CEPOL

EUROPEAN POLICE SCIENCE AND RESEARCH BULLETIN

Global trends in law enforcement training and education

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Publications Office

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Editorial: Challenges and feasible solutions for law enforcement training and education in global perspective

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For any contemporary observer of public affairs, it has become a kind of truism that the world of the early 21st century is a profoundly globalised world, due to world-spanning transport of goods, communication-channels and travel: ideas and cultures, as well as risks, are now shared more widely than ever before in human history. Cross-border financial investment and economic interdependence have become the normality, as well as continuous migration across continents. While globalisation in progress always produced its winners and loosers (and critics[1]), there is an undeniable dark side of it, seen from a more particular law enforcement perspective: international terrorism, cybercrime, financial fraud, organised criminal networks smuggling illicit drugs, firearms or people across international and global borders – all that has become part and parcel of our globalised times.

Globalisation of crime – or simply global crime[2] – has been high on the agenda of governments, law enforcement institutions and academic scholarship for more than a decade. While there is an extensive body of analytic literature and practical guidance, less attention has been paid to the aspect of training and education of law enforcement staff and leaders in view of the process of globalisation and the global dimension of criminal acts[3]. As **Ferenc Bánfi**, Executive Director of CEPOL, has stressed in his welcome address, the same forces driving changes in the operational law enforcement field, shall trigger the responsiveness of law enforcement training and education to become more proactive.

The 2016 edition of the CEPOL Police Research and Science Conference thus aimed to consider global trends in law enforcement training and education with a few leading questions in mind:

- What are the major (new) trends in the training and/or education of law enforcement staff (on various hierarchy and specialisation levels) in various parts of the world and from the viewpoint of global or international organisation?

- Is more, better, innovative training of police officers, border guards or customs agents a crucial part of the answer to the challenge of globalised crime?

- Is law enforcement education up to scratch in preparing efficiently the tackling of crime on local, national, global level effectively?

- How can internal and external scientific research efforts facilitate in improving training and education of law enforcement?

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1 As classic primers for grasping the process of globalisation from a general social science perspective one has to refer to the work of Polanyi (1944/2001), Sassen (1999) or Castells (2000). Further, more recently published instructive comprehensive analyses are provided by Findlay & O'Rourke (2009) and Rodrik (2012).

2 For a starter on a global institutional level see the publication of the UNODC (2010); for a more advanced criminological analysis see for example Findlay (2000), Aas (2013) and Pakes (2014). "Global Crime" is the title of a respective scientific journal published in now its 18th volume by Taylor & Francis.

3 Noteworthy publications in the police science area are the studies by Nadelman (1993), Deflem (2000), Bowling & Sheptycki (2012) and Sheptycki & Bowling (2016). More detailed attention to the impact on globalisation on issues of training and education of law enforcement officers is paid by Kratcoski & Das (2007), Haberfeld et al. (2011) and Rogers & Frevel (2017).

The CEPOL Police Science and Research Conference 2016 was a marker for the expansion of the role of CE-POL – moving from being the European Police College to to becoming the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Agency. The broader remit, taking in not just police but the wider arena of law enforcement, including customs and border enforcement, was reflected in the conference title and many of the contributions.

The event has become a key opportunity to bring together European law enforcement and academics and educators working in the field and has attracted key contributions and participations in 2016 from countries as far as Brazil, China, South Africa, Thailand and the United States of America.

More than 200 speakers and participants met at the premises of the Hungarian National University of Public Services[4] in Budapest in October to hear about the latest research findings and new perspectives for law enforcement training and education. Contributions were made by high-level law enforcement professionals - including INTERPOL Secretary General and EUROPOL Director - as well as by various distinguished scholars, scientists and researchers.

While the first purpose of conferences is to share information, knowledge and opinions between those who are attending the event, CEPOL believes that it is in the wider interest of the law enforcement community and the European citizens in general that the contributions are shared and taken as an input for public debate.

Where available (and appropriate), files of the presentation are available on the CEPOL conference website[5]. All presenters were invited to deliver a full paper of their contributions, and the bulk of the papers[6] there handed in are collected in this Special Conference Edition of the Bulletin.

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4   The conference was jointly organised by CEPOL and the National University of Public Services, who generously provided support for the programme as well as technical facilities and the venue.

5   For the outcome of the 2016 conference go to https://www. cepol.europa.eu/science-research/conferences and click on the year's tab.

6   Some papers delivered at the conference were or are going to be published in the regular issues of the Bulletin.

The Contributions in this Special Edition

The editors have reviewed the 29 papers for this edition and - considering the inherent diversity of topics and scientific merit – came up with a structure of six major parts:

•   Global Challenges and Responses

•   Researching Trends

•   Educational Systems and Approaches

•   New Methods and Avenues of Learning

•   Qualification and Professionalisation

•   Applications in Training and Education

While not completely arbitrary, the papers could have been ordered in alternative ways. For the convenience of the executive reader, we are offering a brief summary of the content.

The context for the conference was well set by the welcome address from **Bánfi** (CEPOL) and the two plenary speeches from **Wainwright** (Europol) and **Stock** (Interpol). Wainwright's focus was on the challenges facing European law enforcement in 2016 and beyond. He identified three major threats that needed both an operational response and a shift in law enforcement training and education: terrorism, particularly in the light of the attacks (in 2016) in France, Belgium, Germany, the UK and Sweden; migration; cybercrime.

Cybercrime is a fast-growing crime area, and a third major challenge to law enforcement today. Cybercrime is borderless and generates huge profits while the risks are relatively low. Wainwright comments that while other threats may get more headlines, cybercrime is arguably the most enduring, long-term challenge. Trends suggest considerable increases in the scope, sophistication, number and types of cyber-attacks, the number of victims and economic damage.

The demands of confronting these threats are new, highly challenging and unprecedented in many respects. Wainwright suggests that they will require a new breed of law enforcement officers, a new mind-set of looking up and out to the world, not down and into

the small comfort zone of their own district or thematic area of responsibility. **Stock's** plenary speech very much complemented **Wainwright's** with a strong emphasis on the importance of Europe collaborating and thinking beyond its border to confront threats and risks. **Stock** used the example of Interpol supported training in Rwanda to make this point. He cited a five-day course involving a workshop and a simulated international criminal investigation involving human trafficking, cyber- enabled crime, and cross-border co-operation. **Vinet's** article adds to this with the contribution that OCSE can make to supporting transnational and international efforts.

Such cooperation is not new, but the conference highlighted both its growing importance and the recognition that law enforcement has still much to learn about how to make the most effective transnational and international partnerships. **Bowling** and **Kopf** set out research on the forms, functions and effects of transnational policing in various European countries and its impact on domestic police work. They suggest that there are wide variations in transnational policing practices across the continent. Transnational policing has been driven by political and economic changes, the growth in international travel, information communication technology and migration, and developments in the nature of crime and security threats. For **Suve,** the lesson of this and other research is that the police to be more professional and use more of the knowledge of police management about strategies of policing and police organization

Police training and leadership has been developing rapidly across the globe and the conference heard a number of important contributions about the state of play across different jurisdictions. **Cordner's** contribution examines the extent to which evidence-based policing had become embedded as the foundation of evidence-based education and training in the USA. He concluded the progress has been uneven. On the training side, he found more focus on effective teaching and learning methods, but less commitment to making sure that the content that is taught conforms to the best available scientific evidence.

The paper by Tao Xu and **Haiyan Fu** explores developments in China from the viewpoint of the Zhejiang Police College, whilst **den Boer** adds perspectives on cooperation between the EU and China in higher law enforcement education. Linking with this, for **Di**

Gregorio, the focus is on the extent to which the ambitious idea for "Building an International Learning Community", proposed at the 16th Interpol Training Symposium (Johannesburg, 2007), has become over time a shared philosophy and a common strategy in the Police Community. He focuses on a comprehensive "capacity building" approach; the improvement of the effectiveness of the organizational and cultural climate in education through the management of diversity; the rising role of the financial investigation in countering global crime.

Zeiser highlights the recent developments in Germany. He comments that the ever-faster innovation cycles of social, political, scientific and police-related developments is making new demands on the job of law enforcement officers. His conclusions placed great importance on the continuing development of better graduate and post-graduate education for law enforcement. **Ramos Perez** also reports a qualitative shift in the training, with an enhanced cooperation with the University, in masters' degrees, specialization courses and other activities. **Kovacs,** speaking on behalf of the hosts of the Conference – the Hungarian University of Public Services – identifies similar trends**.**

One major theme across the conference was the growing role for law enforcement and academic partnerships in delivering training and education. **Hartley, Hesketh and Chase** propose in their article a model of partnership collaboration that avoids either the police or the academics taking over the venture (competition) or alternatively failing to challenge each other's ideas (collusion). A second model – a Police Research Centre is discussed by **Solomun**. Both models still leave the question of the receptivity of law enforcement to research and science, which is the subject of the article by **Ferreira** and **Cabaço. Stanko** also suggests some care in understanding the process by which formal, in house training can be developed into learning. For **Norman** and **Williams,** there is a crucial role for developing the critical thinking of officers and encouraging "Self Reflections from Cops".

Tackling one of Wainwright's three major challenges, **Haberfeld** highlights how difficult it is for police trained to respond with minimal force to cope with the demands of suicide terrorism. **Pudlat** and **Schütte-Bestek** argue that one approach is to provide police with better civic education and knowledge about extremist threats and prevention strategies.

Compared with terrorism, dealing with cybercrime remains a relatively recent challenge both operationally and for education and training. **Chapparo** outlines how this demands new structures and that departments have to build strategies to educate a large diversity of audiences. One approach to this challenge is the use of game-playing technology to simulate real operational environments. **Coull, Donald, Ferguson, Keane, Mitchell, Smith, Stevenson and Tomkins demonstrate** how this has been developed and how its use in training first responders has been evaluated within Police Scotland. Technology can also be used to provide "Evidence Cafés and Practitioner Cafés" supported by online resources according to **Clough, Adams and Halford**.

The fast-moving pace of developments outlined above also pose significant challenges for leadership and the selection, development and education of leaders. **Stréhli-Klotz** describes how law enforcement agencies often maintained traditional hierarchic structures and leadership roles which interfere often with new challenges.

One solution of this complex challenge could be the leadership development training of law enforcement officers with action learning approach.

Pallai and **Klotz** present an integrity-based approach to corruption prevention, that combines active and integrated rule-based and value-based strategies, has gained importance because it proved to be more effective than traditional anti-corruption strategies built on mainly regulatory and legal compliance instruments.

The problems created by the tendency to treat training as a series of events linked to promotions or appointments is the focus of **Felgueira** and **Pais'** article. They argue that the education of leaders should be a continuous process centred on the student, as a part for the preparation of a long-term career, police commanders' education is a knowledge transfer process which means they comprehend the police environment and organisation, behaviours, law enforcement, strategical, tactical and technical options, and furthermore, leadership, management and command competencies.

The recognition of the need for continuous education has stimulated the development of more comprehensive curricula in a number of countries. **Pepper,**

Redington, Durrant, Mulqueen, Watson describe the new Higher Educational Accreditation of the UK's National Direct Entry Superintendents Programme and **Tong** the 'Police Qualification Education Framework' (PEQF) administered by the College of Policing (CoP) in the UK. Such approaches are required beyond policing: **Peres** and **Norris** argue that a core set of shared border guard functions performed across EU requires compatible job competences and a system of comparable learning outcomes that can ensure the national border guards are trained under a common framework, respecting the national education and training systems as well as the specific organizational needs, whilst achieving the desired qualifications described in a common language that makes them easily readable, comparable and compatible across EU. Finally, **De Kimpe**, throws down a challenge for CEPOL itself: the development of a European Quality Assurance System for police and law enforcement education.

A final editorial note:

The tone of the conference was set by both the international context and by the keynote speeches from **Wainwright** and **Stock.** The challenges of law enforcement across Europe have been very much in the media over the last two years: major terrorist attacks; images of mass migration from the Middle East and Africa; major cyber-attacks on government, institutions and businesses. Whilst most citizens in Europe enjoy a high degree of safety in their daily lives, the responsibility for keeping Europeans safe means that law enforcement organisations and their leaders and staff need to be constantly preparing for the future. CEPOL's role is to help them.

A significant part of the practice, research and science that the 2016 conference presented to the participants is now shared in print in this special edition to help law enforcement agencies across Europe and more widely to think and prepare with a degree of further enlightenment – both the conference event itself as well as the articles in this volume underline and demonstrate that a lot of bright minds in academia, education and the law enforcement profession are busy to find sustainable, evidence-based solutions for the challenges and trends the globalising world hold for us contemporary citizens.

The editors of this Special Conference Edition

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hope that this collection of conference papers is a worthwhile read and will have an inspiring impact on those holding a stake in the development and promotion of good policing, build on scientific research and reasoning.

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GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Trends and challenges for law enforcement training and education

Rob Wainwright

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'The success of what we do in the EU and what you do at Europol in providing security to European citizens is going to decide if the citizens believe in common European solutions to their problems.'

First Vice President of the European Commission, Frans Timmermans, during a visit to Europol, September 2016

1. Introduction

Security was a prominent topic in President Juncker's State of the Union speech on 14 September 2016 ([1]), as he described the need for the EU to defend itself against terrorism and crime. The same day the Commission issued a communication on the further implementation of a 'Security Union' ([2]), setting out how Europe can enhance its security by improving the exchange of information in the fight against terrorism and by the strengthening of the Union's external borders.

Today's security challenges are complex, global and evolving, and have a profound impact on law enforcement across Europe and beyond. In order to determine what is required of the police to meet these challenges successfully, we must understand today's threats and be able to predict those of tomorrow, taking into account global developments in a variety of areas.

This paper first describes current threats to the security of our societies and the drivers behind these threats. That analysis draws on information from up to 40 partners of Europol, including EU's Member States, third states and other organisations and agencies. Europol is an operational centre and information hub on serious organised crime and terrorism in Europe, which receives and analyses information, links the dots and feeds leads back to investigators at national level. Consequently, the agency has a unique ability to identify threats and emerging trends. Secondly, the paper discusses what this means for national and international police services and their need to learn and develop new skills and tools. Finally, Europol's and CEPOL's roles in this learning process are discussed.

2. Threats and drivers

Terrorism ([3])

Europe has, over the last few years, been the scene of major terrorist attacks resulting in a massive number of casualties. Berlin can now be added to Paris, Brussels, Nice, London, Madrid and Copenhagen as cities that have been targeted by extremists. Add to that a number of failed and foiled attacks, and it is clear that the terrorist threat in Europe has escalated. Islamic State (IS) and other terrorist groups have increased their level of capacity and networking and are able to strike randomly and at will, globally. We have seen terrorist groups acting as external action commandos, trained for special forces-style attacks in an international envi-

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([1]) State of the Union Address 2016: 'Towards a better Europe — a Europe that protects, empowers and defends', SPEECH/16/3043.

([2]) 'Enhancing security in a world of mobility: improved information exchange in the fight against terrorism and stronger external borders', COM(2016) 602 final.

([3]) Includes findings in the European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2016, Europol, ISBN 978-92-95200-68-5, and more recent analysis performed by Europol.

ronment. This is the most significant threat to Europe in a decade.

The threat comes from both lone actors and networked groups. IS terrorist cells operating in Europe are largely domestic or locally based. Some attacks, like those in Paris in November 2015, were complex, had multiple targets and were directed by the IS. The majority of the attacks in Europe have been masterminded by individuals inspired by IS rather than conducted by it, however. Lone actor attacks remain a favoured tactic of both IS and al-Qaeda affiliates, who encourage individuals to carry out attacks with whatever means they have at their disposal. The attacks in Nice and Berlin were as brutal as they were simple.

Foreign terrorist fighters pose a particular problem. Europol estimates that 5 000-6 000 European citizens have travelled to Syria and Iraq. Recent information indicates that the number of Europeans travelling to conflict areas is stagnating or even decreasing, but this does not mean that the threat has decreased. A significant number of these foreign terrorist fighters have been returning to Europe, and this is likely to continue. While some individuals are arrested and others rehabilitated, there are also those continuing to constitute a potent threat. This is a long term challenge for law enforcement and other authorities, as are those who did not travel to conflict areas but remained in the EU and may be plotting new attacks.

Who are they? Most of the travelling terrorists are young men, but women inspired or influenced by IS are increasingly taking on an active role. Whether men or women, these are often individuals faced with integration problems or marginalisation and they are radicalising quickly. A significant portion have been diagnosed with mental problems prior to joining IS, and upon arrival they are trained by the IS to execute attacks in an emotionally detached way. They are technology-savvy, using online platforms and social media. Ideology and religious conviction are no longer the only push-factors. Personal circumstances, as well as peer pressure and role modelling, where suicide bombers see themselves as military heroes rather than religious martyrs, are other factors influencing the decision to join terrorist groups.

Automatic firearms and home-made explosives have been the preferred choice of weapons, but modi operandi like those in Syria and Iraq, using car bombs for example, are likely to emerge as a method in Western countries. Regulations on explosives precursors can be circumvented, thus not necessarily preventing terrorists from producing improvised explosive devises.

IS goes for soft targets — civilians going about their everyday business — as well as symbolic targets such as the attack on the Christmas market in Berlin and on religious representatives and police officers. All countries participating in the anti-IS coalition are regarded by IS as legitimate targets and new attacks are to be expected.

There are cases of terrorists having used the migration flow to (re-)enter the EU, but Europol has no evidence of this route being used systematically.

Terrorists use counterfeited passports and national identity documents, probably obtained from organised crime networks, and get assistance from networks both in the countries of origin and destination. Their communication is encrypted and switches between different platforms to avoid detection. The perpetrators of the Paris attacks, for example, used encryption tools to exchange messages between clandestine cells and the organisers.

Social media are instrumental in disseminating propaganda material, for the recruitment of volunteers and for raising and moving funds, in order to cover operational expenses related to travel, arms and explosives, false identity documents, vehicles, communication, accommodation and living expenses.

There are links between terrorism and organised crime. More than 800 individuals who were reported to Europol for terrorism related offences had been reported also in relation to serious and/or organised crime. Six of the ten attackers in Paris and all five attackers in Brussels had a criminal background. These connections between criminal and extremist elements could facilitate terrorists getting access to firearms, money and transportation.

IS is not the only terrorist organisation threatening Western countries. IS may have a greater number of European fighters in its ranks that have combat experience and military training in conflict zones, but Al-Qaeda is still a factor to consider as the group may try to prove its continued relevance and replicate other attacks.

EU Member States report that most other forms of terrorism are declining or remaining at low level. Ethno-nationalist and separatist terrorist attacks continue to decrease and left-wing attacks remain rare. On the other hand the right-wing extremist scene has increased its activities in some EU Member States, the key driver being anti-immigration and anti-Islam sentiments.

Migration

Unusually high irregular migration flows pose the second major challenge for law enforcement. More than 1 million migrants arrived to Europe in 2015 [4], out of which approximately half a million came by sea. Approximately 380 000 arrived in 2016 [5]. Migrants from, for example, Syria and Afghanistan continue to use primarily the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Balkan route where they embark on inflatable boats, speedboats or jets-skis and are transported to Greek islands. Migrants from for example Nigeria, Gambia, Senegal, Guinea and the Ivory Coast use mainly the Central Mediterranean Route from the Libyan coast to Italy.

The massive migration flows exposed the most vulnerable of individuals to criminal exploitation. An analysis of more than 1 500 interviews of migrants travelling to the EU showed that more than 90 % had used facilitation services, mostly offered by criminal groups. The annual turnover of criminal networks involved in migrant smuggling is estimated to be between 3 and 6 billion euros. Unaccompanied minors are particularly vulnerable, both during their journeys and in reception centres, representing a specific challenge to law enforcement and other national authorities.

These crime networks are active on various social media platforms, where comprehensive packages of services are offered to prospective migrants. The smuggling networks are getting ever more organised in order to meet the demands for their services.

'Crime-as-a-service' is the business model used by organised crime groups involved in the facilitation of migrant smuggling. They offer fake passports, vessels and other means of transportation, money transfers, and other services. A large and well organised criminal infrastructure is also involved in the secondary distribution of migrants from the border countries to the rest of the EU.

Europol's focus and expertise in this area is on helping the police tackle organised crime groups profiting from the migration crisis, and to help identify possible terrorists using the same routes. Europol holds intelligence on about 50 000 individuals suspected of being involved in this business. In many cases, the criminal groups involved in people smuggling are polycriminal: they are involved in other criminal activities, such as trafficking in human beings (20 %), property crime (23 %) and drugs trafficking (15 %). Often they have moved into the facilitation of illegal immigration because it is perceived as particularly lucrative.

Cybercrime

Cybercrime is a fast-growing crime area, and a third major challenge to law enforcement today. Cybercrime is borderless and generates huge profits while the risks are relatively low. While other threats may get more headlines, this is arguably the most enduring, long-term challenge. Trends suggest considerable increases in the scope, sophistication, number and types of cyber-attacks, the number of victims and economic damage.

There are a number of key drivers within the cyber-criminal environment, which contribute to the growing proliferation and sophistication of cyber threats.

The most noteworthy drivers are increased connectivity and the use of Internet-enabled devices, the borderless nature of the cyber threats, the lack of digital hygiene, the pace of technological innovation, and the Crime-as-a-Service business model, which provides anyone, from the entry level cybercriminal to those at the top, with the tools and services they need to carry out cybercrimes, or to amplify the scope and damage of their illicit activities.

The main cyber trends and threats are [6]:

- **Cybercrime-as-a-Service:** a well-established and mature service-based business model that supports the entire cybercrime value chain and drives the digital underground economy. It provides a wide range of commercial and complementary services that facilitate crime online and drives the innovation of tools and methods for committing

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[4] Compilation of available data and information, Reporting period 2015, IOM.

[5] Migration Flows to Europe — the Mediterranean Digest, 15 December 2016, IOM.

[6] Internet Organised Crime Threat Assessment (iOCTA).

cybercrimes and cyber-facilitated crimes at unprecedented scale, scope and impact globally.

- **Increased aggressiveness:** Cybercrime is becoming more aggressive, confrontational and hostile, and there is an increased use of extortion, such as sexual extortion, ransomware and Distributed Denial of Service attacks.

- **Exploitation of existing vulnerabilities**: There is a continuous abuse of well-known vulnerabilities and a tendency to re-use old tools and techniques due to a lack of digital hygiene and poor security practices.

- **Abuse of current and emerging technologies:** Criminals increasingly abuse developing and new technologies, such as the Darknet, crypto-currencies and mobile and smart devices.

- **Sophistication and proliferation of malware**: Malware remains one of the key threats with significant proliferation of ransomware, information stealers, Remote Access Tools (RATs) and ATM malware.

- **Data breaches and growing online fraud:** Data is a key commodity and enabler for cybercrime. There is a continuous rise in the number of data breaches. Online fraud is growing steadily as compromised cards details become more readily available online as a result of data breaches and social engineering attacks. Europol has also seen the first indications of organised crime groups manipulating or compromising payments with contactless cards. The overall quality and authenticity of phishing campaigns has increased aimed at high level targets.

- **Live-streaming and self-generated indecent material:** Peer-to-peer networks and the growing number of fora on the Darknet continue to facilitate the exchange of child sexual exploitation material, self-generated indecent material and live distant child abuse.

Organised crime groups online — a new world

Criminal groups today operate like multinationals — they diversify and specialise and act globally. They are dynamic and quick to exploit changes in the wider environment, and comprise a diverse range of individual criminals, loose networks and organised crime groups, operating across various crime areas. Specialised criminals offer their services to other criminals — to migrant, weapons and drugs smugglers, to card fraudsters, money launderers and to terrorists alike. The most dynamic criminal markets in Europe today include synthetic drugs and psychoactive substances, counterfeit goods sold mainly online, cybercrime and different forms of environmental crime.

Drivers behind the changing criminal landscape include both socioeconomic and technical developments:

- features of the **internet and mobile technology**, which are exploited for criminal activities and to prevent detection;

- the iniquitousness, ever increasing connectivity and **ease of use** of devices and services in everyday life, and the increasing operational speed which benefits not only the legitimate user but also the perpetrator of criminal offences.

- the existence of **big data** and the creation of large 'data pools', comprising large and heterogeneous data repositories including personal data, which are highly sought-after commodities in the underground economy;

- the increasing use of **e-commerce**, which relies on global transportation and logistics, which in turn relies on digital solutions;

- the increasing **mobility** of people and ensuing scope for trafficking in human beings, drugs and weapons;

- **nanotechnology, robotics and artificial intelligence** may be still in an early phase but will open up new markets and opportunities for organised crime groups;

- an increasing competition for **natural resources** may fuel organised crime;

- the effects of '**deviant globalisation**' whereby criminals exploit arbitrary differences in legislation and capability;

- the general **vulnerability of integrated economies** to criminal activity;

- the proliferation of virtual currencies;

- **corruption** and the socioeconomic effects of huge organised crime industries;

- and threats stemming from **conflict zones**, where instability, corruption, organised crime and violent extremism are often mutually reinforcing.

3. Impact on law enforcement — the need for training and continuous learning

We are confronted with a more technology-enabled, entrepreneurial and globalised crime and terrorism landscape. However, the developments behind the changing criminal landscape also offer opportunities for law enforcement as data and technology can be used to identify, monitor and trace criminals. For instance, the concept of predictive policing ([7]), particularly in the area of crime prevention, could complement the intelligence-led policing approach adopted by many leading law enforcement agencies, including Europol.

The use of big data analytics in the fight against crime and terrorism requires specialist knowledge and expertise as well as dedicated tools, in order to be able to cope with the volume, variety, velocity and veracity of big data.

Law enforcement must also ensure that it has the training and resources required to obtain and handle digital evidence from a variety of different sources, using techniques such as live data forensics and remote access to data stored in the cloud.

Moreover, the police needs to invest in specialised training to be able to investigate highly technical cyber-attacks and other forms of cybercrime effectively. The sophistication and rapid evolution of cybercrimes and the associated criminal modi operandi call for the continuous updating of, and the creation of new, training courses and the proactive sharing of best practices and innovative tactics in

order to keep up with the relevant changes and developments.

As the criminal use of virtual currencies such as Bitcoin gains momentum, cybercrime and financial investigators will need adequate training in tracing, seizing and investigating virtual currencies and blockchain analytics.

Darknets such as the TOR network are often used for cyber-facilitated crime. This is a cross-cutting issue, involving different kinds of crime, and cannot be dealt with only by cybercrime units. Investigators working on drugs, firearms and other illicit commodities, trafficking in human beings and migrant smuggling will also need to be able to investigate in cyberspace — therefore, training and tools must be made available to them too.

This profoundly changes the methods of investigation in traditional crime areas, like drug trafficking. The value of technology and data is increasing, and so is the importance of sharing data, expertise and best practices. The value for investigators of broader interconnections and communication is growing — connections nationally, internationally and with other sectors. For Europol, key partners include financial institutions and the technology sector.

New investigation skills, a broader set of tools and a good level of understanding of cyber-facilitated and cyber-enabled crime, as well as basic knowledge of digital forensics, will be required of all police officers.

At present, there are large discrepancies across the EU with regard to the technical and financial capabilities of the cyber units and the resources invested in training to investigate such hi-tech crimes. These gaps cause investigative challenges as cybercrime is transnational and requires actions in multiple countries. Some of the main skills gaps which have emerged are in the areas of electronic evidence handling and analysis, online investigations, open source intelligence (OSINT), data mining and big data analytics, alternative payment means analysis, mobile device forensics, and malware analysis. On-going work by the Commission, Europol, CEPOL, the European Cybercrime Training and Education Group (ECTEG) and Eurojust aims to close these gaps by developing a standardised approach to training for law enforcement at EU level.

([7]) The concept of predictive policing is the application of mainly quantitative analytical techniques to identify likely targets for intervention and to prevent crime, used by law enforcement to predict future patterns of crime and identify vulnerable areas; it is seen as a method that allows to work more effectively and proactively with limited resources by deriving maximum value from the available data.

The migration crisis has also created new challenges. Who is producing the fake life jackets, the fake passports and other IDs? Who organises the boats across the Mediterranean and who facilitates the secondary movements within the EU? Many police officers have been confronted with new tasks, requiring new skills, and perhaps entailing being posted to new regions.

In addition to dealing with these issues in investigations into migrant smuggling and border security, the police have to deal with issues like vulnerable unaccompanied minors, identifying individuals at risk of being exploited for sex or labour, and security issues in and around asylum centres. They have to deal with politically sensitive public order and criminality issues, while avoiding stigmatizing particular groups. They need to know what to look for when trying to identify returning foreign fighters or people smugglers at migration hotspots.

Common for these threats is that they are borderless and cyber-facilitated. The speed of technical evolution demands an adaptive approach to research, training and education, and to funding. Front line police need in-depth understanding of the various international law enforcement cooperation tools available as well as inter-cultural communication and language skills. This also entails continuous learning.

Academia can play an important role in developing our understanding of all the emerging threats mentioned above. Examples of previous relevant work include:

- A Darknet study conducted by TNO in The Netherlands enriched our understanding of online criminal markets;

- King's College London contributing to our understanding of the activities and motivations of radicalised extremists who have travelled to conflict zones;

- Transcrime studies into the proceeds of organised crime and role of 'legitimate' businesses in organised crime;

- Through Horizon 2020 (EU research funding), several initiatives to improve technical tools for big data analytics.

The expertise held by key private sector actors, which falls outside the remit of law enforcement, is also of critical importance for capacity building and training. Priority should be given to engagement with partners from internet security companies, financial services and communication providers, which have already developed expertise and tools in addressing some of the pressing challenges which obstruct the work of law enforcement investigations in cyberspace.

Furthermore, there is a growing need for cooperation and identifying synergies among the relevant international organisations such as UNODC, Interpol, Council of Europe, NATO, OSCE and others, with a view to aligning and de-conflicting global cyber capacity building and training efforts.

4. European solutions

Many countries, in particular smaller countries, may not have police units with highly specialised expertise, nor the possibility to easily acquire the required skills and tools. They may not be able to keep up with fast and complex technical developments and the continuously changing modi operandi of criminal groups and terrorists. Individual countries simply cannot do this alone.

There is also a question of efficiency and funding, of avoiding duplication of work. Solutions can be found at the European and international levels — for operational cooperation and expertise, for information exchange, and for training and education.

Europol is at the centre of criminal information management in the EU, as a platform with analysts and specialists and as an operational centre. Europol's innovative technology-enabled platform connects over 600 law enforcement agencies and 5 000 officers in Europe and partner countries. Europol runs an operational centre on a 24/7 basis. It provides the platform for secure information exchange, supports investigators with cross-checks in our databases on all major crime areas and terrorism, and provides investigators with tailored case analysis.

Europol's work is focused around three centres, mirroring the major threats: the European Counter Terrorism Centre, a Centre on serious and organised crime which incorporates the European Centre on Migrant Smuggling, and the European Cybercrime Centre.

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The **European Migrant Smuggling Centre** (EMSC) has more than 40 experts and analysts providing operational support to the relevant national authorities. Europol also monitors smugglers' activities online, as they use websites and social media to coordinate and attract migrants.

As requested by the European Council in March 2016, Europol specialists and Guest Officers seconded by Member States to Europol are deployed to the migration hotspots in Greece — and soon also to Italy — to assist the national authorities on the spot with secondary security checks. Europol can thus perform on-the-spot checks for hits against Europol's systems in order to identify suspected jihadists and migrant smugglers.

Europol can also deploy Europol Mobile Investigations and Analysis Teams to support Member States in tackling mobile criminals by ensuring on-the-spot smooth and secure information exchange and support with expertise, operational analysis and cross-matching. This also provides for capacity building and the transfer of knowledge — in both directions — and helps to identify priority cases. Teams have been deployed to Austria, Hungary, Germany, Spain and Italy.

Since its launch, the EMSC has received more than 5 000 operational contributions and 800 cases have been initiated through Europol's secure communication system. More than 50 high profile cases are currently receiving specialist support from dedicated Europol teams. Europol has also identified 500 vessels of interest and close to 300 cases of document fraud.

Europol is working closely with other agencies in this area, including with Frontex and EUNAVFOR Med. Interpol, which has a Specialist Operational Network against Migrant Smuggling, is another key partner in combatting migrant smuggling. (Europol and Interpol are also cooperating closely in fighting cybercrime.)

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The **European Counter-Terrorism Centre (ECTC)** was created at the beginning of 2016 as a response to the increased international dimension of the problem and the need to have a European perspective. The emergence of links between international crime and terrorism called for information and centralisation of data streams at EU level.

Fusing classic counter terrorism intelligence with much broader and more mainstream crime data sets has become critical, but it challenges the conventional wisdom that counter terrorism is something that can be understood and dealt with exclusively by intelligence agencies.

For the first time, the EU has a centre that provides the Member States with a set of synchronised tools. It adds a new dimension to the counter terrorism landscape, through the unique set-up with the ECTC, including expertise in terrorism financing, and the organised crime and cybercrime centres located in one place.

Europol has an EU Internet Referral Unit which flags terrorist and violent extremist content online with relevant partners, carries out and supports referrals and provides law enforcement authorities with strategic and operational analysis. The IRU has already identified almost 10 000 candidates for referral, and has a success rate of 93 % in having identified extremist content removed (voluntarily, by the social media platforms themselves) from the internet.

Europol has also provided substantial support to the French and Belgian authorities following the attacks in Paris and Brussels through a task force (Fraternité).

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The **European Cybercrime Centre (EC3)** was officially launched in January 2013 to provide a joint response to the growing threat posed by cybercrime affecting the EU, with main focus on the hi-tech crimes, transnational payment fraud, and child sexual exploitation.

The added value of EC3's approach in countering cross-border cybercrimes consists of seven key elements:

• providing operational support, coordination, de-confliction, and prioritisation towards focusing the efforts and available resources on the high-value targets and executing impactful joint operational actions;

• using its unique analytical and technical capabilities and the specialised expertise of more than 50 analysts and experts to derive new value from the

data and identify the most dangerous cybercriminal networks and infrastructures, as well as suitable response tactics;

- serving as a criminal information hub and a platform for secure information exchange under a strict data protection framework, where data can be fused towards identifying links among the seemingly unconnected cases and developing actionable cyber intelligence;

- leveraging the networking power to collaborate with law enforcement partners from the EU and beyond, other international agencies such as Eurojust, Frontex, ENISA, and Interpol, as well as working closely with key non-law enforcement partners from private sector and academia;

- developing strategic products on emerging cybercrime threats and trends, as well as cybercrime prevention campaigns to raise awareness about pertinent developments in the field;

- serving as the EU cyber law enforcement's voice worldwide on matters such as Internet Governance, cyber legislation and policies;

- and providing capacity building and training to the EU law enforcement.

Resources permitting, EC3 delivers three 'signature' training courses on an annual basis in its three mandated areas as described above:

- Training on Combating the Sexual Exploitation of Children on the Internet (COSEC): a two-week long course which builds fundamental skills in investigating child sexual exploitation on the internet and helps aligning LE investigative standards, as well as sharing of expertise on innovative tactics and techniques for conducting investigations in this crime area;

- Course on open source IT forensics (OSIT): a two-week training course focused on providing skills for IT forensics analysis using open source tools, especially useful in EU cybercrime units with limited forensic tools at their disposal;

- Payment Card Fraud Forensics (PCF): a week-long training focused on forensic techniques for examining equipment used by cybercriminals and on

the retrieval and decoding of stolen payment card data, including practical exercises on forensic examination, payment fraud, criminal modus operandi and evolving crime trends.

In addition, EC3 works closely with the European Cybercrime Training and Education Group), (ECTEG) which supports international activities to harmonise cybercrime training across international borders and provides free training packages to law enforcement on more than 15 topics.

On a regular basis, EC3 experts deliver and provide support to dedicated CEPOL training course, both in-class and online in the form of webinars, in its specialised areas.

EC3 and key partners have also developed the Training Competency Framework (TCF) outlining the required knowledge/competencies and skills for law enforcement and the judiciary in MS, as well as their different training needs.

Moreover, EC3 hosts the FREETOOL project on its secure online platform for cybercrime experts (SPACE). FREETOOL provides a set of digital forensic tools for the cybercrime community, which have been developed by University College Dublin and law enforcement experts. These tools are available for free to law enforcement and are also being used in EC3's training courses. Three of the existing tools will be upgraded and an additional seven will be developed by February 2018.

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Law enforcement and intelligence services continue to thwart terrorist attacks, and each service holds information on criminal and terrorist suspects. Given the proven connections between organised crime and extremists, a challenge for the near future is ensuring that information between the services concerned is shared and pooled to ensure that connections and leads are identified and investigated, and attacks are prevented.

More needs to be done to fuse relevant information systems at EU level, and to improve the interoperability between systems (SIS, VIS, EURODAC, Europol's systems). Concrete actions to enhance interoperability and information exchange have been taken at EU level, and Europol is actively participating in this work. Important changes in the processing of information at

Europol are also being made as part of the implementation of the new Europol Regulation (which becomes applicable in May 2017). These changes will facilitate the work of investigators, as they will improve the possibilities to link information from different systems and different investigations.

Europol and CEPOL

CEPOL has the leading role in the continuous learning process of law enforcement officials. Europol's focus is on operational and analytical support to investigators, but also works closely with CEPOL and contributes to CEPOL's activities.

Europol participates regularly in various joint activities, webinars, other courses and ad-hoc activities organised by CEPOL. In 2015 Europol supported 42 courses and 52 webinars, and in 2016 more than 20 courses, about 30 webinars and a number of ad-hoc activities.

Europol contributes to several modules of the European Joint Master Programme, which was launched by CEPOL in December 2015.

Furthermore, CEPOL, Europol, the Commission, the ECTEG and Eurojust are in the process of establishing a Cybercrime Training Governance Model for law enforcement, which defines the area of responsibility of each partner.

CEPOL is also involved in the activities of EC3. Together CEPOL and Europol are developing specific training, ranging from in-depth technical expertise to broader capacity building for police officers, prosecutors and judges, notably for cybercrime related casework.

5. Conclusion

The demands of confronting these threats are new, highly challenging and unprecedented in many respects. It will require a new breed of law enforcement officers, a new mind-set of looking up and out to the world, not down and into the small comfort zone of your own district or thematic area of responsibility.

More than anything else, confronting these new challenges is a leadership challenge. This challenge cannot be addressed successfully, without the right forward-looking and comprehensive training regime.

Building a global learning community – an Interpol perspective

Jürgen Stock

Interpol

I. Introduction

I am delighted to be here with you today. The training of law enforcement is a subject very close to my heart.

I have witnessed first-hand the importance of training throughout my career. As a young 19 year-old police officer in Hesse, I relied on what I was taught in my training in order to uphold the law and preserve the order in my community. As an aside: an important part of my basic and advanced training at that time was using a mechanical typewriter — some of the younger participants among us might only know of these from museums!

Much later, as President of the University of Applied Police Science in Saxony-Anhalt, I saw the value we added in preparing our students for management positions in the police, and providing research into police-related topics. Some of these topics appear very academic from today's point of view — such as the outsourcing of training, the freedom of police-related internal research, and other such issues.

Now, as Secretary General of Interpol, I have a much broader and more diverse view of the kinds of issues involved in police training around the world. As a result, I am more convinced than ever that training and capacity building must be at the vanguard of policing, so that we can respond to the complex threat landscape we face today.

I am therefore grateful to CEPOL — with whom we are proud to partner on many key initiatives — and the National University for Public Service, for organising this important conference for the thirteenth time, and convening here so many leading figures in the field of police education, research, and training.

For my part, I would like to share with you Interpol's objectives; its perspective; and its contributions, as a global organisation, as we work to build an international learning community.

II. Interpol's position and objectives

While the vast majority of police training is run by and for national authorities, it is Interpol's objective to provide and facilitate specialised training for global law enforcement in all 190 of our member countries.

Capacity building and training is fundamental to Interpol's mission to enhance cooperation and innovation on police and security matters. It is one of the five key objectives in our new strategic framework, which will be approved at our upcoming General Assembly. It is a transversal activity across all of our crime areas, and within our three global programmes: Organised and Emerging Crime, Counter-Terrorism, and Cybercrime.

