Chapter 2

RETHINKING POLICE EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The relationship between education and training especially in the field of policing is confusing (Kilcup, 1982). Training has been defined as the:

"...learning of the specific knowledge, skills, techniques and behaviours of an activity or occupation, taught to newcomers by experienced individuals and experts usually in a specialist setting. Training as used here is occupation specific. Thus police training will be the teaching of police knowledge, skills, techniques and behaviours to recruits by experienced officers, usually in a police academy."

(Froyland, 1991; p.15)

Education, on the other hand, has been defined as:

"...learning that takes place in a university or tertiary college and that involves more generalised knowledge, the habits of critical thinking, and conceptualisation rather than techniques and behaviours."

(Froyland, 1991; p.15)

Thus, one could explain the differences between training and education as two opposite ends of a continuum (Hoover 1975). At one end of the continuum, training places heavy emphasis on the acquisition of specialist skills and the
learning of procedures and techniques. While education, at the other end of the continuum, stresses the development of mental powers and the ability to critically assess. In other words, training is concerned with "how" something is done, while education is concerned with "why" something is done (Kilup, 1983; Muir, 1982).

In many police forces, these differences have not been clearly dealt with and there is much confusion between the pre- and in-service training programmes conducted by the police forces, and the education programmes conducted by institutes of higher learning. Hoover (1975) in his review of higher education for police officers found that many programmes were actually disguised training programmes, and this has led to further debate on the differences between training, professional education and liberal arts models, and their appropriateness for police education (Abadinsky, 1987). Moreover, upon reviewing the literature for the comparative analysis presented in Part II of this thesis, it became apparent that police and academic organisations use the terms differently. For example, literature from Hong Kong indicated that any training offered to inspectors is seen to be education. Thus instead of becoming tied down with terminology regarding training or education, an analysis of the
"processes of learning" used to achieve the training/education would appear more appropriate.

Interviews with senior staff from the various Police Services and academic institutions in the jurisdictions concerned also indicated that when this study started in early 1995, education and training were seen to be two different concepts. But during the late 1990's, a new trend emerged that saw Universities engaging themselves with all service based organisations both in public and private sector in order to fulfil the falling levels of funding from government sources to Universities. It is this trend that saw Universities providing credits towards tertiary qualifications for courses completed at Police Training Units. This has resulted in the distinction between training and education as outlined in this chapter becoming somewhat blurred as Universities are providing credits towards courses that would in the past be termed as being 'training courses' as opposed to 'educational courses'. Learning has been defined almost invariably as involving a change in the individual (Hilgard and Bower, 1966; Crow and Crow, 1963; Burton, 1963; Haggard, 1963). In what form and through which processes this change occurs has been the basis for numerous theories of
learning, all of which fall primarily into two major categories: stimulus-response and cognitive theories.

The classical approach to understanding learning and hence education/training has been to view man as a passive robot or empty organism (Knowles, 1990). Change and learning in the individual therefore occurs as a result of the transfer or “provision” of some form of training package. Learning from this perspective is the result of an external force (Reese and Overton, 1970) to bring about a process of planned change.

This classical approach has its conceptual roots in behaviourism, and was strongly influenced by learning theorists, such as, Thorndike, Dewey, Pavlov, and Skinner. Thorndike (1898) conceived learning as a process of responding to a particular stimulus when it is rewarded, and he suggested that the learning process is affected by three laws: 1. the law of readiness (the extent to which a learner is satisfied or dissatisfied with the reward); 2. the law of exercise (the extent to which a learner can make a connection between the stimulus and its application in practice); and 3. the law of effect (the strengthening or weakening of the connection as a result of its consequences) (Knowles, 1990).
Pavlov (1902) took Thorndike's work one step further, highlighting the difference between conditioned and unconditioned reflexes and stressing the importance of reinforcement for the learning process. Hilgard succinctly summarises his classical experiment as:

"When meat powder is placed in a dog's mouth, salivation takes place; the food is the unconditioned stimulus and salivation is the unconditioned reflex. Then some arbitrary stimulus, such as a light, is combined with the presentation of the food. Eventually, after repetition and if time relationships are right, the light will evoke salivation independent of the food; the light is the conditioned stimulus and the response to it is the conditioned reflex"

(Hilgard & Bower, 1966; p.48)

More recently, gesalt psychologists have viewed the teacher's role in the learning process as essentially that of helping the learner to see significant relationships and to manage instruction so that the individual can organise his/her experiences into functional patterns (Knowles, 1990). Using an earlier view, the teacher's role has been described as:

"the creating of stimulus-conditions which make it possible for the learner to perceive clearly what leads to what, and to understand the different means by which a given goal can be reached. Emphasis would be placed upon making vivid the relationships between the parts and the whole"

(Kingsley and Garry, 1957; p. 119-120)
Whilst the views of behaviourists have varied, the basic concept of learning has remained that of a mechanistic process beginning with an empty organism and involving either the transfer of knowledge and information or the provision of practical skills through a process of stimulus and reward. Even the more complex learning theories, such as that of Robert Gagne (1965), are based on the underlying notion that teaching means the arranging of conditions that are external to the learner (Knowles, 1990). In his theory, he distinguished between eight different types of learning (signal learning, stimulus-response learning, chaining, verbal association, multiple discrimination, concept learning, principle learning and problem solving) and suggested eight ways in which the teacher can act on the learner's environment, through:

1. **Presenting the stimulus.** Every type of learning requires a different type of stimulus and hence teachers need to use different approaches to present their stimuli.

2. **Directing attention and other learner activities.** External/environmental components also act on the learner by directing their attention to certain stimuli. These activities are not in themselves
learning, but are crucial mechanisms helping the teacher to create the proper conditions for learning.

