities have attempted to form better relations with the police and have developed specially tailored courses, they have frequently expected a commitment by the police to enrol a fixed number of police per year in their course. Such a commitment has sometimes been difficult for police services to fulfil.

Sherman (1978) in his report said that colleges should grant no credit for courses taken at police agencies and should be cautious about giving credit for life experience, recommendations which make the funding of police education increasingly costly. This has changed greatly in the 1990s with colleges and Universities in most jurisdictions being compelled to provide credits for police academy based courses. This trend is prevalent worldwide as concepts such as recognition of prior learning (RPL) become the norm in the education sector. In countries such as Australia and Canada, RPL is a right of any student enrolled in a institution of higher education and this has resulted in many police officers gaining credits for previous academy studies.

As we enter the 21st century, the major issues raised by the Sherman Commission still remain unanswered: will college education produce a more experienced and
analytical police officer? Should the professionalism of police be centred around university or college qualifications? Can recruiting from universities and colleges dispel the myth that police functions are simplistic in nature? Will a university or college education increase the confidence of police officers (Dunham, 1993)? Clearly, the question of higher education still generates much debate, however the figures demonstrate the extent which police education has come since 1978. In the U.S.A., for example, during the past 20 years:

- An increasing number of departments have begun to request some form of higher education for employment or promotion;
- The number of officers without higher education has declined by 100%;
- More than 60% of departments have at least one policy supporting higher education;
- The variance among level of education levels of different racial/ethnic groups is small (Carter, Sapp, Stephens, 1992).

Subsequently, the educational debate waged since the 1970s has had a tremendous impact in terms of fuelling interest
in police education. As we enter the 21st century, studies of police education are turning their attention more towards the link between effective needs assessment and successful educational outcomes, and a rethink is occurring between the police-university relationship. In particular, the independence of the modern university and its role in the provision of new and innovative courses for the marketplace is being analysed, and efforts are being made not only to refocus curriculum, but also to review alternative delivery systems.

THE FUNCTION OF POLICING: A PROACTIVE SERVICE OR A REACTIVE FORCE?

Implicit in the previous section was the notion that we are still along way from achieving clarity over the function of policing; despite the fact that leaders talk of change and reform, they continue to implement policies and strategies that reinforce traditional structures and practices. Moreover, there was a suggestion that higher education should play a more active role, promoting the development of individuals capable of confronting change, rather than producing pre-packaged programmes based on a set of competencies defined by police staff who themselves
were educated within the police system and who consequently are likely to have traditional notions on the roles and functions of policing.

Aside from this, any discussion of police training/education should invariably begin with some reflection on the roles and functions of policing, since the content and style of police training/education will vary, to some degree, according to the abilities which it aims to facilitate among the officers. A number of related questions have guided our discussion in this regard. First, what are police for? What is their purpose in society: maintaining law and order, preventing crime, or providing a service to the general public? Second, what is required to be a good officer? What qualities would any education/training programme aim to develop? And third, how should police resources be used? What proportion of police time should be devoted to different activities (Morgan & Newburn, 1997).

To discuss the role and purpose of the police, it is important to consider the historical period and culture with which we are dealing. As mentioned earlier, the starting point of policing as we know it today comes from Peel’s concept of the civil police and its aim was clearly
that of maintaining law and order in the face of civil unrest (Edwards, 1999). Since then the police have gradually accumulated a broad range of "welfare" functions (Punch & Naylor, 1973). They form the only government agency that is available to the public 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. As a result, over 50% of all calls, with some estimates reaching as high as 90% of calls, are requests for help with problems not related to law enforcement (Scott, 1986). Police handle everything from unexpected childbirths, alcoholics on skid row, family and social disputes, people locked out of their car or home, and elderly with problems of dementia (Hagan, 1977).

Today, as societies become more densely populated and individuals live in closer proximity to one another we have come to develop an ever-increasing number of rules and laws. For example, in modern societies, despite their stated commitment to human rights and liberty, a person cannot drive a car, build a house, get married, or even own a dog, without conforming to a set of laws (Edwards, 1999). With the growing complexities of our legal system, governments are themselves becoming a restriction to personal liberty (Nozick, 1974). Furthermore, since the existence of laws requires a body for enforcing the laws, and in most societies, police are the lawful body with
almost complete authority to enforce the law, the general public have grown to view the police contempitiously as the power that restricts their personal liberty.