The present security threat landscape is complex, globalised, and quickly-evolving. To assist our membership in meeting these new trends and challenges head-on, Interpol strives to continually improve our training delivery.

We endeavour first of all to meet the existing needs of our member countries, which are many and varied. We serve those with state-of-the-art equipment, just like

those persevering through electricity cuts. Those with stable economies and reputed academies, and those still struggling to recover from conflict. We tailor our training to take into account these disparities, and target their respective requirements.

In addition, we want to ensure that our members have a baseline knowledge and capacity for international police cooperation. There is a strong need for a more international dimension to national police services, and we seek to maximise their use of Interpol's global policing capabilities. National security is increasingly built on external issues.

Finally, we aim to anticipate what our member countries' requirements may be in the long- term and near future, so that their officers are well-equipped to deal with emerging crime challenges. Here, training acts as a vital form of foresight and preparation.

III. Interpol's perspective

It is impossible to achieve these ambitious objectives by simply repeating what has been done before; instead we must look forward to new horizons and possibilities. We have to take advantage of new technologies, embrace new applications, and take the advice of researchers and experts.

As Head of the German Bundeskriminalamt's Institute of Law Enforcement Studies and Training, I oversaw the linkage of research to the implementation of new methods and concepts in police work. At Interpol, we have also chosen to focus on promoting innovation in all aspects of our training:

In our processes, by enhancing forward-looking internal training policies and procedures, as well as working with our members to set common law enforcement standards, and promote harmonisation. For example, we will begin implementing a recommendation to establish a standard on digital forensics, which was made by member countries as part of our Interpol 2020 reform process.

We try to innovate in our methods, by using new technologies — such as in distance learning and mobile classrooms, and adapting new models — like our blended learning courses which incorporate an operational element. One example is the training component of the

three- year EU-ASEAN programme, which is funded by the EU and implemented by Interpol. The border management training includes operational activities at regional transit hubs in the ASEAN community, so that new skills can be applied immediately to real-life scenarios.

We also try to innovate in the subject matter of our training programmes, which are often specialist and cutting-edge. For example, earlier this year, in partnership with experts from the private sector, we created our very own private Darknet network, to train investigators on the practical tools and platforms increasingly involved in criminal enterprises — both online and offline.

In the participants we reach out to, who are no longer limited to the traditional audiences at our National Central Bureaus, but from a wider and more inclusive law enforcement community. In building bridges with new entities, we have also provided pre-deployment training to the military in evidence collection and preservation. This kind of hybrid model, which encompasses the conflict zone as well as police frontlines, is ever more applicable in domains such as counter-terrorism.

IV. Interpol's contribution: challenges and initiatives

This progressive approach underpinned our decision to locate our Capacity Building and Training teams within the Interpol Global Complex for Innovation in Singapore. It is also is clearly visible throughout our four-year Capacity Building and Training Strategy, which assesses the current environment and future trends, and sets out initiatives to undertake in response. I shall briefly touch on three of these:

First — from our unique position as the world's largest international police organisation, it behoves us to share our view of the global law enforcement training landscape. This includes knowing where resources should be most effectively deployed, what the priority crime areas are for each country and region, and which institutions are providing which kinds of training. In other words, we need to map the landscape, before we navigate it.

Interpol seeks to provide opportunities for training providers and recipients to build contact networks and exchange information about ongoing training in-

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itiatives. Our biennial Police Training Symposium is an opportunity to undertake this type of global gap analysis, and make plans based on the results.

We are committed to regular discussions with our member countries to understand their views and needs with regard to training. Our evaluations and meetings allow for continuous needs assessment. This is especially true of the ongoing consultations within our Interpol 2020 process, and I just participated in a very useful exchange of views with countries from the Middle East and North Africa on Tuesday at our headquarters. We can then share this information with practitioners, to facilitate action in accordance with the latest findings in policing research.

The annual Interpol Police Development Programme for our National Central Bureaus in Europe is a good example of an opportunity for our member countries to give input and explain which tools and skills are needed. We were privileged to be able to hold this meeting here at CEPOL for the last two years, and benefit from their hospitality and experience.

A second aspect relates to the need for a regular and sustainable exchange of best practices and knowledge amongst experts in the field, as well as the sharing of specialist trainers and facilities.

I have seen the value of this during my participation in the Dutch Pearls in Policing initiative, in which law enforcement executives from all over the world can benefit from peer-to-peer exchanges, work on assignments, and share future-oriented ideas. As I have outlined in a vision document, I believe that the concept could be expanded upon with a Global Executive Leadership Programme for future law enforcement leaders, which could help to ensure sustainable cooperation across continents. I think that international coordination in police management training is key, and I have been impressed by the example set by the Central European Police Academy (MEPA) in this regard.

Interpol has also relaunched its Training Advisory Board, which involves senior police training officers from national and regional institutions — including CEPOL — meeting for informal brainstorming sessions. I know that many of you took part in the most recent event in Singapore last June, and I believe that constructive ideas were exchanged.

Once these ideas are exchanged, we must find ways to retain them. While many of you will be aware of our databases, you might not have heard that Interpol also provides knowledge management systems. For instance, Project Stadia is a 10 year project funded by Qatar to develop a centre of excellence in policing and security for sporting events. As part of the project, we are constructing a web-based best practices repository and an online collaborative forum for our member countries responsible for major sporting event security.

The last point is the importance of multi-stakeholder collaboration with national, regional, and international training providers. Interpol has built strong partnerships with key players and experts — including FLETC and CEPOL — to pool knowledge and facilities. We need to leverage each other's assets to succeed in our aims.

The same applies to building valuable connections with the private sector and academia. Last March, 64 cybercrime investigators and digital forensic experts from 26 countries assembled in Singapore for the Interpol Digital Security Challenge. The four-day scenario- based training was organised in close collaboration with industry and academic partners, who were able to provide advanced hardware, software, and demonstrations which would otherwise not have been available to police.

Across all of these activities, we insist on two key measures: quality assurance, which we seek to ensure through accreditation, monitoring and evaluation; and cost effectiveness. The latter is paramount to us — as an organisation with limited resources — and to our members; and so we work hard to make our training sustainable and worthwhile.

V. Conclusion

I would like to conclude with two examples to remind us about our purpose in training law enforcement, and why our continued cooperation and innovation is so necessary.

During a visit to Tunisia last November, I saw the value of training at the frontlines of policing. Following a digital forensic training course organised by Interpol, the skills being taught were translated into action right away when the Interpol experts were asked to support

the investigation into the recent attack on the Presidential Guard. Thanks to close cooperation and the sharing of investigative expertise, the team was able to assist Tunisian authorities in the exploitation of digital evidence targeting terrorist cells.

While I was in Rwanda in August, I saw the need to develop training to stay ahead of new and emerging criminal trends. Rwanda is becoming an information and communications technology hub, and a knowledge-based economy. The Rwandan National Police had assessed that cyber-enabled crime is a growing and cross-cutting problem, and so they asked Interpol to develop and deliver training on the issue, which they would host for officers from across the continent. The result was a five-day course involving a workshop and a

simulated international criminal investigation involving human trafficking, cyber- enabled crime, and cross-border cooperation. I observed the teams of participants using their newly-learned digital forensics skills to enthusiastically work through the realistic scenario exercise.

Ladies and Gentlemen, these are some examples of the training Interpol provides to global law enforcement, and would like to express my gratitude for the assistance of our member countries and our partners; especially the EU, Canada, and Germany.

In closing, my thanks for your support, and I look forward to continued close cooperation with you all in this vital field and international learning community.

Global society targeted by global crime: the OSCE's approach through police training

Guy Vinet
OSCE

o s c e

The ancient Chinese philosopher Sun-Tzu said once: 'Know your enemy and know yourself, and you will never be in peril' ([1]). As a matter of truth, from a military or police perspective, to fight an enemy or a dangerous phenomenon (and in reality, a phenomenon doesn't exist if there is nobody to translate the concept into action, which means that behind a dangerous phenomenon, there is an enemy) requests to analyse respective strengths and weaknesses, to proceed in the same way with what is to countered and/or fought and then to come up with the best method which could match means and target.

In other words, and it looks to be a truism: to bring the appropriate answer to a given threat requires to objectively evaluate and identify it and to ponder on the most realistic and doable way to cope with it.

This is the reason why it is needed first to figure out the evolutions in societies and then to apprehend subsequent developments in crime.

Our challenges

Our societies are currently facing a number of security issues, some recurrent, some emerging, some new. From a police standpoint we are confronted by organized crime, cybercrime, all kinds of trafficking, such as those related to human beings, drugs, guns, artefacts and so on.

Besides, or above all, we have to deal with this terrible phenomenon of terrorism. Naturally, terrorism is first and foremost a crime.

As such, law enforcement agencies and police forces are at the forefront, first to intervene in case of any type of crime (before, during and after depending on information) and second to investigate the crime itself, beginning *in situ* and then where needed, in cooperation with appropriate judicial authorities, such as prosecutors and magistrates and according to laws and regulations.

From a law enforcement and police perspective and when referring to an international organization, transnational organized crime is the main threat. It is a globalized threat, but it is not only global since it also takes the way of cyberspace.

Transnational organized crime in general and through its various forms is the main challenge that endangers institutions and people's security. In this context, changes in the very nature of threats to society may lead to a variety of different reactions from the public, including public disorder. In the OSCE area, citizens, institutions, and even States could be at risk because of it.

To put it simply: transnational organized crime is an ever-developing and ever-expanding phenomenon which impacts the society as a whole, in its multiple components. Therefore, law enforcement and police agencies have to adapt and keep pace with the changes. However and in general, it is quite difficult if not impossible to be a step ahead when it comes to fighting

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([1]) Sun Tzu, The Art of War.

crime. With this, we are back in the centuries-old fight between the sword and the shield.

As society evolves so too does crime.

Our organization

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) was born in the middle of the Cold War, in 1975 (²). By origin, the OSCE is an international organization which was set up based on the wide security approach through the three security-related dimensions: politico-military, economic and environmental, and human.

Even though the entire spectrum of security was not covered at the very beginning, all gaps were progressively bridged through evolution of the mandates provided to the OSCE by its participating States.

The first added value of the OSCE lies on the fact that all aspects of security are put together and interconnected in their respective consideration. The OSCE has a holistic and cross-dimensional approach of security.

The OSCE's second added value is constituted by participating States and Partners. The OSCE is the largest regional organization under chapter 8 of the United Nations Charter. It gathers 57 States (35 at the origin) in the Northern Hemisphere and 11 partners in the Asian and Mediterranean areas. It is the only regional organization convening NATO and former Warsaw Pact countries.

The third added value of the OSCE is its geographical establishment. The OSCE is currently deploying 16 field operations located in four sub areas: South Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe, South Caucasus and Central Asia. Furthermore, the OSCE has installed a specific operation in Ukraine in the wake of the 2014 events (Special Monitoring Mission) (³). All the field operations are in the position to develop their own activity and/or protect to assist their hosting State in various domains, including police.

Finally and beside its field operations, the OSCE has established specialized institutions which are of signif-

icance for the OSCE in general and for police affairs in particular: The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Representative on Freedom of the Media. Each of these institutions can bring their respective expertise when a project on police matters is conceptualized, planned and implemented.

In short, the OSCE is a unique arrangement with a comprehensive concept of security, crisis management tools, confidence-building measures, executive structures, autonomous institutions and fields operations.

Our responses

These new challenges and emerging transnational threats call for appropriate and innovative answers requested to the OSCE by its participating States. Within the OSCE Secretariat based in Vienna, the Transnational Department (TNTD) hosts the Strategic Police Matters Unit (SPMU) which is in charge of dealing with law enforcement and police affairs.

Whereas this article is about police training, it should be clearly emphasized that the OSCE is not a training institution in any respect. Today the OSCE considers itself as a service supporter, provider and facilitator.

However, it could be reminded that in the past the OSCE has set up its own training facilities and courses in Montenegro, Pristina, Serbia and Skopje. Today, the OSCE is running the Border Management Staff College (BMSC) in Dushanbe (Uzbekistan). The College was established in 2009 in order to handle the specific challenge of border management and security issues in Central Asia in the wake of independences of new States coming from the former Soviet Union.

As a matter of principle, the OSCE addresses issues as requested by its participating States (pS) and Partners for Co-operation (PfC) and in cooperation with them, mainly through activities aiming at enhancing and improving capacities and skills among national law enforcement agencies. It concretely means that the OSCE recourses to the most suitable way of training based on a cross-checking method by the beneficiary, the service provider and the organizer (OSCE).

(²) Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (Helsinki Final Act), Helsinki, 30 July-1 August 1975.

(³) Permanent Council Decision 1117, 21 March 2014.

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Our activities

OSCE's activities implemented in order to face these challenges could be distributed in a two-fold way: those addressing threats posed by organized crime, and those promoting and supporting police development and reform.

The OSCE mandate on police matters is articulated through this distinction, which eventually is at same time constructive (it helps in terms of methodology and balance of priorities) and in some way artificial (both areas are completely linked and have to be planned in complementarity). This diptych-distinction in OSCE police-related activities is also useful as for internal evaluation and external communication (some participating States have more appetite for one area than for another).

In 2015, the OSCE has implemented more than 1100 activities, 30 % in the first area and the rest in the second ([4]).

All these activities are not purely training (the latter represents 30 % of the total); they are more capacity-building and awareness-raising activities through seminars, roundtables and workshops (60 %). The remaining part is about 'assessments and lessons-learned exercises' aiming at evaluating developments and progresses in some national police and law enforcement agencies.

Training in general

Basic training in police is not an activity that the OSCE supports in general. First, projects on that would require a range of means and resources that the OSCE doesn't have; second, the OSCE approach is to limit its deliverables to *ad hoc* and specialized training focusing on actual and assessed needs.

However, the OSCE promotes good practices, guidance and principles on the way to better conduct training dedicated to cadets and new police officers.

The first type of general police education or training provided to newly recruited police members upon joining the police service aims at teaching them basic police competencies, such as: values and ethics

at the core of democratic policing; ability to exercise judgement in different practical settings based on these values and ethics; policing skills; baseline requirements like the use of equipment, communication and self-management skills, and the proper use of firearms; patrolling; and criminal investigation and procedure.

In order to back these principles and recommendations, the OSCE has published a guidebook, available on the OSCE website.

OSCE's training activities applies the 'train the trainers' process. On the one hand, the approach optimizes the delivered training by involving more the first set of trainees and by reaching more police officers through the cascading phase; on the other hand, the limits of this system are recognized insofar as strong commitments from the beneficiaries are required in order to ensure some sustainability to the delivered training.

As a matter of principle, the OSCE (Secretariat) offers trainings at the regional level, leaving local level to field operations. This allows raising the skills and knowledge of police officers and investigators to the same standards in neighbouring countries. This approach also opens for the exchange of views and experience between officers from different countries in a given region, thus building faithful relationships and establishing and maintaining networks between them, which can be of great help and use for further cooperation. Regional harmonization in police principles and practises leads to better cooperation and facilitates coordination.

More specifically

On organized crime, the OSCE focuses its endeavours by encouraging and supporting international and cross-borders cooperation for all stakeholders who are involved in countering the phenomenon. Furthermore, the OSCE delivers specific training in line with detailed needs, for instance by providing practical training to police investigators and digital forensics examiners.

One of the main threats that the OSCE is working on is the trafficking of human beings and the migration-related crime. Whereas migration as such is not a crime or a threat, it generates its own crime and criminal rings are deeply involved in. It is widely assessed that trafficking in human beings and smuggling of migrants are currently the most profitable crime.

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[4] 2015 Annual Report of the Secretary General on Police-Related Activities.

Therefore the OSCE has developed a number of capacity-building projects on the issue. South and South Eastern Europe are the regions where most of these activities are implemented because the migration routes are there (Mediterranean Sea and Balkans).

In addition to that, the OSCE published a specific guidebook on training dedicated to the trafficking in human beings [5].

OSCE's participating States are also facing the trafficking of illicit drugs (and the diversion of chemical precursors). In this regard, the main issue is opiates produced in Afghanistan and routed to Western Europe and the Russian Federation, the main customers. The second and still relatively recent concern is about the new psychoactive substances (NPS) with chemical products imitating natural illicit drugs.

Cybercrime is still considered as a new concern and pose a real threat to an increasing number of OSCE participating States and Partners. It involves many actors, and the cyber threats that public and private sectors are meeting today are ever-evolving and many-folded.

Cybercrime is a crime multiplier whereby cyber criminals have the opportunities to traffic illicit guns, drugs and human beings across borders through cyberspace connections. This challenges the 'traditional' ways in law enforcement investigations, resulting in a demand for new specialised training in fighting cybercrime.

Beside these crime-oriented topics, the human dimension is something crucial and fundamental in the OSCE; this element is taken into account in any activity. In some cases, the OSCE has specific project with a real 'human rights' (HR) approach. It is the case at this moment when we are preparing a specific training dedicated to Counter-terrorism Investigations in relation with HR.

On this topic, we have also published a handbook on HR and counter-terrorism investigations. Currently we are developing a training course module on the subject in cooperation with the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).

Based on its holistic approach of the law enforcement sector, the OSCE organized joint training activities for police officers, prosecutors and magistrates. Such activities have been implemented in Central Asia and South Eastern Europe.

Cooperation

The OSCE as an organization is based on the working principle of cooperation. Therefore, it is obvious that for any of our activity our Unit looks for cooperation with any interested and potential partners.

We know that cooperation is a way to prevent duplication, overlapping, waste of time and money. It makes joint endeavours more efficient and effective. It is also an approach to learn to work together and to get common and better outcomes.

In this regard one of our initiatives in cooperation with the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) is to set up an OSCE Police Academies Network (PAN). This network aims at saving resources and time by accessing and finding existing training material. It encourages mutual use of already current means, curricula, expertise and experience.

Our chief partner is UNODC. The main others are Interpol, Europol, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and, of course, CEPOL.

The OSCE has developed its own internet platform, Policing On Line System (POLIS) [6], in order to support training activities at large. On POLIS, all OSCE police officers, practitioners and experts, could find information about our activities, past present and future; forums and online discussions are periodically organized.

Currently, the Transnational Threats Department is developing an E-learning platform of POLIS to make our training courses even more accessible for the pS and PfC.

In conclusion

The OSCE's ambition in the sphere of police matters is to assist pS, upon their request, in addressing threats posed by criminal activity, while upholding the rule of law and ensuring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms by using the ways and the support of police development and reform.

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[5] OSCE Guidebooks published on police-related matters are available on the website: http://www.osce.org/policing.

[6] http://polis.osce.org/

The OSCE's goal is to contribute to improve its participating States' police and criminal justice' capacities so that citizens and private and public sectors within the OSCE area are provided with fair, free, secure and stable environment.

Capacity-building and training activities are a way to achieve these goals. They should be customer-oriented and tailor-made without dogmatic and/or trendy approach.

Referring again to Sun Tzu, the OSCE is strongly engaged to deeply and objectively analyse and assess its own means on the one hand, and those of the types of crime to be fought on the other hand in order to deliver the most appropriate assistance (training or so) with the prospect to get the best outcomes to the benefit of our participating States, institutions and people. This is what the OSCE Strategic Police Matters Unit wants to achieve with the ultimate target and vision of a crime-free OSCE area.

Transnational organized crime is globalized, police affairs are on the way to be globalized, but police capacity-building and training are not yet.

Law enforcement training and learning: a comprehensive capacity-building approach

Claudio Di Gregorio
Italy

Abstract

'Building an international learning community', the ambitious idea of the 16th Interpol Training Symposium (Johannesburg, 2007), has become over time a shared philosophy and a common strategy in the police community.

Accordingly, the Oslo Dialogue, launched by the OECD in March 2011 and aiming at preventing, detecting and prosecuting criminal activities and at recovering the connected proceeds, pointed out the need for a capacity-building approach. This should involve an interdisciplinary common strategy to improve and share expertise and best practices in the field of financial investigation and asset recovery.

Within this framework, and in deference to the EU 'lifelong learning policy', Italy's Guardia di Finanza (G. di F.) proposed to the European Commission, and subsequently implemented (2013-2015) on its behalf, the 'Economic and financial investigator project' (EFI), advocating financial investigation as the pivotal investigative technique that all EU Member States should adopt. The underlying idea of this initiative is to refocus police training on the attending officers' capacity for acquiring and implementing common know-how in order to meet the growing challenges of transnational crime.

In addition, in 2014 the OECD entrusted the G. di F. Tax Police School with the setting-up of the International Academy for Tax Crime Investigation. Meanwhile, the school managed various European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL) courses, supporting the participants with a proprietary e-learning platform. Moving from this in-field experience, this paper highlights the most recent trends in the field of law enforcement training and education: a comprehensive capacity-building approach; the improvement of the effectiveness of the organisational and cultural climate in education through the management of diversity; and the rising role of financial investigation in countering global crime.

Keywords: education and economic development; illegal behaviour and the enforcement of law; innovation, research and development; management of technological innovation and R & D; capacity building.

1. Introduction ([1])

The increasingly globalised nature of financial markets, the diffusion of the internet and the rising impact on the legal economy of money laundering techniques have all led governments, international bodies, law enforcers, analysts and academics to consider the issue of how to tackle the global dimension of the most serious criminal acts.

That was the inspiring background to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (Palermo, 2000), summed up by the motto 'answer a global challenge with a global response' ([2]).

A 'global response' to international crime does not simply require effective police cooperation and extensive information exchange, but also the sharing of training programmes between law enforcement agencies, aimed at building an 'international learning community'. The underlying idea is that 'by helping countries to learn from one another's police training programs and philosophies, we improve the likelihood they'll be better prepared to prevent and fight serious international crime' ([3]).

Along the same ideal path, the launch of the OECD Oslo Dialogue at the Tax and Crime Conference in Oslo in 2011, improved efforts to harness the capacity of different government agencies to work together to detect, deter and prosecute these crimes (a whole-of-government approach). The next Tax and Crime Conference, in Rome in 2012, led the participant countries, jointly with the OECD, to agree that 'building the capacity' of criminal tax investigators to investigate illicit financial flows was a priority.

More in general, the capacity-building approach, i.e. to focus police education on strengthening the ability of the investigators, especially those from developing countries, to detect and investigate crimes by improving their skills through intensive training courses, with a key focus on tax and financial matters, represents a new trend in law enforcement education.

The OECD has not been alone in this paradigm shift. The idea of a capacity-building approach has been also supported, jointly, by the European Union and the Council of Europe in various programmes addressed at law enforcement, responding to the EU's lifelong learning policy, as an essential instrument for acquiring competitiveness, social inclusion, active citizenship and personal development. The challenge is to provide learning opportunities for all adults, throughout their whole life, especially disadvantaged groups who need them most ([4]).

Adhering to the abovementioned policy, and under the auspices of the European Commission, the Italian Economic and Financial Police ('Guardia di Finanza', hereafter G. di F.) implemented the 'Economic and financial investigator project' (EFI, Lido di Ostia, 2013-2015), stressing the use of financial investigation as a pivotal investigative technique that all EU Member States should adopt ([5]).

The supporting idea of all these initiatives is to focus the attention on attendants' capacity for acquiring and implementing common 'know-how', to meet the growing challenges of transnational crime.

In this context, the long-running G. di F. Tax Police School became, between 2013 and 2014, the site of the OECD International Academy for Tax Crime Investigation and the centre of the EFI Project and of various CEPOL courses. A proprietary e-learning platform supported all of the trainees' activities. Eventually, the G. di F. signed a partnership agreement with CEPOL (Rome and Budapest, 2016).

2. Building an international learning community

> 'Just as I have dedicated myself to teaching, I am also very aware of the importance of learning'.
>
> Noble, R. K. ([6])

Training very much forms part of Interpol's core business. According to the most widely known criminal

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([1]) I would like to thank Jürgen Leske, from OECD — CTPA, for his outstanding contributions and CEPOL Italy for sharing their data with me. All mistakes are mine.

([2]) See: Annan, K. (2000) Address at the Opening of the Signing Conference for the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, Palermo.

([3]) See: Noble, Ronald K. (2007) Address at the Opening Interpol's Training Symposium, Johannesburg — South Africa and 17th Interpol Training Symposium Opening Remarks, Edmonton — Canada, 15 June 2009.

([4]) See, for example, '*Capacity Building of the Law Enforcement Agencies for Appropriate Treatment of Detained and Sentenced Persons*', Final Brochure of the European Union/Council of Europe Joint Programme, December 2012 — 30 November 2015. For an in-depth analysis on EU policy in the field of police training and education see Ferreira E., Jaschke H., Peeters H., Farina R. (2010). *Survey on European Police Education and Bologna* — SEPEB, CEPOL — European Police College. The demand for adult learning is increasing and the Commission is committed to helping all EU Member States create adult learning systems characterised by flexibility, high quality, excellent teaching and the full involvement of local authorities, employers, social partners, civil society and cultural organisations.

([5]) The project was included in the EU programme 'Prevention and fight against crime', approved on 4 October 2012, within the framework of the Council Decision 2007/125/JHA on 12 February 2007.

([6]) Noble, R. K. (2009), opening remarks at 17th Interpol Training Symposium, Edmonton, Canada.

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police organisation, the development and support of a global learning community allows police forces to systematically exchange best practices and experience, avoid unnecessary duplication, reach a wider audience and — most importantly — offer cost effective law enforcement, which is particularly needed in the aftermath of the global financial crisis.

In addition, an international learning community allows the growth of a long-lasting partnership, one that is not restricted to annual conferences, geographic locations, a small number of police forces or academic institutions.

European institutions have promoted, on their side, several studies to detect the factors that affect the building of an effective learning community and, in particular, the dynamics that govern these factors within the law enforcement environment [7].

Within this framework, it is worth mentioning the report submitted by the SEPEB working subgroup in 2010 [8], concerning the interconnections between EU police education and the Bologna Process [9].

The purpose of the subgroup was to provide an overview of education and training programmes in the field of police and policing in Europe, open to foreign police officers, with a focus on the degree of implementation of the Bologna Process at national police

training institutes in the EU Member States and relevant cooperation partners.

This is because the building of an effective law enforcement learning community cannot ignore cultural, educational, behavioural and bureaucratic barriers paradoxically arising as a product of national systems taken as a whole, which may be hindering the development of standardised operational procedures in the fight against global crime.

The subgroup notes that since 2012 at least 20 EU Member States have delivered 77 police education programmes accredited according to the Bologna Declaration [10].

Only five programmes grant a doctoral degree. Thirty-seven police education programmes grant a master's degree and 23 programmes grant at least a bachelor's degree. Another 12 programmes grant either a professional diploma or credit points. Figure 1 summarises the outcomes of the survey in this regard.

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[7] According to the prevailing literature, internal and external factors affect learning processes: among the 'internal' factors experts include goals or purposes; motivational behaviour, interest, aptitude, guidance; among the 'external' factors learning environment and task-related diversity seem to be the most important. See Armstrong J. S. (2012). *Natural Learning in Higher Education*. Encyclopedia of the Sciences of Learning; New Teachers (2015), *Designing Learning Environments*, 7 May 2015. Retrieved 19 March 2016.

[8] Ferreira E. et al (2010). *Survey on European Police Education and Bologna*, 17 — 19.

[9] The Bologna Process is a collective effort of public authorities, universities, teachers and students, together with stakeholder associations, employers, quality assurance agencies, international organisations and institutions, including the European Commission. Stemming from the joint declaration of the European ministers of education convened in Bologna on 19 June 1999, the main focus of the process is the introduction of the three-cycle system (bachelor's/master's/doctorate), strengthened quality assurance and easier recognition of qualifications and periods of study. It looks, in particular, at the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education, supporting the idea that the vitality and efficiency of any civilisation can be measured by the appeal that its culture has for other countries.

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[10] *Ibidem*, 16-18. Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Cyprus, Luxembourg Slovenia and the United Kingdom reported not having Bologna-accredited police education programmes. In Italy, France and Spain a cooperation agreement between police schools and academies and public or private universities grant police officers a university degree.
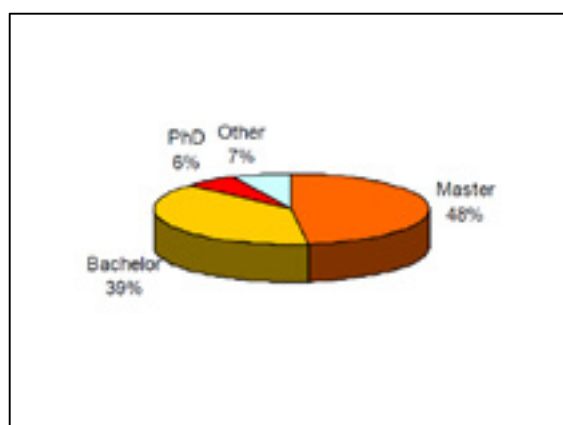
Figure 1: Degrees granted by the Bologna-accredited programmes ([11])

In addition, Figure 2 reflects the main scientific areas covered by the programmes ([12]).
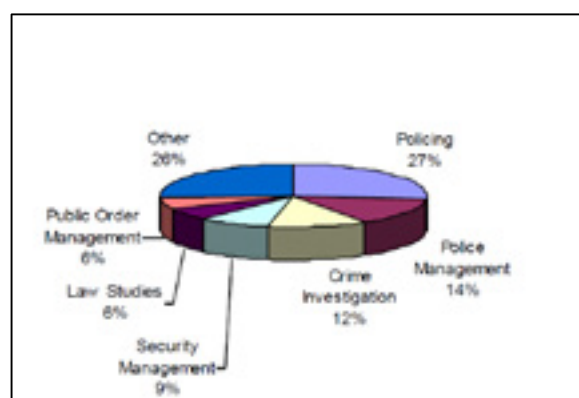
Figure 2: Main scientific areas of the Bologna-accredited police education programmes

Digging into the data suggests two considerations. On the one hand, it is possible to argue that differences in educational systems across Europe are still sensitive, which might explain the difficulty in the acknowledgement of police training programmes, despite the fact that in many ways they take advantage of notions, technical achievements and theoretical formulations that represent a shared core in academia.

On the other hand, the survey shows that the training courses arranged and delivered by most law enforcement training institutions still concentrate on legal/criminological topics, which may explain a certain prejudice towards an educational universe that is still viewed as somewhat extraneous by traditional academia. These are possibly sensitive constraints in the acquisition of a common educational background towards the building of a shared learning community.

Remaining within the framework of the Bologna Process and with a view to a shared learning area, the European Commission recently published the results of another survey conducted in 40 European countries ([13]). The Commission focused its attention on the higher education area and, in particular, on the implementation of ECTS ([14]), student-centred learning, the qualifications framework and internal quality assurance within higher education institutions as shown in Figures 3 and 4.

([11]) *Ibidem*, 17. The reported percentages refer to the period 1997-2012.

([12]) *Ibidem*, 21. The report does not contain information on the Bologna-accredited programmes in the science of economic and financial security and in corporate tax law, delivered in Italy to, respectively, the attending officers of the Academy of the Guardia di Finanza and to the senior officers of the same corps attending a 2-year superior course for tax police, after a national public competition.

([13]) European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2015). *The European Higher Education Area in 2015: Bologna Process Implementation Report.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

([14]) European Credit Transfer System.

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Higher education institutions in 40 European countries were asked to rate several elements of student-centred learning on a scale from one (not important) to five (see Figure 3).
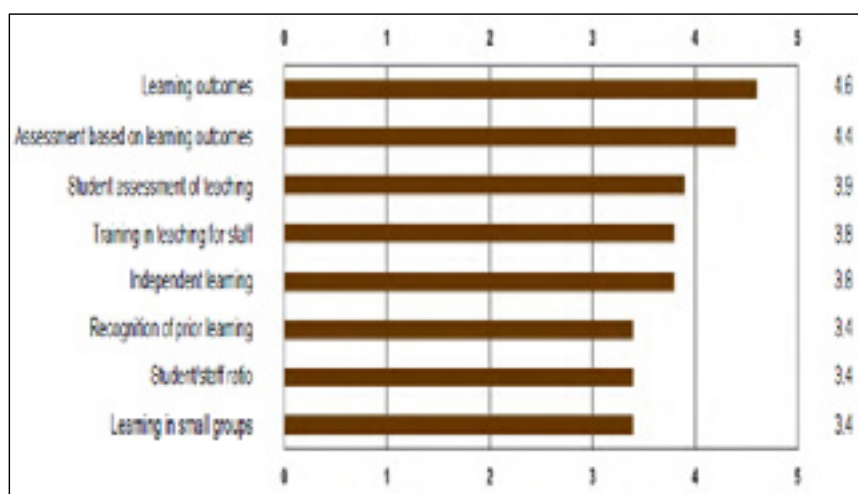
Figure 3: Importance of elements of student-centred learning in the eyes of European Higher Education Area (EHEA) countries (maximum score: 5). Results for countries where steering documents mention the concept of student-centred learning

It appears that the perception of the elements of student-centred learning differ sharply between the group of countries in which steering documents mention the concept of student-centred learning (a large majority) and the group of countries in which steering documents do not mention this concept (see Figure 4) [15].
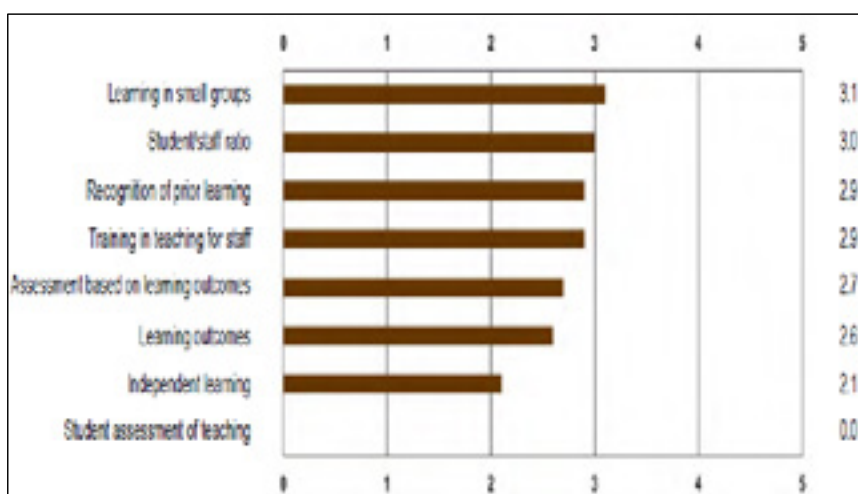
Figure 4: Importance of elements of student-centred learning in the eyes of European Higher Education Area (EHEA) countries (maximum score: 5). Results for countries where steering documents do not mention the concept of student-centred learning [16]

Even though the European Commission recognised that the steering and encouraging of the use of learning outcomes in curriculum development had grown substantially, it concluded that the precondition for the proper introduction of learning outcomes and assessment processes is a change of paradigm from teacher- to student-centred learning [17].

The Commission reached similar conclusions in studying the effectiveness of adult-learning policies in Europe, the outcomes of which are summarised below in Figure 5 [18].

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[15] *Ibidem*, 73-74.

[16] European Commission Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affair and Inclusion (2015). *An in depth analysis of adult learning policies and their effectiveness in Europe.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, p. 86.

[17] Student-centred learning, also known as learner-centred education, broadly encompasses methods of teaching that shift the focus of instruction from the teacher to the student. Student-centred instruction focuses on skills and practices that enable 'lifelong learning' and independent 'problem-solving'.

See: *Young, Lynne E., Paterson, Barbara L. (2007). Teaching Nursing: Developing a Student-centered Learning Environment. Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams &Wilkins; Brown Wright G. (2011). Student-Centered Learning in Higher Education. International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education, 23, 3, 92-97.*

[18] Armenia, Austria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Ukraine and the United Kingdom (except Scotland). In the report they are designated as Group B.
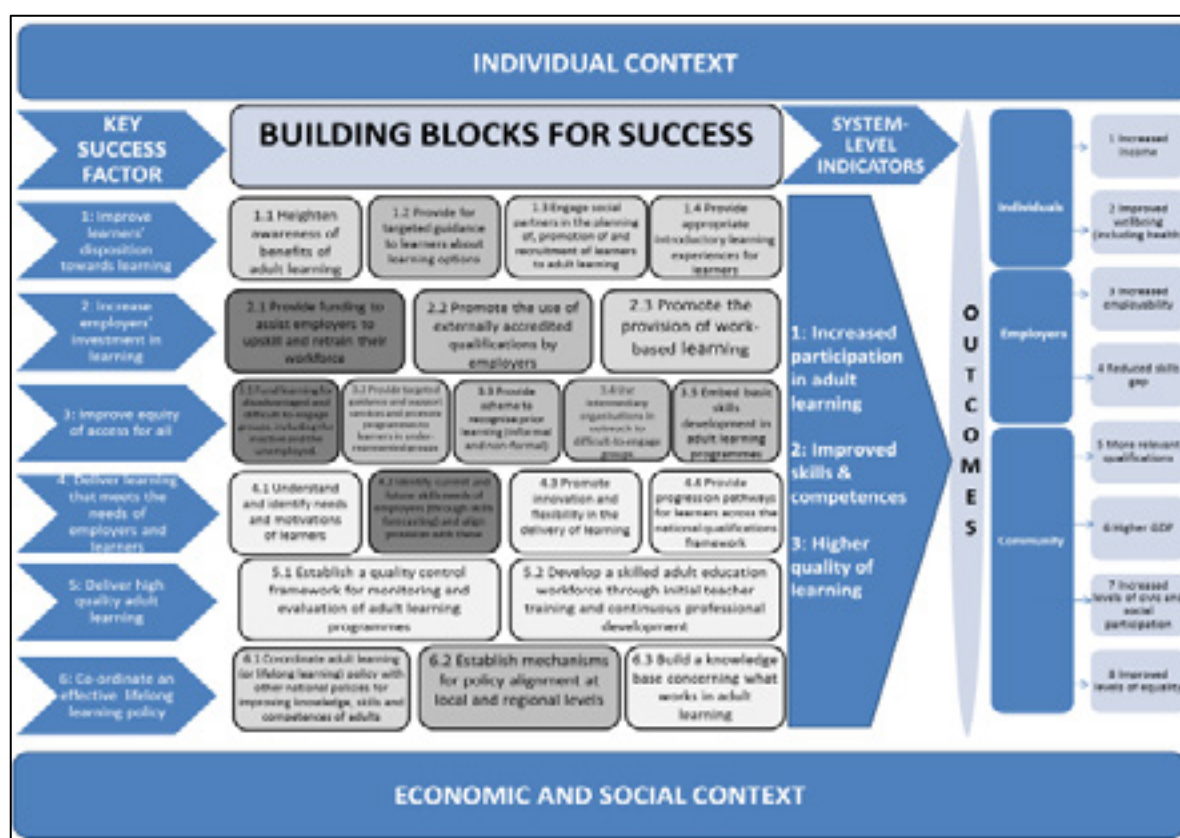
Figure 5: Conceptual framework for the study of the effectiveness of adult learning policies

Among the key success factors for learning, the European Commission's analysis includes all actions aimed at improving people's disposition towards learning, increasing investment in learning and delivering programmes that meet the needs of learners, and, finally, all policies directed towards coordinating effective lifelong learning, which represents a key pillar of the EU's strategy on training and education policy.

Building a learning environment is undoubtedly one the emerging trends in law enforcement training programmes at an international level ([19]). This means that a single police officer — no matter their nationality, task, language, economic conditions or cultural or educational background — should be in the position to learn — better: to assimilate — a few basic principles and some standardised procedures when they encounter transnational crimes.

This is, at the same time, the challenge that law enforcement agencies are going to face and the goal they should pursue, because of the globalised dimension of the major crimes.

3. Tackling global crime: between standardised training techniques and diversity management

Building an international learning community to tackle global crime implies facing and combining two different issues: conceiving and realising standardised training methodologies and operational techniques, taking into account the diversity of the police officers involved.

Both issues have to do with human resources management, since training programmes are directed to the improvement of the police officers' skills and, more generally, to better employment of the workforce.