3. Providing a model for terminal performance. This refers to the importance of informing the learner about the general objectives of the study and what is expected of them in terms of performance.

4. Furnishing external prompts. These include verbal or audio-visual means to trigger learning chains and provide examples.

5. Guiding the direction of thinking. During learning, particularly when it involves problem solving, thought processes may be guided, in order to reduce the occurrence of irrelevant hypotheses.

6. Inducing transfer of knowledge. Using interaction, demonstration, role-play and numerous other techniques, teachers can encourage students to transfer the new concepts they have learned to different situations.

7. Assessing learning attainments. The environment of the learner also acts upon the learner by assessing the extent to which he/she has obtained a specific objective.

8. Providing feedback. Closely related to assessment of learning outcomes is the provision of feedback concerning the learner's achievements.
Consequently, according to Gagne (1965), these eight functions affect the way in which the learner’s environment acts upon him with regards to bringing about the desired change in the learner’s performance. However at, the root of Gagne’s model there remains the notion that teaching is the management of procedures to ensure specified behaviour changes in the form of learning "products" (Knowles, 1990).

While not so systematically defined, this understanding of learning has greatly influenced the majority of police training/learning models in use today. By reviewing both academy based and university based training programmes, we can find that while the content of the training may differ, from more of a skills oriented curricula to a broader emphasis on liberal arts, the concept of learning and hence the approach to teaching is much the same. Emphasis in both police training and education has been in terms of the "delivery" of educational/training "products" and in the advancement of "best practices" (Travis, 1995), which again implies that the role of the teacher, or the educational institution, is that of a shaper of behaviour (Knowles, 1995).
In evaluating the Ontario Police College, Stansfield (1996) refers to the police recruit basic training programme as a key example of the classical theory of learning, highlighting the clear distinction between roles of students and instructors at the police college. As he noted, instructors are responsible for the design and delivery of the programmes and the assessment of student learning; students are responsible for assimilating as much information as possible. As Stansfield notes: "it is significant that, in most cases, more time is allocated for evaluating what is learned than for learning new skills" (p.85).

But despite the broad usage of this classical theory of learning, there has been growing criticism regarding the model's underlying concepts and assumptions. At the root of the criticisms is the belief that man is an active rather than reactive organism. Rather than being a mechanism whose acts are influenced or governed by external forces, individuals are involved in a continual process of making judgements about aspects of their lives, identifying general rules in these judgements, modifying the original judgements in the light of these rules, and so on (Brookfield, 1987). From this latter perspective, learning involves a process of constructing understanding.
through the coordination of actions and the interaction with reality.

Training or teaching, in the classical sense, may be logical in an unchanging environment, which is perhaps why it has remained the educational model used for so many centuries. However, in our modern world the acceleration of change - in technology, family structure, mobility, division of labour and urbanisation - means that the future will be radically different to the present (Toffler, 1972). In this continually changing environment, education cannot simply be the imparting of knowledge but rather the teacher's role must be the facilitation of learning and the promotion of critical thinking (Habermas, 1979).

Another key criticism of the classical model of learning, is that it is derived from an educational theory known as pedagogy, which literally translated means "the art and science of teaching children" (Knowles, 1990). While in some cases concepts related directly to learning in adults have been incorporated, these have tended to focus narrowly on the external forces required to achieve learning. An example is the work of Maslow (1954) on Motivation and Personality, in which he highlighted the
importance of the hierarchy of needs (beginning with safety and increasing to including motivation and self-actualisation), and the role they play in the learning process. Other famous works in the area have included: Carl Roger’s (1961) student-centred approach to education On Becoming a Person, Edmund Brunner’s (1954) Overview to Research in Adult Education, Kidd’s (1959) How adults Learn, and Miller’s (1964) Teaching and Learning in Adult Education. Yet again, these are all primarily descriptive listings of concepts rather than integrated theoretical frameworks (Knowles, 1990).

It was not until 1968 that the first unified theory of adult learning was presented in an article entitled "Androgogy, Not Pedagogy" (sic), based on the works of a Yugoslavian adult educator, Dusan Savicevic, and the concept of andragogy first appeared in Webster’s 3rd New International Dictionary in 1981. Andragogy is based on the notion:

"...that it is not enough to translate the insights of educational theory (or pedagogy) to the situation of adults"

(Rosenstock, 1921)
Pedagogy, as mentioned above, is derived from the Greek word paid, or "child", while andragogy, comes from the word agogus meaning "leader of". The pedagogical model is based on the assumption that children have a set of learning needs that they are not aware of, and hence it is the teacher who should decide what should be learnt, how, when, and what level of detail. Incorporated in this model are certain basic assumptions regarding the children's (or learners') needs for information, their self-concept, their lack of experience, their readiness to learn and their level of motivation. However, growing evidence shows that as individuals mature and gain knowledge and experience their needs vary (Erikson, 1950; Bruner, 1961; Smith 1982). As Knowles indicates, their need and capacity to be self-directing, to draw on their past experience, to identify their own readiness to learn, and to organise their own learning around their personal life, become progressively more important. As such, as children transform into adulthood there is a slow but progressive need to change from "pedagogy" to "andragogy" (Knowles, 1990).

The andragogical model of learning makes certain basic assumptions about the specific learning needs of adults:
1. Adults need to know why it is important to learn something before undertaking to learn it.

2. Adults need to feel that they are being treated as capable of self-direction.

3. Adults need to feel that their past experience is not being ignored or devalued.

4. Adults become "ready" to learn when their learning experiences coincide with their developmental tasks.

5. Adults are more interested in task-centred or problem-centred learning, than in subject-centred learning.

6. Adults are motivated by external factors (such as, better jobs, higher salaries, promotions, etc.), however internal factors are stronger motivators (self-esteem, quality of life, etc.)