In juxtaposition, modern societies the world over are becoming increasingly capitalist in nature, and the need to protect their material wealth is growing. Twenty years ago, computers and walkman were unheard of, stereo systems were three or four times the size of today, and an average television needed two people to lift it (Edwards, 1999). Moreover, changing social patterns have meant that houses today are left alone, uninhabited for far longer periods of time. As the possibilities for domestic burglary and property crimes increase, societies have welcomed the policeman on the beat. Similarly as drugs and drug related crimes grow closer to home, the public has turned to the police as a means of dealing with societal problems.

Thus an enormous incongruence lies, on the one hand, between the public's disdain for the police and their authority to enforce the law, and on the other hand, their acceptance and need for 24 hour a day, 7 days a week assistance and protection. Much of this tension, lies in the dichotomy between whether the function of the police
is that of a service to the community, or a legitimate force for the control of general public and the maintenance of law and order (Koenig, 1982). In recent years, many chief officers have begun to talk proudly of "Police Services", however society has continued to view the police as a "force" (Edwards, 1999), and it remains popularly accepted that crime solving and law enforcement are the key tasks of the police. One study indicated that as many as 75% of those interviewed believed this to be the case (Srinivasan & Hearn, 1997). In this study, the terms Police Service and Police Force is used interchangeably deliberately to distinguish between the jurisdictions that use these terms effectively. As an example, Canada has managed to use the term Police Service as effectively as Hong Kong has steered away from this very term! This is a major cultural factor as both Hong Kong and Singapore use the term Police Force to illustrate the power of this organisation as highlighted during interviews with senior officers from these two jurisdictions.

In practice, solving crime and law enforcement is, as the chief officers imply, "largely peripheral to real police work" (Ontario Task Force Report, 1974). A much greater proportion of police officers' time is focused on traffic
control, public education, dealing with emergencies, offering advice to local and central government on matters relating to policing, befriending anyone who needs their help and crime prevention (Alderson et al, 1973; Hough, 1985; Comrie & Kings, 1974).

A study by the British Home Office conducted in the early 1980s illustrated that in fact only 18% of public calls for police assistance were related to crime matters. A latter study by the British Crime Survey (1988) found that in 1987 only 2% of all reported contacts between the police and the public involved 999 call relating to criminal incidents. On the contrary, traffic accidents, requests for information on property and directions represented the major work of the police. It would appear, therefore, that the function of policing is integrated closely into the routine, daily life of the public. As Skogan (1990) points out:

"They are called upon to preserve tranquility, ease the flow of traffic, serve as a clearinghouse for reports of a variety of community problems, assist in civil emergencies, and help people to find their way. In this way, the police represent the physical face of the law."  
(Skogan, 1990; p. 12)
It is not only the public, but the police themselves, who fail to recognise the importance of their various functions, and tasks other than crime solving and law enforcement generally have low status within the police force (Morgan & Newburn, 1997). Many of those attracted to police work, are drawn to it by the image of the active, exciting life. This problem is in part due to the failure of the police to make the distinction between a police ‘service’ and a police ‘force’ (Kilcup, 1982).

The media has also served to reinforce the confusion regarding the function of policing, stressing the two faces of police work (Reiner, 1992; Bryett & Harrison, 1993). On the one hand, television shows like Miami Vice and NYPD Blues have enraptured their audiences, with the notion of the “tough” policemen who, to gain their objectives and enforce the law, at times have to use strategies which themselves step outside the confines of the law. While on the other hand, the programmes like The Bill and Blue Heelers, continue to show entertain viewers despite the fact that they highlight the more realistic and mundane side of policing (Edwards, 1999).

So where do the roots of this on-going confusion lie and what are the true functions of policing? According to
many, the basis for much of this confusion can be found in the contradictions between consensus verses conflict theories of law (Stansfield, 1996; Omaji, 1996; Edwards, 1999). According to functionalism, or consensus theory, the role of the police in a democratic society is to "serve and protect". Implicit in this perspective is the view that society is homogeneous and there is a general consensus regarding patterns of behaviour within society, and how the law should deal with people who act in opposition to those general rules (Edwards, 1999). The role of the police has therefore been defined according to a series of functions. Over the years it has been the classification of these police functions, from the perspective of consensus theory, that have formed the basis for the majority of police training/education programmes.