However, diversity management has different perspectives from one country to another, depending on gender inequality, religion and ethnicity (India and

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([19]) A learning environment could be defined as the complex of physical locations, context and culture in which students are presumed or requested to learn. Learning environments are both direct and indirect influences on people's learning, including their engagement in what is being taught, their motivation to learn and their sense of well-being, belonging and personal safety. Learn more in Great School Partnership (2013). *Glossary of Education Reform*. Portland: Abbot. Retrieved from http://edglossary.org

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the Middle East), migrants from rural areas rather than urban centres (China), multiculturalism (Western countries, including the European Union) or racial equality (South Africa and the United States) [20].

Even though diversity management has historically been used to provide a legally defensible position against charges of discrimination, nowadays it not only recognises but also values and harnesses workforce differences, such as individual characteristics, backgrounds, orientations and religious beliefs, so that individual talents are fully utilised and organisational goals are properly met.

Diversity management thus takes advantage of the growing cultural pluralism from the internationalisation of business, and of communications, the development of world markets (including financial markets and digital transactions), growing workforce mobility and increasing awareness of individual and institutional differences. Industry and public institutions currently adopt this human resources strategy in order for all people to maximise their potential. By bringing a wider range of perspectives to problem-solving, different teams foster speed and innovation and produce substantially higher-quality solutions over

whole development cycles, thanks to a 'learning from difference' process [21].

On the other hand (and this is of crucial importance in the field of law enforcement) is the standardisation and implementation of techniques and methodologies coming from industry and available at a global level.

A sample of this approach is the creation and use of software for conducting computer forensics activities rather than intelligence analysis, designing a link chart of a criminal group, identifying key individuals with target networks with social network analysis or filtering millions of wire-transfer transactions going around the world.

Diversity of contexts also means diversity of case studies, and this implies innovation technology capable of facing and solving investigation problems in a unique flexible but standardised model or e–learning platform, which can help to quickly turn complex sets of disparate information into high-quality actionable intelligence. Analysts and police officers can subsequently take advantage of this in identifying, predicting and prosecuting criminal, terrorist and fraudulent activities, as shown in Figures 6 and 7 [22].

Figure 6: Multiple methods of representing information within a chart to support dynamic thought processes

[20] Shen J. et al (2009). Managing diversity through human resource management: an international perspective and conceptual framework. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 20*, 235-251.

[21] Sabel C. F., Zeitlin J. (2008). Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the EU. *European Law Journal, 14, 3*, 271 — 327.

[22] Excerpt from IBM i2 Analyst's Notebook (2015).
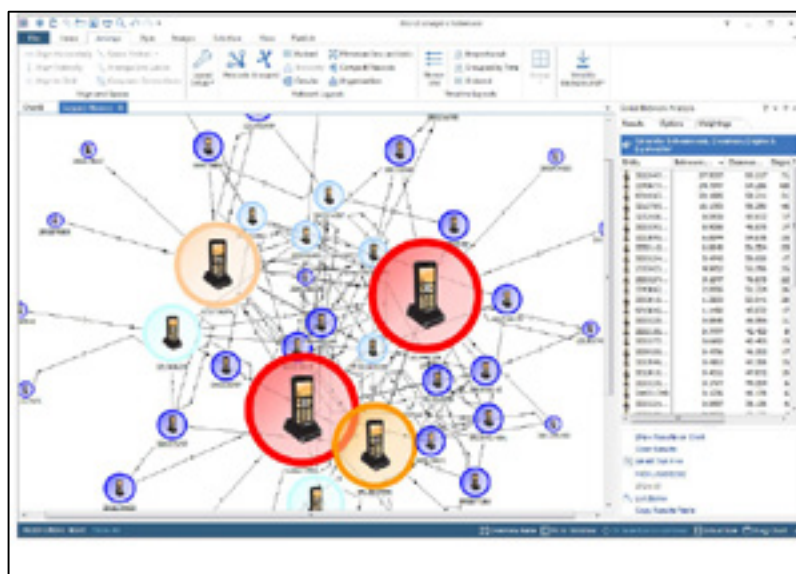
Figure 7: Identifying key individuals within target networks with social network analysis

4. Refocusing education from training to learning

As already seen, the latest tendency in the field of education is to shift its paradigm from training to learning. This is why the building of a learning community has become a priority in training programmes, even in the world's largest international police organisation (ICPO — Interpol) (²³).

Academic professors, company HR managers and researchers from specialised institutes (²⁴) nowadays agree on the fact that the conventional training paradigm is no longer effective. Based on the idea that training consists of the transfer of authoritative knowledge from expert instructor to novice learner, it capitalised on the notion that knowledge can be packaged into units, modules and lectures and delivered in a standardised fashion to the workforce.

On the contrary, the greatest gift of learning is the capacity to adapt. It allows the learners and the organisation — such as a law enforcement agency — to remain agile in the face of uncertain future conditions, whereas other learning outcomes, like new knowledge and skills, tend to have specific applications and a shorter shelf life. The challenge, therefore, is to move from a strategy based on the delivery of training towards one based on support for learning.

Training is characterised as an instructor-led, content-based intervention leading to desired changes in behaviour, and learning as a self-directed, work-based process leading to increased adaptive capacity.

(²³) Jordan, B. (2000). *From Training to Learning in the New Economy.* Palo Alto — California: Institute for Research on Learning; Eccleston, K (2002). *Learning Autonomy in Post-16 Education. The politics and practice of formative assessment.* London: Routlege-Falmer; Masadeh, M. (2012). Training, Education, Development and Learning: What is the Difference? *European Scientific Journal 8,* 10, 62 — 68; Noble, R. K. (2009), Opening Remarks at 17th Interpol Training Symposium, Edmonton, Canada, already quoted.

(²⁴) Among them, it is worth mentioning the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) of London. See: Sloman M. (2005). Change Agenda. Training to Learning. Retrieved from http://www.cipd.co.uk.
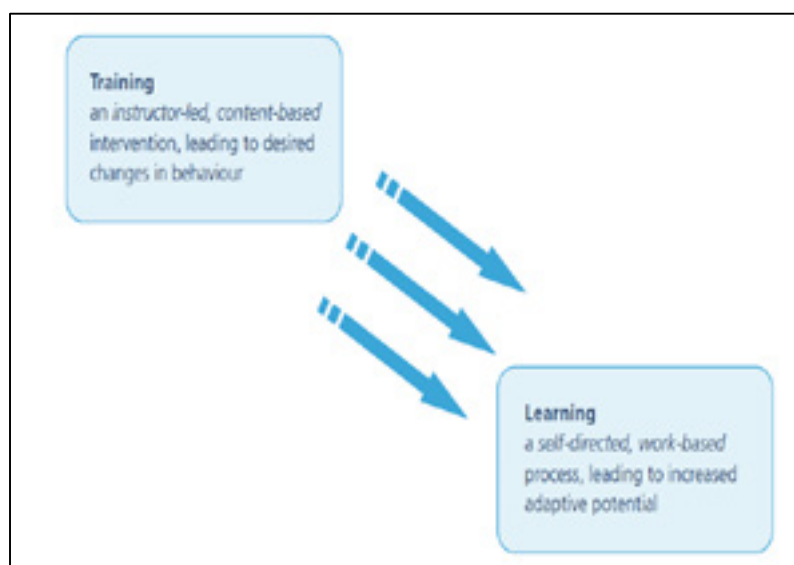
The shift from training to learning may be characterised as a progressive movement from the delivery of content to the development of learning capabilities as a people-development strategy, as shown by Figure 8 above.

Many factors influence this shift. Learning can be cultivated by practices that raise commitment among learners, creating what might be described as an organisational 'growth medium' (²⁶). The logic of this kind of growth is simple: in the right climate people will commit to learning (²⁷). The researchers identify three conditions that a law enforcement agency or an international police training agency need to meet in order to build a growth medium: create a sense of purpose in the workplace; give police officers the opportunity to act on their commitment; provide officers with a supportive learning environment.

5. Law enforcement training and its relationship with the scientific and academic environment

It is self-evident that an 'international learning community' conceived for law enforcement requires a broader and enhanced relationship between police training institutions and the scientific and academic environment as a whole.

On the other hand, numerous police training topics find their conceptual requirements and operational procedures in notions, methods and technicalities that stem from information and communication technology, economic and banking regulations, accountancy, pathological anatomy, sociology and law: all disciplines offered in traditional graduate or postgraduate university programmes (²⁸).

The question is how to involve scientific and academic institutions, bureaux and centres of study and research in law enforcement training activities to obtain mutual and effective development in cooperation against global crime.

The figures already shown in Section 2 with regard to the interconnections between EU police education and the Bologna Process largely describe how hard and numerous are the cultural and legal constraints against achieving reciprocal and progressive acknowledgement of the respective activities, despite the fact that both institutions operate within the framework of the same community.

At a global level, difficulties are fed by a lack of budgetary resources, by differences in ethnic and cultural backgrounds and by differences in economic development.

(²⁵) *Ibidem*, 2.

(²⁶) Sloman M. (2005), p. 2.

(²⁷) Rapti D. (2016). School Climate as an Important Component in School Effectiveness. *Academicus International Scientific Journal*, Harvard Dataverse V1, 110-124.

(²⁸) The 2016 CEPOL training catalogue includes, among others, the following categories: cyber forensics, operational and strategic intelligence analysis, social network analysis, financial investigation, money laundering, quality control and assurance of crime scene investigation/examination, fundamental rights and police ethics management of diversity.

Nevertheless, police trainers and academic scholars have many fields of cooperation for mutual comprehension of the factors that give rise to global crime, in order to detect and implement the best practices, methods and techniques to fight transnational criminal groups.

The delivery and sharing of case studies is a good basis from which to start. They foster a multidisciplinary approach and contribute to design models of investigation.

The study of foreign legal systems is essential in the fields of tax and financial crime and asset recovery, in order to accelerate the process of bilateral and multilateral conventions towards a common regulatory ground.

Finally, IT innovations and the social network system contribute to the creation of a common ideal heritage that is the natural framework of an international community of learning.

6. New trends in law enforcement training: a comprehensive capacity-building approach. The experience of the Tax Police School of the Guardia di Finanza

In March 2011 the OECD launched an extensive plan — known as the Oslo Dialogue — aimed at preventing, detecting and prosecuting criminal activities — mainly economic and financial crimes — and at recovering the connected proceeds between member countries and foreign partners [29].

The further Italy–OECD joint declaration delivered on 12 June 2012 summarised the core of the new strategy as being based on three key pillars:

• internal cooperation among the various agencies that fight against financial crime (domestic interagency cooperation);

• international cooperation;

• capacity building.

The last key pillar stems from the impressive dimensions and consequences of financial crime in terms of threats to the economic and social well-being of people living all over the world. Illicit financial activities such as tax evasion, corruption, computer crimes and money laundering are a global issue demanding a global response.

A critical part of this initiative consists of improving the ability of the concerned institutions (especially those from developing countries) in strengthening the capacity of criminal tax investigators to tackle illicit financial flows, to detect and investigate financial crimes and, finally, to recover the proceeds of those crimes. The way to pursue this objective is to implement intensive training courses (4-week courses) through which the skills of tax and financial crime investigators, analysts, magistrates dealing with tax and other major financial crimes are developed.

The subsequent 'Capacity-building programme' for both conducting and managing financial investigations involves an interdisciplinary common strategy to improve and share expertise and best practices in the field of financial investigation and asset recovery.

Further to a foundation programme piloted in April 2013, the OECD International Academy for Tax Crime Investigation was officially established in June 2014, in Rome — Lido di Ostia, at the Tax Police School of the Guardia di Finanza, to build the skills of tax crime investigators and other government officials, particularly in developing countries.

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[29] See the closing statement by Norway, as host, and the OECD on 23 March 2011, retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/tax/crime/47425987.pdf

Table 1
The OECD's 'Capacity-building programme' for conducting and managing financial investigation. 2013-2016 period — participants.

Order number	Country	Number of participants
1.	Australia	1
2.	Austria	1
3.	Azerbaijan	2
4.	Bangladesh	2
5.	Barbados	1
6.	Belarus	1
7.	Brazil	3
8.	Burkina Faso	1
9.	Burundi	3
10.	Cambodia	3
11.	Cameroon	1
12.	China	2
13.	Colombia	2
14.	Costa Rica	2
15.	Denmark	1
16.	El Salvador	2
17.	Estonia	3
18.	Georgia	5
19.	Ghana	13
20.	Greece	6
21.	India	8
22.	Indonesia	2
23.	Italy	11
24.	Jamaica	4
25.	Kenya	9
26.	Latvia	7
27.	Lesotho	2
28.	Liberia	3
29.	Lithuania	1
30.	Luxembourg	2
31.	Malaysia	5
32.	Morocco	1
33.	Nepal	2
34.	Nigeria	6
35.	Pakistan	6
36.	Panama	2
37.	Paraguay	2
38.	Philippines	3
39.	Poland	3
40.	Portugal	1
41.	Romania	1
42.	Serbia	2
43.	Seychelles	4
44.	Sierra Leone	2
45.	Singapore	10
46.	South Africa	7
47.	Tanzania	4
48.	Tunisia	7
49.	Uganda	5
50.	Ukraine	7
Total		**184**

Table 2
The OECD's 'Capacity-building programme' for conducting and managing financial investigation. 2013-2016 period — instructors.

Order number	Country	Number of experts
1.	Australia	1
2.	Austria	1
3.	Canada	5
4.	Denmark	1
5.	Germany	2
6.	Italy	5
6.	Netherlands	1
7.	Norway	2
8.	United Kingdom	5
9.	United States	2
Total		**25**

As is shown in Tables 1 and 2, to date the programme has involved about 200 people — participants and instructors — coming from 50 countries on all continents.

The academy programme is open to all countries and territories eligible to receive official development assistance, and to date it has reached 36 developing countries.

The underlying idea of this initiative is to refocus police training on the attending officers' 'capacity' for acquiring and implementing a common know how in order to meet the growing challenges of transnational crime [30].

Within this framework, and in deference to the EU 'lifelong learning policy', Italy's Guardia di Finanza (G. di F.) proposed to the European Commission and subsequently implemented (2013-2015) on its behalf the 'Economic and financial investigator project' (EFI), advocating financial investigation as the pivotal investigative technique that all EU Member States should adopt. About 400 officers have been trained within the framework of the project, 120 of whom came from Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania and the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile, the school has managed various CEPOL courses, supporting the participants with a proprietary e-learning platform, and eventually the G. di F. signed a partnership agreement with CEPOL (Rome and Budapest, 2016).

A similar training programme was implemented, from 7 to 17 July 2015, by the Tax Police School, focusing on 'Illicit economy, financial flows investigations and asset recovery', upon specific request of the Caribbean Community (Caricom) and Cuba [31].

The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation supported the training programme by financing the participation of the applying officers, magistrates and analysts coming from the Caricom member countries. The whole initiative was conceived as an opportunity to improve the network of relations and the cooperation between the respective judicial authorities and law enforcement agencies. This purpose was pursued by facilitating the acquisition of specific capacities in dealing with financial crimes, corruption and transnational organised crime, along with Mafia-type associations, investigation into money laundering, advanced data analysis and high-tech investigation [32].

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[30] See: The launch of the Oslo Dialogue. A Closing Statement by Norway, as host, and OECD, 23 March 2011; The Oslo Dialogue: A Whole of Government Approach to fighting Financial Crimes, Rome — 15 June 2012 and also fourth Plenary Meeting of the OECD Task Force on Tax and Development, 30 and 31 October 2013, Seoul, South Korea. Session VI: Issue C. Tax, Crime and Illicit Financial Flows: Introduction and Next Steps, paragraph 9 in http://www.oecd.org/ctp/tax-global/tf-on-td-sess-sixc-illicitfinancialflows.pdf

[31] Caricom is a grouping of 20 countries: fifteen member states and five associate members. It is home to approximately 16 million citizens, 60 % of whom are under the age of 30, from the main ethnic groups of indigenous peoples, Africans, Indians, Europeans, Chinese and Portuguese. The Community is multilingual, with English as the major language complemented by French and Dutch and variations of these, along with African and Indian expressions.

[32] See more in http://www.onuitalia.com/eng/2015/07/07/caricom-and-cuba-training-program-in-italy-to-fight-financial-crimes/.

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All these initiatives have in common a capacity-building approach, i.e. the learner's capacity for acquiring and developing their own skills with a view to cooperating with each other in fighting global crime. Moreover, the creation of a network composed by the participants in different training programmes represents a crucial form of cooperation. Participants become the best contact persons in their respective countries to show the best means to manage and solve a case. To this end, the reciprocal knowledge of history, culture, arts and traditions plays a role not unlike that traditionally assigned to the knowledge of legal systems and technical equipment.

Taking into account this aspect of training contributes, in different ways, to the improvement of the effectiveness of the organisational and cultural climate in education, which is also a trend in law enforcement training.

That is why the OECD's 'Capacity-building programme' assigns such an important role to this aspect of training, and why the other programmes mentioned followed this approach as a key success factor.

Finally, all the training programmes mentioned show the increasing role of financial investigation in countering global crime.

In fact, financial investigation:

- involves the collection, collation and analysis of all available information with a view to assisting in the prosecution of crime and in the deprivation of the proceeds and instrumentalities of crime;

- enables the authorities concerned to establish the existence of otherwise unknown crimes and assets;

- can be used as an instrument to reveal undiscovered predicate offences and to identify other people or companies.

This means that financial intelligence should flow freely to and from regulators, supervisors, financial investigation units, law enforcement and other competent authorities.

If such a fluid system of sharing financial information and intelligence were established, countries would make more effective use of financial data, thus becoming more effective in combating money laundering, terrorist financing and major proceeds-generating offences.

That is why the role and the importance of a financial approach within the framework of an investigation as a whole, especially when conducted against transnational criminal groups, have grown over the years.

7. Conclusion

As already seen, there seem to be three recent trends in the field of law enforcement training and education: a comprehensive capacity-building approach; an improvement in the effectiveness of the organisational and cultural climate in education through the management of diversity; an increasing role for the financial investigation in countering global crime.

Academic scholars, centres of research, higher education institutions and international Bodies tend to focus their attention on learners. Law enforcement training and education programmes can hardly escape this tendency, especially if the aim of training and education is to foster a more effective international and inter-agency cooperation with a view to fighting against global crime.

All these actors should work together as a single team to promote and value the building of an international learning community to fight and defeat the global dimension of crime, corresponding to the increasing demand for safety coming from civil society. It is up to them to take up this challenge/opportunity in the coming years.

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RESEARCHING TRENDS

Transnational policing in Europe and its local effects

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to develop an agenda for comparative research on the forms, functions and effects of transnational policing in various European countries and its impact on domestic police work. This work seeks to explore the similarities and differences in the extent of communication, cooperation and collaboration among police agencies across the continent. The tasks of investigating crime, enforcing law and maintaining order — which have historically been based almost exclusively within local communities — now stretch far beyond national boundaries. There is evidence from various national contexts that many police officers spend their time working with colleagues abroad. But there have been, as yet, very few comparative studies of the forms and functions of transnational policing in different countries. The limited evidence available suggests that there are wide variations in transnational policing practices across the continent. Transnational policing is driven by political and economic changes, the growth in international travel, information, communication, technology and migration, and developments in the nature of crime and security threats. The pattern of police work is shaped by the organisational architecture of local, national and global policing systems and specific practices such as posting liaison officers overseas. The key aim is to examine and explain the differences in degree of cooperation with police in other countries and the forms that it takes in specific places.

Keywords: Transnational, Regional, European, Glocal, Police, Policing, Cooperation, Research

Introduction

A body of literature, growing rapidly since the early 1990s, has shed light on international police cooperation and institutional developments in Europe (Hufnagel, 2014; Deflem, 2000, 2002, 2006; Fijnaut, 1991, 1993, 2010; den Boer, 2014). However, only scant references have been made as to what globalisation entails for the local practices of police actors on the ground (Fijnaut, 2004; Block, 2007). Indeed, there have been few systematic comparative studies of the forms and functions of transnational policing in different European countries. A key issue is what appears to be an *uneven development* of transnational policing across the continent. Globalisation, in terms of technology and infrastructure, as well as economic, cultural and organisational effects, varies widely from place to place. Policing agencies in some cities are highly networked while others remain isolated and insular. Similarly, the density, extensity and effectiveness of police cooperation vary widely from one country to the next. The goal of this paper is to begin to develop an agenda for a new generation of comparative research on the forms, functions and effects of transnational policing in Europe.

Starting with different examples of transnational policing — one deriving from popular culture, the others from recent newspaper articles — we will first outline the definition and tasks of transnational policing as well as locate the latter in the context of globalisation touching upon the tensions between the local and the global. A closer look will be given to the pioneering

research on the European policing field carried out in the 1990s and this will also allow us to examine the different levels of the architecture of police cooperation across the continent. We draw on the existing findings of specific case studies of transnational policing to identify the main topics as well as similarities and issues in the cooperation among European police officers, as well as highlight the gaps in the academic literature. To make sense of these different structures, we will introduce a socio-spatial typology and make an attempt to apply it to the regional level of EU cooperation. We will then move on to the possible case-studies which we want to explore in our research project as well as the research questions which arose from the literature review.

Globalisation and transnational policing

"People always say technology has made the world smaller,' Hökberg said. 'I think that's debatable. But the fact that it's made my world bigger is beyond dispute. From this flimsy townhouse at the edge of Ystad, I can reach all the markets in the whole world, I can connect to betting centres in London to Rome I can buy options on the Hong Kong market and sell American dollars in Jakarta.'

'Is it really so simple?"

(Mankell, 2008: 56)

In an innovative analysis, International Relations scholar Michael Shapiro examines how detective novels reveal the extent to which policing activities and the cities in which they unfold are enmeshed in global dynamics (Shapiro, 2010: 56). *Firewall* (2008) by Henning Mankell, for example, features a Swedish police inspector named Wallander who realises that key elements of his current case are of a global nature, revealing how 'a larger global world, which while mostly unacknowledged, affects the dynamics within the smaller worlds of cities' (Shapiro, 2010: 52). The case involves a computer consultant who is implicated in a transnational plot with the aim 'to disrupt the world financial markets by programming an ATM machine to set off a chain reaction that would compromise worldwide financial exchanges' (Shapiro, 2010: 53). The criminal cooperated with a man living in Luanda, Angola, whom he met during his travels and who was enthralled by the computer consultant's technological and computing abilities. The police officer comes to acknowledge how his 'local world expands to comprehend the way actions initiated in a third world ven-

ue impinge on his small world in Sweden…' (Shapiro, 2010: 57). Quoting one of the officers' colleagues, Shapiro holds that 'their city is no longer merely local' (Shapiro, 2010: 57): 'When you're hooked up to the Internet, you're in the middle of the world wherever you are' (Mankell, 2008: 229). This consciousness of 'glocal policing' where local, national, and global structures are interlinked (Bowling, 2010: 10) is a perfect example of what Cain calls the 'indigenous-but-globally-aware' attitude of practitioners (Cain, 2000: 251). Wallander's *policing metis*, a term Shapiro coined to describe '…a form of intelligence that combines a 'capacity to tell signs,' with an understanding of the way that the culture of the city articulates motivations with opportunities and structures,' has to adapt to this new challenge (Shapiro, 2010: 47). Indeed, resolving this particular case requires new skills, such as penetrating 'encrypted computer files' (2010: 54). For the investigation to succeed, they have to call on a third party, a 'young hacker-turned-crime-solving-assistant,' as Shapiro calls him, thus testifying to the increasing involvement of non-governmental entities in police operations (Shapiro, 2010: 55). The concern with cybercrime resonates with Manning's engagement with policing the cyberspace (2000) as well as Caless and Tong's recent publication *Leading Policing in Europe* (2015). The latter give us an unprecedented insight into the personal opinions of policing officers who consider cybercrime to be one of the most important developments in recent years (Caless and Tong, 2015: 15).

Not only the web, as epitome of a fluid modernity in which boundaries are increasingly blurred, even non-existent, is perceived as one of the main challenges of global nature which commissar Wallander has to face. Transnational financial exchanges and the increasingly rapid movement of bodies throughout the world, are also part of the issues with which the inspector has to grapple and which present a growing challenge to policing entities bound to the notion of a Westphalian nation-state system. In this regard, Brodeur's theorisation of the plural conception of policing is helpful as it goes beyond such an analytical limitation (2010). His understanding of policing as a multifaceted and polycentric web of assemblages that are made up of different policing nodes help us conceptualise the different types and activities of police agents who have to deal with the before-mentioned changes.

A recent example which denotes another type of transnational operation in Europe resulting from globalisa-

tion is the import of Chinese police officers to Rome and Milan during high tourist seasons. The action taken by the Italian and Chinese governments is explained with the aim to make Chinese tourists feel more secure. As *The Guardian*'s headline informs us, 'Italy seeks to reassure Asian tourists with imported Chinese police — Government hopes patrols by Chinese officers in Rome and Milan will help wealthy visitors feel more protected.' (¹) Here, the police are not just 'breaking the old paradigm' in which policing was seen as an issue of national sovereignty' — as explained by Italy's then minister of the interior Angelino Alfano (²) — but this action also indicates some other important characteristics of transnational policing: police officers are responsible for a wide array of tasks, from dealing with illegal motorcycle gangs, environmental crime (Tysoe, 1993; White, 2008; Westerhuis et al., 2013; Beirne and South, 2007; Spapens et al., 2014), financial crime (Levi, 2007; Estigarribia, 2013*)*, money laundering (Sheptycki, 2000) and controlling border regions (Hufnagel, 2013) as well as in Wallander's case the 'web', to making tourists feel 'more secure' (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2012).

Drawing on Ulrich Beck's understanding of globalisation as 'processes through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks' (Beck, 2000: 11), Bowling and Sheptycki define global policing as 'the capacity to use coercive and surveillant power around the world in ways that pass right through national boundaries unaffected by them' (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2012: 8). Their working definition of transnational policing is 'any form of order maintenance, law enforcement, peace-keeping, crime investigation, intelligence sharing or other form of police work that transcends national boundaries' (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2015: xxvi).

Both vignettes — Wallander's case and the import of Chinese police officers — provide us with an interesting starting point for a research project on *Transnational Policing in Europe and its Local Effects*. The tensions between the local and global in transnational policing still tend to be overlooked in scholarship. In an in-

creasingly interconnected world, which sees transnational policing as panacea for transnational crime, not enough questions have been asked as to how globalisation is 'affecting the form and function of contemporary policing,' and particularly of transnational police cooperation (Bowling, 2009).

Developments in European policing: an architecture of formal and informal collaboration

Although cooperation in European policing can be traced back to the 19th century, systematic scholarly study of the subject did not begin until the early 1990s. Pioneering researchers in this field who have documented the transformational growth of transnational organisations in Europe include Fijnaut (1993), Benyon and colleagues from the Centre for the Study of Public Order at the University of Leicester (Benyon et al., 1993) as well as Anderson and Den Boer (1994). The latter's *Policing Across National Boundaries* (Anderson and den Boer, 1994) and their collection *Policing the European Union: Theory, Law and Practice* (Anderson et al., 1995) co-edited with four other authors are important contributions to the studies of police cooperation in Europe looking at theories as well as practical issues in this realm. The papers in the first book span a variety of topics including European integration, policing refugees, cooperation in police intelligence as well as raise the question of data protection and civil liberties. The second publication is a comprehensive study of policing at the supranational level of the European Union and examines patterns such as the harmonisation of criminal law and procedure as well as law enforcement strategies (Anderson et al., 1995).

From a theoretical point of view, Benyon's typology — differentiating macro, meso and micro levels of police cooperation — is a useful attempt to bring some clarity into the thick field of European policing structures and reveals the overlapping nature of the different policing institutions (Benyon et al., 1993, 1994). Nevertheless, as Sheptycki points out, much is left 'under-theorised and the reader is left with little sense of the processes which give vitality to the police cooperation enterprise in Europe' (Sheptycki, 1995a: 304). Fijnaut's edited collection on the other hand provides us with an insight into the policing élites' views on cooperation practices in the Netherlands, France, Belgium and the United Kingdom and hence sheds light on the political

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(¹) Stephanie Kirchgaessner, 'Italy seeks to reassure Asian tourists with imported Chinese police,' *The Guardian*, 4 May 2016: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/04/chinese-police-patrols-rome-collaboration-italy, accessed 2 August 2016.

(²) Angelino Alfano quoted in Stephanie Kirchgaessner, 'Italy seeks to reassure Asian tourists with imported Chinese police,' *The Guardian*.

environment in which those practices unfold (Fijnaut, 1993). Anderson's chapter is particularly interesting as it explores the relation between the French police and the cooperation practices at the EU level. However, the collection's predominant focus on intergovernmental relations offers mostly a national, or even a nationalistic perspective (Sheptycki, 1995a: 304).

The existing literature lays a very important foundation, but says too little about what globalisation entails for the *local* practices of police agents (Fijnaut, 2004; Block, 2007). The fact is that 'most police work is grounded in relatively small geographical locales' (Sheptycki, 1995b: 617) and therefore some of the most interesting transnational policing dynamics are occurring at the local level. This leads us to focus on what might be referred to as the globalisation of local policing (or perhaps the localisation of global policing).

One of the rare comparative studies of the forms and functions of transnational policing in different European countries is Sheptycki's *In Search of Transnational Policing* (2002). This empirical study of transnational police cooperation between the UK, the Netherlands, Belgium and France reveals how local policing practices on the ground interact transnationally. His exploration of the changing nature of policing institutions and agenda setting at the national and transnational level reveals the impact of 'neoliberalism and the marketization of security occurring in specific national jurisdiction' (Sheptycki, 2005). Analysing how this shapes the policing practitioners everyday life, he provides us with an insightful account of a subculture of policing. Nonetheless, as Sheptycki himself notes, the field of transnational police cooperation is in constant flux (Sheptycki, 1995a). Indeed, the seemingly incessant administrative reorganisations and reforms in the field of transnational police cooperation and law enforcement make it very difficult to map the cooperation practices and institutions (Sheptycki, 1995a: 306). The rapidly evolving police architecture and agencies of the European Union but also technological changes as well as a growing attentiveness to terrorist threats call for an updated study of current cooperation practices. Hence, the considerable changes in the field make it necessary to return to transnational policing in Europe and develop the agenda for the comparative research on the forms, functions and effects of transnational policing in Europe.

The findings of these studies are useful in that they suggest that despite the EU treaties' constant efforts to harmonise EU police cooperation, it is still a 'policy field far removed from supranational politics' (den Boer, 2014: 49). Deflem agrees with den Boer, highlighting the 'remarkable persistence of nationality…in international police work' despite increasing transnational policing practices and 'formation of multilateral cooperation initiatives' (Deflem, 2006: 339). Fijnaut argues that recent developments in European policing have been a step backwards. Whereas the Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam, the Tampere Programme and the Lisbon Treaty were steps forward in the institutionalization of police cooperation, 'the Stockholm Programme is disappointing' (Fijnaut, 2010: 19). Nonetheless the institutional development for police cooperation in Europe, which includes Europol, CEPOL, Frontex, and the Police Chief's Task Force, also boasts considerable operational powers conferred by the European Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters, the Prüm Treaty, and the Swedish Framework Decision which simplifies the exchange of information and intelligence between the EU Member States' law enforcement authorities. Furthermore, Hufnagel notes that 'major EU developments in this field are still relatively untested, such as the European Arrest Warrant or the European Evidence Warrant' (Hufnagel, 2013: 38-39).

If the European policing arena is still far from being supranationally regulated, there is a general consensus that the 'mere number of levels and agreements involved shows the complexity of these cooperation arrangements' which have developed over time (Princen et al., 2014: 9). Indeed, rather than being a novel phenomenon, transnational policing is as old as policing itself (Bowling and Sheptycki 2012: 3). Since the origins of modern police forces, officers have collaborated with their foreign counterparts in exchanging ideas, intelligence, techniques and methods; they have engaged in collaborative investigations involving overseas travel (Bowling and Sheptycki 2015: xxi, see also Wakefield and McLaughlin, 2009; Matassa and Newburn, 2007: 61). There were, for example, police officers from Germany, France, Austria and Belgium present at London's 1851 Great Exhibition. And in more recent times, 'there were already many informal or semi-formal cross-border policing arrangements in Europe at the time of the first meeting of the so-called Trevi Group for intergovernmental cooperation in 1975' (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2012: 43). As Benyon noted in 1992:

'[i]n addition to the Trevi Group, Interpol, the Schengen Agreement and the nascent Europol, there is a wide array of less formal arrangements for promoting police cooperation in Europe. The number of these law enforcement networks, groups and agreements is large and together they form a complicated, interconnecting, mesh of formal structures and informal arrangements, serviced by a range of information systems (which are often incompatible)' (Benyon, 1992: 32).

Those 'informal or semi-formal agreements' still make up a large part of European transnational policing, and according to Guille 'are still favoured instead of using central channels which reminds us of the spider web of the available channels of communication and the lack of trust in national agencies' (Guille, 2010: 66). Formal agreements are often perceived as complicated, time-consuming and ineffective (Bowling, 2010: 304). Providing us with a useful conceptual tool, Sheptycki introduces three distinctions for theorising the formality-informality nexus. He distinguishes between formal practices with a capital 'F' which are time consuming and formal with a small 'f' which work faster. In both cases, there is a formal chain of accountability within the organisation, which does not hold true for his third category, namely informal practices (Sheptycki, 2002).

Whereas police officers' preference for 'informal' relations is well established in most of the studies (Schwell, 2008; Princen et al., 2014; Alain, 2000), it is interesting to look at the interpretation of this preference theoretically (Herschinger and Jachtenfuchs, 2012). In contrast to most accounts of police cooperation that give either preference to the institutionalisation or the informality thesis of transnational policing agreements, Herschinger and Jachtenfuchs (2012) argue that both developments are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they suggest that formal and informal coexist and can develop simultaneously but also in an alternating way (Herschinger and Jachtenfuchs, 2012). Indeed, there is empirical evidence, that informal cooperation can function as important prerequisite for formal institutionalisation, while it does not necessarily disappear once institutions have been created. The interrelation between formal and informal agreements is confirmed by Hufnagel who emphasises the influence of 'informal practitioner forums on harmonised EU developments' (Hufnagel, 2013: 243). She analyses various cases of informal regional EU cooperation which had a significant impact on the institutionalised legal framework of the EU (Hufnagel, 2013: 43). Whereas NeBeDeAgPol (Association of Belgian, Dutch and German Chiefs of Police in the Rhine-Meuse Region) functions as 'informal regional cooperation and was established outside the governmental realm' — such as the Cross-Channel Intelligence Conference (CCIC) (Sheptycki, 2002) — it was a crucial trigger for the institutionalised EU framework in that it raised awareness on matters of police collaboration among 'law-makers,' and its reforms served as a model for the Schengen Agreement (Hufnagel, 2013: 43). Those interrelating agreements make up a 'patchwork quilt' of transnational policing (Sheptycki, 1995b: 628), with intersecting, overlapping pieces of different sizes, shapes and thickness, which are held together through the work of liaison officers. These are the 'fixers and facilitators' (Block, 2007: 374); like 'station-masters' shunting information between police agencies (Bigo, 1996), or as 'oil and glue' acting as both adhesive and lubricant for the transnational policing system (Nadelmann 1993; see also Block and den Boer 2013).

The dynamics of transnational policing at the local level

Most empirical case studies have found that personal contacts play a vital role in transnational policing. This evidence suggests that cooperation depends on the personnel and the trust between practitioners, leading to a 'cyclical pattern in which cooperation is re-established and reinvented as new sets of actors replace the initiators of earlier cooperation efforts' (Princen et al., 2014: 13). While it is claimed that this is more efficient and less bureaucratic, it also entails negative points: Firstly, it means that the low level of formalisation of most of the agreements makes cooperation practices dependent on the individual motivation of a handful of practitioners and hence renders collaboration efforts vulnerable to complications and delay. Secondly, considering issues of transparency and political legitimacy, such practitioner-driven initiatives are highly problematic (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2016; Hufnagel, 2013). The focus put on personal contacts leads us to another crucial factor in transnational policing, which is the agency of local policing actors. This agency can be identified in two aspects, namely the personal initiative of policing actors in uploading local and/or *ad hoc* processes to the national level, as well as the need to 'translate' international norms and regulations into the local context (Sheptycki, 2002; Maguer, 2002; 2004; Schwell, 2015).

Regarding the work of Anderson et al. (1995), Sheptycki already noted in 1997: 'There is the complication of a lack of a single working language or unified legal framework. Added to this is the fact that these various police agencies have their own traditions of political accountability' (Sheptycki, 1997: 132). Qualifying this argument, recent studies have shown that in contrast to what one might think, language tends not to be a major hurdle for transnational cooperation efforts (Peters et al., 2015: 54; Princen et al., 2014: 6, Yakhlef et al., 2015: 22) except at times in the international realm such as demonstrated in Block's analysis of European Liaison officers in Russia (Block, 2007). The majority of studies locate the key difficulties in disparities at the inter-organisational level. This means that the different national organisational structures constitute the main obstacle in transnational police cooperation practices (Peters et al., 2015: 56).

The organisational structure of different national policing units, as major difficulty in transnational policing, is in turn put into question by cooperation practices. This can be explored in the context of the Franco-German police customs and cooperation centre (PCCC) which designated as 'experimental institutional arrangement' has been analysed by Nogala (2001: 139), Maguer (2002) and Hufnagel (2013). Maguer's analysis of the Franco-German police customs and cooperation centre (PCCC) in Kehl is particularly important, as she notices the challenging of professional identities and the manifestation of competition (Maguer, 2002). The challenging of professional identities can be explained by the fact that the police customs and cooperation centres (PCCCs) allow police officers to direct their requests to anyone in terms of the nature and context of the demand and not according to the professional identity (Maguer, 2002). On the one hand, this opens up professional networks that were initially closed, hence contributing to the creation of a greater pool of competencies. On the other hand, Maguer notes that this has also negative effects as it sometimes leads to a confusion of tasks and actors as well as the misunderstandings between the different agents endangering the stability of the relations between the border services. Furthermore, considering that this also challenges the way police 'make sense of their work', it leads us to ask what impact this has on the subculture of policing, which — although it shares many common features in different agencies around the world — 'exhibits considerable local variation'? (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2012: 26) Does it foster a transnational subculture of policing in which police officers 'experience a common sense of purpose, objective, and aim' although they do not share the same national language (Yakhlef et al., 2015: 22)?

Theorising transnational policing

While we are able to identify some similarities between the exchanges on an organisational and professional level, as well as detect common difficulties, numerous areas of transnational policing remain unchartered territory and major questions are left unanswered. We agree with Block that the 'picture of operational police cooperation is far from complete, and lacks both overview and insight' (Block, 2007: 367-68). The interlinking of formal and informal practices points to the complex structure of transnational policing which '…is multi-levelled, trans-jurisdictional, multi-functional and resides in state-based institutions and within private corporate and non-governmental ones' (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2015: 118). To unpick and discern the pattern of this 'patchwork quilt' (Sheptycki, 1995b: 628) of different forms of policing agreements and make sense of those contact points which seem to be woven together into a sort of irregular tapestry, we propose to structure our research project according to Bowling's and Sheptycki's socio-spatial typology, which differentiates between the global, international, regional, sub-regional, national, and (g)local loci (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2012).

To represent this multisite European police cooperation system and identify the roles performed by the various agencies — governmental, non-governmental, private, public as well as civil — involved, the research project would complement the existing picture by perhaps adding new categories (bilateral, multilateral, cooperation based on information exchange, cooperation based on compensatory strategies such as training, etc.). Importantly, it could help us understand to what extent intergovernmental agreements and institutions are endowed with supranational features. As transnational cooperation agreements seem to be multiplying exponentially in a rhizomic way (Deleuze and Guattari, 1993), the table could evolve into a continuously updated database.