In Table 1 on the following page, Knowles (1990) illustrates the implications of these basic assumptions in terms of teaching and adult learning. In particular he suggests that the role of the teacher/facilitator should initially be: to create a healthy mood or sense of trust within the group, to help adults to plan and carry out their own learning activities, and to become
### Table 1
Characteristics and Implications of Adult Learning

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of Adult Learners</th>
<th>Implications for Adult Learning</th>
<th>Implications for Presenters</th>
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<tr>
<td>Self-concept: The adult learner sees himself as capable of self-direction and desires others to see him the same way. In fact, one definition of maturity is the capacity to be self-directing.</td>
<td>• A climate of openness and respect is helpful learners identify what they want and need to learn.</td>
<td>Presenters recognize participants as self-directing and treat them accordingly.</td>
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<td>Experience: Adults bring a life-time of experience to the learning situation. Youths tend to regard experience as something that has happened to them, while to an adult, the experience is his and he defines who he is in terms of his experience.</td>
<td>• Adults enjoy planning and carrying out their own learning exercises.</td>
<td>The presenter is a learning reference for the participants rather than a traditional instructor; presenters are, therefore, encouraged to stress &quot;how I do it&quot; rather than tell participants what they should do.</td>
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<td>Readiness to learn: Adult developmental tasks increasingly move toward social and occupational role competence and away from the more physical developmental tasks of childhood.</td>
<td>• Adults need to be involved in evaluating their own progress toward self-chosen goals.</td>
<td>The presenter avoids &quot;talking down&quot; to the participants who are experienced decision-makers. Instead, presenter tries to address the participants' needs.</td>
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<td>A problem-centred time perspective: youth thinks of education as the accumulation of knowledge for use in the future. Adults tend to think of learning as a way to be more effective in problem solving today.</td>
<td>• Less use is made of transmittal techniques; more of experiential techniques</td>
<td>As the adult is his experience, failure to utilise the experience of the adult learner is equivalent to rejecting him as a person.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Discovery of how to learn from experience is key to self-actualisation</td>
<td>Learning occurs through helping participants with the identification of gaps in the learner's knowledge.</td>
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<td>• Mistakes are opportunities for learning</td>
<td>No questions are stupid; all questions are opportunities for learning.</td>
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<td>• To reject adult experience is to reject the adult</td>
<td>The primary emphasis in the course is on students learning rather than on teachers teaching.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Adults need opportunities to identify the competency requirements of their occupational and social roles.</td>
<td>Involvement in such things as problems to be solved, case histories, and critical incidents generally offer greater learning opportunities.</td>
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<td>• Adult readiness to learn and teachable moments peak at those points where a learning opportunity is coordinated with a recognition of the need to know.</td>
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<td>• Adults can best identify their own readiness to learn and teachable moments.</td>
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<td>• Adult education needs to be problem-centred rather than theoretically oriented</td>
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<td>• Formal curriculum development is less valuable than finding out what the learners need to learn.</td>
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<td>• Adults need the opportunity to apply and try out learning quickly.</td>
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involved in the evaluation of their own progress. In order to introduce the learners' experiences, the facilitator should use less transmittal techniques of teaching, encouraging the use of group discussion, simulation exercises, problem-solving activities, case studies, sensitivity training, value clarification, mediation and dogmatism scales.

Hence, the andragogical model of education offers another perspective of learning and education. It is not, however, an ideology that totally excludes the pedagogical model. On the contrary, it represents an alternative set of assumptions and educators need to be aware, under given situations which set of assumptions are most appropriate. For example, when adults are dependent, when they have no prior knowledge of the subject or no previous experience with relevant tasks, when they do not understand the relevance of the subject, and they need to accumulate information, then the pedagogical model may be more appropriate. Nevertheless some of the andragogical concepts will remain. For example, the educator can still provide an environment of respect and trust, where the learner feels unthreatened, and where he/she can take some responsibility in the choice of methods and resources used.
While such a radical rethinking of education/training has started to filter into some departments of policing, an example being the New Haven Police Department of Connecticut (Travis, 1995), the change has been limited, and police services as a whole have not developed an educative environment which promotes this process of learning. As Knowles states:

"One of the misconceptions of our cultural heritage is the notion that organisations exist purely to get things done. This is only one of their purposes; it is their work purpose. But every organisation is also a social system that serves as an instrumentality for helping people to meet human needs and achieve human goals. In fact this is the primary purpose for which people take part in organisations - to meet their needs and goals - and when an organisation does not serve this purpose for them they tend to withdraw from it. So organisations also have a human purpose.

Adult education is a means available to organisations for furthering both purposes. Their work purpose is furthered to the extent that they use adult education to develop the competencies of their personnel to do the work required to accomplish the goals of the organisation. Their human purpose is furthered to the extent that they use adult education to help their personnel develop the competencies that will enable them to work up the ladder of Maslow's hierarchy of needs for survival through safety, affection, and esteem to self-actualisation."

(Knowles, 1990; pg. 99-100)

From this perspective, if police services are to build an educative environment that can promote the development of
a team of professional police officers, capable of dealing with the changing conditions facing our modern world, then a radical transformation is required in the concepts of learning presently in use among most police training/education programmes. At the basis of this change lies a more democratic philosophy characterised by four basic characteristics: 1) respect for personality; 2) participation in decision-making; 3) freedom of expression and availability of information; and 4) mutual responsibility in defining goals, planning and conducting activities, and evaluating.

Without such developments it is difficult to see how the police services can change from being rigid, hierarchical task-centred organisations to performing the functions of an innovative organisation, as described in the following chapter. During the course of this study it was clearly seen that certain police organisations had begun to embrace these principles but the 'human resource' transformations needed to embrace and understand these principles fully needed a significant shift in the thinking and also significant increases in funding for the training units of these organisations. During interviews with senior officers of the Singapore, Canadian and Hong Kong police services, it became clear that the training
units had the desire to make changes to become a 'learning organisation' but staffing constraints prevented these objectives from being fully exploited.