In contrast to consensus theory, the conflict perspective of law has argued that industrial societies everywhere are socially, politically and economically stratified (Lenski et al, 1991). As Ross et al (1994: p.43) noted "the top 20 percent of Canadian households receive(d) about nine times the income of the bottom 20 percent". Against this background and the rise of multiculturalism within our society, the concept of homogeneity is an issue that has
been highly disputed. On the contrary, it would appear that a small group of elite are responsible for controlling the power and wealth of most countries, with the role of the police being to serve the interests of this elite group by reproducing the social order and maintaining the status quo (Ross, et al, 1994):

"It is not the mandate of police to produce a new order. On the contrary, their everyday actions are directed at reproducing the existing order (the "normal and efficient state") and the order (system of rules) by which this is accomplished. They are one tool of "policing" in the wider sense of all governmental efforts aimed at disciplining, refining, and improving the population. As such, most of what they do is part of the social machinery of verifying and reproducing what is routinely assumed to be the case. Their sense of order and the order they seek to reproduce are that of the status quo."

(Ericson, 1982; p.7)

Ericson's example implies that the function of policing is somewhat similar to that of a "referee", the only difference being that the rules of the game are stacked in favour of the ruling elites, and that the referee is biased in favour of one team (Stansfield, 1996). Moreover it is this emerging perspective of policing, that has thrown new light on the existing confusion regarding public perception of police and their functions within society. In view of the environment, it is hardly surprising that the poor, the minority groups and the
police all feel a sense of frustration with the existing role of the police in society. Unaware of the broader picture, the poor blame the police for their situation and the police blame the poor for their "deviant" behaviour, with the result being that all parties end up taking actions which society criticises (Stansfield, 1996). In an attempt to deal with the situation and maintain the status quo, the police have introduced "cross-cultural" training and community policing programmes in an effort to foster the impression of fairness and equity (National Conference on Police Services in a Multicultural Australia, 1991). However, the question which should be asked is: to what extent have such programmes aimed to tackle the situation, or do they merely serve to make the legal system appear more equitable? Has the function of policing remained primarily that of 'reproducing the existing social order'.

Thus conflict theory also puts to question the delicate balance between a police problem and a social issue? When does a police problem stop being a police problem and become a social or public issue? To highlight this dilemma, Edwards (1999) draws an analogy between the medical profession and police profession. For example, he points out that it is common knowledge that lowering
stress, exercising regularly, keeping weight down and not smoking are effective measures to reduce heart disease. Nevertheless, many people in society continue to work long hours, do no exercise, are overweight and smoke heavily. Yet when heart attacks occur, the medical services are not held responsible; they are merely expected to advise the public of possible dangers and insofar as possible cure diseases. It is rare that the medical world is criticised for the number of heart attacks suffered, nor the number of persons who could not be saved.

On the hand, police offer advice to prevent crime and they are brought into action when crime occurs, but contrary to the doctors, they are frequently criticised and held responsible by the public and the media for their actions (Edwards, 1999). Indisputably, crime is a police problem, and their role is to educate, prevent, record, investigate and deal with crime, but the extent to which they are responsible for its prevention is unclear (Edwards, 1999). Conflict theorists would thus question, are the police being used as a "scapegoat" for social marginalisation and other problems caused by the ruling elite?

Today much of the information which the public obtains regarding the police comes through the media, and it is
clear that the media is a highly competitive, politicised industry run by either large entrepreneurial groups or government agencies. Far from being a public information service with an obligation to educate the public, the aim of the media is to sell and make a profit, and the images presented can provide some serious misconceptions of level of crime in society. For example, a British survey found that despite an 8% drop in crime, 75% of respondents felt crime had increased (British Crime Survey, 1997).

Consequently, through the media crime has become "politicised" and politicians make statements on issues which the media sells. Thus senior police officers are public figures more than ever before, and are expected to account for crime, and to show viable strategies for dealing with it (Edwards, 1999). But to what extent does this vision truly represent the changing nature of crime in society, and to what extent is the role of policing being diverted by this politicisation?

In our modern world, and increasingly in the 21st century, international crime and corporate fraud are reaching new levels of sophistication, transcending national boundaries and using technologies which are beyond the understanding of even many computer experts. Improvements in
communications, international transfer of money between banks, nations that lend themselves as tax havens, and consumer confidentiality all add to the difficulty of chasing money trails (Veness, 1997).