Table 1
A socio-spatial typology for transnational policing

Locus	Network	Examples
Global	Policing entities that have a global reach	Francopol, Interpol; UNPol; World Customs Organisation (WCO); Financial Action Task Force (FATF)
International	International liaison officers posted overseas	In and outside of European countries: Example of Chinese Liaison Officers in Rome and Milan; European liaison officers in Russia, Morocco or the Caribbean; US, Canadian and other country liaison officers resident in European capital cities
Regional (EU Level)	Regional security structures and associations	The European Police Office (Europol), Schengen Information System (SIS); European Border and Coast Guard Agency (FRONTEX); European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL)
Subregional (Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements)	Cooperative collaboration where the relationship is structured around a specific geographical area between two or more countries, while also accepting cooperation on a Pan-European level	Benelux Working Group on the Administrative Approach to Organised Crime, Ramogepol (France, Monaco, Italy); NeBeDeAgPol (Netherlands, Belgium, Germany in the Meuse-Rhine Region)
National	National security structures created to be able to coordinate a national response and to work with international partners, as well as civil agencies	UK National Crime Agency (NCA); German Bundeskriminalamt (BKA) 'International Coordination' Division aims at improving the cooperation with international partners
Glocal	Local policing agencies and units transnationally linked	Drug Squad, counter-terrorism, criminal investigation departments; Interpol National Central Bureaux (NCBs) nested in domestic police forces

Source: based on Bowling (2009: 5).

Methodology and research questions

To explore this field in detail, a research study based on fieldwork and interviews with police officers across the continent is proposed. As with Bowling's study of *Policing the Caribbean* (2010), the account of the evolving European transnational policing environment will draw on the case study tradition (Yin, 1993, 2009). It will involve the collection of detailed empirical evidence using interviews with key informants (e.g. senior police officers, liaison officers and commanders of specialist units), observation and document analysis. Unique cases of transnational policing processes will be selected through theoretical rather than random sampling in numerous European countries. The western European capital cities of London, Berlin, Brussels, Paris and Madrid will certainly be included, but the research will also need to explore the experiences at the edges of the continent including the Baltic, Mediterranean, Nordic and East European states. The aim of the research project is twofold in that it seeks to understand the general case of transnational policing, including cooperation among and between European countries (individually and collectively) and third states (non-EU states). With-in this, we shall examine specific cases of cooperation among agencies and the local effects on police agents.

The case studies will examine transnational cooperation located in border regions and cooperation centres, but also on those practices which take place away from the geographical location of the frontier, the latter being increasingly dislocated. This means that our research project will also analyse practices of cooperation in the headquarters of police agencies located in cities, as well as in what we call transnational spaces, the liminal places where sovereign jurisdictions have been transgressed (see Bowling and Sheptycki 2015b: vii). These are the places which mark transition points between here and there, through those which persons and goods pass on their way towards their destination. These include border zones, transnational communication hubs such as airports and seaports, but also seas, oceans and airspace as well as the fluid world of the web and mega-events. Indeed, here the territorial element exemplified in Lessig's question 'So where are they, when they are in the cyberspace?' becomes especially relevant (2006: 298). Most importantly, we shall examine how the policing of European transnational

spaces is held together through the work of liaison officers. It is already clear that new institutional structures, policing techniques, policing laws and powers are emerging as the transnational policing agenda incorporates these spaces. Fascinating questions concerning jurisdiction, authority, equity and effectiveness are now opening up (Bowling and Sheptycki 2015b: xviii).

Those spaces of police cooperation will function as a guiding thread according to which the possible case-studies of our research project are organised. The study will examine cooperation in (i) border regions; (ii) cooperation in police and customs cooperation centres (PCCCs); (iii) cooperation at airports; (iv) cooperation at ports; (v) in maritime areas; (vi) cooperation on cybercrime; (vii) cooperation practices through Europol (viii) cooperation between EU Member States and Third states such as a) between Spain and Morocco and b) through international liaison officers. The following key research questions have been identified from the existing literature:

• What is the extent and nature of cooperation (a) among policing agencies in European countries and cities and (b) between European agencies and those from third countries or cities?

• What are the outcomes of transnational policing practice and how is 'good policing' to be assessed in the European sphere?

• How effective and efficient are mechanisms for communication, cooperation, coordination and collaboration among European police agencies?

• What are for the main legal, organisational, operational, technological and economic issues and obstacles in transnational cooperation practices?

• How does our understanding of formal and informal modes of interaction in police cooperation affect outcomes?

• What is the role of private actors in European transnational policing? In the context of the increasingly pluralised character of security provisions, are the state and public police agencies still the main actors? How are priorities set, by whom and how does this differ depending on the location, such as sea ports, airports or train stations?

• How much discretion can the different policing actors make use of and does it vary across the different countries?

• How does variation in police education affect relations between agencies in different countries?

• How can transnational policing operations be held accountable to national, multi-or supranational bodies and more broadly to the people they serve?

• What legal, technical and bureaucratic mechanisms ensure integrity, legality and adherence to international human rights norms?

Conclusion

European policing has undergone a major transformation since the early research in this field conducted in the 1990s. The extent and nature of cross-national cooperation has grown markedly in the past three decades and some of the complexity of the organizational arrangements and policing practices has been captured in the growing body of scholarly research. New challenges have emerged, including major terrorist attacks across the continent, the financial crash, military conflict at the edges of Europe and the concomitant refugee crisis. The traditional problems of organized crime and money laundering persist and we are increasingly aware of the human consequences of organised environmental crime and people trafficking. The successes and failure of domestic police agencies to respond effectively to these problems, to share information appropriately, and their capacity to respond to suspects with equity and fairness, are now more visible than ever before. The potential and limits of pan-European policing are a matter of widespread public interest and attention even while seismic changes are occurring within the European Union. It is significant, perhaps, that the first act by the British government following the referendum vote to leave the EU was to opt in to the revised Europol framework effective May 2017 ([3]).

We think that a major transnational and comparative study of European policing is required to fill the knowledge gap identified in the review of the literature presented in this paper. This main aim of this programme

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([3]) https://www.gov.uk/government/news/parliament-notified-of-europol-opt-in-intention

CEPOL

of research will be to explore the uneven impact of globalisation on transnational police cooperation in Europe through an analysis of the similarities and differences in the extent of communication, cooperation and collaboration among police agencies across the continent and the effects that this is having on domestic policing. It seems clear that policing is transforming at all levels from the global through the national, regional, sub-regional and the local. There is much that we know, but much more that needs to be known. We hope we will see a European policing community that is open to research, a network of researchers willing and able to collaborate on studying transnational cooperation and training institutions willing and able to use that knowledge to improve policing for the benefit of all.

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Research and science in law enforcement: an exploratory survey

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Abstract

Law enforcement officers are often described as being unique in the way they resist research and science findings and also innovation and change based on scientific evidence. This paper questions this assumption by comparing European law enforcement professionals with European professionals from other areas of activity. Preliminary findings are presented and discussed and suggestions for future research are forwarded.

Keywords: law enforcement, research, science, innovation, change.

Literature review

Literature on law enforcement work and on the on-the-job use of research and science findings generally refers to what seems to be a common feature in law enforcement officers — they are unique in the way they resist research and science findings and also innovation and change based on scientific evidence.

This image of law enforcement, as an intrinsically hostile world for research and science and for innovation and change, has been described and explained as a natural consequence of a military background. Most law enforcement agencies developed from military structures and retained a military culture and a military model of functioning. The way most modern law enforcement agencies are culturally moulded and structured is often described as being military. They still dictate obedience to orders and discourage research and science that may lead to innovation and change (Bittner, 1990).

This is pointed as one of main the reasons why law enforcement agencies often fall behind when it comes to innovation and change (Sykes, 1992).

Traditional, inherently paramilitary and bureaucratic, strategies and tactics not only sustain the culture of law enforcement but also make it value 'real law enforcement work' (Greene, Bergman and McLaughlin, 1994). On-the-job learning and training and 'street experience' leave little room for research and science.

In spite of all recent developments, it is often argued that most law enforcement agencies retained strong organisational cultures that hold tightly to traditional strategies and tactics. They are still bureaucratic in nature and bureaucracies are well-known for avoiding change or for changing as slowly as possible (Deukmedjian and Lint, 2007). Innovation and change suggested by research and science findings, are simply and naturally not warmly welcomed.

The image of law enforcement, as an intrinsically hostile world for research and science and for innovation and change, has also been described and explained in a rather different direction. Such hostility exists because law enforcement is a job that has unique characteristics and demands. First of all, it is about maintaining order and enforcing fundamental rules — which mean that supporting change and some inherently disorder goes against its very role in soci-

ety (Cordner, 1992; Bailey and Bittner, 1984). One of the great imperatives is indeed the need to reproduce order (Ericson, 1982). Secondly, law enforcement is a unique job because of the high demands of it (Gaylor, 2001). Its very nature includes a high potential for violence and trauma and for social isolation caused by shift work (Sparrow, 1988).

Expecting law enforcement officers to experiment innovative methods or approaches in such demanding everyday working conditions is therefore argued as being unrealistic. The reason for avoiding innovation and change cannot be found without taking into consideration innovation and change add risk to an already highly-risked profession.

These explanations for law enforcement as an intrinsically hostile world for research and science and for innovation and change cannot disregard, however, that law enforcement is and has always been a very complex and diverse world. Law enforcement culture may still be highly influenced by a military-bureaucratic background and by the unique nature and demands of the job itself but it also obvious, today, that there are several law enforcement cultures and 'jobs' (Monjardet, 1994).

Not all law enforcement cultures and jobs are intrinsically hostile to research and science and to innovation and change. Forensic sciences and jobs are perfect examples of a non-hostile world for research and science. The way some research and science findings were accepted and paved the way for (new) law enforcement models, like hotspot policing, problem-oriented policing, community policing, intelligence-led policing or predictive policing, is another perfect example of a non-hostile world for research and science.

The image of law enforcement as an intrinsically hostile world for research and science and for innovation and change certainly can, therefore, be described and explained by other factors then just culture and job uniqueness.

Law enforcement education and training traditional cultures and processes also have been called up to explain why law enforcement is an intrinsically hostile world for research and science and for innovation and change.

As it has been often highlighted, formal law enforcement education remains mostly about training for knowing the 'right answers', doing things the 'approved way' or arriving at the prescribed 'school solution'. Most law enforcement students or trainees are still not expected to learn how to observe, analyse and question, to formulate hypothesis and make conclusions and then to act, live, and modify their actions according to these conclusions (del Barrio Romero et al., 2009). Expecting them to welcome, in their future profession, research and science findings and innovation and change is therefore somewhat unrealistic.

However, formal law enforcement education and training is also a very complex and diverse world. For example, in Europe, law enforcement education can be placed in at least four categories (Hanak and Hofinger, 2005): (1) it may be delivered by institutions that value research and science, regularly conduct research activities and are engaged in the dissemination of scientific results and knowledge; (2) it may be delivered by institutions that mainly import the available scientific knowledge on law enforcement-related subjects; (3) it may be delivered by institutions that offer training or instruction for officers on an 'academic level' but with little emphasis on science or research; and (4) it may be delivered by institutions that only train skills, which is understood to require little academic (scientific) knowledge.

These complex and sometimes mingled approaches to research and science and to innovation and change, during formal education and training, becomes even more complex when on-the-job and informal lifelong education and training are added to the equation. What is effectively learned and trained remains mostly a kind of black-box but surely not everyone and not everything is intrinsically hostile to research and science and to innovation and change.

The image of law enforcement as an intrinsically hostile world for research and science and for innovation and change certainly also can, therefore, be described and explained by other factors then just education and training.

Design and methods

Research questions

In order to shed more knowledge and light into the description and explanations of law enforcement as an intrinsically hostile world for research and science and for innovation and change, we formulated the following research questions: (1) are law enforcement officers, educators and trainers, in Europe, really *unique* in the way they *resist* research and science and innovation and change? (2) Are there significant differences in the way research and science are *perceived* by law enforcement and by non-law enforcement professionals in Europe? (3) Are there significant differences in the way new knowledge (including research findings) is *perceived as instrumental for a good job performance* by law enforcement and by non-law enforcement professionals in Europe? and (4) Are there significant differences in the way law enforcement and non-law enforcement professionals in Europe seek and prefer to acquire new knowledge, including science and research findings?

Research design

In order to have comprehensive answers for all research questions, a study should include: (1) respondents proportionally representing different European countries; (2) respondents proportionally representing different professions and different professional ranks in different European countries; and (3) different data gathering methods/techniques (triangulation). The outcome was somewhat different since we soon found out that the only possible way of incorporating so many different countries and respondents, within a short timeframe and considering language-barriers, was by using an online survey in English. Observation, focus groups and personal interviews, the most desirable triangulation, had to be set apart. We also soon found out that the only way to reach different professionals was by using a snowball non-proportional and non-representative sampling process (Bryman, 2015).

Differences among the professional groups were tested with the Likelihood ratio test (Casella and Berger, 2001).

Research timeline

The online survey was developed and tested in March 2016. The final version included 13 questions and could be filled-in in 5-10 minutes. The online survey remained opened from April 2016 to end of July 2016. The final sample consisted of 147 respondents with the following characteristics.

Sample

The final sample included a majority (75.5 %) of law enforcement educators or trainers and of law enforcement officers. Non-law enforcement respondents, educators, trainers and other professionals (24.5 %) completed the rest of the sample (Table 1).

Table 1
Respondents by professional group.

Professional group	No	%
Law enforcement educators or trainers (LEET)	56	38.1
Law enforcement officers (LEO)	55	37.4
Non-law enforcement educators or trainers (NLEET)	22	15.0
Other non-law enforcement professionals (NLEP)	14	9.5
Total	**147**	**100.0**

Most respondents held, at the time the survey was carried, a professional middle position (56.5 %) or a senior one (31.3 %). No significant statistical differences were found among the professional groups (Table 2).

Table 2
Respondents by job position (in percentage).

Job position	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Senior position	28.6	31.8	31.0	42.9	**31.3**
Middle position	64.3	63.6	49.1	42.9	**56.5**
Junior position	5.4	4.5	7.3	7.1	**6.1**
Missing	*1.8*	*0.0*	*12.7*	*7.1*	***6.1***
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 2.334; p = 0.887.

Law enforcement officers had more work experience (in years) than respondents belonging to other professional groups, and non-law enforcement professionals had less. Differences were almost significant (Table 3).

Table 3
Respondents by work experience (in percentage).

Years on-the-job	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Less than three years	33.9	9.1	30.9	42.9	**30.6**
Between three and ten years	37.5	59.1	29.1	42.9	**38.1**
More than ten years	28.6	27.3	40.0	14.2	**30.6**
Missing	*0.0*	*4.5*	*0.0*	*0.0*	***0.7***
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 11.997; p = 0.062.

Differences in work experience were partially explained by the fact that law enforcement officers were older and non-law enforcement professionals younger. However, age differences were not statistically significant (Table 4).

Table 4
Respondents by age group (in percentage).

Age group	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Between 25 and 39 years	35.7	40.9	29.1	42.9	**34.7**
Between 40 and 49 years	33.9	31.8	40.0	21.4	**35.4**
Between 50 and 66 years	25.0	27.3	23.6	21.4	**23.8**
Missing	*5.4*	*0.0*	*7.3*	*14.3*	***6.1***
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 2.283; p = 0.892.

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A significant difference was found concerning academic degrees held by respondents. Law enforcement officers and non-law enforcement professionals had lower academic education than educators and trainers in law and non-law enforcement professions (Table 5).

Table 5
Respondents by academic degree (in percentage).

Academic degree	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
PhD or higher	32.1	13.6	7.3	7.1	17.0
Master	50.0	59.1	41.8	50.0	49.0
Bachelor	10.7	13.6	25.5	28.6	18.4
Professional diploma	5.4	13.6	20.0	14.3	12.9
High school diploma	1.8	0.0	5.4	0.0	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 24.847; p = 0.016.

Respondents worked in all geographical areas of the European Union, which was an important pre-requisite for this study. However, Eastern European countries turned out to be over-represented in the sample and countries from other areas to be sub-represented, being the differences almost statically significant (Table 6).

Table 6
Respondents by work place location (in percentage).

Current work-place location	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
'Nordic' and 'Anglo-Saxon' European countries	12.5	13.6	21.8	14.3	16.3
Western and central European countries	17.9	22.7	29.1	28.6	23.8
Southern European countries	14.3	13.6	23.6	21.4	17.7
Eastern European countries	51.8	50.0	25.5	28.6	40.1
Other part or the world	3.5	0.0	0.0	7.1	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 15.803; p = 0.200.

Most (76.4 %) law enforcement officers were males and the majority (57.1 %) of non-law enforcement professionals were females, being the differences statically significant (Table 7).

Table 7
Respondents by sex (in percentage).

Sex	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Male	53.6	50.0	76.4	42.9	**59.9**
Female	46.4	50.0	23.6	57.1	**40.1**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 10.078; p = 0.018.

Findings, discussion and implications

Most professionals represented science as an instrument to improve job performance, although educators and trainers appeared more receptive to promising theories, and 'practitioners' to tested theories about what 'really works'. Only a minority represented science as something complex and behind the technology they use in every-day work or, otherwise, simply as useless. In spite of having the lowest academic level, surveyed law enforcement officers 'saw' science, when applied to the job, as positively all other surveyed professionals. No special 'hostility' could be detected, nothing *unique* about law enforcement professionals was found (Table 8).

Table 8
Respondents 'idea' of science 'for the job' (in percentage).

Main idea	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Promising theories that may improve job performance	51.8	45.5	43.6	42.9	**47.6**
Tested theories about what really works and can improve job performance	42.9	45.5	45.5	42.9	**43.5**
Something behind technology, otherwise useless	5.3	9.0	10.9	14.2	**8.9**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 2.060; p = 0.914.

Most professionals represented scientific research as an important activity for the development of new and useful technologies that can be used in every-day work. Almost one third of the respondents admitted that scientific research is only important if findings can be applied in 'real-life'. More non-law enforcement professionals and more law enforcement educators or trainers revealed a preference for challenging findings but, overall, no significant differences were found in the way surveyed law enforcement professionals and the other surveyed professionals 'saw' scientific research findings. Once again, nothing really *unique* could be detected about how law enforcement professionals see scientific research from a job perspective (Table 9).

Table 9
Respondents 'idea' of scientific research 'for the job' (in percentage).

Main idea	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Important for the development of new and useful technologies	39.3	54.5	45.5	42.9	**44.2**
Important if findings can be applied in 'real life'	32.1	22.7	32.7	21.4	**29.9**
Important if findings are challenging	28.6	22.7	21.8	35.7	**25.9**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio =2.937; p = 0.817.

With the exception of law enforcement educators or trainers, most respondents placed work experience and updated knowledge (including science and research findings), training and adequate tools as the most important job performance factors. Although overall differences are not significant, law enforcement educators or trainers were the only group placing experience as the least important factor. With this particular exception, nothing really *unique* about law enforcement professionals was again found (Table 10).

Table 10
Most important job performance factor (in percentage).

Most important factor	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Updated knowledge, training and adequate tools	58.9	40.9	40.0	35.7	46.3
Professional commitment	28.6	22.7	29.1	28.6	27.9
Experience	12.5	36.4	30.9	35.7	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 9.602; p = 0.142.

Contrary to what could be expected, more surveyed law enforcement officers, educators and trainers revealed that improve job performance/ achieve better results is their main motive for acquiring new professional knowledge, including science and research findings. This is indeed *unique*, but not in the usual negative sense of it (Table 11).

Table 11
Main motive for acquiring new professional knowledge, including science and research findings (in percentage).

Main motive	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Improve job performance/ achieve better results	66.1	54.5	65.5	50.0	61.9
Job promotion/career improvement	32.1	40.9	34.5	42.9	36.1
Missing	*1.8*	*4.6*	*0.0*	*7.1*	*2.0*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 1.291; p = 0.731.

Surveyed law enforcement officers, as well as other non-law enforcement professionals, revealed a clear preference for 'on-the-job' learning and training. On the other end, educators or trainers in law enforcement and non-law enforcement revealed more frequently to prefer 'scholar' methods. This expected difference among 'scholars' and 'practitioners' only confirms there is nothing really *unique* about law enforcement (Table 12).

Table 12
Respondents' preferred 'method' for acquiring new professional knowledge, including scientific research findings (in percentage).

Learning/ training method	LEET	NLEET	LEO	NLEP	Total
Classroom and 'on-the-job'	35.7	40.9	50.9	42.9	42.9
'On-the-job' and self-learning	19.6	22.7	12.7	35.7	19.0
Classroom and self-learning	21.4	13.6	9.1	7.1	14.3
'On-the-job'	7.1	4.5	20.0	14.3	12.2
Classroom	5.4	4.5	5.5	0.0	4.8
Self-learning	7.1	4.5	0.0	0.0	3.4
Distance (online) learning	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.7
Classroom and online learning	1.8	0.0	1.8	0.0	1.4
'On-the-job' and online learning	0	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.7
Self-learning and online learning	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Likelihood ratio = 31.853; p = 0.238.

Considering the sample size (n=147) and characteristics, as well as the lack of an always desirable triangulation in the collection of the data, these preliminary results must be dealt with caution and certainly need to be confirmed, or not, by further and different types of research. Until then, they suggest that findings of applied scientific research are welcomed by law enforcement educators, trainers and officers, as well as by other professionals, providing they prove useful for improving job performance/ results or for the development of new technologies. A similar conclusion was achieved, several years ago, by Bayley (2001; 24): *'officers will not change their behavior unless they perceive it to be in their personal interest to do so'*.

These preliminary results also suggest that law enforcement professionals, as any other professionals, seem to prefer 'science' that provides the most probable, verifiable and valid (and complete) explanation for how, when, where and why something happens — and also 'robust scientific models', that is, models able to predict what will most probably occur in a given context and in the presence of a given set of variables. Together with the results suggesting that law enforcement professionals, as other professionals, praise education and training taking place 'on-the-job', these preliminary results stress the necessity of not exposing law enforcement students or trainees to *weak* scientific models or *weak* research findings — simply because *weak* models/ findings will be systematically contradicted by learning taking place on-the-job and by *experience* outcomes. Unfortunately, what Bayley and Bittner highlighted so many years ago seems to remain valid in many aspects: *'policing is not yet a science in the sense that a body of principles has been generated that officers may follow with a reasonable probability of achieving successful outcomes. Officers correctly perceive that there is a gap between the operational world and the classroom'* (Bayley and Bittner, 1984: 35).

Including *only* robust models and findings in education and training seems to be one of the missing leaps forward in law enforcement education and training. The other one, having an obvious connection with it, is the need to increase the discussion and the effective planning and implementation of the validation and accreditation of the on-the-job component of law enforcement education or training. As Bayley and Bittner also highlighted many years ago, *'officers say experience teaches them what works. But does it?'* (Bayley and Bittner, 1984: 47).

Limitations

Besides the limitations of the data gathering process, this exploratory research did not address the role of fundamental research, done by law enforcement agencies or by law enforcement education or training institutions. In a context where such type of research is increasingly done in the private sector, this certainly needs to be further researched and discussed as to its implications in education and training, as well as on-the-job performance.

The same applies to the role of law enforcement governance in what concerns attitudes towards science and research and its implications in organisational and education and training designs. This exploratory research focused on law enforcement professionals, not on governance, and future research will have to focus on this (important) subject.

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EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND APPROACHES

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Evidence-based police education and training in the United States

Gary Cordner
United States

Abstract:

The achievement of evidence-based policing is presumably dependent on a foundation of evidence-based education and training. This paper considers whether that foundation is in place in the United States. The extremely fragmented structure of American policing makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions but the picture is mixed. On the higher education side there is a strong commitment to research and academic values, but it is spread all across criminal justice without much focus on policing, and there is little commitment to pedagogical effectiveness. On the training side there is more focus on effective teaching and learning methods, but less commitment to making sure that the content that is taught conforms to the best available scientific evidence.

Keywords: Evidence-based policing, Police education, Police training, United States

If there is any global trend in policing right now, it must be evidenced-based policing (Sherman, 2013). Thus it was no surprise that many papers and presentations at the 2016 CEPOL conference considered the possibility that the training and education of law enforcement personnel might be evidence-based [1].

Answers to the basic question 'is police education and training evidence-based?' might reasonably be 'of course it is,' or 'not at all,' or anything in between [2]. On the positive side, presumably all curriculum designers and instructors adhere to what they believe to be the best way to do policing. However, on the sceptical side, a strict assessment of the scientific basis of best practice beliefs would likely conclude that the emperor is nearly naked.

There is a lively debate around the pros and cons of the evidence-based policing movement and its impli-

cations for both police practice (Sparrow, 2011; Tilley and Laycock, 2016) and police scholarship (Greene, 2014). This paper will leave that debate to another day and dive head-long into the question of whether police education and training in the United States is evidence-based. First, though, some description of the decentralized US system is necessary.

Police education and training in the United States

Police education and training in the United States is nothing if not fragmented. There is no national police college or university, plus there is a strong tendency to draw a clear line of demarcation between education and training. On the education side, there are nearly 2 000 degree programs in law enforcement or criminal justice offered by schools, colleges, and universities [3].

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[1] The terms 'police' and 'law enforcement' are used interchangeably in this paper.

[2] Opinions and conclusions in this paper are the author's and do not represent the official position of the National Institute of Justice or the U.S. Department of Justice.

[3] Traditionally there have been few such programs at the secondary school level. There are about 1 000 programs at 2-year colleges, which are typically called community colleges or technical colleges in the U.S. There are about 800 programs at 4-year colleges and universities. (In the modern U.S. vernacular, the distinction between 'college' and 'university' is essentially meaningless).

On the training side, there are almost 700 police academies that provide what is typically called 'basic' or 'recruit' training (Reaves, 2016). These training academies serve 18 000 separate law enforcement agencies, most of which are not nearly large enough to justify having their own police academy. Typically, the largest agencies operate their own training academies while over 95 % rely on regional or state-level academies.

There are no national standards that govern all these providers of police education and training. Regarding police education, basic standards applicable to educational institutions are set and enforced through state-level education departments and regional accrediting bodies, but there are no widely-accepted standards specific to law enforcement or criminal justice education at the secondary, college, or university levels [4]. As a practical matter, the content and format of police education programs is governed by the faculty who teach in them and the schools that offer them. That said, a degree of similarity among programs has evolved over the last 50 years, mainly through the efforts of a scholarly society, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) [5].

On the training front, minimum standards are established in each of the states by what are generically termed POSTs — Police Officer Standards and Training Commissions. Most of these state-level regulatory bodies were created since the 1970s. In recent years, despite the reality of 50 separate administrative systems, police training curricula have substantially converged and cooperation between the states has been achieved through the professional network of POSTs, known as the International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training (IADLEST) [6].

The end product of the extremely fragmented American system is not as dreadful as it might sound. First, it should be understood that most police agencies hire applicants at age 21. Since secondary school typically ends at age 18, young people interested in policing usually enrol in college, join the military, or work at some other occupation for a few years before they can begin their police career. Consequently, while few po-

lice departments require applicants to have completed a higher education degree, a surprising number do so anyway. National data are sketchy, but three recent multi-agency studies found that almost all police personnel have at least some post-secondary education and roughly one-half have a 4-year university degree (Hilal and Densley, 2013; Paoline et al., 2014) [7].

The average length of basic police academy training in the United States is about 20 weeks (Reaves, 2016). At first glance this seems short by international standards, but again, most police have had some college or even a 4-year degree before entering this training phase. Also, after graduating from basic training, police are required to satisfactorily complete a formal field training phase that averages about 12 weeks, during which they get additional coaching and have to demonstrate competence in the skills they learned in the academy. In sum, therefore, the total average accumulation of education and training of beginning police in the United States is probably comparable to most other western countries. It should be noted that this refers to all police in the United States — that is, not just new lieutenants as in some countries, but every new police person, all of whom begin their careers as front-line first responders [8].

Recent trends and issues

In the realm of US police training, two well-established trends can be identified along with one critical issue of more recent vintage:

1. Requiring aspiring police to complete their basic police training before being hired has become increasingly common over the past 10-20 years. Under this model, a person interested in a police career applies for admission to a police academy and, if accepted, attends the academy at personal expense, that is, they pay the tuition cost and earn no salary as they are not yet an employee of a law enforcement agency. Upon graduation, they are then 'certified' and can seek employment, without any guar-

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[4] Some programs are now labeled 'criminal justice and criminology' or vice versa.

[5] See http://www.acjs.org, including a set of voluntary standards at http://www.acjs.org/page/Certification

[6] See http://iadlest.org/. Links to each of the 50 state POSTs are at http://iadlest.org/POSTPortal.aspx

[7] The third study is this author's analysis of LEO C survey data collected from 89 agencies by the National Police Research Platform between October 2014 and February 2015. Information about the Platform project is available at http://www.nationalpoliceresearch.org/

[8] The term 'police officer' is commonly used in the U.S. but it refers to every police person, that is, not just lieutenants and above, but police of every rank including the lowest.

antee that they will get hired into a police position. The main impetus behind this system is financial — the individual bears the cost of initial police training rather than the police agency (i.e. the taxpayer). In states that have adopted this model, larger agencies often still operate their own academies, despite the expense, but smaller agencies usually hire only those officers who are already certified, at a significant cost savings.

2. Also over the last 10-20 years, police training has increasingly adopted teaching methods associated with adult learning and problem-based learning. Many police academies have reduced their reliance on the lecture method of teaching, instead using more scenarios, problem situations, case studies, role playing and similar techniques. This shift is based on a better understanding of how adults learn, as well as a desire to put more emphasis on integrating and applying knowledge and skills, rather than memorization and regurgitation of massive amounts of information.

3. Most recently in the United States, a stronger focus on conflict management, crisis intervention, de-escalation, procedural justice, and implicit bias has swept into police training curricula in response to heightened public concern following police shootings and accusations of racial discrimination. Along with body-worn camera technology, enhanced training is widely seen as a key method for achieving greater police accountability and transparency, instilling a guardian rather than warrior mentality, reducing use of force, and easing the current crisis of police legitimacy (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; Police Executive Research Forum, 2016a; 2016b).

In the realm of police education, trends are less clear since the education system is so fragmented and not particularly responsive to influence by the law enforcement community. Three observations can be made:

1. Since the 1960s, criminal justice has grown to become one of the most popular university degree programs in the United States. It is the most common program of study for college and university students interested in police careers. Curricula, though, tend to be very broad with a mainly social-science orientation, rather than focused on law or police science. The recent adoption in Australia,

the United Kingdom, and some other countries of a more police-specific university curriculum has not been widely emulated in the United States.

2. The domination of the criminal justice model at the undergraduate level is also seen at the graduate level. Many mid-career police personnel pursue master's degrees for professional development and to position themselves for promotions and desirable assignments. Some migrate to programs in public administration or business administration, but most enrol in master's degree programs in criminal justice. At this graduate level, especially, it can be argued that the typical broad-based criminal justice curriculum fails to educate mid-career police in the scientific body of knowledge of their own profession (Cordner, 2016).

3. One clear trend in American higher education has been the proliferation of online degree programs, at both undergraduate and graduate levels, including ones in criminal justice. While quality issues are debated, the reality is that many students with an interest in policing are now obtaining educational credentials through online learning. Many of the online criminal justice degrees are offered by smaller and more obscure universities, but several of the leading providers are major universities already well-known for their on-campus criminal justice programs.

The evidence-based question

The question is, to what extent is all this police education and training in the United States evidence-based? Authoritatively answering that question would require a detailed assessment of the practices of some 2 700 police education and training providers, a mammoth effort that has not been undertaken. Instead we have to rely on piecemeal information and the impressions of knowledgeable observers, which admittedly is not the most evidence-based way to assess the evidence-based status of the enterprise, but it is the only option at present.

Before jumping into the fire, one consideration that seems necessary is to draw a distinction between the (1) content and (2) methods incorporated in police education and training. In other words, assessing the evidence-basis should look at both 'what is taught' and 'how it is taught.' In principle, what is taught might or

might not correspond to the best available evidence about what works in policing, and, as a separate issue, instructional methods might or might not be based on the best evidence concerning effective teaching and learning. The end result or outcome of police education and training is presumably dependent on both of these components, content and methods. To put it simplistically, if police are presented with the wrong

information, or taught in such a way that they do not learn, then police education and training cannot be said to be evidence-based.

Table 1 incorporates these two components, content and methods, and summarizes the author's sense of the evidence-based status of police education and training in the United States.

Table 1
Evidence-base of US police education and training

	Content	Methods	Overall
Education	Mixed: high academic standards for faculty; governed by scholarly values; little regulation or accountability over what is taught; dominated by the criminal justice model but limited focus on police	Weak: emphasis on lecture and knowledge accumulation; more teacher-focused than learner-focused; faculty are content experts but rarely have any expertise in teaching and learning methods	Weak: implementation of program assessment has been resisted; faculty decry 'objectification' and 'corporatization' of higher education and resist accountability as a threat to academic freedom
Training	Weak: pseudo-scientific content validation; slow to incorporate research results; influenced by traditional cultural beliefs as well as external press ures including the latest crisis or fad; deference shown to specialist instructors	Mixed: substantial adoption of problem-based learning and other hands-on, experiential learning models; but many still rely heavily on lecture and memorization as well as the stress/boot camp style of academy	Mixed: some commitment to instructional system design principles; standardized measurement of trainee reaction and learning are common with some feedback loops to assess impact on behaviour; but little or no effort to gauge impact on organizational outcomes

Education content. As noted earlier, most police education in the United States is provided by criminal justice programs located in colleges and universities. The academic credentials of faculty are quite strong, with terminal degrees normally required and with more and more Ph.D. programs producing new scholars focused on crime and justice. For this reason, even absent any data, we can be reasonably confident that the content of university courses reflects the latest and best knowledge in the field. Three factors give some reason for pause, however. One is that university faculty members typically have nearly complete control over what they teach in their assigned classes, with little or no consequences for the choices they make. This is great for creativity, diversity, and academic freedom, but it provides no assurance that a professor or a class actually covers the best available evidence pertinent to the subject at hand.

An exception to this fundamental feature of professorial independence is when a part-time instructor or adjunct instructor is assigned to teach a course. In this situation the institution is more likely to impose a syllabus and required textbook, establishing a degree of

control over what is taught, but at the same time the instructor is far less likely to be an expert on the evidence applicable to the course ([9]). Since some criminal justice programs rely very heavily on adjunct instructors, this can be a significant factor affecting the content that is taught and learned.

A third factor is that, as criminal justice curricula have evolved over the last 50 years, they have gotten broader and broader, which can be viewed as a positive development, but one result has been fewer and fewer courses specifically focused on policing ([10]). In concert with this broadening of the academic field, the proportion of new faculty members who are specialized in policing has become relatively small. The net effect of this evolution has arguably been beneficial for criminal justice higher education, since it now includes something of interest for nearly everyone, but it has occurred at the expense of police education, which

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([9]) Part-time and adjunct instructors tend to be practitioners with some graduate-level education.

([10]) The evolution of police education in the U.S. is described in more detail in Cordner (2016).

has been confined to an ever-smaller corner of the field and the curriculum.

Education methods. There is less reason to be positive about the extent to which the instructional methods used in police education are evidence-based. The professors who teach criminal justice usually have little or no training in the science of teaching and learning, since the focus of doctoral programs is on creating researchers and content experts, not effective teachers. Also, the reward system in American higher education generally prioritizes publishing over teaching, so faculty members are encouraged to be efficient in their teaching, in order to leave more time for research. This tends to lead to lecture-style classes and machine-gradable testing, neither of which correlate positively with higher-level student learning or the development of skills in critical thinking, problem solving, and written communication ([11]).

A related factor is the bright line between police education and police training in the United States. There is an understandable historical reason for this division — when police education first got started in the early to middle 1900s, systematic police training had not yet developed, so the original university programs in police science and police administration often included classes on firearms, arrest techniques, traffic enforcement, evidence collection, interviewing, and so forth. Then, in the 1960s and 1970s when police training began to achieve its own independent institutional standing, and the educational arena shifted to criminal justice, anything remotely associated with the practical aspects of policing was relegated to the training category. Today, therefore, even though it might be true that learning occurs best when knowledge and practice are integrated, a relatively impenetrable wall separates the two worlds of police education and police training.

Police education overall. An overall review of the degree to which US police education is evidence-based has to conclude pessimistically. One very high-level indicator is that studies of police attitudes and behaviour rarely find much difference between those with a college degree and those without (Paoline et al., 2014). While conclusions from this large body of research are difficult to draw because of methodological deficiencies, one can only imagine the consternation that

would arise if we had a similar set of studies showing no differences between those who had completed police training and those who had no training.

One potentially positive trend is a growing emphasis on program assessment in higher education generally, thanks to pressure from accrediting bodies. Criminal justice programs, however, like others in the social sciences and liberal arts, have so far struggled to define and measure what they are supposed to accomplish, how well they are doing, and what changes would make them more effective. In essence this movement toward program assessment is intended to make higher education more evidence-based, but it is yet to be seen whether it will have any impact on the actual practice of criminal justice or police education.

Moreover, many university faculty members, including those in criminal justice, resist program assessment because they view it as representative of a narrow vocational or corporate approach to education that is antithetical to the traditional intellectual and humanist values of academia. To others, however, this resistance to assessment just seems like an effort to avoid accountability. The cultural and philosophical gap between the call for an evidence-based approach to higher education and how some criminal justice professors see their role is quite substantial and seems likely to constrain any impact that program assessment might otherwise have ([12]).

Training content. Police trainers and training institutions operate with much less autonomy compared to higher education. Police academy curricula, learning objectives, and standardized tests are typically mandated through state regulation, ideally based on systematic job-task analyses. Trainers are expected to teach the curriculum and ensure that learning objectives are met, leaving them with much less discretion in deciding what to teach, in contrast to university professors.

Nevertheless, there are several reasons to doubt the extent to which police training content really is evidence-based. One is that the job-task analysis methodology designed to ensure a valid connection between training content and the police job is rather superficial and has never successfully penetrated the core elements of policing. Job-task studies, based on

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([11]) Which are exactly the skills that U.S. police executives say they look for when hiring new police (Cordner & Cordner, 2014).

([12]) The irony that many academics feel justified in criticizing the police for lacking of accountability is discussed by Bayley (2011).

questionnaires completed by job incumbents, have been useful in determining how often police actually scale a 5-foot wall, chase a suspect on foot, or push a vehicle out of the roadway. But those kinds of studies seem to consistently miss the fact that the two most frequent behaviours police engage in with the public are talking and listening — we only know that from social science research, not from job-task analyses, and consequently it is not usually reflected in police training curricula. Similarly, we know from research that the most frequent decisions that police make are whether to stop a vehicle, whether to stop a person, and whether to intervene in a possibly suspicious situation — but training tends to focus much more on how to conduct those actions, rather than on how to observe and interpret public behaviour in the first place, and then decide whether to act or not.

Along this line, most training academies and state-level training directorates lack any mechanism or capacity for ensuring that their curricula and courses are evidence-based. While the national government, professional associations, think tanks, and others in the United States make some effort to compile and update the state of knowledge about policing, practitioners, including trainers, complain that much of the research is irrelevant, inaccessible, or incomprehensible to them. Training instructors are expected to have expertise in the subjects they teach, but that usually refers to current practices, not necessarily best practices or the empirical evidence about what works. Also, those who serve as full-time trainers are often 'in the classroom' nearly every working hour, so they have little time to enhance their own knowledge and awareness of evidence, even if they are inclined to try. Part-time trainers are even less likely to have opportunities to master the scientific evidence-base of the subjects they teach, since they generally fill some full-time police job except when they are called in to teach a particular segment of a course.

Another impediment to evidence-based content is that police training curricula are influenced by strong external forces. Probably the strongest is civil litigation — government lawyers push hard for training, or longer training, on topics associated with the potential for lawsuits. Their objective is to strengthen their hand in the event of a lawsuit against the police alleging misconduct. Whether there is any scientific evidence underlying the training does not particularly matter. Another external force is politics and public opinion.