POLICING IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

The purpose of including this section early in the thesis is to illustrate how learning can be modelled to increase awareness of certain issues important to the modern police service. This section also provides an insight into how police officers may be educated out of the Police Training Unit in a 'real' work setting. The section emphasises the community policing educational/training models and is included in this thesis as community policing was one of the main interests of the participants of this study. When the focus groups were conducted in the various jurisdictions, as many as 75% of participants indicated that they did not fully understand what training may be required for them to be 'educated' in community policing. As community policing became a popular 'buzzword' in the 1990's and terms such as Problem Orientated Policing (POP) became 'fashionable', 75% of the participants in this study also indicated that they did not fully understand what these terms meant in terms of 'real' policing.
The project described in this chapter was an experiment to try and understand the issues that motivate police and the public to work together to overcome certain perceived barriers in that particular district. The learning principles that were applied in this experiment evolved as the project became 'mature' and it provides an interesting insight to effective learning methodologies that may be applied effectively to police personnel. An important and interesting challenge is to apply the findings of the experiment that relate to learning theory and principles throughout the police organisation and this is not easily achieved. The dilemma of course is to feed this into a training or education programme that is already overcrowded and 'full'. Where and when do we include these other training programmes into a police training and education plan or curriculum? Are community policing programmes important to a recruit trainee? Or should police services take a long term view that issues such as understanding policing in a multicultural society is more a challenge for educators rather than trainers?

For many years community policing has been heralded as the key method for replacing the hierarchical structure, and rank and file officer, of the traditional policing system.
(Brogden, 1999). With its decentralised, 'flattened' organisational structure, the function of community policing is to resolve, through public participation, problems not all of which may involve a legal or criminal sanction.

The concept of community policing is not new, as Sir Robert Peel pointed out in 1829:

"The police should at all times maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historical tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police"

(Glare, 1990, p. 72)

In its present form, community policing derives from a concept which was developed for rural and small town policing in the United States, and which has subsequently been taken as an acceptable model for urban settings (Weishett et al., 1994). The philosophy of community participation is built on a notion that is "pro-active, preventative in concept, and rooted in public desire and willingness to work with police to increase the quality of life of their neighbourhood" (Omaji, 1995). Fostering better community relations and developing a sense of
partnership dispels some of the common myths and fears which have often prevented minority groups from accessing police services and helps members of the police to better understand cultural diversity (Bird, 1993; Imbert, 1991).

Nevertheless, community policing models frequently in practice have been developed without historical contextualisation or awareness of issues relating to social and cultural equity (Brogden, 1999). For example, in Australia, many police efforts have failed to recognise the historical reasons that have resulted in unpopularity and distrust towards police (Moir, 1990). Moreover, it is no longer possible to talk of communities as homogenous social groups, with equitable legal and social rights. The global revolution in transport and communications, broader trade and capital flows and increasing social mobility, has meant that most societies today are "multicultural" or made up of different ethnic and cultural groups. Furthermore, if cultural groups and social groups are taken to be synonymous, meaning any collection of people in the macroculture who share a public identity and sense of commonality, then the number of different social groups broadens to include homosexuals, developmentally delayed, alcoholics, etc (Davidman & Davidman, 1997).
Ideally, as Peel (1829) pointed out, there should be no separation between police and community, but unfortunately there is a growing perception that police are failing to protect the rights of disadvantaged and powerless members of our community (Glare, 1990). As Skogan (1990) stressed, the concept of community policing is popular in wealthier neighbourhoods where there is less crime and it is here that the few successful programmes operate. However, in the poorer more heterogeneous communities where crime and violence are more frequent, community policing is less popular. On the contrary, as Bayley (1988) notes, community policing officers develop an alliance with the more powerful and conservative pressure groups, thereby in practice reinforcing the traditional orthodox, rank-and-file ‘police culture’ which effectively prevents the development of meaningful community relations (Brogden, 1999).

In effect therefore, community policing, unless controlled, becomes involved in the world of social inequity. So how can a police officer decide whose interests and values should be upheld in a heterogeneous society? Is he/her not often dealing with political questions? Bayley (1988) argues that in some cases
community policing may result in the officer acting in a discriminatory and unequal way in a futile effort to solve problems derived from social inequity.

The question then arises as to: how do we deliver equal services in an unequal society? To answer this question we must first answer to what extent do cultural barriers exist and what form do these barriers take? For example, is it actually the police who are invariably racist, ethnocentric and corrupt, or is this the result of a misinterpretation of their role, and fear and distrust of the police by various minority groups? Just as society is prone to stereo-type minority groups, so could it be that minority groups have type cast the police based on repressive regimes, where democratic rights are absent and where police can enter homes, search, arrest and detain without warrants? Or language and unfamiliarity with police procedures the major problem?

A study of 571 police officers in Mirrabooka, Western Australia, showed that all but two police officers felt the problems invariably lay with the other cultural groups who failed to fit in (Hearn & Srinivasan, 1997). However, members of five cultural groups interviewed (Hispanic, Vietnamese, Eastern European, Arabic and
African) did not see language or communication problems to be the major concern. On the contrary, they emphasised their own lack of confidence, and the lack of trust they had in the police officers due to the inability of the police officers to listen to them and accept them as honest citizens. Moreover, only 25% of those interviewed saw the police to be extremely trustworthy, a figure which compared notably with Anglo-Saxon Australians, 84% of whom viewed the police as largely trustworthy.