So has crime today moved beyond the boundaries of policing or the power of any nation's criminal law to deal with it (Edwards, 1999)? Or is it that the economic and educational resources required to keep police abreast of the problem have been sadly lacking? Or in contrast, are corporate fraud, tax evasion, money laundering and internet crime "crimes of the powerful" (Stansfield, 1996) and hence there is little incentive by the police to become involved in these, due to the politicisation of policing and their need to remain aligned with the ruling elite?

Clearly, many questions remain unanswered regarding the how police should function. Nevertheless, it would appear police functions could be categorise broadly under three general areas:

- To provide community policing and to work with the public to prevent crime related problems;
• To offer a twenty four hour a day emergency support service;
• To supply criminal investigators and experts to prevent, offer assistance and protect society against criminal offenders of all kinds.

If this is the case then has, the complexity of police work meant that the organisation is made up of three totally different functional units with little other than their title "police" linking them – a situation which has profound implications in terms of training and education (Edwards, 1999). Has the emphasis on crime prevention and crime detection pulled the police in two quite different directions, with different sets of needs and skills?

Let us pause now and reflect on the second major question which was to guide our discussion for this chapter. **What constitutes a good police officer?** What are the characteristics or qualities which make a good police officer and which training/education should aim to enhance? In many classical documents we see references to attributes such as honesty, responsibility, common sense, courtesy, alertness, with particular emphasis being given to "common sense" (Pugh, 1986; Finney, 1972; Sterling, 1972; Devine 1972) and the use of "sensible law" (Pugh,
1986). In recent years, with the move towards policing as a "public service" and community policing, a new set of qualities has emerged. Police officers are now required to offer humanitarian support, give advice, help people in need, provide education, work with youth, negotiate and practice first aid. The basic concept required for good police action is "respect for the rights, worth and dignity of individuals" (Pugh, 1986). As such, the quality of "equanimity", or the ability to remain calm when verbally abused and not to demonstrate anger to an offender, has become defined as an essential characteristic of a good officer (Eldefonson, 1973).

Furthermore, on a daily basis police are expected to make complex decisions on their own that affect the lives of others. This requires that they are capable of shifting quickly from one function to another which requires flexibility of mind. It involves tolerance unconventional behaviour and respect of different cultures and lifestyles. In other words, it requires maturity and the ability to tolerate stress (Goldstein, 1977).

But to what extent are such definitions of officers sufficient from the perspective of our three functional areas outlines earlier? Is there much return to be gained
from training specialist investigative branches in topics such as maintaining equanimity when dealing with traffic accidents or working with the community on problem-solving, or could time be better spent keeping the officers up to date on new technologies (Edwards, 1999)? While skills such as good inter-personal communications are clearly generic, being required for a detective's interviewing, negotiation in community policing programmes, and dealing with traffic accidents or other emergencies, many skills are more specific (Edwards, 1999). Moreover, even these more generic skills often require different approaches to training and education.

What are the implications of this? Are there three sets of skills and attributes required to be a "good officer" depending on the functional area in which the officer works? Does this require three different training/educational programmes to promote these skills and attributes? Is there a need for leadership programmes that cover all areas ensuring multi-skilling? Or do broad liberal arts or social science programmes suffice in this latter case? Goldstein's ideas that he debated in the 1970's still apply. For Goldstein, the changing climate of policing has meant that:
"To retain a highly qualified officer it will be necessary to give him an entirely new role in the organisation. He should be more involved in planning policies and methods of operation. He should, in particular, have more of a say in policies affecting his own role in the agency. He should have greater opportunities to realise his full potential in ways other than through promotion."

(Goldstein, 1977, p. 264)

As Goldstein went on to say, this does not mean that the police should be run as a democracy, with participatory management policies. What it does require is greater consultation about problems and the soliciting of opinions on issues of management. But if greater communication is to be introduced, then education/training is required both in terms of how to overcome feeling of awkwardness and rank, and also how to listen to and deal with reactions and to build on these in a way that improves the agency. The shift away from the highly technical, rule bound aspects of police work and recruit training towards decision-making and critical training for community policing is a step in the right direction (Mastrofski, 1995).

Having thus reviewed some of the 'functions' and 'attributes' of a good police officer, our third question then is, to what extent do the resources allocated by police agencies reflect these functions and objectives?
How are police funds distributed? And what implications does this have in terms of police functions? What proportion of police time and resources is devoted to patrol, criminal investigation, traffic, administration and management?