Particular training topics are sometimes legislatively mandated, and even repeated annually for years and years, because elected officials or pressure groups believe that they are important and will fix some deficit in police performance. Naturally, these kinds of externally-imposed training mandates sometimes address real needs but just as often are merely symbolic or reactionary. What they generally are not is evidence based.

A final factor affecting the evidence base of training content is that instructors of key technical subjects are often shown considerable deference, especially on those subjects related to use of force and police officer safety. Ironically, in some respects these particular subjects are most amenable to an evidence-based approach, since they involve discrete events and behaviours that are regularly scrutinized by researchers. However, they also go to the heart of police values, culture, and tradition. Police leaders have typically left the details of self-defence and weapons training to 'the experts' (their trainers) whose beliefs tend to be based more on experience and personal preference than on in-depth analysis or evidence about what works best (Morrison and Garner, 2011; Hundersmarck et al., 2016).

Training methods. As noted earlier, US police training has been quicker than universities and professors to adopt adult-learning and problem-based methods. An important push in this direction came in the 1990s when officials became aware of changes that had been implemented at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) academy which significantly enhanced the skill levels of graduating trainees (Himelfarb, 1997). The US Office of Community Oriented Policing Services subsequently encouraged police agencies and academies to adopt adult-learning methods (Cleveland and Saville, 2007) and later a Police Society for Problem Based Learning was established ([13]).

Although many academies have implemented these adult-learning methods on the premise that they lead to higher-level learning and more integration of knowledge and practice, adoption has been far from universal. Instructors who have grown comfortable with Powerpoint-aided lecture and discussion frequently resist making the shift to a student-centred, discovery-learning, teacher-as-facilitator model. Risk-averse training administrators (and their lawyers) may also be reluctant to implement a model that seems less structured and predictable. In addition, nearly half of

([13]) See http://www.pspbl.org/

US police academies still lean in the direction of the military-style stress format (Reaves, 2016) which is, in some respects, contradictory to the student-centred discovery-learning model. This continuing influence of stress-based training is not based on any scientific evidence but rather on strongly-held and longstanding beliefs and traditions.

Police training overall: At the very least, US police training seems to try harder than police education to be evidence based. As described above, curricula are generally informed by a detailed analysis of the work for which trainees are preparing. Many training institutions formally utilize the instructional systems design (ISD) model to systematically structure training, assess courses, and make changes based on feedback. Staff almost always assess student reaction to the training (were they engaged, was it interesting, how useful do they think it was) using standard instruments, as well as test to measure student learning, so that instructors and courses can be compared and tracked over time. Less common, unfortunately, is follow-up assessment to determine the impact of the training on individuals' subsequent behaviour and performance on the job (Lum et al., 2016: 34-38). The gold standard of training evaluation — did the training result in improved organizational effectiveness, and if so, did the benefit exceed the cost — is rarely even contemplated, much less attempted.

Conclusion

While we do not really have a measure of the extent to which US police education and training are evidence based, there is clearly a lot of room for improvement. But there are also some positive signs. For example, training on fair and impartial policing, which is directly based on the science of unconscious and implicit bias, is currently being delivered all over the country (James et al., 2016). In response to the problem of false confessions and also the misguided use of 'enhanced interrogation' of terrorism suspects, more scientifically-sound techniques for interviewing and interrogation have been developed and are being adopted in police training (Johnson, 2015). And the President's 21st Century Task Force (2015: 51-60) offered 13 training and education recommendations, including a research agenda to support police academy curricula, establishment of training innovation hubs, and creation of a national postgraduate institute of policing. If these recommendations are implemented, and if the momentum behind evidence-based policing continues, a more positive assessment of the rationale and science underlying police education and training in the United States should be possible in the near future.

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CEPOL

Trends and challenges for law enforcement training and education: the German perspective

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Abstract:

The ever-faster innovation cycles of social, political, scientific and police-related developments make specific demands on the job of law enforcement officers. This will be explained by the example of four crime-strategic mega trends. This situation calls for high-quality education work, in terms of both basic training courses, the tertiary education sector, and the field of lifelong learning, the quaternary education sector. In this context, the area of non-formalised education is also of considerable importance and will be the subject of discussion. Here decisive importance is attached to electronic social communication forms.

Bearing in mind that the half-life of knowledge is getting shorter and shorter, education and training will qualify law enforcement officers to fulfil their tasks and their mandates for the community in the light of citizen-oriented police work, particularly when it comes to actions of a considerably intrusive character. Based on the concept that the state holds the monopoly on the use of force, the police — as part of public administration — have the possibility to infringe the rights of citizens in a comprehensive way. Therefore, police work is governed by specific impact and control mechanisms, as well as questions of legitimacy.

Against this background, policing is based on value judgments enshrined in the German constitution. They are ethical rules of conduct to be applied to policing.

We need a target system of corresponding education and training work, developed between and permanently aligned with client and training institutions. Moreover, we need an increasing transfer of knowledge and competences, and defined abilities must be extended and strengthened. For this purpose, concrete methods, competences and capabilities will be dealt with. Here the paper will deal with the challenges and describe developments and solutions from the German point of view with the help of five impulses.

Trends and challenges for law enforcement training and education: the German perspective

Let us imagine that a young adult of 20 years of age will start their internal bachelor's studies at a police university of applied sciences in a German federal state and will start their professional career today in the German police. And let us further imagine that they will work for several years and then complete their master's studies. This will be in 2026 at the earliest. After that, by the time they retire, this young adult will have taken part in many formats of further training and education activities during their career as a senior police officer within the German model.

From the point of view of this young adult, i.e. training for the German senior police service, after a brief overview of tasks of the German Police University (Deutsche Hochschule der Polizei) I will first of all deal with the parameters which in our opinion are of special relevance for the trends and challenges of law enforcement training and education in general and

for the further training and education of senior police officers in particular.

Then, based on these parameters, I mention five impulses for you to think about, discuss them and then come to a conclusion.

I begin with the tasks of the German Police University, these are as follows.

- Training and education for the senior police services of all German federal states and federal authorities; thus currently a place of study for 280 students.

- Master's study course in public administration 'Police management', full time, fully paid, 120 ECTS.

- Further education and training activities, targeted at about 3 000 participants from Germany and abroad, 70 training activities per year with a duration of between 2 days and 2 weeks, participants come from all German federal states and European countries.

- Continued professional training as a refresher course.

- Occasion- and function-related further training and education activities.

- Workplace for 195 employees, international cooperation.

- Research and science, in particular development of police science, several third-party-financed research projects in cooperation with other partners.

- University character with the right to award doctorates.

- University members (professors, research assistants, teaching staff with special tasks).

- Thirty-four university teachers, nine of them university professors, six police officers with the same status as professors.

- The right to award doctorates as stipulated in university law.

- Four doctoral degrees, seven concluded PhD examination procedures.

The parameters with special relevance for the trends and challenges of law enforcement training and education in general, and for the further training and education of senior police officers in particular, are as follows.

From the international point of view, we witness four dominating mega trends that over the next several years will have a lasting impact on the work of law enforcement authorities.

We are confronted with the criminal strategic mega trends of migration, of cybercrime and of demographic change, which will have a considerable influence on our community and on the various existing or new forms of crime. And all this happens with a very high speed of innovation. So, for example, 10 years ago there were no smartphones, and without smartphones today's migration flows would not be possible. The example of cybercrime shows us the developments we have to include in our crime prevention and crime combating strategies. So, for example, illegal services for committing crimes can be booked on the internet 'as crime as a service'; the Darknet provides a whole range of platforms for the illegal trafficking of drugs or arms. And often this is done with no connection between crime and criminal. Trading is done in virtual currencies. And the possibilities of anonymisation of course make identification even more difficult.

In addition to this traditional field of criminal justice governed by the respective national and international regulations, decisive importance has to be attributed to further fields of action.

Firstly: The field of prevention. Do we recognise factors we can improve in order not to allow crime to develop at all? The many approaches to preventing corruption are a very good example of this.

Secondly: The field of national and international cooperation and collaboration across authorities and institutions.

Here we depend on partners from private industry, for example in the field of fighting cybercrime, or the international exchange of information when fighting organised crime or fighting international terrorism, for example with Europol and with the establishment of joint investigation

teams as a formal framework of international cooperation among different national investigation authorities.

Thirdly: The field of citizen and community orientation. In a democratic society, state institutions can only exercise their sometimes intensive intervention measures, such as telecommunications surveillance, if there is a legal basis and if this is accepted by the community. This of course leads to tensions such as security versus freedom or secrecy versus transparency. Dealing with all this, making the right individual decisions and accepting official responsibility for these decisions are responsibilities which are not always easy to bear.

Fourthly: The field of permanently reviewing the structures and workflows in one's own organisation. This includes organisational and internal administrative processes in the same way as the questions of whether in all cases the right person is at the right place and whether our colleagues are qualified enough for their corresponding jobs.

All this has to be done against a background of tight budgets.

In addition, our democratic civil societies today require that steps by national organisations be implemented in a transparent way or explained to the elected parliament and the public afterwards.

This increasingly calls for management skills and management competencies on the part of senior officers.

From the German point of view, we see the role of the police as a civilian police force — which in addition to all of that has to deal with fields of conflict inherent in a democratic society, such as transparency versus secrecy or generalisation versus specialisation.

Therefore, the civil degrees of police education in accordance with the Bologna criteria are of special relevance.

This leads us to the following conclusions and consequences for the training and education of senior police officers.

All policing has to be based on the values enshrined in the constitution. They are ethical guiding principles for senior police officers when performing their police work and for staff management decisions. They determine the role of the police within the state and society.

In this context, the police not only have to try and find legally justifiable solutions but also solutions which will allow them to find a balance between conflicting interests and thus contribute to inner peace.

The study course will enable our students to lead major police authorities and police units; to manage police operations in their capacity as senior police officers; to perform special tasks in central authorities at federal and state level, in supreme federal and state authorities and international police cooperation institutions; and to contribute to the training and further education of police officers. With regard to the strategic dimension of police leadership behaviour, the master's study course will enable them to undergo a change in perspective by focusing on the leading management level.

For these reasons, in addition to the transfer of scientifically based expert and management knowledge, the master's study course will in particular be directed at the development and strengthening of the following capabilities.

- Perspective, methodical-analytical thinking which will deepen an understanding of the correlations between state, society, politics, law and the police.

- Citizen-oriented leadership behaviour and convincing representation of the police in public.

- Cooperation involving not only the federal government and German state level, but also international cooperation and responsible cooperation with other institutions.

- Development and implementation of action targets and conceptions, while at the same time taking economic aspects into consideration.

- Management behaviour in the sense of a modern cooperative understanding of leadership.

- Conflict avoidance and competent conflict management.

- Further development of intercultural competence against a background of the wide range of management tasks.

- Reflection of policing and management leadership, particularly in terms of ethical criteria.

- Analysis and organisation of one's own working behaviour, in addition to appropriate and suitable use of personal resources, particularly in stressful situations.

- Assessment of the significance and validity of scientific findings, while at the same time considering the methods used.

- Application of scientific methods to structure and analyse problems of policing.

- Contribution to the development and implementation of a zero-error culture in policing.

- Autonomous and continuous enlargement of one's professional know-how and of its application to complex requirements.

For the training and further education of our target group of master's students, our future senior police officers, all this will lead to various trends and challenges on which I would like to give you five impulses to think about:

Impulse 1:
Learning from each other

Students with job experience already have great knowledge. Therefore, our priority must be to make sure that they will develop and convincingly state their own ideas and positions, and finally develop the ability to take over responsibility for them as a police authority. For this to be achieved, corresponding formats have to be offered during the study course. We have developed our curriculum accordingly, and on 1 October 2016 will start for the first time to offer a choice of two modules with a total of 10 ECTS (300 hours). Here, depending on their interests, the students can go deeper into the content of the courses and defend their position in front of their classmates.

Impulse 2:
Academisation and internationalisation of practice-oriented education for police officers

To adequately consider the various aspects of the wide variety of police management tasks, an interdisciplinary approach to police education and training is required for independent specialised study courses and training formats. Here the aspect of police practice will also be of special importance in the future. In this context, we started a process 10 years ago to transform the then Police Senior Staff Academy (Polizei-Führungsakademie) into a special university and to equip this university with academic and police faculties. A further step towards improving quality is the development of an international perspective. For this to be achieved, we are presently working on an internationalisation strategy for the German Police University. Some elements of this strategy have already been implemented in some modules and training formats.

Impulse 3:
Research-driven teaching

In addition to requirements derived from practical police work, we are convinced that it is necessary to integrate our own research or the research results of other institutions into our teaching. This will allow senior police officers to also include future developments in their leadership behaviour. For this purpose, we have already carried out various research projects via third-party budgets and have included them accordingly in our training and education.

Moreover, the master's theses of the students, as well as PhD theses, are suitable formats for this.

Impulse 4:
Lifelong learning via national and international further training

Given the enormous speed of innovation, lifelong learning is of increasing importance.

Whereas 10 years ago cyber issues were of secondary importance for senior police managers, today a certain expert knowledge in this field is required for a senior po-

lice officer's daily routine. For this purpose corresponding formats have to be developed and provided. And just to mention it here, in my view online training activities are only suitable for senior police officers to a limited extent. They can be useful in addition to further training.

Impulse 5:
Permanent comparison with the needs of practice

In our opinion, training and education should always correspond to the needs of our clients arising from professional practice. This requirement is of supreme significance, particularly if, as in Germany, the training and education percentage lies between 1 and 1.5 % of the annual working time. This is also particularly important for the assessment of trends and challenges.

As an example, for the first time we have carried out a combined survey of graduates and their superiors. This was done to gain extensive information about the professional situation of our master's graduates and to derive incentives for the future development of our master's study course. This survey was carried out as a nationwide full survey of the graduation years 2009, 2010 and 2011, and among all members of the German senior police service who are actual or potential superiors of the graduates.

Methodically, the survey was based on the successful survey called 'Comparison of the *"Berufswertigkeit"* of specific professional further qualification degrees and university degrees' of the University of Cologne, commissioned by the Westdeutsche Handwerkskammertag (West German Chamber of Crafts Council).

By interviewing superiors, the detailed demands made on leading managers and their significance from the superior's point of view were identified. In addition to closed-competence items which were established via a prior analysis of the contents of the curriculum of the master's study course and assigned to the competence areas of 'professional competence', 'methodical competence', 'social competence' and 'self-competence', in free text fields the superiors could mention further requirements in combination with a prioritisation between 'must', 'should' and 'can'.

The survey among the graduates included a survey on job satisfaction and an assessment of the usefulness of the competences gained during the study course for the first job after graduating. Moreover, the significance of the competences from the point of view of the graduates, linked to an assessment of their own expert status, was requested. The survey moreover attached special importance to the recording of the key activities of the graduates immediately after having finished their studies. The survey was carried out from 22 May to 31 August 2012.

The implementation of graduate surveys has been included in the evaluation concept of the German Police University and will in future be a permanent element of the quality assurance of study and teaching. The results of the graduate survey based on this and further detailed evaluations have been included in the revision of the curriculum of the master's study course. Moreover, the results will be discussed with graduates and students in order to serve as a basis for the further development of the study courses.

In the medium and long term, graduate surveys as longitudinal analyses will provide information on the development of the master's study course and the profession.

At present, we are preparing a second graduate survey.

Against a background of mega trends and the fields of action presented with the corresponding innovation cycles, the transfer and development of competences is of central importance. By means of lifelong learning, the required professional content will be offered as part of further training activities. I hope that these five suggestions have given you some ideas and I am looking forward to further discussion.

Depending on the German state our young adult mentioned at the beginning comes from, they will have spent between 6 and 8 years of their working life on training and education measures by the time they retire. And with my explanations and suggestions we have given them the competences and subjects they will use in fulfilling the many tasks in the course of their professional life.

The Spanish National Police training system

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Abstract

In this contribution it is intended to give an overall view of the training taught in the Spanish National Police Training Division. The Training Division consists of different centres and its structure takes into account the type of student and training needed in each case. In recent years there has been a qualitative shift in training, with enhanced cooperation with the university in master's degrees, specialisation courses and other activities. Moreover the training of sergeants and inspectors is recognised by the Ministry of Education by an official degree (equivalency) and an official master's degree respectively. The specialisation of courses has also increased, as new crime trends constantly emerge and the police need to give the most appropriate answer implementing new methods. This presentation is divided into three parts: competences and structure of the training and improvement division; the implementation of a training programme; and the main challenges in training for the future.

Keywords: training; improvement; cooperation; university; service.

Competences and structure of the training and improvement division

The Training and Improvement Division of the Spanish National Police has the following **competences:**

- selection and training of candidates who have passed their public examinations;

- training of officers in promotion courses;

- updating courses;

- specialisation courses.

The **structure** of the Training and Improvement Division has to do with the above mentioned competences.

Figure 1: Structure of the Training and Improvement Division

1.1. National Police Academy (ENP — Escuela nacional de Policía)

Located in Ávila, a town with a population of approximately 62 000 inhabitants, the National Police Academy is 115 km from Madrid. Ávila is located at an altitude of 1 140 m above sea level. In 1982 the city was declared Word Heritage Site by Unesco.

The National Police Academy became operational in 1986. It is already 30 years since the academy started its activities, and for that reason various celebrations for the anniversary took place in 2016.

It covers an area of 500 000 m^2, with buildings covering 220 000 m^2. We can distinguish four main zones: training, sports, residence and common areas.

- Training: classrooms, an auditorium for nearly 900 people and a conference hall for 130 people, along with several indoor and outdoor shooting ranges.

- Sports: an athletics track, a football field, two basketball courts, three volleyball courts, two handball fields, four tennis courts, an indoor multisport centre, a 300 m^2 tatami floor, a weights room, a 50 m indoor pool, table-tennis area, sauna and dressing rooms.

- Residence: 10 buildings to host the students.

- Common area: four dining rooms, two coffee shops, laundry, print shop, museum and library.

The National Police Academy is located in Ávila

1.1.1. Training

The training is different for those who have passed the examinations to enter the police force and those who have been promoted.

In the case of police constables, the professional training lasts 9 months (September-June) and is followed by a probationary period (12 months) in police stations all around the country.

Inspectors study for a master's degree, which takes two academic years (120 ECTS) and is also followed of a probationary period (7 months). In this case an agreement was signed in 2016 with the Catholic University of Ávila. previously, for 29 years, there was a cooperation agreement with the University of Salamanca. The university's professors and police officers work together preparing course content and teaching.

Pictures of the National Police Academy

In this academy training is also provided for officers who have been promoted to senior police officers, sergeants or inspectors. A distinction should be made between those students who already are police officers and those who have just joined the police, as this difference involves the different study plans.

The training provided at the National Police Academy has been adapted to university pedagogic methods. Since 2009, a police inspector gets an official master's degree after finishing the 2-year course at the National Police Academy. Changes were made 2 years ago to the study plan for sergeants, who get an official degree (equivalence) in public security issued by the University of Salamanca.

The procedure for drawing up the curriculum of the course for sergeants was very demanding, as the traditional training had to be adapted to new requirements, i.e. the design of the general, specific and transversal competences the students need to reach. This is a very important achievement and is the result of laborious and hard work by the teachers involved in it.

Those students who have passed their examinations to become local police officers are also trained at the National Police Academy. So far, constables from the Madrid local police and the Castile and Leon local police have been trained, as seen in the table below.

The public employment offer made by the Spanish government last year increased the possibility of training for more police officers in 2016, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1
Courses in the National Police Academy, 2015/2016 and 2016/2017

ENP	Students 2015/2016	Students 2016/2017
Inspectors (first course)	176	226
Inspectors (second course)	151	176
Sergeants	146	210
Senior police constables	200	203
Police constables	262	1 305
Madrid local police	167	
Castile and Leon local police	16	
Total	1 118	

1.1.2. Iberpol

The National Police Academy hosts the Permanent Secretariat of Iberpol (Escuela Iberoamericana de Policía). Iberpol was recently created; it is an initiative that brings together 18 Latin American countries with the aim of cooperating against organised crime, encouraging both continuous improvement in this respect and the exchange of good practices. The first meeting was held in Salamanca in April 2015, and the Iberpol Virtual campus has already been set up.

Table 2
Iberpol courses 2015

ENP — Iberpol 2015	Courses	Students
Face-to-face	3	52
Online	1	243
Total	4	295

Officers from other countries are also trained in the National Police Academy course for police inspectors. In 2015 the following nationalities were represented: Algerian, Chilean, Colombian, Moroccan, Mauritanian, Mexican, Nigerien and Peruvian. Five students from Chile and Mexico will be trained in our facilities in the 2016/2017 course. The number of foreign students has been reduced as the scholarship budget has decreased.

1.2. Higher Police Studies Centre (CAEP — Centro de altos estudios policiales)

The Higher Police Studies Centre and the Updating and Specialisation Centre are located in Madrid, in a beautiful old building which was firstly intended to host the College of Orphans of the National Police. In the Spanish Civil War the facilities of this large building were used as a military hospital. The building has recently been renovated, though its original appearance has been preserved.

Pictures of the Higher Police Studies Centre, Madrid

In the Higher Police Studies Centre, training is given to officers who have been promoted to chief inspector, superintendent or commissioner.

This training is very specific, as students will be the police chiefs in the future. The training is provided by officers of the most renowned units, but for some specific matters and subjects we request the cooperation of well-known professionals, including university professors, technicians and magistrates.

Table 3
Courses in the Higher Police Studies Centre, 2015

CAEP — 2015	Students
Commissioner	20
Superintendent	35
Chief Inspector	49
Total	104

The textbooks and exams for those students seeking promotion, not included in the above summary table, are also produced in the Higher Police Studies Centre. More than 1 500 police officers seeking promotion are called for exams every year.

For the first time the heads of the Madrid local police have been trained in our premises. The course was initiated in January 2016 and 22 officers of the highest rank of this local police force were trained by means of a 5-month course (390 hours).

1.2.1. Police Studies Institute (IEP — Instituto de estudios de la policía)

This institute is part of the Higher Police Studies Centre and its main tasks are as follows.

• Gathering information and analysing social needs related to National Police Corps duties.

• Cooperation with universities and other scientific institutions in developing courses and projects.

• Investigating, promoting and developing new methods and professional proceedings.

As a result of the abovementioned tasks the following activities have been developed.

- Master's in security strategic management.
  The students are police chiefs who need to improve their knowledge in this field. The third edition of this master's was initiated in September 2016 in co-operation with Universidad Rey Juan Carlos.

- Master's in cybercrime.
  In this case the master's is aimed at chief inspectors, inspectors or sergeants who are the heads of groups or units tackling cybercrime. The first edition was initiated in October 2016. The university cooperating in this master's is the Universidad Nebrija.

- Advanced university course in management.
  The profile of the students is very specific: superintendents or chief inspectors who are the heads of units and who have to cope with the management of human and technical resources. The fifth edition of this course will be initiated in January 2017. In this case the cooperation agreement was signed with IE University.

- University expert degree in communication and security.
  This course is aimed at police officers in charge of press offices.

New communication tools are used by the police with very good results. More than 2 million people are followers of the National Police on Twitter. For this specific course an agreement was signed with the Universidad CEU San Pablo.

- Summer courses in cooperation with the university.
  In July 2016 three seminars for 300 students were given in cooperation with the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos. As a result of the analysis of social needs, the following topics have been dealt with: hate crimes, bullying and jihadist terrorism. It is important to highlight that the presentation given by our police officers in the hate crimes seminar has been presented as an example of good practices in various forums (¹).

- Conferences and working sessions.
  Gender violence has been widely dealt with, but changes have been made in its protocol. For this reason, working sessions took place on this matter in November 2016 to update skills. It is intended that educational activities will take place over the next several months focusing on diversity and equality of opportunities and on animal mistreatment, as so far not much attention has been paid to these fields.

- The Police Studies Institute has cooperated in the implementation of the European joint master's in strategic border management (Frontex).

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(¹) Diario El País, 2 May 2016, 'EU includes the Spanish Protocol Against Hate Crimes as an example of good practices'. http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2016/05/02/actualidad/1462210916_840119.html

Table 4
Police Studies Institute courses, 2015

CAEP-IEP —2015	Students
Master's degree in security strategic management	31
Advanced university course in management	24
University expert degree in communication and security	30
Summer courses (hate crimes, jihadist terrorism and cybercrime)	382
Open classroom conference on new security challenges	377
Workshop on cybercrime	265
Total	1109

1.3. Updating and Specialisation Centre
(CAE — Centro de Actualisación y Especialización)

The main tasks of this centre are as follows.

- Updating and specialisation courses in all areas of responsibility of the National Police Corps (counter-terrorism, criminal police, public order, aliens and borders, and public order).

- Distance learning courses by means of the Moodle platform.

- Cooperation with other institutions and police forces, at national and international level, including CE-POL, the judiciary and civil defence forces.

It is important to note the large number of students who are enrolled in distance-learning training, as this option allows students to be receive further training in certain areas that do not need face-to-face courses (criminal law, gender violence, proceedings with minors involved, etc.).

The following table lists the specialised police units that have received training, followed by the number of courses held and the overall number of students.

Table 5
Updating and Specialisation Centre courses, 2015

CAE-2015	Courses	Students
General management (specialised units)	84	2 853
Criminal police	52	2 002
Public order	111	12 155
Counterterrorism	80	1 688
Forensics	70	1 552
Aliens and borders	23	1 019
Human resources	46	1 078
Economic and technical division	242	3 359
Languages	119	28 164
Documentation unit	2	62
Distance learning courses	26	21 797
International	23	289
Total	878	76 018

1.3.1. Operational Activities Centre (CPO —
Centro de Prácticas Operativas)

This centre is located in Linares, a town in Andalusia with a population of approximately 60 000. Its huge outdoors facilities are used by specialised units in need of open areas for practical training exercises. It covers a total area of 76 205 m². It has 204 apartments, single- and two-storey houses and four school buildings along 15 streets.

These facilities are mainly used by riot units, bomb disposal experts and prevention and reaction units. The data regarding the number of courses and students are included in the above table, in the 'Public order' and 'Counterterrorism' fields.

Pictures of the Operational Activities Centre, Linares

1.4. Selection processes (procesos selectivos)

The exams for those who have applied to join the National Police are very similar: a knowledge test, a physical training exam, an aptitude test and a personal interview. Those candidates who want to join the police as an inspector need to do additional exams: a test to assess their English or French skills and also a case study.

Because of the economic situation, in recent years the number of applications to join the National Police has increased.

The selection processes area is also responsible for the selection process for those police officers who seeking promotion; the type of examination depends on the professional level they are seeking promotion to.

2. The implementation of a training programme

When a course is implemented, the work invested in and feedback received from previous similar courses is always taken into consideration in the preparation of the activity.

The training activities programme follows the schemes shown below.
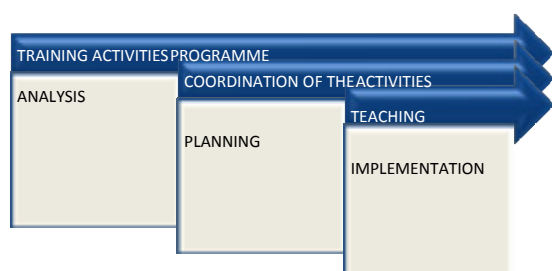
Figure 2: Implementation of a training programme

The aims of the training should be broader than the course itself. The main goal is a well-trained police force with knowledge of the following fields.

- The organisation, including its history, development and culture.

- The social dimension of our profession: code of ethics, human rights, attitudes and values, sense of belonging, etc.

- The technical aspects: abilities and technical expertise.

- Institutional relationships.

- Unified criteria at both tactical and operational level.

The training has been properly achieved if the police involved are personally enriched by it.
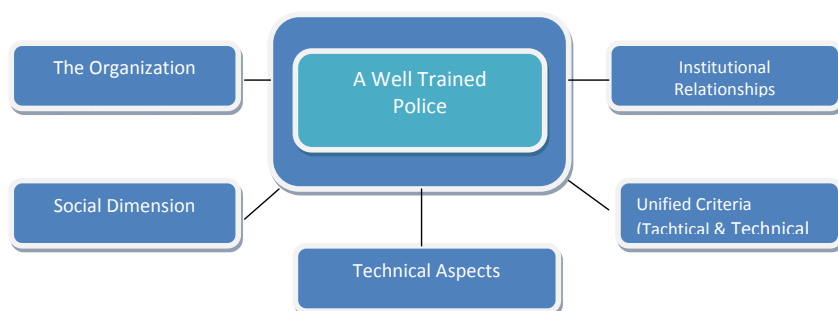
Figure 3: Requirements of a well-trained police force

3. The main challenges for the future

Cooperation with other institutions is the main point to consider. Over the last several years the Secretary of State for Security has signed cooperation agreements with many universities, as many of them have implemented degrees and post-graduate study courses having to do with public security.

Last May, at the closing of the Advanced university course in management, the general director of the National Police said eight **new master's degrees** would be implemented in the coming years, as specialised training is the only means of staying up to date.

Online teaching has to explore new possibilities for training students in more fields of knowledge, as this is a good option for reaching more students and can be constantly updated.

Training in **languages.** Language training is a priority in the National Police Academy. It is intended that bilingual education will be implemented over the next several years.

Retraining of teachers in the National Police Academy. Every summer teachers from the academy visit police stations or headquarters in order to be updated in procedures and investigation methods.

The Hungarian law enforcement education system at the National University of Public Service:
the best practice of Hungary

Gábor Kovács

Hungary

Abstract:

In Hungary the mission of the National University of Public Service (NUPS) is to prepare the staff of the public service administration, military organisations and law enforcement organisations at bachelor's, master's and PhD level. The NUPS is one of the unique universities in the European Higher Education Area.

Over the last few decades the security challenges, environment and needs of law enforcement organisations have changed. The last 5 years have proved that the NUPS has found the solution to the current challenges. A completely new law enforcement education programme was developed. The result was that this new approach and the vital changes were very successful. We can see the results of these changes. Our students are well educated; during the education and training process they receive all the knowledge that they will need for a successful law enforcement career.

The reader will gain a full insight into the work of the NUPS Faculty of Law Enforcement and the practices and experiences that can successfully be adapted to their own work.

Keywords: law enforcement education; practice-oriented training; policing; National University of Public Service.

On 1 January 2012 the National University of Public Service (NUPS) was established. It is governed by several different ministries: the Ministry of Justice, the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade ([1]). The representatives of the aforementioned institutions — the joint Governing Board — supervise and guide the activities of the university ([2]).

In Hungary the NUPS is a middle-sized university. We have roughly 6 500 students and 300 lecturers. The aim of the establishment of the university was to strengthen national loyalty and professionalism within the Hun-

garian public service. This effort requires strong cooperation between the civil public administration, the military and law enforcement. The joint public exercise that is performed every year helps to reach these goals.

1. Faculties of the NUPS

Faculty of Military Sciences and Officer Training

The Faculty of Military Sciences and Officer Training is responsible for providing staff (officers, senior officers and experts in the security sector) for the Ministry of Defence. The aim of this faculty is to train professional military officers in the fields of artillery, infantry, reconnaissance, air defence, military engineering and logistics. The faculty is the only high-level military institution (providing bachelor's and master's degrees, along

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([1]) 2011. XXXVI. 1. §. *Establishment Law at the University of Public Service*, Hungarian Gazette Nr.: 33. Budapest, 2011. http://www.complex.hu/kzldat/t1300129.htm/t1300129_3.htm, 14.12.2016.

([2]) 2011. XXXVI. 2. §. *Establishment Law at the University of Public Service*, Hungarian Gazette Nr.: 33. Budapest, 2011. http://www.complex.hu/kzldat/t1300129.htm/t1300129_3.htm, 14.12.2016.

with PhDs) in Hungary. It follows the training tradition of the more than 200-year-old Ludovika Academy.

Faculty of Public Administration

The legal predecessor of the Faculty of Public Administration's history is more than 45 years old. During these years, the predecessor institution provided the heads of the state administration. The Hungarian public administration system reflects the good governance model (³). According to this model the state administration needs highly qualified experts who are able to manage the change and development procedure in the Hungarian Public Service Administration. The faculty has an important role in the training of state public administrators at bachelor's, master's and PhD level.

Faculty of International and European Studies

This faculty is the youngest at the university. It was established on 1 February 2015. The faculty provides international and European studies and knowledge relating to a wide spectrum of public service, which prepares public service-related experts for an international career. Most of the students belong to law enforcement, the military or public service organisations. The faculty provides bachelor's and master's degrees, PhDs and LLLs for its applicants. The courses are in Hungarian and in English.

Faculty of Law Enforcement

The Law Enforcement Faculty — like the Military Faculty — is the only law enforcement institution in the Hungarian higher education area. The faculty is responsible for providing professional staff for the various law enforcement agencies.

- The Ministry of the Interior (the police, the prison service).
- The National Directorate-General for Disaster Management).
- The Ministry of Finance (National Tax and Customs Office).
- The private security sector (the Chamber of Bodyguards, Property Guards and Private Detectives).

(³) *Zoltan Magyary Public Administration Development Programme, For the salvation for the nation and in the service of the public,* Ministry of Public Administration and Justice, 31 August 2012. http://magyaryprogram.kormany.hu/, 21.12.2016.

Within the two main programmes providing qualifications for criminal administration managers and law enforcement administration managers, the faculty offers a wide range of specialised BA programmes such as criminal investigation, economic crime investigation, financial investigation, corrections, border policing, administrative policing, disaster management, public order policing, traffic policing, customs and excise administration, migration and private security.

The full-time and part-time BA programmes last for six semesters. In the future — from September 2018 — the full-time BA programme will last for eight semesters.

The master's in law enforcement management (full-time and part-time programmes) lasts for four semesters. The faculty also has accredited special training programmes for forensic experts and crime prevention managers. The faculty established the Law Enforcement PhD School in 2016.

2. Institute of Disaster Management

The Institute of Disaster Management organises disaster management training courses. In September 2013 a new disaster management speciality was launched, which has three specialisations: disaster management operations, fire protection and rescue management, and industrial safety.

The aim of tuition for the speciality in disaster management is to train talented managers for various forms of disaster protection.

3. Institute of Executive Training and Continuing Education

Besides a gradual education system, it is also among the tasks of the NUPS to provide further education and management training for professionals in public administration. The institute provides 1- and 2-year training courses in various subjects.

The aim of the training is to provide students with horizon-widening, multidisciplinary and deep knowledge. Currently, the registered subject areas are the following: personnel administration in the public sector, municipal finances, government budgetary control, customs administration, election adminis-

tration, modernisation of public administration, administrative software operation, public management, environment administration, public service communication, social administration, equal opportunities and minority protection, forensic expertise and fingerprint expertise.

Management training is an important task of the institute, which can be fulfilled in a modular system (basic module, professional module, special module, etc.).

4. Institute for National Security

The Institute for National Security oversees all tasks related to national security training and research.

5. The Common Public Service Module

The Common Public Service Module is a very important part of the teaching material. It provides the basic knowledge for the public service training based on this module. It includes 15 subjects, which provide possibilities for interoperability between the respective career paths.

The basic task of the university is to change the structure of training and education in order to provide interoperability between the different professions. The 15 subjects cover all of the basic knowledge materials related to public administration (constitutional law, general political science, general sociology, the state's structure, security sciences, military theory and military operation, disaster management, public service function, common public service practice, public financial affairs, public service careers, public service logistics, national security sciences, theory of law enforcement, management and organisation theory). The subjects altogether are worth 30 credits, with 465 contact hours.

According to the curriculum, students have to prove the level of knowledge they have acquired during the first four semesters, summarised in the common module, in the joint public service exercise. During this exercise the students carry out tasks related to some specific and complex problems. Every student does their work as if they were in their future profession. This prepares them to be able to solve diverse problems and to cope with different situations.

6. Faculty of Law Enforcement — law enforcement management MA education

The leaders of the law enforcement organisations and the rector of the Police College decided that the different law enforcement organisations in Hungary do not need an independent police, disaster management and prison service master's education. The aim was to create general training possibilities for would-be law enforcement officers (Varga, 2008).

The MA training programme was launched in 2008 at the then Police College. In the last few years students have been surveyed three times, and the results of the surveys have proved that the training is necessary.

The outcomes of the surveys are as follows.

- About 50 % of students take part in the training programme with the support of their leaders.

- The students are fully satisfied with the presentations and the helpfulness of the lecturers. Participation in classes is acceptable as the majority of students can take part in classes on Friday afternoons and Saturday mornings.

- Students were satisfied with the exams. The consultations were organised and helped them to prepare for the exams. The lecturers are excellent and well prepared according to 81 % of students.

- The training in improving management skills and the system of staff management practice were appreciated by the students. In their opinion it contributed greatly to their practical training.

- They are pleased with the local library services. They evaluated all subjects as good or very good and the constantly improved structure of the subjects meets their requirements.

- 35 % of students chose the 'law enforcement theory' specialisation, 31 % chose 'prevention of organised crimes', 28 % chose 'analysis and assessment' and 6 % chose 'public order'.

- According to the students, their communication skills improved greatly and they were more efficient as managers. Their managerial attitude and ability to solve problems also improved significantly during the training.

The number of students gaining admission to the MA training programme has increased from the initial

30 to 80 over the years. For a uniformed officer the admission conditions are a BA degree with a minimum of 50 transferable credits and at least 2 years spent in service at a law enforcement agency.

In addition, for the full-time training programme, it is necessary that the students: have a declaration of consent from the national commander; are in the database for prospective managers; and have acquired sufficient points in the entrance examination.

The training is structured into four terms. In 2012 the stakeholder law enforcement agencies expressed their desire for the training to be modernised. The result was the modification of the curriculum according to the analysis of the MA students' surveys. The structure of the subjects, obligatory course units and specialised ones relating to law enforcement agencies, optional subjects and specialisations, the block of subjects in management and leadership – all are significant during the training, and special attention is paid to commanders' training.

Master's education learning outcome

The students have to collect credit points.

- 120 credits worth of study material, including a thesis worth 12 credits.

- Degree thesis defence: the student is required to apply the knowledge learned in the MA training programme in a creative way.

- State-accredited foreign language examination at intermediate level of one of the following languages: EU languages; the languages of neighbouring countries; two main Romani dialects (Lovari or the archaic Romani dialect). Russian or Chinese are also accepted.

- Final examination.

There are 23 credits worth of study material that differs depending on the specialisations.

The old and the new specialisations are as follows.

1. *Theory of law enforcement*

The Doctoral School is built on this. Students deal with the theory of law enforcement. There are several subjects: law enforcement theory, law enforcement structures, international law enforcement cooperation, private security, foreign policy, history of law enforcement.

2. *Law enforcement manager*

The management staff of the consumer law enforcement agencies are trained; training is practice oriented (Kovacs-Horvath 2014).

3. *Police support unit*

Graduates will be able to organise and direct security at public mass events and organise training for it as well. There are several subjects: riot police studies, geoinformatics, legal background to mass events, integrated and special law enforcement operations, support-unit leadership practice, staff training, cooperation and teamwork, management of protection of persons and facilities, training methodology.

4. *Analysis and assessment*

On the basis of the demands of the consumer law enforcement bodies this is a specialisation dealing with the risk assessment of the Police and the National Tax and Customs Office. There are several subjects: theory of risk analysis, risk analysis in the EU, information sources of risk management, risk management applications, risk management evaluation, control skills, crime analysis, risk analysis in criminal activities.

5. *Prevention of organised crime*

There are several subjects: history of organised crimes, social scientific approach to organised crime, legal framework of the fight against organised crime, methodology of investigation, criminalistics of organised crimes, financial background of organised crimes.

These specialisations are elective and they follow the needs of the students and the consumer law enforcement agencies.

CEPOL

7. Employment opportunities for law enforcement MA graduates

Graduate students of the MA in law enforcement management can be employed in the judicial, municipal and financial sectors, and by the police force, disaster management services, National Tax and Customs Office and civilian national security services.

8. Law enforcement master's education in the Faculty of International and European Studies

'International relations in public service' is a new training possibility at the NUPS. It started on 1 September 2014. The objective of the master's is to prepare experts who are able to carry out tasks at international and EU organisations, tasks of international relevance in national and local public administration and in foreign, defence and law enforcement administration. It prepares experts to be able to represent the Hungarian state in the international arena.