Many of the police officers argued fervently that part of the problem has been the lack of willingness among the ethnic communities to try to “fit” in and “adapt” to change. However, the results showed that a large percentage of the non-English speaking population were interested in learning their rights and obligations and, rather than a lack of willingness, the problem appeared to be their low level of knowledge regarding how to access the police services (86% of new arrivals did not even know what number to call in the event of an emergency) and what rights and obligations they had.

Another important point which emerged from the evaluation was that, contrary to previous assumptions, there did not
appear to be a correlation between the attitudes of the different ethnic groups towards the police and their past experience with police in their own countries of origin. Those who had been subjected to negative experiences in their own countries were not generally those who viewed the Western Australian Police as unfriendly (Hearn & Srinivasan, 1997). Therefore, it would appear that too much emphasis has been placed on the notion of past fears, and this has served as a cushion to protect ourselves from analysing the more serious underlying issues of 'prejudice', 'ethnocentrism', and 'racism' that need to be taken into account in any education/training programme.

It is important at this point to distinguish between the meanings of the terms prejudice, ethnocentrism, and racism. Prejudice involves assigning certain characteristics, either favourable or unfavourable, to a group or member of that group, based upon faulty or inflexible generalisations (Allport, 1954). This form of stereotyping may result in either the police or members of cultural groups supporting fellow group members regardless of whether they are right or wrong, the outcome being the strengthening of positive feelings towards their own group and negative feelings toward the other group.
Ethnocentrism and racism are particular forms of prejudice (McConnachie et al., 1988). Ethnocentrism is based on the belief that our own culture is superior to the cultures of other people, and this provides a justification for discriminating against people on the grounds of cultural superiority (McConnachie et al, 1988). Generally the feeling is that minority cultures should learn to live in and be "assimilated by" their new culture, because unless they give up their previous values, norms and forms of behaviour, the outcome will be lack of communication, competition and conflict. From this perspective, hostility by the majority group or in this case the police, is not recognised as ethnocentrism on their part, but rather as maladaptation by the newcomers (Cope, Castles & Kalantzis, 1991).

Racism takes the concept of ethnocentrism one step further, in that their perceived cultural superiority is based on genetic superiority (McConnachie et al, 1988). Thus while prejudice and ethnocentrism may result in stereotyping, lack of communication and conflict, racism may lead to "the denial of equal opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups" (Schaefer, 1990). As such, education and communication can possibly overcome
prejudice and ethnocentrism, however, racism is far more deep-rooted and difficult to change.

In an effort to change this 'police culture', numerous educational programmes have been set up for police in an effort to bridge barriers arising from culture - barriers which involve more than simply language, but which also imply removing from the communication process, obstacles such as stereotyping and lack of understanding of how to deal with the intricate relations which arise within a multicultural society (Pauwels, 1990). Among the most common programmes have been lectures in cross-cultural training and cultural awareness (Watts, 1989), ethnic liaison schemes (Pierce, 1991), programmes in how to work through interpreters (Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department, 1991), working with ethnic officers (National Conference on Police Services in a Multicultural Australia, 1991), and education about the community (Police Commissioner's Policy Advisory Group, 1991). But primarily these programmes have aimed to bring about change in attitudes through the "provision of information" using pedagogical models of education described in Chapter 3, rather than accepting the need for adult education or andragogy. The outcome has generally been negative with police officers feeling that they have simply been given
more work to complete in the same time (Hearn & Srinivasan, 1997).

Moreover, programmes like the potentially highly innovative Delta Plan introduced by the Western Australian Police Service can only succeed if they are implemented in conjunction with an andragogical education process, so that police officers feel the need or “readiness” to learn about the intricate relationships involved in working in a multicultural society. Only if the officers feel interested in learning about these issues and are self-directed and motivated to learn, can government policies based on understanding community needs and priorities, developing strategic partnerships and providing community leadership be implemented (Western Australian Police Service, 1996). More than simply cultural awareness raising, community policing in a multicultural society requires a long process of on-going education through which officers learn the value of working ‘with’ the community to determine needs and priorities and alternative methods of dealing with these. As Hearn & Srinivasan (1997) showed in their evaluation of the Policing in a Multicultural Society Programme in Mirrabooka, Western Australia, this approach can result in:
- Increased awareness of the extent of communication problems
- Increased awareness of the dual nature of the problems and a recognition of need to learn new skills
- Increased desire among police officers to participate in programmes and improve their skills in relation to working with people from diverse cultural backgrounds
- Greater understanding of the value of social/cultural interactions in building relationships and fostering partnerships with the diverse ethnic communities
- Clearer understanding of the nature of Australia’s multicultural society and the importance of the issue for the Western Australian Police Service
- Greater acceptance of multiculturalism and reduction in ethnocentrism.

There also needs to be desire by the public to work with the police, and therefore it is extremely important to work with community leaders and members of various ethnic organisations, to increase knowledge and awareness of the services provided and of their rights and obligations. To return to Peel’s (1982) statement “the police are the public and the public are the police”. To be successful, they require public support and participation.
Hence policing in our multicultural society, requires fostering partnerships for the establishment of long-lasting, harmonious relations based on understanding, tolerance, respect and trust for each other (Hearn & Srinivasan, 1997). This does not just happen through changing police structures or functions to include models of 'community policing', nor can it occur simply by training police in cultural awareness - it requires a long process of education with the community not about the community.

**POST-COLONIAL POLICING AND EDUCATION**

While policing in multicultural societies is a topic of particular interest today, the study of policing in post-colonial countries is important because it accounts for half the total world population (Cole, 1999), and hence must be taken into account in the development of many training/educational programmes. It is particularly important to this study as the countries where the participants come from all enjoyed post colonial policing. This section is concerned with colonial policing and its impact on post-colonial police systems and their methods of training/education.
While it may be dangerous to generalise as to the form of colonial policing, certain similarities can be drawn. To start with, policing in the colonies was the product of nineteenth century global, capitalist expansion and its purpose was to pacify the local communities in order to protect colonial trading routes and ensure a degree of public order and safety for the new settlers (Cole, 1999). As such, colonial policing generally had an ad hoc nature, mainly reacting to particular needs, and attending to resistance against colonial rule.