In London, a recent study found that over half of all police time was spent on patrol work. Although this no longer takes the form of the traditional "British

Figure 1
Allocation of London Police Resources

bobby" patrolling the streets on foot in his Doc Martens, and instead the majority of patrolling today is done in motorised vehicles, it still accounts for 55% of police resources (Audit Commission, 1996).

As Figure 1 indicates, a further 7% of police resources are spent on traffic, and 23% are spent on other activities, including paperwork, briefing meetings, escort duties, public disorder, domestic disputes, sudden/suspicious deaths, missing persons, suicides, vehicle and equipment maintenance, and other administrative tasks. Only 15% of resources are spent on the Criminal Investigation Departments (Ogilvie-Smith, et al, 1994). Source: Audit Commission (1996) Streetwise, London: Audit Commission

It is not just in Britain that street patrol constitutes the major part of resource allocation. In America at any one time 65% of police officers are assigned to patrol work, in Canada this figure is 64%, and in Australia it is 54% (Bayley, 1994). Although this figure is slightly lower in Singapore and Malaysia, with police spending less time on the streets than at police stations, their function is still primarily that of a 'service administration', the difference being that the public come
to them rather than them going to the public. This of course is different in Hong Kong where most of the policing functions are carried out by the officer on the 'beat'.

In Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia, the constable has to seek the approval of a higher ranking officer before making a decision. This is an important point as the function of policing is closely related to their discretionary powers (Wilson, 1968). Training and education of police must take this issue into consideration. The interesting aspect of such situations is that there are arguments which consider experience as the only method of learning to deal with many policing functions (Bayley, 1994).

As we have seen over and over again, however, the public everywhere feels safer when the police are visibly present in their society (Morgan & Newburn, 1997). It wants more patrols and greater contact with the police. No matter how little evidence there is to support the fact that this helps reduce crime, the general population clings to the romantic notion that they are less likely to be victims of crime if police are patrolling their streets.
"...listening patiently to endless stories about fancied slights, old grievances, new insults, mismatched expectations, indifference, infidelity, dishonesty and abuse. They hear about all the petty, mundane, tedious, hapless, sordid details of individual lives. None of it is earthshaking, or worthy of a line in the newspaper - not the stuff that government policy can address, not even specially spicy; just the begrimed reality of the lives of people who have no one else to take their problems to. Patient listening and gentle counselling are undoubtedly what patrol officers do most of their time."
(Bayley, 1994; p.20)

Present allocations of police resources indicate that chief officers are well aware of and respondent to these public views, because whatever their objectives, be they maintaining the social order or reducing crime, in the long term the effectiveness of the police depends on public trust. This then raises a major dilemma for the police: how can they provide the resources to make this provision possible while at the same time meeting their other needs? To keep adding police manpower to the streets at the rate of urban growth would place enormous financial burdens on the public system, and even in cases where this has occurred, as in Britain during the 1980s when the Thatcher Government doubled expenditure, there are no guarantees of success.

'Community safety' involves much more than just policing, and as Morgan and Newburn (1997) point out, the locus of
responsibility for lies far beyond that of the police and criminal justice agencies and involves a wider range of organisations. Whether in terms of community policing or in the use of high technology equipment for global policing in the pursuit of complex international money trail, increasing police work will involve integrated efforts with other agencies.

"The police manager who fails to recognise (the need for change) and involve other social control agents (such as mass media, schools, planning officers, housing authorities, social workers, community activists, opinion leaders and private security industry) in a commercial, team approach to goal attainment will find the police mandate continually being eroded by such agents in all cases except those few requiring the unique police access to law or legitimate force. This erosion (already somewhat in evidence) will lead to a relative elimination of the police presence, and in fact to a withdrawal of the police function to the point where little would be left beyond coercive control of illicit citizen behaviour and the apprehension of offenders"

(Koenig, 1982; p.59)

Unless police develop the capabilities to become agents of change and to work in an integrated manner with other service agencies, they will become outsiders within the community; an isolation which will generate mistrust and lead to lack of support from the community (Kilcup, 1982). To produce this shift in practice requires that police develop the basic skills that promote peer relationship, innovation, flexibility and integration.
Despite the references in police mission statements to their dedication to "work in partnership with the community", to be "customer focused", to work for the promotion of "community leadership" and to be based on "proactive problem solving approaches" (Delta Program, 1998), the question of whether this shift from a highly technical, rule bound, set of police functions to a more flexible, and integrated service will occur in practice, remains largely unanswered. The success or otherwise of its achievement will depend largely on the changes made in police training/education.