There are four specialisations in the education process.

1. International public administration studies.

2. Security studies.

3. Policing studies — this specialisation is preferred by most students working at law enforcement agencies.

4. European studies.

The professional core study topics are the following: international and European governmental and public administration models, decision-making procedures, EU public policy and common law, regional studies and the global role of the EU, security studies, Hungarian foreign policy and foreign service, diplomatic relations law, international relations in policing and law enforcement, theory of management and leadership, protocol and techniques of negotiation, the quality criteria and practice (in Hungarian and in English) of the report making job in diplomacy, the requirements of EPSO tests.

The specialised professional studies consists of the following subjects: law enforcement studies, law enforcement and law enforcement public administration, the management and leadership system of law enforcement agencies, international and European law

enforcement cooperation, international criminal cooperation, the area of freedom, security and justice, European border policing cooperation, European police training cooperation, migration.

Employees of armed forces or officers with at least 2 years of professional experience are able to deepen their knowledge and to advance their career through this master's programme. This programme prepares candidates to successfully fulfil middle and top management positions.

Besides deepening their professional knowledge, the programme aims at developing leadership and management skills. Activities related to leadership, especially in the field of law enforcement, also require special personal attributes and competences, such as taking personal responsibility, decisiveness, and problem-recognition and problem-solving skills. Their studies also embrace the special fields of security policy, policing administration, national security and law enforcement technology, psychology, pedagogy, economy and logistics, HR management and general quality assurance.

9. Doctoral education at the NUPS Faculty of Law Enforcement

Hungarian Police Sciences are appreciated by the law enforcement higher education system. The prevalent opinion is that students need continuous improvement, in accordance with the principle and practice of lifelong learning theory. Police science education at the faculty and the Doctoral School of Police Science will be based on research-based scientific knowledge, and will promote the spread of a knowledge-based policing culture.

The task of the Doctoral School of Police Science is to ensure the provision of junior academics and researchers. It has to be able to provide highly trained professionals with good problem-solving skills.

The research themes at the Doctoral School of Police Science fit into three main areas.

- General theories of policing; history of policing; national security and policing.

- Special fields of policing; EU and international policing relations.

- Legal, sociological and criminological aspects of policing activity, and the importance of criminalistics in the field of policing.

Nevertheless, the Doctoral School of Police Science acts as a kind of think tank, which accepts any kind of high-level policing research.

10. The joint master's training programme with the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training

The European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL) and the European Union Member States prepared the European joint master's programme 'Policing in Europe' (⁴) — consisting of seven modules which were introduced in September 2015 — related to the master's level of law enforcement training. One participant from each EU Member State can join the programme, and it offers an MA in European law enforcement (⁵). The NUPS is not only involved in this programme through the Faculty of Law Enforcement, but also relies on the contribution of lecturers from the Faculty of Public Administration, the Faculty of Military Science and Officer Training and the Faculty of International and European Studies. The CEPOL's joint master's programme 'Policing in Europe' provides an opportunity for the recognition of the NUPS in the law enforcement international field.

Conclusion

The role of the NUPS is important: to train future military, law enforcement and public service experts to bachelor's, master's and PhD level. The experience in law enforcement education is constantly developing, thus the training programmes and the structure of the training have gone through a significant change in the last several years. Nowadays, the requirements of the stakeholder agencies and students are met.

In this essay the reader could get acquainted with the whole spectrum of law enforcement training carried out at the NUPS. The NUPS is a young university with

a management that is committed to international relations, and that is the reason why we are looking forward to lecturers and students for mobility programmes and for cooperation.

Attachment 1

The main subjects, topics of the professional core studies (⁶)

- The fundamentals of law enforcement sciences
- Theory and practice of crime prevention
- Administrative law enforcement law
- Civil service law
- International comparative organisational studies
- National security studies
- Integrated social science
- Research methodology of police science

Specialised professional studies

- Security studies
- Law enforcement and theory of law enforcement management (Kovacs-Schweickhardt, 2014)
- Legal bases of the operation of law enforcement agencies
- Development of leadership skills (training)
- Legal bases of international cooperation
- Theory of leadership and management, leadership of law enforcement activities 1; 2; 3
- Principles of conducting police operations (Kovacs, 2014).
- Complex policing leadership exercise
- Leadership studies for criminal police
- Leadership studies in public safety
- Integrated border management
- Law enforcement in extreme situations and states of emergency
- Pedagogy and psychology
- Communication and leadership competences
- Police logistics
- Top-level management of different organisations (police, customs, disaster management organisation, prison service) (Kovacs-Horvath, 2014)
- Current tasks of different organisations (police, customs, disaster management organisation, prison service)

(⁴) CEPOL — *Framework Partnership Agreement*, 20 November 2014, Budapest.

(⁵) Article 11(f) of Council Decision 2005/681/JHA of 20 September 2005, as amended by Regulation (EU) No 543/2014 (OJ L 163, 29.5.2014, p. 5).

(⁶) *Common Core Curriculum Master Education,* NUPS Faculty of Law Enforcement, Law Enforcement Management Theory Department 2013. Budapest, Ludovika tér 2.

- International tasks of different organisations (police, customs, disaster management organisation, prison service)

Optional subjects

- Conflict prevention, crisis management
- EU minority and migration policy
- Fight against terrorism
- Special language skills
- Logistics

- Quality management
- Criminalistics
- Protocol
- Statistics
- Project management

With the modernisation of the curriculum the number of specialisations were extended. The students can now choose from five specialisations.

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Police education and training in China — the case of Zhejiang Police College

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Abstract:

This article starts with a brief introduction to the police education and training system in China. Then it points out the challenges facing police education and training from a general viewpoint. The article mainly focuses on how Zhejiang Police College is coping with the challenges through an initiative mechanism of cooperation between colleges and police organisations and through fruitful international cooperation in training and education. Lastly it looks deeper into the possibilities and prospects of further international cooperation to improve the quality of police training and education.

Keywords: police training and education; partnership; international cooperation; China–EU programme; Interpol.

Education plays a key role in cultivating the best qualities of police officers. However, different countries differ greatly in their police education systems. As a key form of support for policing work, a relatively complete police education and training system with its formed experience and methods has been developed in China since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. This essay intends to probe the changes that have taken place in the police education system in China and discuss the prospects of police education by focusing on the current practices of Zhejiang Police College.

1. A brief introduction to the police education system in China

In China, the institutions responsible for police education and training fall into two categories: police universities or colleges providing a degree education; and police training schools or centres for in-service officers. According to the official document released jointly by six ministries, including the Ministry of Public Security and the Ministry of Human Resource and Social Secu-rity of China in December 2015, degree education in police colleges and universities plays a fundamental and decisive role in building up a qualified police force. Not only is degree education the very first step in culti-vating qualified future police officers, it also constitutes a very important part of policing affairs in China (Teng Yinhou, Peng Zhengdong, 2016).

Accordingly, this article mainly concentrates on police education and training in police colleges and universi-ties. Similar to the dual system in the Netherlands, Chi-nese police colleges and universities provide both de-gree education for enrolled high school graduates and training for in-service police officers. There are now 25 police colleges and universities nationwide (Teng Yin-hou, Peng Zhengdong, 2016), the differences among which are as follows.

Among all 25 police colleges and universities there are only five that are under the direct control of the Minis-try of Public Security (Teng Yinhou, Peng Zhengdong, 2016). The other 20 are under the control of local pro-vincial governments. In almost every province in China there is one police college at provincial level.

As stated above, all colleges and universities provide both degree education and in-service training. The difference is that the five police colleges and universities under the direct control of the Ministry of Public Security offer a bachelor's degree, master's degree or doctoral degree. But only a few police colleges at provincial level are qualified to offer a master's degree or higher. What is more, students graduating from provincial police colleges and universities will usually be sent back to their hometown police bureau to start their career at the local police station, the lowest level of the police structure.

As for in-service training, most professional training sessions for high-ranking police officers in service are provided by police colleges and universities under the direct control of the Ministry of Public Security. Provincial colleges and universities, on the other hand, provide all kinds of short-term, in-service training to officers of different ranks, including police supervisors and senior police officers.

2. Challenges facing practitioners in police education

Great changes have taken place in relation to police education under the police reform guidelines in China. Not only has the number of police officers increased, but also their qualifications have been improving. Currently in China there are about 1.8 million police officers in service ([1]), many of whom graduated from police colleges or universities. However, there are a number of key issues under heated discussion, one of which is the question of whether police education or police training is more important.

Before 2004 in China there was much more emphasis on police education than on police training. However, the problems were quite obvious from two major perspectives. On the one hand, graduates from police colleges and universities were in desperate need of practice and experience. On the other hand, in-service police officers were not provided with sufficient chances to pursue further study and training in police colleges and universities (Yang Hede, 2007). However, for a long period of time since 2004, the importance of police training has been overemphasised. Around 2010

there was a huge debate about whether the police colleges and universities should be changed to police training schools, which is the opposite to a shift from police training to education in the United States (Craig Paterson, 2011). It was not until recent years that scholars agreed that both police education for degrees and police training are indispensable components in building up qualified and capable police officers. However, how police education and police training can be integrated, motivating each other and contributing to a more comprehensive police education system remain to be explored.

3. A case analysis based on Zhejiang Police College

3.1. A brief introduction to Zhejiang Police College

Zhejiang Police College is located in Hangzhou, which is renowned for the beauty of the West Lake and the hills around it. The predecessor of Zhejiang Police College is the Training Class for Hangzhou Public Security Staff, which was established on 26 May 1949. In January 1950, Zhejiang Provincial School for Public Security Cadres was founded. In 1985, with the approval of the provincial government, it was renamed the Zhejiang Public Security Vocational School and started its associate degree education. In March 2007 the Ministry of Education permission for the college to be upgraded to a college of undergraduate education and named Zhejiang Police College. It has outstanding facilities in its two campuses at Binjiang and Lin'an. Zhejiang Police College now has around 500 faculty members, and has 4 000 cadets and trains about 8 000 on-the-job police officers per year. Zhejiang Police College offers 11 undergraduate major subjects for cadets, such as criminal investigation, forensic science, public order management, traffic control, law, computer science and technology, investigation of economic crimes, international police cooperation, police command and tactics, law enforcement on internet security, etc. Zhejiang Police College is also a national training base for new police chiefs at the county level, a police field-training base of the Ministry of Public Security (MPS), a sci-tech and information technology training base of the MPS and an organiser of China–EU Police Training Programme of the MPS (ZJPC, 2016).

Even with the overload of pressure, occupational jeopardy, etc., a career with the police is still quite attractive to the young generation in China. As a result, admis-

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([1]) The total number of in-service police officers is released in an online government report (http://search.10jqka.com.cn/snap-shot/news/6854ffc5527763f1.html).

sion to these police institutions is extremely competitive. In the case of Zhejiang Police College, every year there are many talented candidates who need pass a very strict background check, psychological test, physical test, face-to-face interview and national college entrance examination. Most of the successful candidates are eligible for the top universities and colleges in China.

3.2. Analysis of police training and education in Zhejiang Police College

In its more than 60-year history Zhejiang Police College has cultivated over 20 000 police officers for Zhejiang Province and Tibet Autonomous Region, and has trained over 100 000 in-service police officers from all over the country. Many of them have become team leaders and directors in the police agency at different levels.

3.2.1. A mechanism of partnership between the police college and police departments

There are 16 police departments in Zhejiang Province that have cooperative partnerships with Zhejiang Police College. Zhejiang Police College has 39 theoretical research offices and 60 internship sites in police units at different levels all over the province. Zhejiang Police College has built up very close partnerships with police units at different levels all over the province. Every year those police units select excellent police officers and commanders to go to Zhejiang Police College as instructors — teaching courses, doing research, etc. Meanwhile, the college sends faculty members and students to practice or do internships at police institutes. This mechanism has turned out to be a successful one that is beneficial for both sides.

3.2.1.1. Inviting experienced police officers to be lecturers

Compared with the police training systems in the United States and the United Kingdom, one of the biggest challenges facing police education in China is that the students are educated and trained in a knowledge-based methodology. In this way the students graduate from the police colleges and universities with a package of know-what rather than know-how or know-why. In order to better equip police cadets with both knowledge and experience, Zhejiang Police College began a programme of inviting in-service police officers to be lecturers on open courses which are aimed at experience sharing and improving problem-solving capacity.

3.2.1.2. Distributing juniors to do their internship in the police departments

It is said that experience is the best teacher. Zhejiang Police College implements a '3+1' plan, during which the cadets are distributed to police departments at different levels to do their internship in their third year. In this way the students are provided with chances to apply what they have learned to the real situation.

3.2.2. International police training and education of Zhejiang Police College

In response to ongoing policing reform in China, Zhejiang Police College, along with all the other police universities and colleges nationwide, devotes itself entirely to innovation in police education and training. Within that sphere, police education and training on international police cooperation are playing an increasingly large role.

Nowadays, with global integration, all nations in the world not only share interests, but also share safety and risk concerns. Mutual understanding, learning from each other and law enforcement cooperation have inevitably become necessities. What is more, Zhejiang province is very well known as the home of Chinese people overseas. It is the duty of the police to protect the life, legitimate rights and interests of Chinese citizens at home and abroad. Therefore, the question of how to strengthen international law enforcement cooperation has become a priority issue for Zhejiang Police College.

3.2.2.1. An international school established to promote international police education and training

As a big move towards cultivating future international cooperation among police officers, Zhejiang Police College recently established its international school. This school is a very vigorous and comprehensive institute, which includes several divisions as follows: International Policing Cooperation Department, Foreign Languages Department, Foreign Police Training Department, International Students Office, Foreign Affairs Office, Research Centre for Non-traditional Security Issues and Secretary Office.

Zhejiang Police College is one of the few police universities in China that are qualified to recruit international students for language programmes or studying for a bachelor's degree in policing and majoring in law. The international students come from Congo, Italy, Laos, South Korea, the United States and other countries.

Furthermore, the college offers all types of training programmes for law enforcement officers from abroad, not only for those from developing countries, but also training programmes and workshops for our counterparts from advanced countries, for example the workshop for the police chief from Texas, United States.

Even though laws, customs and police practices vary from country to country, it is apparent that police everywhere experience common problems. In a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected, it is important that police should be aware of research and successful practices beyond the borders of their own countries. Therefore, every year the college sends many faculty members and researchers to study abroad, and many leading authorities and experts are invited to deliver speeches, teach courses, make academic exchanges, etc.

3.2.2.2. Implementation of the '2+1+1' plan

In 2004, working with Sam Huston State University in the United States and Soonchunhyang University in South Korea, Zhejiang Police College initiated a programme on a 'new mode of education for international policing cooperation', which aims to cultivate excellent cadets for international policing cooperation (Fu Guoliang, 2012). As the most important part of this innovation the college launched a '2+1+1' plan, i.e. the 50 most outstanding cadets are selected for this programme each year. In the first 2 years freshmen and sophomores take courses about law, policing, language and so on. In order to facilitate better cooperation with our counterparts abroad, besides English, students can choose a second foreign language to learn, including Arabic, French, Korean, Russian, Spanish and so on. During their first 2 years of study, Sam Huston State University and Soonchunhyang University send teaching faculty members to Zhejiang Police College to teach courses such as 'Introduction to criminal justice', 'Criminology', 'American history', etc. In the third year those students go to the United States or South Korea to study for 1 year, after passing language exams and undergoing a strict selection process. During their stay at Sam Huston they intern with the local police bureau for 2 weeks, patrolling with American police officers. In the last year they come back to China to study, write papers and intern with the local police bureau. This programme has run well so far. Some graduates find a position at national agencies for international police cooperation, and many work at local police departments or bureaux of international cooperation, foreign affairs, immigrant affairs, etc.

3.2.2.3. China–EU police training programme

On 19 October 2012 Zhejiang Police College was selected as one of the eight police colleges and universities to conduct a 5-year China–EU police training programme, which is a big move to strengthen international cooperation in police education between China and Europe. Sponsored by the Ministry of Public Security, the China–EU training programme introduces the latest theories and practices relating to police management, law enforcement standardisation, maintaining social order and the fight against transnational organised crime, from which both the students and in-service officers benefit enormously through workshops, seminars and visits abroad. This project played a very important role in enhancing mutual understanding and trust and promoting bilateral law enforcement cooperation (CPD, 2014).

Thanks to the China–EU programme at Zhejiang Police College, the relationship between China and the EU has been developing very fast over the past several decades. In recent years the number of visitors to and from each other has been dramatically increasing, and the practical needs of police cooperation are increasing accordingly. The China–EU police training programme is a significant part of China's efforts to strengthen international police cooperation and learn from the EU.

4. Vision

Nowadays there are many problems demanding prompt solutions in the face of new conditions relating to the comprehensive deepening of police reform in China, including: lack of relevant laws and regulations on police education and training; lack of implementation of relevant laws and regulations; lack of qualified educators/trainers; lack of qualified personnel, especially for international police cooperation; lack of evidence-based assessment and evaluation for education and training reforms.

As mentioned, Chinese characteristics are important, but this should not stop China from learning from others in a selective and effective manner. Whatever we do with foreign ideas, theories and practices, in the end ideas are ideas, theories are theories and practices

are practices. Wherever they come from they should not be judged by their origin but should be scientifically assessed by their utility, i.e. evidence based. In context, Western theories and practices should be examined in depth to see what is and is not applicable to China, and customised to fit in with Chinese conditions and needs ([2]).

The Chinese Public Security Authority has been making great efforts to increase coordination with Interpol, marked by the successful extradition from abroad of persons wanted for economic crimes. For example, in 2013 the Shanghai municipal police received a report that Chen Yi, the then controller of Shanghai Fanxin Insurance Agency Co. Ltd, who was suspected of economic crimes, escaped. The Shanghai police filed and investigated the case, and they found that Chen Yi had escaped from the country before the case was reported to the police. The Shanghai police immediately submitted an application to the China NCB, which issued a red notice and requested assistance with the search for the suspect from relevant countries and regions through Interpol. After investigation it was found that Chen Yi had escaped to Fiji. With communication between the law enforcement authority of Fiji and the Chinese MPS through the multilateral channel of Interpol, the suspect was captured and extradited only 60 hours after the red notice was published, which was the fastest extradition in the history of the country. The direct contact with the law enforcement authority of Fiji by the China NCB via I-24/7, and the information shared by publishing the red notice through the multichannel framework of the Interpol, played a critical role in the clearance of the case (DBW News, 2013).

However, China is facing several challenges in international police cooperation, of which the lack of qualified personnel is one of the biggest. Communication and exchange are key to police cooperation. According to the China–EU 2020 strategic agenda for cooperation, China and the EU will strengthen cooperation on police training ([3]). What is more, as the Interpol's supreme governing body, the General Assembly is composed of delegates appointed by each member country, and it meets annually. In 2015 China was selected to host the general assembly in 2017, which was international recognition of the efforts made by China in international police cooperation. China will spare no efforts to organise this session and more enthusiastically pitch itself into the efforts on international police cooperation.

As such, Interpol is a very important platform for capacity building, and is willing to increasingly partner up with other stakeholders and expand its coordinating role.

Through capacity-building and training activities, police officers, border officers and judicial authorities will learn more about Interpol's tools and services. So far China and the EU have cooperated in the organisation of training projects on the use of I-24/7, different notices and databases, giving a better understanding of the global police communication system and building cooperation between them within the framework of the Interpol to a higher level. In the future it will be worthwhile to discuss issues relating to sharing knowledge of the latest cutting-edge forensic technologies, and joint development of and research into investigative methods.

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CEPOL

The internationalisation of higher police education: perspectives on the cooperation between the EU and China

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to map perspectives on cooperation between the EU and China in higher law enforcement education. The structure of this paper consists of four parts. First, we will reflect on the need for further internationalisation of higher law enforcement education, particularly in the context of transnational crime and terrorism. Second, we will seek to identify trends and features in higher education for law enforcement professionals in the EU with a view to current and future cooperation with China. Third, we will look at what higher police education systems in Asia and Europe can potentially learn from each other. Fourth and finally, we will look into future avenues for cooperation between the EU and China when it comes to higher police education as well as research.

The internationalisation of higher police education in the context of international crime

In the global crime era, it is increasingly acknowledged that the law enforcement organisations need to be subject to diversification and internationalisation:

'Greater diversification of the work force, new training and education models, greater awareness of cultural and religious differences, and greater cooperation domestically and internationally will require tomorrow's criminal justice professional to adapt significantly to a new world

order. Greater emphasis must be placed on language skills, familiarization with the legal systems of other countries, and the role local governments and business enterprises must play in combating international-related crime at the grassroots level' (Ward 2000: 310).

Law enforcement organisations are traditionally embedded in national administrations and may thus be late in introducing elements of internationalisation in their curricula. Academic institutions like universities have welcomed internationalization for a long time and even thrive on it:

'(…), universities have always had roles that transcend their national boundaries. Students and scholars have always been 'mobile'. International research collaboration has always flourished. Scientific communities have always been global. But all of this happened without any need for managerial-bureaucratic initiatives to 'internationalise' the university. Internationalisation is a neologism, dating back to the 1980s at the earliest — and, disconcertingly, aligned with neo-liberalism' (Scott 2011).

Hence, universities can act as suitable partners for police education institutes, both when it concerns the introduction of academic standards for training and research as well as strategies and policies to enhance internationalisation. Several steps have already been undertaken by national police academies to adapt their education strategies to patterns of crime, which is becoming increasingly interconnected and trans-

national. Empirical research, particularly in the field of criminology, has demonstrated that crime thrives on opportunity structures, for instance the adjacency of rich and poor regions, and stable and fragile countries (see e.g. Paine 2001). National law enforcement organizations need each other more often to prevent and solve complex transnational crime.

The internationalisation of law enforcement education supports a strategy in which law enforcement officers become are better equipped with linguistic, cultural, diplomatic, legal and leadership skills across the borders of their own national jurisdictions. Moreover, international higher education for law enforcement organizations facilitates the development of a useful and sustainable international professional network. Additionally, law enforcement professionals are trained and educated according to transnationally agreed qualification criteria and share standardised levels of knowledge and competence. The latter occurs primarily through a joint Qualifications Framework, readable, comparable, transferable degrees, and the mutual recognition of diplomas between national educational systems.

Common trends in higher education in Europe and Asia

In order to identify avenues for future cooperation between the EU and China, it is deemed useful to look at common trends in Europe and Asia, which have emerged in higher education. First, we may witness increased competition in the Higher Education arena. This means that one the one hand there may be more competition and rivalry between the higher education institutions at the national, regional and international level. Competition may also mean that academic institutions develop partnerships, for instance in the shape of consortia that complement each other's research and education capacity. This happens in the understanding that there is a form of global reciprocity and increased harmonisation of educational standards. The mainstreaming with the Higher Education Qualification System is one of the features. Another common trend is the acknowledgement and encouragement of life-long learning in the higher education arena: this is particularly relevant within law enforcement taking into account frequent legal and technological changes, which demand continuous innovation and internationalisation of policing and law enforcement practices.

As a consequence of the emergence of the global higher education market, a global culture of comparison presents itself in a more articulated manner, and is visible in practices such as benchmarking and peer evaluation. The culture of comparison increases the exposure of higher education performance, also in the context of international law enforcement. Worldwide the enrolment in tertiary education has grown exponentially, but has it also done so within the law enforcement services? In some police systems, the need for higher police education has been downplayed, partly because of austerity measures, partly also because of the emphasis on workfloor experience.

There are several internationalisation strategies in Higher Education. Diversified marketing practices include attracting students by means of educational promotions, the offering of fast tracks, offering the possibility to apply by email (E-student application), as well as exclusive branding. An additional strategy is to combine recruitment into learning with living and tourism. The question is very much whether these schemes can apply at all to higher police education.

In the Higher Education field, several strands are under development. Some general developments require closer scrutiny, namely recruitment and enrolment procedures; qualification criteria; learning in practice; national and regional cooperation; life-long learning; and learning-on-the-job. More specifically, three other dimensions are relevant for higher law enforcement education, namely the connection between police education and police promotion; research-based police education; and training and education for specific assignments. All topics may be regarded as building blocks for a future EU-China Higher Education strategy for law enforcement.

For organisations that carry a mandate in the field of higher law enforcement education, the challenge is to transform competition into collaboration. This involves the exchange of lessons learnt and so-called 'good practices'. As Europe has a highly harmonised higher education system, international higher law enforcement education in the European region can benefit from exchange programmes, joint accreditation as well as the standardisation within the qualifications framework. Some of the lessons which Europe itself will seek to implement for the further improvement of the European Higher Education system include *inter alia* the transformation from 'quick wins' and the recruitment of

short-term students to long-term investment in talented students and scholars. Further, in order to build a solid bridge between education and employment and a student mobility system further cooperation between the predominantly public academic institutions and 'industry' or the private sector is a prerequisite. Moreover, the consolidation between the public and the private sphere will help to generate funding schemes as well as help to formulate a research agenda which takes into account the main questions from the private sphere. Despite progress that was realised in Europe under the 'Bologna process', substantial differences between higher education systems remain. There is also still a mobility imbalance between European countries. In order to guarantee educational mobility between countries and systems these differences and imbalances ought to be removed. The question is whether asymmetric mobility also applies to different Asian countries. Although Europe works hard on innovation and the introduction of new technology, it has been noted that more attention should be given to digital and blended learning (see European Parliament 2015).

Avenues for strategic co-operation between China and the EU

The EU expressed its ambition to develop a strategic partnership with China in the European Security Strategy, entitled *A Secure Europe in a Better World* ([1]). Retrospectively, China published an EU policy paper to stress the importance of EU-China relations (Weske, 2007: 5). The European Parliament adopted a Resolution on EU-China relations on 16 December 2015 ([2]), inter alia emphasizing that mutual answers were required 'to a range of global concerns' as well as a definition of 'common interests' 'such as global and regional security, counter-terrorism, the fight against organised crime, cybersecurity, weapons of mass destruction and nuclear non-proliferation, (….)'. Moreover, the European Parliament expressed a need for the creation of a framework 'to address bilateral concerns between the EU and China (…)'.

China and the EU both face the challenge of transnational organised crime, and this is the basis on which the need for more concerted action in the arena of international police cooperation has been formulated (Hufnagel, 2014: 77). The EU dialogue with China includes customs cooperation, which is regarded as vital for trade and the control of fraud and counterfeiting. An EU-China customs cooperation agreement entered into force in April 2005 with the objective to increase operational cooperation for the control of trade flows and the fight against fraud and illegal activities and to provide mutual technical assistance. In order to combat terrorism, there was a pilot on smart and secure trade lanes to test the exchange of information ([3]).

Law enforcement cooperation between China and the European Union may be regarded as strategically important. By 2016, China had concluded 25 bilateral agreements and seven extradition treaties with individual EU Member States, focusing on mutual legal assistance in criminal matters. With the EU 28, there are some strands of cooperation, including the EU-China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Co-operation strategic partnership — which contains several issues related to the international crime-control agenda — and an EU-China Cyber Task Force. China has developed active relationships with Europol, Eurojust and CEPOL. China and the EU Member States can exchange law enforcement information through Interpol and the community of Liaison Officers (LO's).

The EU China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Co-operation ([4]) includes the following priority areas:

'Strengthen EU-China cooperation under the framework of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and the United Nations Convention against Corruption. Collaborate on projects combating transnational crime, illegal migration, and cyber-crime, and hold special consultations on issues of anti-terrorism at an appropriate time. The EU and China should keep each other informed on criminal activities, organised crime, illicit trade in small arms, abduction, human smuggling, illegal migration, trafficking in human beings, money-laundering, counterfeiting and drugs, as well as economic and financial cases,

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([1]) 12 December 2003; see http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/ about-csdp/european-security-strategy/. A new European Security Strategy was released in June 2016, entitled 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy'.

([2]) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-// EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2015-0458+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN; retrieved 15 February 2016.

([3]) China Strategy Paper 2007-2013; https://ec.europa.eu/europe-aid/node/13283; accessed 6 April 2016.

([4]) Website of the EU External Action Service: http://eeas.europa. eu/china/index_en.htm; retrieved 15 February 2016.

and take joint actions. Cooperation on police training should be strengthened.'

A policy paper ([5]) was released by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs simultaneously with President Xi Jinping's visit to Europe in April 2014. With regard to a concerted effort against crime, the paper emphasized the need for law enforcement cooperation and also increased cooperation on cybersecurity and cybercrime between the EU and China. Meanwhile, a project on EU-China police training has been completed (2012-2016) ([6]).

The People's Armed Police Force in China has around 1.5 million police officers, while the EU has around 800.000 in the EU ([7]) (2014). This means that in marketing terms, there is considerable potential for the further development of higher law enforcement education programmes inside the various jurisdictions, but also between agencies. Recognising the need for further cooperation between the EU and China, various mutual visits have taken place culminating in the formulation of strategic avenues.

As for Europol, Europol Director Rob Wainwright met the Chinese Minister of Public Security, Guo Shengkun on 28 May 2015 ([8]). The Minister said he hoped China and Europe would strengthen Europe in fighting terrorism and organised crime, and that China is willing to enhance cooperation on law enforcement and security to contribute to the bilateral partnership. Several initiatives have been undertaken to achieve more familiarisation and to develop a network between Europol and the Chinese authorities. A Strategic Cooperation Agreement between Europol and China has been sub-

ject to a consultation procedure in the European Parliament ([9]).

As for the Organisation for the Fight Against Fraud (OLAF), it should be noted that Article of the OLAF Regulation provides an explicit legal basis to conclude administrative arrangements with third country authorities and international organisations. OLAF has official delegations in two third countries, namely Ukraine and China ([10]). A high-level working meeting took place between OLAF and the Anti-Smuggling Bureau (ASB) of the General Administration of China Customs in December 2013. The strengthening of the cooperation between European and Chinese authorities on fighting fraud is regarded as essential.

As for Eurojust, A delegation from the Supreme People's Procuratorate of China visited Eurojust in December 2015. The purpose of the visit was to gain an introduction to the main functions of Eurojust, to learn more about international cooperation between Eurojust and other countries, to introduce the functions of the Chinese prosecution authorities, including their main domestic and international roles in combating corruption crimes, and to discuss the possibility of future cooperation ([11]). China has been involved in Eurojust's casework. Additionally, an invitation to appoint a Eurojust Contact Point for China was under consideration by the Chinese authorities. Eurojust currently has 39 contact points with a variety of countries around the world ([12]).

As for CEPOL, the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training, a delegation from the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) of China visited CEPOL's headquarters in Budapest, Hungary on 18 May 2015. During the visit, CEPOL's and the delegation's representative could exchange information and best practices on law enforcement training. Ms. Aija Kalnaja, Head of CEPOL's Training and Research Unit, welcomed the Chinese delegation, headed by Mr Xia Chongyuan, Vice Minister of Public Security of China. Ms. Kalnaja explained

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([5]) Entitled: China's Policy Paper on the EU: Deepen the China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit and Win-win Co-operation, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1143406.shtml; accessed 15 February 2016.

([6]) https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/china/documents/.../10.doc; see also: http://www.polamk.fi/en/rdi/projects/eu_china_police_training_programme; http://www.fiiapp.org/en/proyectos_fiiapp/china-eu-proyecto-de-formacion-de-la-policia-china/#ancla-contenido-proyectos; all retrieved 22 December 2016.

([7]) http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Crime_and_criminal_justice_statistics#Source_data_for_tables_and_figures_.28MS_Excel.29; retrieved 21 December 2016.

([8]) http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-05/29/c_134281913.htm; retrieved 15 February 2016.

([9]) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2016-0370+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN; accessed 22 December 2016.

([10]) NB: Call for tender: Framework contract for the acquisition of Chinese trade data (import & export). Reference: OLAF/C3/69/2015; accessed 4 April 2016.

([11]) http://www.eurojust.europa.eu/press/News/News/Pages/2015/2015-12-10_Chinese-delegation-visits-Eurojust.aspx; accessed 5 April 2016.

([12]) See infographic at: http://www.eurojust.europa.eu/about/Partners/Pages/third-states.aspx; accessed 5 April 2016.

how CEPOL's activities allow law enforcement professionals to increase their knowledge, share their experience and develop their competences. Participating in a CEPOL training allows to expand professional networks, hence enforcing mutual trust among European law enforcement officers and fostering a closer cooperation between the countries ([13]). Eventually, this may evolve into a working agreement between CEPOL and relevant authorities in China.

In practice, these initiatives have already led to some concrete forms of police cooperation, such as surveillance conducted by Chinese police officers in Rome, with a view to sharing information and assisting Chinese tourists ([14]).

In the field of higher education and research, several avenues of cooperation have been developed. Research and innovation have been recognised as important pillars for economic growth and development. Research cooperation is *inter alia* pursued through the Joint Research Centre of the European Commission, which also has a focus on security-related issues, such as disaster management, food safety and security, remote sensing and air quality ([15]). The EU-China Roadmap on Science and Technology 2016-2020 includes several issues for further cooperation, including the strengthening of a two-way mobility of researchers and academic staff ([16]).

Conclusion: chances and opportunities for cooperation in higher law enforcement education between China and the EU

Between China and the EU numerous higher education programmes are already in existence in which particularly universities on both sides participate. It seems pragmatic and feasible to capitalise on existing academic infrastructures, as well as to benefit from 'low-hanging' fruit. Indeed, China and the EU share the belief that educational cooperation paves the path for

consolidating mutual trust and professional networking. The field of law enforcement however requires cooperation between police education and training institutes as well.

Roughly, future cooperation between the EU and China could be developed along three core dimensions, namely exchange, education and research.

Exchange
Concerning exchange programmes, the EU can benefit from a wealth of experience that has been built throughout the Mattheus and the Erasmus Programme: provided the material and logistic conditions are met, it may be feasible to establish law enforcement exchange programmes between the EU and China for different law enforcement organisations, including police, customs, financial investigation services, immigration service and border control. Moreover, such exchange programmes may be extended to prosecutors and judges. The strengthening of a multi-agency perspective is very much required in view of improved trust and information-sharing in the criminal justice chain, and in order to improve mutual judicial assistance and the exchange of evidence.

Education
While numerous higher educational initiatives have already been established, it remains necessary to map the landscape of projects that have been completed and to evaluate their respective outcomes. New training and education needs emerge continuously, which means that a strategic framework ought to be established and revised on a regular, multi-annual basis. An overview of available training programmes should be established and should be slightly revised according to the new needs. Based on mutual cooperation and peer review, China and the EU may be able to formulate a strategic agenda for higher law enforcement education, but it is a prerequisite to identify conditions for the maximizing mutual participation of Chinese and EU students and eligible police officers who may qualify for participation. Curricula at law enforcement academies in China and Europe could raise the importance of training and education on international police and law enforcement issues, such as international instruments for criminal justice cooperation. More knowledge may be integrated into curricula about the role of international law enforcement organisations, such as Interpol and Europol, but also about the role and task of liaison officers. A Training Needs Analysis (TNA)

([13]) https://www.cepol.europa.eu/media/news/cepol-met-delegation-china; accessed 5 April 2016.

([14]) https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/02/chinese-police-to-patrol-the-streets-of-rome; accessed 22 December 2016.

([15]) http://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/pdf/policy/1_eu_CHINA_R_I.pdf#view=fit&pagemode=none; accessed 22 December 2016.

([16]) http://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/pdf/policy/roadmaps_china-2016.pdf#view=fit&pagemode=none; accessed 22 December 2016.

instrument may be implemented in order to map the training and education needs on both sides. Given the enormous potential for law enforcement leadership education, a TNA could also be applied to (operational) police leadership training. On a mutual basis, students from China and the EU could potentially participate in Master courses at Police Academies; at the same time, one may look at the possibility to allow Chinese participation in the CEPOL Master programme. China could also suggest attendance of EU students to their programmes.

Research

A common research agenda for policing and law enforcement could also be established between the EU and China, based on a joint Needs Analysis of the main topics, methodologies and research objectives. In order to achieve these objectives, the support of academics as well as law enforcement professionals is required. In the future the establishment of a common research agenda could be flanked by a common programme for 'pracademics' (law enforcement officials who conduct Master or PhD research) between the EU and China. These types of programmes have already been experimented with in several university environments but also in the form of embedded research within law enforcement environments (see e.g. den Boer 2017 and Welten & van Dijk 2017). A specific example of law enforcement research cooperation between the EU and China is research on the flows in the timber trade between China and Myanmar under the Bilateral Cooperation Mechanism (BCM) on Forest Law Enforcement and Governance (FLEG), in which the EU and China work together to stop illegal logging and the associated trade in illegal timber. The infrastructure for research collaboration is in need of continuous maintenance.

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NEW METHODS AND AVENUES OF LEARNING

Evidence Cafés and Practitioner Cafés supported by online resources: A route to innovative training in practice based approaches

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Abstract:

Current radical changes in the Police service internationally and in England and Wales are being driven by movements to adopt an evidence-based practice (EBP) approach to policing. However this poses a challenge as early adopters have experienced resistance to EBP, a relatively unknown, and more importantly misunderstood approach for policing. This resistance is not limited to police with international research highlighting implementation issues for evidence based medicine, evidence based management, and evidence based teaching. One reason is the lack of training in EBP, which is coupled with recent concerns over the general quality of training and level of professionalism within UK police organisation. There have been international initiatives aimed at increasing learning around evidence based practice. Some UK police forces have adopted approaches from other domains to counteract these problems (e.g. champions, enquiry visits). Mapping clear pathways that link training, experience and evidence-based practice is crucial to developing the capacity for an evidence-based workforce. This paper presents evidence from recent research that used Evidence Cafés and Practitioner Cafés connected to online resources as a route to increase understanding and awareness of evidence based practice amongst frontline police officers. Evidence Cafés are coordinated by a knowledge exchange expert with an academic and a police practitioner who facilitate the translation of research into practice. This paper presents evidence of the benefit and limitations of these events. Analytics and learning analytics of events' online resources also provide insights into these approaches and identify triggers for increased engagement across a wide geographical context.

Keywords: evidence cafes; evidence-based practice; knowledge exchange; practitioner cafes; engagement.

Evidence-based practice

Evidence-based practice seeks to increase the quality and rigour of practice by implementing evidence into practice based decision-making processes (Kitson et al., 1998; McKibbon, 1998; Horner et al., 2005). However problems frequently occur when translating research evidence for practice purposes and applying that research into practice contexts (Kitson et al., 1998). Increasingly there is a push for evidence-based practice to take a more balanced participatory approach between academics and practitioners (Rice, 2007; Lum, 2014).

Evidence based practice within the domain of policing is younger than in domains such as medicine and management. Over the past two decades the role of criminology in police practice has increased and with this, a significant push to adopt evidence based practices. Much of the emphasis in this field is underpinned by the criminology discipline. Criminology has its roots in scientific practices and reviews the nature, impacts and management of criminal behaviours at an individual, organizational and social level. Although an interdisciplinary field of study, it has been most prominently driven by psychological

scientific methods. As such, evidence based policing has adopted a psychological testing approach to randomized controlled trials (RCTs). Sherman and Berk (1984) and later Sherman and Weisburd (1995) produced the first RCTs in policing. This was then presented by Sherman as the 'evidence-based policing' approach in Washington for the 'police foundation lecture' (1998). Whilst this approach has gained momentum within police forces internationally, there is a current debate growing around problems in the translation of research into practice (Neyroud and Weisbund, 2014). This has been especially highlighted as a conceptual gap between academics and frontline police officers (Lum, 2014).

Centre for Policing Research and Learning: Case Study

The Centre for Policing Research and Learning was set up to use knowledge from research and education to improve policing, helping police forces adapt to a changing policing landscape that incorporates a greater emphasis on evidence based practice. The Centre works with a consortium of member police forces drawn from across the UK and Northern Ireland (currently 16 forces, November 2016). The work of the centre is focused around three themes:

- Research
- Learning
- Knowledge Exchange

To ensure their relevance to police practice, research topics were chosen in discussion with the member police forces and include topics as varied as cybercrime, forensics markets, citizens use of technology, police use of social media, witness identification, simulation tools to improve interviewing of children, ethics and leadership and public value.