Most colonial police were recruited from the imperial armies and hence were military or paramilitary in their style (McCracken, 1992; & Gutteridge, 1970), with their basic function being to preserve internal security. However, colonial policing did not only involve paramilitary policing; civilian policing was also set up along side the paramilitary forces, and worked at the territorial, village and district levels. Since the number of colonial civilian police was small compared to the overall population, a close link was generally established between these and other colonial political authorities, and civilian police were quickly supported by military forces if the need arose (Thompson & Adloff, 1969). Moreover, local dignitaries and others loyal to
the colonial powers were often put in charge of the civil police and empowered to appoint officers in order to ensure a degree of local support (Robb, 1991).

Overemphasis on the role of colonial policing in maintaining law and order, can create the impression that colonial society was free of crime. But on the contrary, new socio-economic problems created by colonial political economies and the abuse of indigenous populations by some of the colonists, often resulted in increased levels of crime (Cole, 1999), and some colonial police were set up specifically to control crime, which occurred in the forms of contraband trade across the frontiers, black marketeering, and illegal immigration (Thompson & Adloff, 1969). But crime control definitely played secondary role to the maintenance of law and order. As Cole points out:

"It is important to note, however, that in the empires, crime control was generally secondary to the maintenance of internal security and public order. The link between colonial policing and colonial political economy cannot, however, be over-emphasized, for the fundamental basis of all colonialist ventures is economic imperialism. Colonial empires were essentially markets and trading centres that operated for the benefit of western European economies. In practice, the majority of European colonial possessions, particularly those in Africa, were basically factories run on principles of efficiency and productivity secured, if need be, by force."

(Cole, 1999; p.92)
The functions of the police forces depended on the specific needs of the colonial power. For example, the aim of the British police forces was basically to defend their sovereign land against encroachment from French and German traders and to ensure that indigenous populations did not threaten their claims or close their trade routes (Cole, 1999). The Portuguese forces, on the other hand, were not involved in "pacification wars" nor in signing protection treaties, their aim was primarily to round up locals to provide cheap labour and to coerce them to pay taxes to ensure a regular supply of funds (Newitt, 1981).

Regardless, of the approach used colonial policing signified the 'invasion of an alien force representing an unquestionable political authority' (Coles, 1999). The result was rightly an overall feeling of fear of and intimidation by the colonial police, which was reinforced by frequent cases of abuse of power, police brutality, illegal raids, pillage and extortion (Banda, 1971).

In conclusion, then, colonial policing had links with the colonial political system. As Killingray points out:

"Policing throughout the colonial period was imposed on the people and never enjoyed their consent...colonial policing had little to do with serving the community and
everything to do with upholding the authority of the colonial state" (Killingray, 1991; p. 123)

During the period of decolonisation, problems of public law and order were manifest primarily in the form of nationalist uprisings. Colonial police in the majority of regions were ill-equipped to respond and were drawn into a series of new areas, such as political intelligence and counter-insurgency operations in which they had little experience (Anderson & Killingray, 1992). Thus increasing emphasis was placed on controlling armed revolts, while normal police work was ignored and the relationship between police and the army was strengthened (Throup, 1992). The outcome was a more modern but still largely political police force (Arnold, 1992).

Although, there have been a number of different styles of policing used in post-colonial states, it is true to say that most post-colonial police systems have maintained their largely paramilitary structure inherited from the colonial powers, being largely controlled by central government. In other words, the "political policing" legacy which dominated most colonial states has remained, as too has public image of them as agents of unquestionable public authority to legitimise largely authoritarian governments (Cole, 1999).
An interesting observation during the course of this thesis was that countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong still maintained many of the 'colonial' policing practices such as graduation ceremonies that were no different to the ones held during the colonial days. When asked about this and other similar practices, one police chief mentioned that senior staff preferred to be trained in the United Kingdom throughout the 1980's and 1990's. The only inhibiting factor that made some staff go elsewhere for training was the high cost of the pound. Indications are that as many as 72% of senior staff from these countries are trained in the United Kingdom (personal interviews) in the year 1997 alone. A larger number of senior police officers from Singapore and Hong Kong have been trained in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada and Australia in 1997.

Introducing methods to increase police autonomy and democratic accountability, to encourage welfare duties and community policing and to promote local participation will require a clear understanding of past history and attitudes. While structural changes within the police are important, carefully developed culturally appropriate
educational/training programmes, for the officers, general public and government decision-makers will be central.

TOWARDS AN EMERGING MODEL OF HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT IN THE POLICE SERVICES

On reviewing the previous sections, the value of 'professionalising' the police and of developing the human resource within the services becomes evident. But how can the theories and experiences documented above be incorporated into a model for police education that is flexible enough to be adapted to the different cultural, economic, social and political needs of the various countries? All too often what we see occurring are new training/educational programmes being added on to existing systems, creating a 'hodgepodge' of strategies and approaches, the end result being that we are not sure why we are doing what we are doing (Knowles, 1990).

Regardless of whether it is considered more appropriate to recruit young officers and train them in police academies, or whether to recruit university graduates, the issue still remains that in today's society education must be an on-going process, and throughout their career, officers, sergeants and senior staff members will need a continual
and coherent process of education. This requires not only the development of a learning environment, but also the development of a set of clearly defined characteristics and strategies that form the "skeleton" for human resource development (HRD).

What our discussion of the issues has tried to highlight is that HRD, and particularly the need for higher education within the police services, requires something more than simply 'teaching' officers new skills or encouraging them to reflect on concepts relating to criminology and justice. On the contrary, as we suggested in Chapter 4, if we are to view the function of policing as that of a service to the community, rather than simply a force for controlling the public (Koenig, 1982) then a much broader vision of police education and human development is required. As Knowles states, this vision encompasses a:

"...conception of all organizations as human enterprises in their most vital essence. It includes the conception of systems theorists and organization development theorists of an organization as a dynamic complex of interacting subsystems of people, processes, equipment, materials, and ideas. It includes the conception of modern economic theorists that the input of human capital is an even more critical determinant of organisational output than material capital. It also includes the nuclear physicists' conception of an energy system that is infinitely amplifiable through the releasing of energy
rather than the control of energy. It envisions the role of the Human Resource Developer as being perhaps more crucial than any other role in determining which organizations will be alive twenty years from now and which will be extinct."

(Knowles, 1990; p.140)

This broader definition requires major changes in the overall characteristics of the organisation (Argyris, 1962; Bennis, 1966; Blake and Mouton, 1964; Carnevale, 1983; & Greiner, 1971). Change in educational practices can only have an impact if carried out in conjunction with efforts to change the overall characteristics of the traditionally rather rigid, formal, task centred make up of police forces (Bittner, 1975). In Table 2, Knowles (1980) highlights some of the essential characteristics of the more flexible, people-centred, police 'service'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Static Organisations</th>
<th>Innovative Organisations</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
<td>Rigid – much energy given to maintaining permanent departments</td>
<td>Flexible – much use of temporary task force; easy shifting of departmental lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmosphere</td>
<td>Hierarchical – adherence to chain of command</td>
<td>Multiple linkages based on functional collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Philosophy and Attitudes</td>
<td>Roles narrowly defined</td>
<td>Roles defined broadly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Task-centered, impersonal, formal, reserved, suspicious</td>
<td>People-centered, caring, informal, trusting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Function of management is to control the personnel through power</td>
<td>Function of management is to release energy of personnel through support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cautious, low risk taking</td>
<td>Experiential – higher risk taking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis on personnel selection</td>
<td>Emphasis on personnel development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making and Policy-making</td>
<td>Emphasis on conserving resources</td>
<td>Emphasis on developing and using resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High participation at top, low at bottom</td>
<td>Relevant participation by all those affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clear distinction between policy making and execution</td>
<td>Collaborative policy making and policy execution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Decision-making by legal mechanisms</td>
<td>Decision-making by problem-solving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restricted, one-way Feelings repressed or hidden</td>
<td>Open, multidirectional Feelings expressed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The assumptions which to emerge from this new model of an innovative police service are similar to those of the andragogical model of education:

- **Self-concept:** Rather than the pedagogical approach of dependency on superiors as is frequently witnessed in police forces, an innovative organisation is based on increasing self-directiveness among the individuals.

- **Experience:** In hierarchical organisations decisions are made at the top, there is little input from those with local experience. However, the assumption in innovative organisations is that 'learners are a rich resource for learning' (Knowles, 1990) and should participate to some degree in the decision-making process.

- **Readiness:** Traditionally in the police forces, training has been seen as something imposed on the ranks, without there always existing a close link between the 'information provided' and the application of this new knowledge. Even though this is seen to be changing in some of the 'newer' police services, all of the academy leaders interviewed during the course of this thesis acknowledged that the rank structure could be a hindrance in the training environment. This comes
back to the notion that in order for training/education to be a meaningful agent for bringing about change, it has to be seen as a resource not as a threat. Thus the assumption in an innovative police service is that the constables and sergeants will only implement what they are willing to, or are ready to implement. Therefore, learning should be problem-centred and the development of activities should be for immediate application based on felt needs, otherwise it will be seen merely as one more task imposed upon them.

Implementing these assumptions involves change not only in terms of the provision of new training programmes, but at all levels including:

- the development of an organisational environment conducive to learning
- the creation of mechanisms for mutual planning
- the study of needs required to promote learning
- the formulation of learning programmes with objectives and contents that meet the diagnosed needs
- the creation of mechanisms to ensure that learning programmes do not detract from, or create excessive burdens on daily work
- the design of techniques for incorporating learning experiences
• the evaluation and redesigning of learning objectives and programmes

• a systematic recognition of training/education as being an important part of career planning/promotion

• recognition that superior well educated staff should be 'promoted' to the training units of police organisations

Organisational theorists (Argyris, 1976; Bennis, 1968; Blake and Mouton, 1964; Drucker, 1967; Likert, 1967; & McGregor, 1967) regardless of their emphasis have stressed the importance of organisational climate in terms of the success or otherwise of human resource development and staff education. To some, environmental climate and physical space, the size of rooms, the richness of learning materials and the immediacy of feedback, have been key issues (Alford, 1968; Bany and Johnson, 1964; Blake & Mouton, 1984; & Zander, 1982). To others, the human and interpersonal climate, such as the motivation to engage in learning, the orderliness of clearly defined aims and careful explanations, and the creation of caring, trusting supportive environments that encourage collaboration rather than competition, play a central role in the achievement of organisational goals (Maslow, 1972; McGregor, 1967; Waetjen & Leeper, 1966). Closely related
to these issues is the notion that unless there is a serious commitment by the organisation to human resource development and professionalisation of the personnel, then staff are unlikely to take the process seriously. If in times of financial difficulty resources for staff education are the first to be cut, then this sends the message that their role is seen as peripheral (Carnevale, 1983, & Eurich, 1985). Creating an appropriate environment is crucial to learning and professionalisation of the services.