However academic research, by itself, does not always readily transfer across to the police practice setting. Thus, an innovative range of knowledge exchange activities help to translate research knowledge into practice on the front-line and across the police organisation. Knowledge exchange activities include Evidence Cafés, enquiry visits, conferences, and the secondment of police officers and staff into ongoing research projects.

This paper describes the knowledge exchange activities of Evidence Cafés, set up by the Centre for Policing Research and Learning in the UK, and hosted at consortium member police forces, and Practitioner Cafés which developed out of Evidence Cafés. Evidence Cafes provide a means to close the conceptual gap between academic research and frontline police by supporting the application of findings from research into practice contexts. They facilitate a two way flow of information, linking to concepts of evidence-based practice and supported by the centre's learning resources which can be accessed through the website http://centre-for-policing.open.ac.uk. Practitioner Cafés take this translation process further, embedding it within police practice.

Evidence Cafés — translating between research and practice

Evidence Cafés are loosely based on the format of the worldwide Café Scientifique movement. The first Café Scientifique in the UK was held in Leeds in 1998 in a coffee bar. Cafés Scientifiques are held in a variety of informal venues — cafés, bars, libraries, anywhere where a group of people can meet up informally with access to refreshments. They are organised by volunteers and their common thread is knowledge exchange about science, for example, AIDS, the Big Bang, biodiversity, cancer, code-breaking, consciousness, Darwinism, ecology, evolution etc. Anybody who is interested can attend. The speaker speaks for 20 to 25 minutes about their scientific topic with no slides nor PowerPoint presentations. The core principle of Café Scientifiques is that they are forums for dialogue, not opportunities for imparting information; locations for a conversation about an evidence topic, not a lecture. Participants can ask questions, and as coffee cups are replenished, discussions emerge. 'The discussion is at all levels and comments come from all angles; they might arise from what the speaker said, from what's been on the news that night, from the field in general or from people's experiences.' (Grand, 2014: 276).

We sought to capture this discursive, informal element in our Evidence Café format, however there are significant differences between a Café Scientifique and an Evidence Café. Cafés Scientifiques focus on a science topic, are held in communal venues and are open to anyone who wishes to attend. Evidence Cafés focus on a topic related to policing and policing research and

the discussions that ensue focus around police-practice and the translation between research and practice. Evidence Cafés are sponsored by the Centre for Policing Research and Learning and take place at a host police force. They are not open to anyone who wants to attend, rather targeted at an audience of police officers, though other staff and community representatives may attend depending on the topic.

The aim of an Evidence Café is to:

- develop a deeper understanding of evidence used in practice

- support the translation between specific research evidence from the Consortium and Centre for Policing Research and Learning into police practice

- give academics the opportunity to both share their research and learn practical applications and issues from a critical audience of police practitioners.

- give police practitioners an accessible way to explore how research might influence their daily work

- provide a forum for knowledge exchange between police practitioners and academic researchers giving valuable practice-based perspective on the research

Evidence Café methods

Evidence Cafés are informal and relaxed in their set-up and structure, with participants seated in small groups, café or bar style. The Evidence Cafés are held at each individual force in a location which each force feels suits their needs — this could be in the force restaurant (e.g. within a police station canteen or informal breakout rooms using easy chairs and coffee tables) or in a meeting room in a café style layout, with participants able to move around and discuss.

The academic team consists of one or more facilitator and one or more academic research specialist. Alongside this team, it is important to have a representative from the police force who is able to support the translation process between research and practice. Such officers are referred to as evidence-based champions (EBCs).

Evidence Café facilitator(s)
The academic facilitator should have an understanding of research and research methods, but the facilitator

should not be the same person as academic research expert who presents the research findings. Rather, the academic facilitator is the knowledge exchange expert, acting as the key point of contact with the host police force and maintaining a balanced perspective in the research. They liaise with the force to match research topic with police force interests and work up a café plan to suit the topic. This plan may include preliminary activities that take place before the café, a timetable for the café allowing time for discussions, coffee and feeding back to the group, and post-café activities that build on the research discussed. For example, an Evidence Café that focused on Evidence-based practice (EBP) in policing was preceded by a @WeCops Twitter debate on the topic of EBP. This debate generated a set of themes that informed discussions at the Evidence Café. An Evidence Café on the research topic of leadership with political astuteness incorporated a short 10 question quiz that participants completed during the café to gain a high-level view of their leadership skills and insights into political astuteness qualities.

On the day of the Evidence Café, the Academic Facilitator introduces the café, explaining the format to the participants, and helps manage the discussions and activities.

Academic research topic expert(s)
Evidence Cafés research topic discussions are academic led, but they are not a one-way academic presentation. Presentation screens can be used because often the research being discussed involves use of digital technology. For example one Evidence Café presenting research into a game-based approach to developing skills in collecting first accounts from child witnesses needed a large screen on which to show clips from the game. Participants then gathered into small groups to discuss how this approach might fit in with their force's practice and identify benefits and challenges, discussing their groups ideas in a whole-group plenary at the end of the café.

Police evidence-based champions
It is important to have a member of the police force involved in running the café. These individuals are referred to as evidence-based champions (EBCs) and identify and invite practitioners and help with the process of translating between research and practice, ensuring that the event does not turn into an academic presentation with academics on one side of the divide and police officers on the other. We have identified

four different types of EBC that align with the College of Policing's Continuing Professional Development (CPD) framework (College of Policing, 2016). These are: individual, national/organizational, role and local. EBCs are effectively change agents and tend to be evangelist, inspirational, have some educational experience. They help run the Evidence Cafés, and take the lead on organising follow-on Practitioner Cafés.

Evidence Café structure

As a general guideline, an Evidence Café lasts for about 2 hours and caters for 20 to 40 participants. The background of the participants will depend on the topic; for example cybercrime research is fairly niche, so the audience will most likely be a specialist team. Research on topics such as use of social media in police work has a broader appeal and the audience could include community representatives alongside frontline officers.

Exact timings and activities during the café will also vary. To date (January 2017), we have run seven Evidence Cafés, with 3 in the planning stages to give us the full 10 at the end of the project. Each café has a different format; the following two example cafés illustrate two formats that have been successful:

Evidence Café Example 1: Using social technology and crowdsourcing to support community engagement with policing

— Participants: Police officers, community support officers, community representatives

— Facilitators: Academic facilitator

» 2 Research Academics on Social technology and crowdsourcing

» Research Academic on Evidence-based Practice (EBP)

» Evidence-based champion

— Café Structure

• General introduction from academic facilitator

• Four top tips on Evidence-based practice from research academic on EBP

• Explain concept of crowdsourcing (social technology and crowdsourcing research academics)

  ° Participants invited to think of ways that crowdsourcing could be used (or is being used) with communities to help the police detect and prevent crime. (facilitated by all)

• Present social platform using large screen (social technology and crowdsourcing research academics)

• Break for coffee and biscuits

• Participants invited explore social platform in groups using iPads or mobile phones to suggest ways it might be of use to police based on crowdsourcing ideas from first part of café. (facilitated by all including EBC1)

• Capture ideas for implementation on platform within 3 weeks.

5.1.1. Evidence Café Example 2: Gathering first accounts from children — a game-based approach to learning basic skills in child interviewing

— Participants: Police officers

— Facilitators: Academic facilitator

» Research Academic on Game-based approach to training

» Research Academic on Evidence-based Practice

» Police evidence-based champion

— Café Structure

• General Introduction from academic facilitator

• Present research on serious games for learning, demo prototype game designed to teach basic skills in child interviewing from research academic on game-based training

• Break for coffee and biscuits

• Officers discuss their experiences of collecting first accounts from vulnerable witnesses, e.g. children, what training they have had, what training is avail-

able, what learning resources/training officers feel is needed with a focus on areas where the game might contribute within this framework. (facilitated by all)

- Questions to frame discussion:

  1. How would the game fit in with your force's police practice?

  2. How useful would the game-based approach be in your police force?

  3. If your police force were to use the game, what do the officers present see as the major challenges?

- Plenary — participants come together as a whole group and share the notes from their discussions. Academic draws together the themes emerging from the discussions and frames these in principles of Evidence-Based Practice with reference to the free and accredited learning resources available from the Centre for Policing facilitated by research academic in EBP.

Other research topics covered in Evidence Cafés include Leadership and Political Astuteness, Evidence-Based Practice, Ethics in Policing and Demand Management.

Initial Findings

Preliminary findings indicate that Evidence Cafés are a valuable means to engage police practitioners with cutting-edge research and for them to realise the potential of the learning resources available through the Centre for Policing Research and Learning for their continuing professional development (CPD). The analytics data from the Centre for Policing Website has shown steady increases in visits to the website from a 49 visits in February 2016 peaking at 1 975 in July 2016 and averaging at about 741 per month. Of these, visitors to the learning resources area increased from 25 % in February 2016, to over 50 % by October 2016.

Spikes in access can be observed linked to Evidence Cafés and Practitioner Cafés. For example, there was a strong peak in Centre for Policing Research and Learning website access on May 23rd of which 75 originated from Lancashire Police. This took place after they had promoted the OU learning resources for internal continuing professional development (CPD) and published a direct link on their intranet. Of these website visits from officers in Lancashire, 100 % accessed the Learning Resources page, and from there, 9 went onto the Postgraduate Certificate, 7 to Crime and Investigation, 7 Leadership and Strategic Command, 6 to information management ICT, 5 to professional development and learning, 5 to community engagement and crime prevention, 5 to intelligence and counter terrorism, 4 to studying for a qualification, and 4 to the research pages. This growing activity and interest suggests an increased engagement as a result of participation in knowledge exchange activities.

The added value from participation in Evidence Cafés works in both directions. Not only do participating police officers gain an understanding of the research through the opportunity to interrogate it in an informal and relaxed environment, reflecting on how it fits in with their practice, but academics get a frank and critical appraisal of their work. This appraisal is not always what they anticipated. For example, in Example Evidence Café 1, the academic focus was on exploring ways in which the crowdsourcing social platform could help police engage with the community. During the discussions with the police officers present, it emerged that the police force already made extensive use of Facebook and Twitter and they questioned the usefulness of yet another social platform. They also raised key issues of vulnerability (members of the public making themselves targets by participating in the platform) and ethics (if that force were seen to be sponsoring activities on the platform that resulted in individuals making themselves vulnerable). The discussions that ensued did clarified how the platform could and could not be used by the police. The functionality of the platform emerged as potentially useful to the police, but not in the way that the academics were expecting.

The Evidence Café structures have been developed through their implementation. For example the top tips on EBP was presented at the start of Example café 1, before the practitioners had become comfortable with the informal café format. This reduced the effectiveness and impact as the practitioners did not readily engage. Example café 2 adapted the approach by presenting evidence based policing tips at the end of the café. This was much more effective — participants had already spend a productive time exploring the potential of the game-based training and by the

end of the café, they engaged actively in discussions on EBP and the support and CPD opportunities available through the Centre for Policing.

Practitioner Cafés

Research into Evidence Cafés is underway. The format of the Evidence Cafés is unlike anything the member police forces have experienced before. Nevertheless, feedback from participants was very positive and as a result, an unexpected outcome has been that forces have asked to use the Evidence Café format for use within their force, in particular, as a method to develop and promote the concept of Evidence-based practice with frontline officers. However, Evidence Cafes are predicated on knowledge exchange around academic research, and this requires academic input.

We therefore developed the concept of **Practitioner Cafés**, in collaboration with the Lancashire Constabulary. Practitioner Cafés are an excellent way to engage with staff around evidence based practice. Within Lancashire Constabulary the Practitioner Cafés have utilised a very similar model to that of Evidence Cafés. Topics are identified by evidence-based champions through liaison with heads of department or other key people and are aligned with the force's priorities. To date they have included issues such as child sexual exploitation and digital crime which have been rotated with Practitioner Cafés concentrating on progressing the embedding of evidence based practice. Learning from the Practitioner café's is then circulated to all staff within the organisation to ensure any knowledge shared is gained. Real world policing problems are also identified from the café. These problems are then used to underpin research which is coordinated by the organisations evidence-based policing team which begins as a simple literature review and if a solution to the problem is not in existence with the 'What Works' community of evidence-based policing, consideration is then given to the commissioning of research to identify an applied solution.

This can then come back to the University through the centre as a proposal to initiate collaborative research to understand a specific practice based problem.

— Participants: Police Officers and Police Staff

— Facilitators: Academic Facilitator (when available)

» Evidence Based Champion

» Police Practitioner in the field of discussion

— Café Structure:

- Three key topic related questions are identified beforehand to help facilitate conversation.

- The cafes with Lancashire have been preceded by an online discussion within the organisations internal chat forum called '*The Buzz*'.

- The location used is identified using two key criteria; it must be an informal setting and it must be frequented regularly by the target audience to ensure capture of what is described as '*passing traffic*'.

- A welcome speech opens the Practitioner Café' and sets the scene and the identified questions are posed to stimulate conversation.

- Free tea, coffee and biscuits are available throughout the 2 hour period of the café'

- In closure of the Practitioner Café the EBC will summarise the discussions and themes identified.

- After the café the EBC is responsible for completing a briefing note on the Practitioner Café which is circulated to all staff within the organisation.

Early indications are that Practitioner Cafés are seen as extremely worthwhile. Interestingly, the format of the Practitioner Cafés is moving close to the format of the original Cafés Scientifique, with more of an emphasis of informality and less structure. One EBC reported:

» '*We felt that the EBP cafes should run actually like cafes (we did this on the day), so rather than having someone talk to the group (like the academic did at the initial one [Evidence Café]), we had it so people could walk in and out and just join the conversation.*'

» '*Also, having it in the canteen worked really well … where it should definitely happen as it keeps it informal and ensures we have lots of people passing through*!'

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The success of the pilot Practitioner Cafés demonstrates a real impact on police practice which can spread to other forces. The Evidence Cafés held thus far have involved a minimum of three academics. This is not sustainable in the long term, and the fact that the Practitioner Cafés are recapturing the essence of the original Cafés Scientifiques suggests that they may well enjoy a similar success within the police.

Discussion

Evidence and Practitioner Cafés are not only a method to embed the ethos of evidence based practice. They are also a strong mechanism to challenge the existing Police culture that is incredibly sceptical of any approach which is perceived as undermining or replacing professional judgement. Evidence Café's help break down this barrier by illustrating how research can underpin, enhance and improve decision-making as opposed to replace it. Evidence Cafés also provide a relaxed opportunity for staff of all ranks to enjoy discussion and engage in a positive way. This is impor-

tant because engagement between senior leaders and frontline staff within policing is proven to increase the discretionary effort of the workforce by increasing morale and enhancing alignment with an organisations primary policing goal, protecting people (Heskey et al., 2015).

The collaboration between practice and research has also been found to benefit follow-on research. For example participants at the cafés identified that a key barrier affecting frontline police acceptance of the games-based learning research lay in the title of the project. The term *Gaming* was misunderstood as frivolous and not supporting every-day practice. Also there was confusion over meaning between games-based training, serious gaming and gamification. Substituting the term *Simulation training* was felt to relay a far more practical application for policing, and was seen to be more acceptable. In several ways academics and researchers found that the language used within the research often acted as a barrier to understanding and implementation of the research.

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On the use of serious games technology to facilitate large-scale training in cybercrime response

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Abstract:

As technology becomes pervasive in everyday life, there are very few crimes that don't have some 'cyber' element to them. The vast majority of crime now has some digital footprint; whether it's from a CCTV camera, mobile phone or IoT device, there exists a vast range of technological devices with the ability to store digital evidence that could be of use during a criminal investigation. There is a clear requirement to ensure that digital forensic investigators have received up-to-date training on appropriate methods for the seizure, acquisition and analysis of digital devices. However, given the increasing number of crimes now involving a range of technological devices it is increasingly important for those police officers who respond to incidents of crime to have received appropriate training.
The aim of our research is to transform the delivery of first responder training in tackling cybercrime.
A project trialling the use of computer games technology to train officers in cybercrime response is described. A game simulating typical cybercrime scenes has been developed and its use in training first responders has been evaluated within Police Scotland. Overall, this approach to the large-scale provision of training (potentially to a whole force) is shown to offer potential.

Keywords: cybercrime, training, serious games, incident response

Introduction

Due to the evolving nature of technology and the consequent societal uptake, many crimes now involve computer technology to some extent. The term cybercrime is not limited to describing only those activities which violate the Computer Misuse Act, e.g. hacking, phishing ransomware and data theft. Technology has a footprint in virtually every crime. Cybercrime is a challenge like no other. It is global in nature, evolving on a daily basis and now accounts for a very large proportion of all crime — resulting in financial and physical harm. As a result of this, crime scenes have become highly dynamic, where police officers responding to an incident can be faced with any number of connected digital devices. Doing the wrong thing — or the right thing too slowly — can lose vital evidence and intelligence.

First responders, (those police officers who may be first on the scene when dealing with an incident or alleged crime) are typically tasked with identifying if a crime has been committed, identifying which devices could be relevant to the crime and how those devices should be handled. Police officers also need to consider how to interact with the victim and provide them with appropriate advice, which can be complex when social media may be involved in the incident. Currently, Police

Scotland officers have access to the 'First Responder Guide'; a 35-page guidebook containing information and advice about how to respond to incidents that have a technical element. While this guidebook is available online, it can be difficult to ensure that all police officers are aware of any modification or amendments made to the guide and difficult to measure engagement. While classroom based training could be an appropriate mechanism for cybercrime training, it can be expensive and time consuming and is not considered an effective mechanism for training Scotland's 17 000 police officers to the growing challenge of cybercrime.

There is a clear need for First Responders who can competently investigate cybercrime and therefore high quality, up to date training is imperative to ensure sound acquisition of evidence and response to victims.

Gamification

Rather than deliver traditional classroom-based training, the effectiveness of cybersecurity training through the use of games based learning to simulate cybercrimes and provide practise in incident response can be explored as an alternative to more traditional methods of training. 3D computer games (e.g. Assassin's Creed) afford visually rich and interactive environments that allow exploration of complex problem spaces, both for entertainment and in serious contexts. While younger police officers will be digital natives and therefore more likely to be comfortable with the idea of playing computer games, there is clear evidence that games can be engaging for even elderly users (Zelinski and Reyes, 2009). Games are an effective tool for getting people to participate in activities and providing users with an opportunity to interact with an environment that can replicate the real world. Games also help to drive intrinsic motivation and encourage behaviours that result in internal rewards like enjoyment, positive feelings and happiness (Glover, 2013, Muntean, 2011, Deterding et al. 2011). Consequently, these help to foster a drive to complete actions, such as learning. Research (Kumar 2013, Mekler et al. 2013, Hamari, Koivisto and Sarsa, 2014) indicates that games can deliver improvements in learning if designed correctly. Game features are also strong at feeding back to users. Leader boards, points, badges and progress bars are not in themselves 'fun'. However, feedback is the foundation for engagement, get feedback right and you retain users.

Proposed solution

Police Scotland is committed to ensuring that all officers are properly trained and equipped to protect Scotland's communities and businesses. Serious games are one mechanism that can be used to provide continually updated training in an environment which is engaging and measurable.

A collaboration between Abertay University, Droman Crime Solutions and Police Scotland, funded in part by the Scottish Funding Council's Interface scheme, has led to the completion of the first stage of our project, described here. This stage has led to the creation of a prototype with 3 crime scenarios built into it and an initial evaluation with some law enforcement personnel. Through this project, we want to show that the engaging and immersive nature of training in a virtual environment maximises the recipient's attention and delivers demonstrably more effective learning outcomes than traditional teaching models, providing better value for public money in building better skills of public services. Through this project, we aim to demonstrate that serious games can provide continually updated training in a way that is engaging for the user, which doesn't take officers off the streets for days at a time to sit in a classroom, and which can be delivered at a fraction of the cost of traditional training techniques.

At this stage, we have developed a playable prototype computer game to train and assesses police first responders in recognising, handling and prioritising digital evidence and devices at incidents of crime, or where networked devices might hold relevant investigative information. Initial feedback from a sample of operational officers has been very positive about its potential.

Our prototype has been developed using a serious games approach. The developed game can be delivered to tablets and smart phones, significantly reducing the overhead costs of classroom training. It simulates three scenarios based upon common incidents reported to Police Scotland, described in the next section.

Evaluation has been conducted with a small number of local police officers. Our initial evaluation demonstrates that the prototype has the potential to be scaled to force-wide proportions.

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Methods

Our project, 'First Responder's Guide' is a novel fusion of cyber security and computer games technology to provide a new training tool that harnesses the interactivity of serious games to provide Police Officers with some of the essential skills they need to combat cybercrime. Importantly, this tool enables more effective training to be delivered at a significantly reduced cost, to more staff and without the need for lengthy and expensive classroom-based sessions. Improving the cybersecurity skills of law enforcement personnel will lead to improved response to cybercrime and better preservation of digital evidence.

The proposed training tool offers two key benefits over and above existing provision: (i) training can be self-paced and undertaken at flexible locations rather than requiring attendance at a specific time and place; (ii) serious games are more engaging for trainees than seminar-type events.

The first stage in our project, described here, led to the creation of a prototype that contained a virtual environment with 3 different crime scenarios. This stage consisted of 3 core activities:

- Game jam
- Prototype development
- Initial evaluation

Game jam

A game jam, popular in the gaming community, is an event where developers meet in a physical location to create one or more games over a short period of time (typically 24-48 hours). These events provide an excellent opportunity to focus on developing games around a particular theme and challenge the developers to develop rapid prototypes which can be presented to peers and industry at the end of the event. We used a two-day Game Jam for the first stage of our prototype development, as a mechanism for identifying a broad range of ideas and techniques that could be useful in a serious game environment for first responder cybersecurity training.

Students across our digital degree programmes were invited to sign up for the game jam. Over 50 students participated, forming 13 teams which consisted of representatives from our computer arts, general computing, ethical hacking, digital forensics, games production management and sound production degree programmes. At the start of the game jam, students were provided with the project brief and an overview of Police Scotland's current paper version of the First Responder Guide. Additionally, one of the project team, with experience in conducting digital forensic investigations as part of a criminal investigation, provided the students with an overview of the challenges involved in the seizure, acquisition and analysis of digital devices. Students had 2 days to produce their 'asset', i.e. their proposed game idea to train police officers in cybersecurity. At the end of the event, each team presented their asset to a team of judges and were scored according to proposed design, computer graphics, modularity and adaptability. The winning team's asset incorporated the following features:

- Adaptable to different mobile platforms and operating systems

- Virtual environment that could be 'explored' with objects that required user interaction

- Environment that allowed the user to navigate the crime scene from different views (2d, 3d and crouch)

- Objects in the environment which required 'time critical' decision-making

- Modular-design enabling changing or adding elements to suit new developments, different concepts, jurisdictions or culture

- Short game play — typically less than 5 minutes to complete a level

The winning team (called Fire Breathing Unicorn) were then invited to participate in the next stage of the project: Prototype Development.

Prototype development

This stage of the project was conducted over an 8-week period, in close collaboration with Police Scotland to develop the initial ideas presented in the game jam into a working prototype which could be used for an initial evaluation. The winning team, Fire breathing Unicorn, consisted of 3 students: 2 Game Design and Production Management students and one Computer Arts student. The student team met with representatives from Police Scotland on 4 separate occasions to develop 3 scenarios which would be incorporated into the prototype. These scenarios were selected to broadly represent the types of crimes involving a digital element that Police Scotland typically encounter. The scenarios can be classified as:

1. A pre-planned operation involving indecent images of children, where the police have received information that the inhabitant of a property has been viewing indecent images online. The suspect is not the only inhabitant of the property, and there are numerous different mobile devices located in the property which may or may not belong to the suspect. Additionally, the property is located close to a school and the police officer has to consider how best to approach the property.

2. A reactive enquiry in which a complainant has received threatening messages via social media. In this scenario, the complainant has received the messages from an anonymous account.

3. A spontaneous enquiry involving an attempted fraud of a business via spear-phishing. There are numerous different devices used as part of the business and the owner is unsure if their network has suffered an intrusion due to the confidential information contained in the spear-phishing email.

Within each scenario, the user is presented with a description of the brief, prior to entering the property. Upon entering the building, the user is required to navigate to the appropriate address and consider which law or regulation would need to be adhered to for this particular scenario. Once in the property, the user may encounter a non-playable character that they can inter-

act with. The user is then able to navigate around the property and interact with a range of different objects, depending on the nature of the scenario. Each object has a range of different interactive options, including seizure, photographing, powering off etc. Once the user has finished navigating the scene and chooses to leave the property, they are presented with a score based on how they interacted with the objects for that particular scenario. Where the user did not follow appropriate procedures, they are provided with feedback as to the appropriate course of action. This feedback can be recorded for a user over a period of time to measure engagement and improvements in behaviour. In addition to the features described above, the prototype also works on multiple platforms (iOS, Android, PC and Mac), crime scene with 3 rooms (bedroom, kitchen and living room), numerous assets (e.g. smart fridge, laptop, mobile phone), 1 static non-playable character, scenario editor and testing tools that will enable data analytics of user progress and engagement.

Initial evaluation

We conducted a qualitative evaluation of the prototype at the end of the first stage of the project. This evaluation was conducted with a small group of 10 police officers from Police Scotland. At the start of the evaluation, each participating police officer was interviewed to establish the following:

- Current level of training in cybercrime and incident response

- Current attitude towards training delivered via a mobile device

The participant was then questioned on hypothetical scenarios, similar to those in the game, and asked how they would respond to those scenarios. Participants were then invited to play the game on either a tablet or mobile phone, for each of the scenarios used in the initial interview. Game responses were recorded for each participant. Finally, participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire (online) which asked them questions about their experiences of the game and usability.

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Results

At this stage, we have produced a working prototype which can be played across a range of different mobile devices and operating systems that allows users to navigate a virtual environment with three different scenarios (see Figure 1). For each scenario, users are initially presented with a description of the scenario (see Figure 2), before being allowed to navigate the environment. Whilst navigating the environment for each scenario, users are presented with a series of questions depending on their interactions with various different objects (see Figure 3). Users can choose between crouch mode, which enables the user to look underneath objects (Figure 4), standard 3d mode (Figure 5) and 2d mode (Figure 6). At the end of each scenario, users are presented with their score and feedback on any incorrect answers.

Figure 1: Prototype menu showing 3 scenarios

Figure 2: Description of pre-planned operation and controls
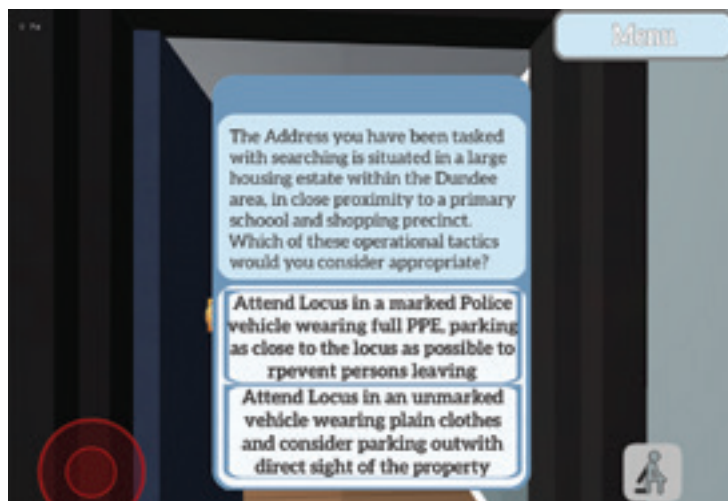
Figure 3: Example of in-game question

Figure 4: Crouch mode

Figure 5: 3-d mode

Figure 6: 2-d mode

Our initial evaluation demonstrates that the prototype has the potential to be scaled to force-wide proportions. Feedback from our evaluation demonstrated that participants were very positive about using games on mobile devices for training. There was some disparity between the answers that participants gave to the interview questions and in-game questions. The questionnaire indicated that some participants found the wording of the scenarios rather vague, which made the questions somewhat ambiguous. Finally, some officers found the navigation controls difficult to use and indicated that they would prefer to be able to indicate via touch-control how to navigate, rather than use a virtual joystick. Overall, participants responded positively about their experience of using the game and its potential for providing training in cybercrime response.

Discussion

The initial prototype described here comprised a small proportion of the content and flexibility required of a full training package. The innovation for this project includes a wider range of challenges, educational content and operational scenarios, as well as delivering sophisticated analytics, management information and automated student assessment.

The next stage of the project will involve developing 3 different residential scenes of crime, each with 2 unique training scenarios and a range of art assets, some of which will embody digital evidence for crime. The scenarios will also embed the legal aspects of training required by Police Officers. Each scenario will also incorporate an accompanying video of Police Officer briefings from senior staff to contextualise the scenarios in the real world. The next version of the game will be used for a pilot involving 100 operational community police officers, independently evaluated by the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (*www. sipr.ac.uk)* for educational benefit, student experience and performance in the workplace.

We expect the next stage of this project to deliver:

• A full content game for training police first responders in Scotland (c.17k officers);

• An independently evaluated pilot exercise for 100 police officers;

• Management information to assist strategic leaders in ensuring and enhancing the cyber resilience of large organisations;

• Increased publicity and public interest in cyber resilience, promoting safer practice online and mitigating the risk of cybercrime;

• Potential for enhanced care for victims of cybercrime through a trained and continually updated police workforce;

• Improvement in the prevention, detection and prosecution of cybercrime;

• A delivery model that could be applied to other areas of large-scale training needs;

- The use of serious games in training large numbers of police personnel in managing cybercrime is unprecedented worldwide, and the cost benefits compared to traditional methods promise to be disruptive of training methods across most disciplines.

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Digital learning: how to improve knowledge and skills for law enforcement managers

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Abstract:

Digital learning leads to innovation and evolution in law enforcement training and education. Training structures and departments have to build strategies to educate a large range of audiences. Facing the security challenges, police academies are compelled to professionalise those who are in charge of education. It requires not only experience to share but also pedagogical, communication and digital skills. Digital learning is a tool and also a lever to facilitate learning and training. We live in a digital world not only in our professional practices, but also in the way we learn and share knowledge and know-how.

Keywords: digital learning; skills; constructivism; education assessment; serious gaming; simulation.

When the first digital learning project in the French gendarmerie officers' academy (Ecole des officiers de la gendarmerie nationale — EOGN) was launched in 2012, international literature and external good practices provided good support. Different needs were identified, as well as means and hurdles. Experiments with different training targets have brought a lot of information not only about the learners and attendees but also about the training and support structure. Digital learning offers a range of educational approaches from 1.0 to 2.0, for example e-learning, blended learning, digital campus, serious gaming, simulations, MOOCs (massive open online courses).

The assessment of such projects is based on studies of the use of the learning management system (LMS), by studying individual connection files and by surveys. A number of critical success factors have been revealed: change management, training of trainers, awareness and partnerships.

This paper deals with educational ideas and concepts, including behaviourism and constructivism, considering requirements which compel programme designers to propose technical and pedagogical solutions to different audiences.

The aim of this paper is to present a 'lessons-learned' case about the practice of digital learning dedicated to managers, which has been implemented in the EOGN since 2012.

Now a powerful tool for pedagogical modernisation, innovation and motivation, digital learning comes across as one of the keys to successful learning rebuilding. Indeed, since the end of the 20th century, society has changed, and so has our relationship with learning. Mainly driven by the new information and communication technologies (NICT), we have become a knowledge society, where we learn throughout our private as well as professional lives.

The terminological shift from 'student' to 'learner' reflects this evolution.

In 2012, in accordance with a strategy from the headquarters of the French gendarmerie, the EOGN took a new, digital turn by integrating e-learning processes. Three years on, thanks to the creation of a digital campus and the development of digital pedagogical tools, mainly in simulation and serious gaming, the EOGN launched a global digital learning strategy.

Therefore, armed with these 4 years of experience, and in order to increase officers' employability and adaptability, the time has now come to reflect on the lessons learned, and to focus on the current and future digital-learning strategy orientations at EOGN.

Digital learning: between learners' and EOGN's needs

Between 2012 and 2015, in partnership with the CP-MGN ([1]), the EOGN led blended learning curricula based on OPALE Scenari© modules, hosted on a Ganesha© LMS. This experience taught us lessons about how far e-learning meets the needs for both learners and the EOGN.

Digital tools are a great incentive for learners

According to a study and analysis report on digital learning in EOGN written in 2015 (Jaffré, 2015), 80 % of the 223 cadets surveyed estimated they had gained new knowledge thanks to e-learning. More generally, 54 % wanted to use e-learning. Indeed, nowadays, we have to take into account the fact that rookie learners are digital natives — they are experienced users who are connected at all times, and thus they do not need to be trained to become familiar with computer and communication devices, like the previous generation(s) did. They are able to incorporate NICT quickly and naturally into their learning process in order to access knowledge anywhere, anytime and on every digital medium. This daily use of NICT in their private and professional lives is a reality, or even a need, to the extent that the limit between these two digital spaces often gets blurred. This observation, which appears as a paradigm for digital sceptics, must be taken into account by learning and training structures. Nowadays, teenagers favour YouTube and forums over books, and therefore learning methods need to adapt to the new generation's preferences. Therefore, before starting to design a curriculum, we have to answer one crucial question: who are the learners? Nevertheless, so as to preserve a human dimension and avoid hyper-technologisation and rationalisation (Ardouin, 2013) in the learning process, it appears fundamental to install safeguards.

Digital tools and learning flexibility

Some 75 % of cadets surveyed thought that e-learning is one of the best ways to manage their learning efficiently. Faced with training programmes which are more and more intense and time consuming for the learner, 49 % of respondents estimated e-learning had saved them time. Indeed, this saved time could be used for deep learning processes ([2]) for better comprehension and memorising of knowledge. Finally, through self-sufficiency and self-confidence, e-learning leads learners to be self-responsible in their learning and training.

Necessary leadership of teachers in e-learning

Only 11 % of cadets surveyed felt alone when tutoring and tracking ([3]) was driven by teachers. In fact, e-learning without tutoring is doomed to fail. Indeed, effective tutoring and tracking not only allows teachers to galvanise learning but also prevents learners from dropping out. During training, clever tracking permits problems and possible drop outs to be detected earlier. In this way, teachers could lead in-advance tutoring as well as reactive tutoring. With in-advance tutoring, a teacher has enough time to prepare effective solutions to future problems, and therefore is not caught off guard when the time comes. Thus problem-solving can happen imperceptibly for the learner or could be used as a dedicated pedagogical tool by the teacher from a socio-constructivism perspective ([4]). Moreover, nowadays, teachers' leadership meets the need of learners to earn knowledge not only by the way of behaviourist methods, but also by a collaborative and socio-constructivist ([5]) process.

Learners need time markers and reference points in their curricula

Throughout their training, a learner must get their bearings and know where they stand on the timeline. This

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([2]) Comprehension — conceptualisation — memorising.

([3]) Tutoring: learning relationship and actions between teachers and learners.

([Tracking: pedagogical exploitation and use of LMS data and statistics from the learner's activity.

([4]) Students 'construct' their lesson themselves — with their own knowledge using modern methods like workgroups, wikis, glossaries, etc. In this process the teacher is more a mentor than a traditional teacher.

([5]) A pedagogical method which is one of the bases of 2.0 learning. It aims for learners to build their knowledge thanks to NICT, collaborative tools and social means (experience, conflicts, autonomy, etc.). It is supervised by a teacher who is more a tutor than a teacher (Wygostky ou Piaget). It is opposed to the behaviourist method (Pavlov, Skinner, Locke).

([1]) Centre de production multimédias de la gendarmerie nationale (French Gendarmerie multimedia production centre).

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observation allows the learner to manage their training and organise their different studying and free time.

Learning departments have to propose to learners time markers such as a curriculum year projection view, length of the curriculum, segments and courses, skills and goals aimed at, whether they are formative exercises or assessments, both on-site and as e-learning.

Attractiveness and teasing

E-learning modules must be attractive not only in content but also in style. Moreover, in order to avoid cognitive overload [6], they have to be cleverly balanced in depth, regarding the technical level of knowledge, and in length of time. So as not to fall into the pitfall of Las Vegas syndrome [7], e-modules must have individualisation capabilities for learners. In addition, as 68 % of cadets surveyed connected to LMS from their homes, it is required that e-modules be designed with web-responsive and mobile-friendly capabilities in order to ensure accessibility anywhere and at all times. Finally, e-modules must incorporate balanced rich media [8].

After focusing on learners' needs, next are the needs of teaching structures. Indeed, just like learners, training structures have needs.

Towards more flexibility

Just like a learner, e-learning enables a training structure to gain flexibility. This process is based on three key elements: saving time; saving resources; saving money.

Refocusing and network strategies

Digital learning allows training and learning structures to gain flexibility thanks to self-sufficiency. Schools and academies should increasingly strive to free themselves from intermediary agents during the designing and driving parts of the learning and training curricula. For all that, they have to improve their school and academy networks.

Academies must be attractive

First, this necessary attractiveness depends on quality and expanded curricula and content offered by the training and learning structures. The quality factor is ensured by internal control processes [9], by strong and coherent learning engineering and by making use of training and learning assessments and surveys filled in by learners.

Second, capabilities to offer mass learning [10] curricula, having in mind the geographical dispersion of learners, should be looked for as much as possible.

Training, support and acknowledgement for teachers

Nowadays, all teachers and instructors are digital managers — or have to be. We are at the forefront of a vital process to convince digital sceptics. We therefore have to demystify the 'false-expert syndrome' of the digital manager, behind which digital sceptics hide. First, this strategy is based on lifelong support and training on NICT and e-learning processes for teachers. The main aim is to show that pedagogical digital tools are user friendly, pleasant and attractive. Second, teachers recently trained to get familiar with NICT need acknowledgement from their line management based on a strong communication policy.

It is based on these observations that the EOGN has been building its digital learning strategy since 2015.

Daily and future digital learning strategies of the EOGN

The current EOGN digital learning strategy is based on four pillars, as detailed below.

First pillar: strong, coherent and built-in learning engineering

Not long ago the learning division was revamped in order to better match the learning process and to increase the use of new digital tools which have lately been rolled out.

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[6] Capacity for a learner to understand and memorise a certain amount of information (the depth) in a balanced and accurate time (the length).

[7] The pitfall of trying to change a learner's needs before their training by using e-learning modules which aim at general needs.

[8] Multimedia resource integration — such as movies, pictures, sounds, animations, hyperlinks, etc.

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[9] Before providing a course to learners it is checked and tested by a college of trainers in order to improve and certify its quality. This process was implemented successfully at the French Gendarmerie research centre between 2013 and 2015.

[10] MOOCs, e-learning, virtual classrooms, etc.

The digital learning strategy of the EOGN is based on a built-in architecture of learning engineering. On the one hand, this architecture is set up by a decision-making process. It consists of four logical steps: the first one stands for an appraisal of the learners needs and the last one is an assessment/survey on the curriculum. On the other hand, this means that all agents and training departments of this academy are integrated into the engineering and design process, along with the scheduling department. Furthermore, our learning engineering is led in accordance with a reference document (cadet training framework) which was drafted by the French gendarmerie headquarters. This key document is currently being reshaped in order to comply with the current security issues.

Second pillar: Moodle, socio- and co-constructivism levers

Since June 2015 the EOGN's digital campus has migrated from the Ganesha LMS — which had become outdated — to a Moodle platform. As previously stated, e-learning allows trainees to manage their learning time and to slow down the often fast pace of training in favour of 'deep learning'.

Furthermore, thanks to efficient mentoring by the trainers associated with pedagogical procedures and Moodle's constructivist-based activity planning, trainees construct their own knowledge basis, either on their own or within training groups, therefore fostering a quicker understanding and developing involvement and motivation, increasing individual empowerment and, in the end, autonomy.