Another component of the andragogical model is to shift the focus of educational planning away from sole emphasis on the teacher towards greater emphasis on mechanisms for mutual planning. In traditional organisations, where the pedagogical model predominates a trainer or authoritative figure decides in advance what knowledge and skills are needed and he/she alone arranges this into a 'logical package' for the training of staff. Even the development of all educational materials and the sequential plan for presenting constables, sergeants and senior officers with this information is designed by the trainer, despite the fact that this stands in glaring conflict with the andragogical model which stresses the adults need to be self-directing (Knowles, 1990). As stressed previously,
one of the basic findings of the andragogical model is that adults, to feel committed, need to proportion some degree of participation or influence in the decision making process (Freire, 1970). In larger organisations, such as departmental police services, one way of achieving this degree of participation has been through the setting up of planning committees or task forces at every level of activity and learning experience. One of the critical points, however, is that these committees adhere to well documented guidelines (Houles, 1989) rather than falling into the trap of becoming ineffectual, stereotypical ‘meetings’. This point was made by all of the academy leaders interviewed for this thesis.

One sad consequence of the pedagogical model with its reactive rather than proactive educational strategy, has been that many adults “don’t know how to learn - they only know how to be taught” (Knowles, 1972). Whereas pedagogical learning models require that students have an ability to listen and absorb information, take notes, and become committed to learning as a means to an end, proactive learning stresses the ability to formulate questions, analyse data critically, and become committed to learning as intellectual curiosity and as a developmental process. Achieving this latter style of
learning requires constructing a model of what and how much one needs to know in a specific area and assessing discrepancies or gaps between specified needs and present level (Knowles, 1990).

Adult education theorists believe that what the individual wants to achieve is a good starting point for the formation of competencies and areas of study (Brookfield, 1986; Ingalls and Arceri, 1972). But this does not necessarily imply that individuals from the beginning are clearly aware of all the required abilities of a new situation. The aim of the educator/trainer is to facilitate officers to think about this, and in particular to encourage them to analyse how a new ability will add to their work (Knowles, 1990). Moreover, educators/trainers have to stimulate individuals to review issues from the organisational and societal perspective, and to determine how their individual needs can form part of these broader needs. Table - lays out an example of some learning modules, questions, discussion areas and competencies developed by senior aviation police personnel. Based on this discussion officers together with the educator/trainer can develop a personal or group development plan.
Often in the past, the design of education/training programmes or human resource development plans have been done without accommodating for the long and irregular work hours of police officers. For example, organising police training programmes at scheduled times may make attendance difficult, but by revamping training to create flexible "blocks" of course hours, police departments can arguably improve officer participation and interest (Travis, 1995). Also through the use of interactive technology using video police departments can encourage self-paced and distance learning (California Commission on POST, 1990). In Hong Kong for example, the police training unit schedules many of the post recruit training/educational programmes in classrooms set up at the various police districts and officers are free to attend whichever programme that would fit the officers' schedule. This flexibility was applauded by the participants from Hong Kong and on the same note the inflexibility of programmes offered by all of the other police jurisdictions in this study was heavily criticised by the participants during the focus group meetings.

However, arguably more importantly, andagogical learning draws largely on the officers own experience, knowledge and imagination to solve problems and hence the
conventional classroom setting is a foreign concept. Instead officers work in teams on specific projects, carrying out assignments in specific projects in for example, soup kitchens, homeless shelters, jails or courts (Travis, 1995). Similarly they might conduct surveys asking residents about their attitudes towards police, their satisfaction with the services and their opinions on how they could be improved (Police Executive Research Forum, 1995). The andragogical design model involves choosing problem areas that have been identified by the learners as felt needs and organising these in sequence according to the learner's readiness (Knowles, 1980).

The final component of the educational process or model is the mechanism for ensuring evaluation and on-going monitoring. Kirkpatrick (1975) highlighted that the majority of evaluations on educational programmes are what he calls reaction evaluation, or what individuals liked or disliked about a programme. On the other hand, he stressed the importance of learning evaluation, behaviour evaluation and results evaluation. From his perspective, learning evaluation which is generally carried out by the learners through role playing, simulation and speaking, can help learners acquire awareness of the principles, techniques and knowledge they have acquired through the
learning process. *Behaviour evaluation*, indicating actual changes in behaviour as a result of the learning process, and *results evaluation*, indicating effects on institutional efficiency, are necessary to demonstrate to management the importance of continued support for training (Kirkpatrick, 1975). Moreover, as Knowles states:

"If every learning experience is to lead to further learning, as continuing education implies, then every evaluation process should include some provision for helping the learners re-examine their models of desired competencies and reassess the discrepancies between the model and their newly developed levels of competencies. Thus repetition of the diagnostic phase becomes an integral part of the evaluation phase."

(Knowles, 1990; p. 138)

The question then remains: "What resources exist within the system to help the police achieve the above educational objectives?" For example, can it use:

- scheduled instructional activities
- line superintendents and commissioners
- materials and media, including computers
- area specialists (who do not generally work in the area of education)
- Retired employees
- Community groups and government social bodies
- Professional associations
Having then defined what resources are available to the police, the next question is to determine how to make sure these resources are used effectively without a clash between what the officers are learning and what the senior policy makers are promoting.

Finally, and particularly importantly, is to adapt this model to different social and cultural settings. As we described in previous chapters, not all countries are “ready” or in deed interested in the same form of andragogy; on the contrary, each has a different histories and different requirements. Some models are based far more on community policing, others on institutionalised policing, what is important here is not the approach to policing used but rather the educational process based on the assumptions of adult education in order to achieve greater flexibility and innovativeness within the police service.
PART II:
HERMENEUTICS AS A METHODOLOGY FOR
UNDERSTANDING AND DEVELOPING POLICIES FOR
POLICE EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT SOCIO-
CULTURAL CONTEXTS