Moodle has also helped to improve the quality of the content and the trainers' motivation, thanks to a pedagogical engineering process inspired by co-constructivism. Indeed, Edgar Morin is reputed to have said that it is the collaboration of our brain with external world, in order to build and produce knowledge (Bougnoux and Engelbach, 2008). Accordingly, instructors no longer build the training course alone, but in a collaborative way, according to the content published on Moodle. For instance, a module on the use of weapons would be prepared together by the professional intervention department, the legal education department and the crowd and riot control department, so that each of these departments could contribute — precisely and satisfying high quality standards — the appropriate content.

In addition, through offering extensive assessment features, Moodle gives trainees the possibility of evaluating their knowledge acquisition by themselves, by using e-modules. It also allows trainers, through various activities, to assess learners in a transparent and attractive way.

Ultimately, like a true virtual agora, Moodle benefits the EOGN's internal communication through many forums. Hence, the general forum, open to every military and civilian staff member, as well as to the trainees of the EOGN, fosters transverse communication within the organisation. The staff forum — use of which is restricted to instructors from the school — constitutes a privileged space for pedagogical discussions. And finally, each training year has at least three forums: the first aiming at internal coordination and the second and the third being dedicated to the year's social life and activities, as well as various announcements.

Third pillar: simulations and 'serious games'

Providing a safe environment that allows mistakes to be committed without any real consequences — as well as solving problems related to sensible professional situations and repeating exercises in a limited time and in various command positions — simulators and 'serious games' not only enable trainees to acquire basic skills at the beginning of their training, but also strengthen and develop their competencies throughout the training course.

Moreover, these programmes allow learning to be decompartmentalised and to cross over, by endorsing the role of connecting hubs and transverse centres of the different forms of teaching provided at the EOGN. Relying on immersion and built on a socio-constructivist real-time logic, they ease access to 'deep-learning' processes by observing trainees, by prompting them to build up their knowledge in situ and by themselves, individually or within a training group, through watching the actions of their fellow learners who are simultaneously using the simulators.

These command support simulators are intuitive and simple to use. The 'Tactical Simulator of Command' ([11]) allows French gendarmerie units to be manoeuvred on a digital map, whereas the 'Basic Skills Tactical Simulator' ([12]) allows students to work directly on a virtual

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([11]) This simulator is based on Romulus software, created and developed by the French army over the last 10 years. This digital tool has been converted by the EOGN in order to answer its needs.

([12]) This simulator uses Operation Flash Point® game software from Code Masters.

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field with a first-person view and perspective. Levels of command are thus available in a range from a team to a regiment, whatever the type of unit is, including interdepartmental services and civilian forces (national and municipal polices, civilian security, fire rescue services), for improved acclimatisation of learners to the transversal dimensions of public safety from the beginning of their initial education onwards.

Finally, the 'Tactical Simulation Serious Game' is based on placing the learners in a situation associated to a double optical system. It combines a roof and wall video-camera network with an on-board camera borne by the team leader. Those two different points of view allow the observing trainees the possibility to compare in real time, and from a viewing room, the tactical perspective on the scene and the view of the team chief, from a first-person point of view, and then to appreciate the manoeuvre's coherence, as well as the leader's actions and position.

Fourth pillar: prospective, research, technological and pedagogic development

The last pillar consists of innovative digital tools and pedagogy, because our current simulators and serious games are already outdated on the digital timeline. That is why the division for digital learning engineering provides a watch on technological developments (virtual and augmented reality, laser shots, etc.) and on new pedagogical methods in order to examine their potential deployments.

Digital learning is an authentic, modern, effective and innovative training strategy, which offers efficient and motivating tools using the EOGN's digital campus. Providing both trainers and learners with numerous resources relating to training and pedagogy engineering, these accessible and simple-to-use materials are additional means that judiciously enrich training programmes. They contribute to the acquisition of basic competencies and to skill improvement and building, however they will never put into question the role of humans and the usefulness of face-to-face education, which remain fundamental because 'Investing in training is to combine the present but also the future concern of men and concern results' (Bloch and Hababou, 1986).

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QUALIFICATION AND PROFESSIONALISATION

A European quality assurance system for police education: a challenge for CEPOL?

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Abstract:

In international police literature there exists a long-standing debate about the role and function of police education in the professionalisation of the police. The discussion revolves around the role of police education as an engine of socialisation. Some say that police training has a limited impact on the police profession, while stating that police officers mostly learn their profession on the streets and not at the police school. Others argue that police education can be an engine of change for the police organisation. In this outline of a presentation given at the CEPOL Research and Science Conference in Budapest (5 October 2016), we stipulate that police training can play a major role in the process of the socialisation of the police profession, but to do so the police education system has to seek more alignment with the (European) higher education system. We argue (¹), inspired by the work of Janet Chan (J. Chan, Devery and Doran, 2003), that police education should be an agent of change within the police organisation system. We believe that if the police service wants to be 'in tune with society' — and to be able to react to societal change — the police education system should reflect more upon the (European) regular education system. Moreover, police education has to strengthen its position and status in the European market of higher education by ensuring high quality standards. We suggest doing this by including more pedagogical research and expertise in the police education and training system guidelines and standards of the European quality assurance system. In our opinion, the key must be sought in the implementation of a European quality assurance system for police education in Europe. In this a crucial role could be provided for CEPOL as a possible European quality assurance agency for higher police education (²).

Keywords: European police education system; accreditation; socialisation; European education system; police education.

(¹) For more information about underlying assumptions and sources for this argument we refer to former publications (De Kimpe and Demarée, 2011).

(²) This paper encompasses a presentation given at the CEPOL Research and Science Conference on 5 October 2016. The main objective of this conference paper is not to make a scientific contribution to the world of police studies, but rather to launch a debate on the European police education system. This paper can only be read and evaluated in this way, that it seeks to launch a debate about the future quality policy of the European police education programmes.

'Forget everything you learned at the police school; from now on you will learn what police work is all about…' This notorious quote, often heard by police recruits from their mentor when entering the streets on their first day in the field, refers to the assumption that 'socialisation' [3] in the police organisation primarily takes place in the field, rather than in the classroom of the police school or during the process of training and education.

Although the police organisation has high expectations of the effects of police education and training, the role of education as an instrument of socialisation is still strongly debated and questioned. In this debate, we distinguish two opinions. **A first group of authors** questions the primarily role of training and education and argues that socialisation within the police profession mainly takes place after the training and education. International literature researching the development of the police officer during and after the police training outlines a pessimistic picture of the (long-term) impact of training and education on police officers. They portray a rather weak relationship between the training arrangements of the police organisation and the further development of the (attitudes of) police officers during their first years raised on site (Alain, 2011; J. Chan et al., 2003; Forslin and Mägiste, 1978; Garner, 2005; Haarr, 2001; Monjardet and Gorgeon, 2005; Nieuwkamp, Kouwenhoven and Krommendijk, 2007; Skogan and Frydl, 2004). The famous cliché is that once the recruits are on site they experience a 'reality shock' (Bennett, 1984, p. 52) and are confronted with the limits of the 'idealistic' training. Moreover, during their first time on the streets they meet the complex daily reality of police work, which is characterised by a considerable administrative burden, frustration, uncertainty, moments of stress and of boredom, and face abruptly emotionally charged situations and interactions in the less attractive echelons of society. The novice agents learn to say quickly that the everyday police reality is not black and white, even that it is quite complex (Foster, 2003). The insignificant impact of police training and education as an informal source of socialisation is thereby often

symbolised by the 'gap' that exists between training arrangements and the daily work reality.

Although we can assume that the necessary competences are developed during the process of social learning (read the socialisation process), research stipulates that they are thrown overboard very quickly upon entering the streets. This might be explained by the fact that the development of new competences does not correspond enough with what happens on the streets. We might even assume that police students are not resistant enough to the traditions of the field. This means that newcomers would essentially conform more to the traditional police culture that dominates the field than, for example, the vision of community policing which is taught during their training.

On the other hand, we also read that some studies cite this perspective and the educational background as an important source of socialisation, especially in terms of attitudes such as controlling violence, knowledge of society, discipline, etc.

The truth may lie in the middle. Nevertheless, both opinions show that the process of socialisation undergone by police recruits is not always in line with what is formally 'expected', which evokes the supposed driving role of police training and education in organisational change. Despite the increased efforts in Belgium and other European countries to turn their police education organisations into modern, knowledge-led organisations, there remains considerable disagreement as to the impact of police training as a motor for change in the police organisation. By this we suggest that although socialisation might occur during training and education, it does not necessarily generate the right competences, meaning the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed to manage and solve current societal problems. Moreover, training needs — much more so than today — to be an engine of change in the evolution of the police organisation towards an organisation 'in tune with society'.

For a more detailed description and analysis of the problem of socialisation in the police education system we refer to former publications (De Kimpe, 2009; De Kimpe, 2014; De Kimpe and Bloeyaert, 2015; De Kimpe and Demarée, 2011; De Kimpe, Gunther Moor, Vlek and Van Reenen, 2012). In this paper we want to point out three possible alterations to police education policy. These requests for change require innovative thinking about police education, but most of all they demand

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[3] The process of socialisation takes place within an organisation. During this process individuals adopt values, norms, roles, expectations, etc. so they can function properly in the organisation and be part of it. It includes also the adoption of the various forms of cultural knowledge or codes, including assumptions, values, meanings, world views and expectations or standards for acceptable behaviour patterns in the organisation. According to Chan, Devery and Doran (2003:3) socialisation is 'the process through which a novice learns the skills, knowledge and values necessary to become a member'.

more willingness to open up the police education system. This appeal in favour of a more open and more highly qualified European education system is based on Chan's (Janet Chan, 1996; J. Chan et al., 2003) vision of the role and function of police education. She believes police education can be a motor for change for the police organisation, but it needs a cultural and structural shift whereby we need to work on the 'habitus' and the 'field' of the police education system.

We introduce three points of innovation.

1. We need to bring in more pedagogical science and expertise in the process of police training and education.
2. We need more 'education' and less 'police' in police education organisations.
3. We need to implement a more stringent European education and quality policy within the European police education area.

First, we plead for **more pedagogical research on the process of police education.** Although a lot of research on police education has been conducted, little is known about the impact of police education systems on knowledge transfer. In traditional research on police education, researchers have tended to focus on the question of whether police students adopt professional competences during the process of training and education. But little research has been able to grasp what is going on during this educational process. Moreover, we have little information on 'how' and 'if' knowledge transfer takes place. Longitudinal research before and after training and education measures shifts in attitudes, knowledge and skills, but we do not seem to be able to explain what causes this change in the development of competences. In this, the police education process remains a black box. We have little knowledge of the influence of peers and teachers (role models) in classrooms, the impact of the hidden curriculum, the school culture, the content of the lessons and courses, the evaluation of recruits and the illumination of non-potential recruits. As an example, De Schrijver (2014) stipulates in her research on the development of ethical competences during police training and education that training and education have limited impact on the development of the ethical competences of police students. Although ethical training was on the programme, ethical rules were taught in the classroom and dilemma trainings took place 'on the floor'. But in her doctoral thesis she cannot clarify

what caused this minor shift in ethical competence development, nor can she explain if this shift was caused during the police education programme. We need more scientific, pedagogical insights into the role and function of education and training at the police school. This knowledge can help us to understand and augment knowledge transfer during the process of police training and education.

This brings us to our **second** proposition: we need more 'education' and less 'police' in police education organisations. We can do this in the first place by **bringing more pedagogical skills and expertise into police education organisations.** Police education remains mainly vocational training, steered and nurtured by the experience of the blue-coated worker. Nevertheless, the quality of education stands or falls with the quality of its teachers. We might assume police officers have great pedagogical talents, skills and passions, but this does not disprove the need for more pedagogical training and expertise on the part of staff. In addition to this, police schools might consider hiring more external teaching staff, giving an external vison on police education subjects. Above all, not everything taught at the police school demands experience with police practice.

In the second place we can open up police education organisations by seeking more structural and formal alliances and cooperation with the institutions and organisations of the European higher education system, like universities, university colleges and technical universities. Despite changes to and innovation in the police education system in many European countries, police training is still an exclusive police matter. In a lot of European countries training and education takes place at police schools, far away from cities and society, sometimes between the high walls of ancient, majestic buildings.

Although police education systems and programmes are very different from country to country, police education systems are often characterised as a formal, collective, sequential, fixed, serial arrangement, and are particularly attentive to the 'divestiture' of recruits (De Kimpe and Demarée, 2011). The students are trained in cohorts; the programme proceeds as a function of the discipline and the increase in compliance, and as a function of the fitting of a new status or identity for recruits (which implies that the old one is deleted). Moreover, the socialisation process takes place within

a tight time frame. Police training is often organised so that it consists of several stages that recruits have to wade through to achieve the final goal — the appearance of the individual in the organisation (Chan et al., 2003; Fielding, 1988). In short, the police organisation and the manner in which new entrants join the organisation are typified by Fielding (1988:16) as 'closed socialisation'. Bloeyaert (2002, p. 505) summarises the socialisation of the Belgian prospective agents together as a 'mono-organisational matter.'

Next to this, the steering and financing of police education is based on a corporate management **logic** and not on a pedagogical or educational one. The main idea is that recruits need to be as fast as possible on the field, and training and education should be based on experience, which can only be found 'in' the police organisation. The flipside of this coin is that, in times of financial crisis and economic restraints, police management tends to treat police education rather shabbily, meaning not as a core business. For this reason, the police education budget is always the first target of austerity measures. The fastest way to save money is by shortening police education programmes. From a corporate management perspective, investing in the quality of education is not rewarding.

The treaty of Bologna and Copenhagen can be a source of inspiration in steering the police education system towards a more liberal open market for higher education. This may mean loosening the sometimes rigorous chains between national police education institutions and their national police education management.

This brings me to my third and final aspiration: the need for a European agency for accreditation of police study programmes in European countries. This idea is not new. We can find a similar example in the European Association for Public Administration Accreditation (EAPAA; http://www.eapaa.eu). This accreditation association is a well-known and respectable organisation, providing quality assurance for public administration programmes since 1999. In this, the idea of a police education accreditation agency should not be considered as idealistic or utopian. The overall aim of installing a police education accreditation agency is twofold.

1. Improving and assuring the quality of police education programmes in European countries.

2. Stimulating the liberalisation of a police education area in Europe, in order to (a) increase the quality of police education programmes, (b) increase the exchange of knowledge of and expertise on the police profession and (c) intensify the mobilisation of students and teaching staff between the different national police education systems.

The first task of this agency would be to develop appropriate accreditation criteria and standards for European police education programmes, and this on the different levels of European education framework (master's and bachelor's degrees, but also vocational training). This would allow the accreditation agency to evaluate all police education programmes with the same quality assurance standards. It would also increase transparency and accountability in the provision of European police education programmes. Today it has to be said that police education programmes — measured by different national quality standards and accreditation systems — are sometimes unequal in content and quality. This creates suspicion and doubt regarding certain police education programmes. Usually, but not always, this is fed by institutions and programmes of regular higher education institutions, who describe these programmes as low-level or non-scientific education. Accreditation could provide clarity in this by giving police education programmes the same status as programmes accredited in the European higher education system. Furthermore, accreditation recognition can increase the mobility of staff and students as it makes programmes in different countries more comparable or even creates more convergence, and in this it can also strengthen the European police education system as a whole. This qualification framework should be in alliance with the framework of qualification for the European Higher Education Area, which is an opportunity to build more overall societal competences into police education programmes and cooperation with institutions of higher education. We can do this by injecting more societal learning outcomes and quality standards into the police qualification framework, for example by demanding that police research expertise be implemented in the programmes.

Secondly, this agency should provide a system of external evaluation of European study programmes in the domain of policing and police science.

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How would this external evaluation procedure work? Every police institution could voluntary apply for accreditation of a police programme with the agency, which would then begin a procedure. This procedure would consist of (a) the writing of a self-evaluation report and (b) an on-site visit by a visitation expert panel consisting of police professionals, academic scholars with expertise in the domain of policing and experts in pedagogical science or who are familiar with education. The members would not work for/with nor have any connection to the institution requesting accreditation. (c) After the on-site visit, a final evaluation report would be written. In this report would be mentioned whether the programme meets the generally accepted quality criteria as defined in the accreditation standards developed by the accreditation agency. The output of this external evaluation would be a report containing qualitative feedback on the programme. This would stimulate and help programmes to reach higher levels of teaching and improve their quality. Moreover, police institutions that want to gain an accreditation for their programmes would be encouraged to invest in the quality criteria and the education level of their programme. In this way accreditation can also encourage curriculum development and innovation in the overall police education system. At the end of the accreditation process the programme would be rewarded with an accreditation label, a quality seal meaning that they meet the European quality standards. This could augment the credibility of the police education system in higher education institutions (universities and university colleges) and therefore give more credit and status to police education institutions. This accreditation procedure would not have to be in contravention with national accreditation procedures. The EAPAA organisation has also worked out a solution for this problem by concluding protocols and working out cooperation strategies with national accreditation agencies.

Finally, we need a credible, objective, neutral organisation able to fulfil the role of the accreditation agency. I believe CEPOL can be this mother organisation. Within its walls it needs to constitute a bureau that organises and manages the process of accreditation, composes the external visitation panels and grants the accreditation. The constitution of the external panels is crucial in a visitation process, which means that the organisation should be able to rely on a strong and valid network of academic scholars and police professionals.

To conclude, if we want to reinforce the role and the function of police training in the socialisation of police officers into the police organisation we need to open up the black box of the educational process so better knowledge transfer can take place. In addition to this we need to improve the quality of police study programmes by submitting police education programmes to a decent quality assurance measurement. Approved programmes will gain more status and institutions will be stimulated to invest in their quality. This increase in status also demands more societal influence on police programmes and the control of these programmes. This can be done through an accreditation system set up by a neutral and credible European accreditation agency. CEPOL could take the lead in this. This European organisation can bring the national police education partners and the academic police scholars together at the table, as it does in the 'Research and Science' conference. CEPOL has the partners, the understanding and the power from the European Commission to do this. To conclude, in the same way as the higher education system needed Bologna to innovate and change the European Higher Education Area, the European police education area needs CEPOL to implement a professional European police education area.

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Sectoral Qualifications Framework for Border Guarding —
the way towards harmonisation of border guard qualifications across EU?

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Abstract

The core set of shared border guard functions performed across EU requires compatible job competences and a system of comparable learning outcomes that can ensure the national border guards are trained under a common framework, respecting the national education and training systems as well as the specific organizational needs, whilst achieving the desired qualifications described in a common language that makes them easily readable, comparable and compatible across EU. The development process of a Sectoral Qualifications Framework for Border Guarding to achieve this requirement is detailed as a potential exemplar to similar professional fields of learning, highlighting challenges encountered and solutions developed.

Key words: Frontex, border guarding, Sectoral Qualifications Framework (SQF)

Sectoral Qualifications Framework for Border Guarding

SETTING STANDARDS FOR TRAINING EXCELLENCE

Rationale for development and added value of the Sectoral Qualifications Framework for Border Guarding (SQF for BG)

> 'If you want to go fast, go alone;
> if you want to go far, walk together'

The development of the Sectoral Qualifications Framework for Border Guarding (SQF for BG) was initiated by Frontex as a result of an increasing need for harmonization and comparability of border guard training and qualifications across the European Union, given the emerging global challenges to border security in the context of the common background of the Schengen regulatory framework that underpins the border control activities within the professional sector.

The border guard job by its nature is a 'European' job, requiring collaboration, cooperation and coordination between the Member States (MS), Schengen Associated Countries (SAC) authorities and EU/international agencies operating in the area of border control and migration. It is essential that the border guards from all MS/SAC can work together effectively in the joint operations organized at the 'hot spots' of increased migration pressure (¹), in the name of the European and international solidarity. As such it is necessary that the same standards are applied at all EU borders. One of the mechanisms to achieve this is to ensure that the European border guards receive training in accord-

ance with the same principles and values, based on the same procedures and learning requirements, described using a common, shared language.

In the light of implementing its mandate in the field of training (²), Frontex, in collaboration with the MS/SAC has launched the development of a sectoral qualifications framework for border guarding. The SQF was intended to provide a tool to facilitate the national integration of the EU common standards in the field of border guards training (common core curricula and learning standards), and to promote best practice in the design of the training courses for border guards, ensuring that all the learning in the border guard field is operationally relevant and specifically tailored to the needs of the job.

The SQF was also intended to create the possibility to design exchange/mobility programmes similar to Erasmus that allow the border guards to study together and be exposed to various European practices and systems at all the different types of borders and in various geographical areas. As such, the SQF allows for the comparability of the qualifications in the border guard field, increasing the mobility of learning and the interoperability in joint operations and leading to harmonization and benchmarking of border guard learning across EU). The SQF also facilitates the description of border guard learning and competences applicable to all border guard organizations, regardless of their different systems and structures addressing the challenge of developing common training at European level with courses that complement the national training whilst bringing added value and avoiding overlaps with existing national training (Frontex, 2013).

Critically, the SQF facilitates the creation of a common border guard culture across EU, which is an important catalyst for the creation of the European Border Guard teams (³) that are expected to work together effectively at all the EU external borders. Furthermore, having a sectoral framework creates the basis of the development of a quality assurance and certification system

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(¹) Frontex joint operations http://frontex.europa.eu/operations/
    roles-and-responsibilities/

(²) Regulation (EU) 2016/1624 of the European Parliament and
    of the Council of 14 September 2016 *on the European Border
    and Coast Guard and amending Regulation (EU) 2016/399 of the
    European Parliament and of the Council and repealing Regulation
    (EC) No 863/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council,
    Council Regulation (EC) No 2007/2004 and Council Decision
    2005/267/EC* (OJ L 251, 16.09. 2016, p. 1).

(³) European Border Guard teams http://frontex.europa.eu/opera-
    tions/european-border-guard-teams/.

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for the European border guard qualifications and facilitates the validation of non-formal (learning from work experience), informal (in-service, non-accredited learning) and formal (accredited) learning for national and European level courses. The integration of the fundamental rights principles across all border guard learning is an important desideratum for the border guard education and training and this is also facilitated by the SQF.

The SQF contributes to streamlining the developments in the field of training across EU, supports the stakeholders in performing training needs assessments and facilitates synergies in the context of the interagency cooperation and coordination, in the framework of the European Law Enforcement Training Scheme (LETS) [4]. It brings together all the previous Frontex developments in the field of training under a common reference framework, an integrated platform for a long term training strategy and it reflects Frontex and MS/SAC shared values and strategic priorities.

Considerations that informed the development of the SQF structure and methodology

Bologna and Copenhagen processes are the European solutions to achieving transparency, convergence, comparability and compatibility of qualifications in higher, respectively vocational education, as well as mobility of learning and learners, quality assurance, employability and international competitiveness. Equally, Frontex aims to achieve interoperability of systems and border guard teams working together at the external borders, needs to ensure that the right people having the appropriate competences are deployed in joint operations and able to work together or make strategic decisions on how to tackle migration challenges in the framework of international and European cooperation. One of the main goals of Frontex is capacity building in the MS/SAC with regard to operational and training capacity, through organizing exchange-mobility programmes, setting standards of excellence, through harmonization of requirements and procedures. Inclusiveness, representativeness and cooperation are key principles that lead Frontex activities, promoting the integrated border management concept with high standards of fundamental rights, performance and

leadership [5]. Frontex Training commitment to Bologna and Copenhagen principles emerged from the very nature of the shared goals and values.

The EU Council initiative to develop the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) [6] represents a successful reference framework for all learning at all levels and in all areas applicable to all European states. A translation tool for all National Qualifications Frameworks (NQF) which uses a common language to provide a set of descriptors of learning (learning outcomes) that identify different types of learning (knowledge, skills and competences) at all levels of complexity, covering both vocational and higher education (European Commission, 2011). The benefits of the EQF and its role as a common reference, a translation tool between the national systems and qualifications that does not impose on the national systems, but creates a link between all systems (European Commission, 2010) allowing the comparability and transferability of qualifications is exactly what is needed for the border guard professional sector: a translation tool, a common reference that, without dictating to the Member States, allows comparison and the recognition of border guard qualifications from across the EU (European Commission, 2008). A mechanism that offers a common language to describe learning and, through its reference to the EQF further onto the NQFs, facilitates the accreditation and validation processes at national and European level for the border guard qualifications, both vocational and academic (European Commission 2013a).

One of the main guiding principles of the project development was to create a framework that is inclusive to the entire sector, that can facilitate cooperation across borders and interoperability through the development of common training tools and courses, which is a challenge for the EU, given the different training practices, cultures and organizational systems in the MS/SAC. This means that the SQF does not dictate any learning requirements to the national training, but instead it reflects the entire scope of learning in the border guard field across EU at all levels and in all areas, in a comprehensive manner without encroaching on competences derived from non-border related organizational functions. The SQF is reflective and inclusive

[4] European Commission (2013b) *Establishing a European Law Enforcement Training Scheme*, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels

[5] http://frontex.europa.eu/about-frontex/mission-and-tasks/.

[6] Recommendation of the European Parliament and the Council of 23 April 2008 on the establishment of a European qualifications framework for lifelong learning, Official Journal of the European Union C 111, 6.5.2008.

to all border guard organizations, without being pre-scriptive, thus respecting the diversity of the specific national structures and systems.

Operational relevance was an important principle of the SQF development, as it was based on an extensive job mapping at all levels and in all areas of border guard-ing across EU. The SQF aimed to ensure the link be-tween the learning and the job, and that was achieved by starting with the identifications of the knowledge, skills and competences required to perform all of the border guard jobs, transferable to the workplace. The concept of 'professional learning' (Eraut, M. 2004 and Eraut, M. 2007) is key to the SQF for BG.

Representativeness and the collaborative nature of the SQF design are two underlying principles equally reflected in the SQF development process and conse-quently, on the final product. Frontex ensured that all MS/SAC were involved in the SQF development and/or validation process, also including other key stakehold-ers (i.e. UNHCR, FRA, EASO). All decisions made by the project group and reflected in the final structure and content of the product were the result of a collabora-tive process of critical analysis aimed at the identifica-tion of the common, generic as well as specific com-petences required to perform the border guard job and the related learning requirements. Stakeholders involvement as one of the key principles of Bologna process is equally a characteristic of Frontex training development business process and it was crucial to the success of the SQF in the view of its usability and acceptance by the MS/SAC — the ultimate beneficiar-ies of the framework.

The development of the SQF took into consideration the opportunity to provide a set of standards that will facilitate the recognition of prior learning (as recom-mended by the Leuven Comunique, 2009) (7), in par-ticular of the non-formal and informal learning. It is well known and accepted (Janssens, L., Smet, K., Onghena, P., Kyndt, E., 2017 and Filstad, C. and Gottschalk, P., 2013) that particularly in policing/border policing/law en-forcement in general a great deal of learning happens on the job and in the context of various non-formal courses provided by the national or international agen-cies. This learning is relevant to the job in developing specific skills and competences and significant for the

officers career development, although not formally credited**.** Thus, the SQF aimed to capture and articulate the professional learning, the one that happens during the operational and organizational activities, enabling the validation of this learning, leading to internationally recognized certification.

The integration of the fundamental rights principles was a particular underpinning element of the SQF in terms of its structure. High level fundamental rights learning outcomes are part of the generic learning out-comes that are core to the border guard field, which means they become integrated across all the border guard learning outcomes. Specific fundamental rights considerations are identified for each border guard task and in order to facilitate the process of course design at national level that would reflect this principle, a spe-cial designated 'Guide to integrate fundamental rights learning outcomes' was also developed as part of the SQF, as an additional reference tool (Frontex, 2013).

All of these considerations informed the development of the SQF, becoming the rationale for decisions in terms of structure, process and methodological ap-proach.

Development process and methodology

The development of the SQF was contextualized by previous Frontex activities to develop common curric-ula for mid-level and high-level border guard training. These processes raised questions such as (Frontex, 2013):

> 'What exactly is mid-level and high level given the range of border guard organiza-tional structures in Europe?'; 'What learning is required at the national and EU levels for mid-level and high level officers?'; 'What do these officers already know and how that is defined'? 'How can it be ensured that the learning designed for mid-level and high-lev-el officers achieves the principles of harmoni-zation, interoperability and mobility'?

Given the principles highlighted above, the solution pointed towards a sectoral framework as an appropri-ate, solid tool to address these issues.

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(7) Leuven Communiqué, April 2009, https://www.eurashe.eu/library/modernising-phe/Bologna_2009_Leuven-Communique.pdf.

The clear reference for the development of the SQF was the methodology of the Tuning Educational Structures in Europe project [8], which envisioned similar aims of identifying points of reference, conversion and common understanding whilst respecting national diversity and avoiding prescriptive uniformity of subject-related study programmes in higher education institutions across Europe. Wagenaar (2014) points out that a significant contribution of the methodology is the alignment of learning outcomes as indicators of competence development to strengthen employability. These features of the Tuning method were most applicable to the SQF, however several important differences prevented the direct implementation of the methodology and distinguish the academic from the professional approach.

Within the Tuning project reference points (competences and learning outcomes) have been developed in forty-two subject areas, and two sectoral frameworks developed that each encompass the relevant range of subject reference points. For example the Tuning SQF for Social Sciences provides a thematic framework of learning across eight subject domains, mapped onto the EQF for levels 4 to 8.

The Tuning project is implemented by higher education for higher education and is effective for this purpose. The methodology specifically targets the three Bologna cycles, with a focus on first, second and third cycle degrees as a structural component. This approach aligns with delivery of higher educational courses and the principles of Bologna, with each level building on the former and also enabling an exit to the workforce with a rounded set of pre-determined generic and subject specific competences, and with each cycle considering the ECTS for a degree programme. The approach necessitates a process of ranking competences in terms of their importance to the subject and likely employment opportunities but also limiting them to the most important within each learning cycle and organizing them at the level of the cycle.

For the purposes of this SQF, the learning cycles were not considered as part of the framework as professional and organizational learning does not happen in terms of a bachelor's followed by a master's degree as delivered by universities. A further key difference is comprehensiveness; the framework needed to capture all competences and all learning related to the professional domain rather than engage in a process of prioritization. It is fully understandable that higher education prioritize competences that best contribute to a range of occupational fields, however border-guarding organizations must ensure competence in all functional areas.

Regardless of these differences the Tuning project provided a rich source of information relating to the challenges of undertaking the process and organizing the outcome. It became apparent that the SQF for Border Guarding development process needed to adopt elements of the development of reference points of a single subject, both the competences and learning outcomes, and integrate them with themes from other existing subject areas such as management, with the final structure aligning to the EQF.

The development process led by Frontex started by setting up of an European working group representative to over 20 MS/SAC border guard agencies, comprising training and operational experts representing border guard key functions in as many areas and as many levels possible at the time. The development followed five phases:

1. 'Development of the Competence Profiles' consisted of an extensive job mapping of border guard tasks and jobs at all levels and in all areas, that reflected and captured all border guarding activities, defined in occupational terms, using knowledge, skills and competence as descriptors. They were later organized around the same border guard areas as the learning outcomes, to facilitate cross-referencing. A wide consultation throughout all MS/SAC followed this step, where the draft competence profiles developed by the working group were verified with all national organizations, including the ones not represented in the working group, with the aim to identify if any relevant border guard competence is missing, or is not defined at the appropriate level. The feedback was integrated and used to improve the Competency Profiles. The resulting Competency Framework (Frontex, 2013), serves as a comprehensive reference for all border guard occupational standards and job profiles across EU.

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[8] Tuning Educational Structures in Europe http://www.unideusto.org/tuningeu/home.htm.

2. Development of learning outcomes, a painful and very thorough exercise of writing learning outcomes at sectoral level which challenged even the most experienced training designers, more familiar with writing curriculum level learning outcomes. Considerable attention was paid to ensuring that the learning outcomes were specific to border guarding but still generic enough to meet the sectoral level, all-encompassing, whilst ensuring that the learning areas were relevant and facilitated integration and Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL), and finally that the level of learning was correct. Debates such as 'attitudes versus competences' eventually resulted in an agreement to use the EQF descriptors that fit best the needs of our sectoral framework. At this point the structure of the SQF was agreed, organized by learning areas to enable clarity in progression of learning. An internal consistency exercise was performed to ensure that the learning outcomes are well defined and independent of the learning areas they belonged to. This resulted in the structure being re-organized as an 'Academic SQF' that mirrored the EQF. Both structures are published to different purposes. Finally, the learning outcomes were cross-referenced with the competence profiles to ensure that the learning outcomes were fully inclusive. This mapping exercise was also published,(-Frontex, 2013), to enable course designers to identify the specific learning requirements that contribute to achieving certain job competences.

3. European Validation of the SQF consisted of another extended national consultation process that involved over 30 organizations with border guard competences and also international organizations that have interests in the area of border security and migration (i.e. UNHCR, OSCE, FRA, DCAF, EASO). Revised job competences and learning outcomes were presented to all stakeholders with the request to check the completion, accuracy, coherence, relevance, levels, or any potential gaps or inconsistencies. The SQF must reflect accurately the entire scope of learning in the border guard field and the aim of this valida-

tion step was to ensure this is achieved. Feedback collected contributed to an improved version of the draft competence profiles and learning outcomes and furthermore, the 'Guide to integrate Fundamental Rights into border guard training' (Frontex, 2013) was initiated, using the substantial feedback provided by the international agencies. The Guide is useful in writing fundamental rights learning outcomes suitable for all border guard courses and it was added to the SQF package.

4. An external independent assessment was conducted by a panel of Bologna experts who were invited to evaluate the SQF and consider the alignment of the SQF to the EQF levels and to assess if the construction of the framework facilitated RPL and mobility of learning, if the descriptors are correctly used, and if the framework is overall coherent and consistent to the Bologna principles. The two Bologna experts noted that the framework and the learning outcomes are clear and well referenced to the EQF, that the process of stakeholders consultation was 'impressive' and 'robust' and that overall the framework serves the interests of the large variety of border guard organizations by its inclusive nature. They concluded by recommending the SQF methodology and approach as an example of good practice for developing an international sectoral framework (ISQ) that may serve as a model for other organizations intending to develop an ISQ. The assessment report is included in the final documentation (Frontex 2013).

5. The Management Board of Frontex was invited to review and endorse the SQF for border guarding, given the strategic implications of the framework for all border guard training. It was adopted with enthusiasm by the board formed of all heads of border guard structures across EU, which gave a political statement and a positive signal for the follow up integration process at national level.

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Challenges of the SQF development

One of the very first challenges to acknowledge is that this SQF was the first to be developed from a non-academic perspective to capture a professional domain. As such there was no direct, published methodology to follow which inevitably lead to the development as a learning process driven by European and organisational requirements in combination with Bologna and Copenhagen principles. One of the key reasons for this publication is that other professions, and particularly law enforcement may be better informed as to the specific challenges and thinking behind the process.

Coming from a learning perspective and on consideration of thematic academic SQF's, a natural starting point was to define the learning required across border guarding organisations, with representative experts, and organise that learning, formed as learning outcomes around the major themes of the profession. Both of these assumptions caused a false start. The natural major themes of border guarding caused significant repetitiveness in learning outcomes, and given the major differences in organisations with responsibility for borders in terms of structures, types of borders, policy and legislation, starting with learning outcomes caused a huge amount of outcomes to be developed. It quickly emerged that this was not a useful way forward.

Using role profiles was considered, however again differences in organisational responsibilities across Europe would result in multiple, partial profiles, which would not be of practical utility. Further, each organisation has differing rank and role structures and this diversity is absolutely respected. Whilst it would be possible to identify shared learning requirements, a significant amount of necessary individual organisational learning would not be represented meaning that the core rationale for developing the SQF would not be achieved and ultimately public security would be affected.

It was determined that if the SQF would capture the learning requirements related to border guard activities then the work of border guarding should be clearly and comprehensively defined. As such the working group set about naming and differentiating every task related to border guarding. This process enabled natural clusters to emerge, which prevented repetition, with resultant learning outcomes truly grounded in the practical tasks of border guarding.

With the process determined the next challenge related to dealing with the learning requirements of hierarchical, predominantly ranked organisations. Determining the level of learning presented a persistent difficulty for working group participants. Academic learning with in a single subject can be defined quite naturally as it develops in complexity, however professional learning is not necessarily the same. The working group tended to consider escalation of the EQF level of learning being synonymous with promotion, with the higher the rank the perceived higher the level of learning. In reality, the lowest ranks in an organisation may be required to develop highly complex competences, for example; decision-making in the use of lethal force within the context of the principles of fundamental rights, whilst higher ranking officials may be required to develop quite basic management or finance competences.

Further challenges were encountered in relation to language. In the construction of job competences and learning outcomes, finding the exact language was a long process. Capturing the exact essence of meaning, at sectoral level, which would translate into every European language, resulted in a necessary glossary and carefully monitored translation workshops beyond the original formulation. Most of the working group will forever recall days of debating each and every word of the SQF.

In terms of the working group, there were vast levels of expertise in relation to basic border guarding, but establishing broad expertise in the tasks and learning required of senior management was not easy. Evidently, given there are fewer of such people across the organisations, availability will always be a challenge. The validation process whereby the outcome of both the competences and learning outcomes were evaluated by each organisation addressed this particular issue.

Addressing these challenges was achieved by debate and discussion amongst the expert group, driven by commitment and an understanding of the benefits of the potential outcome, without a practical vision of what the outcome would look like. It took about six workshops within a period of 6 months in early 2012 to achieve all these agreements and overcome the challenges, including the national and international validation processes managed through written consultation. It is hoped that this SQF and the associated publica-

tions serve to assist anyone engaged in this process to better manage these challenges.

Conclusions and further steps

The value of the SQF for Border Guarding resides in its actual usage, not in its completion, as its objectives are met when it is used, not when it was written or officially endorsed.

There are many ways in which the SQF becomes an useful tool for the MS/SAC.

The review of job competence profiles and occupational standards (Cedefop, 2009) in the border guard field is facilitated by the usage of the SQF Competence profiles. These profiles are written in an 'occupational' language, providing a comprehensive list of knowledge, skills and competences required to perform all border guarding activities and they are organized according to the level of learning required to achieve them. The definition of occupational standards creates the link between the human resources activities (e.g.: performance management and appraisal) and the training activities, ensuring that the training is relevant for the job.

Validation of qualifications and programmes accreditation is built around a number of key elements (ESG, 2015): learning outcomes (what type of learning has happened), credit points (how much learning has happened), level of learning according to the EQF/NQF and quality assurance mechanisms that ensure and demonstrate the learning has actually happened (including assessments). The SQF supports the national accreditation/validation processes in the field of border guarding by offering European validated reference points for 2 key elements: learning outcomes that are specific and relevant for the border guard field and levels of learning referenced to the EQF levels 4 — 7 that translate into all NQFs.

Recognition of non-formal and informal learning (Cedefop, 2015) in the border guard field can greatly benefit from the existence of the SQF in that it offers standards that serve RPL processes. The competence profiles and learning outcomes in the SQF assist in the definition and assessment of informal and non-formal learning with the purpose of its recognition and certification or credits towards other formal programmes.

RPL requires learners to articulate the learning they have achieved, in such a way that it is recognized by both border guard and academic organisations. As such, the SQF supports the border guard learners in engaging and benefitting from RPL policies, and also saving tax dependent organizations scarce funds wasted on training officers in subjects in which they are already competent. It becomes increasingly valuable to give credit particularly to the informal and non-formal learning in the border guard profession, given the significance of the on-the-job learning and non-formal courses delivered within the organizations (Marsick, V. J., and Watkins, K., 1990**)**.

Whilst it is expected that the SQF is used selectively and integrated by each border guard organization according to their specific needs and national mandate, the SQF for border guarding offers an useful model and a validated methodology for developing further national sectoral (organizational) frameworks. This can be achieved by further mapping the remaining organizational tasks according to the national mandate (e.g.: traffic police, military police etc.) and adding them onto the selectively integrated SQF for border guarding elements that are suitable for the respective organization, using SQF for border guarding for benchmarking. This way, the benefits of a sectoral framework may extend at national level, bringing organizational value in streamlining and eliminating overlaps, clarifying tasks and responsibilities, making well informed decisions regarding staff development, training management and needs assessment.

The development of comparable and compatible courses is particularly relevant in the border guard field. The description of all courses in border guarding using the SQF learning outcomes as a common currency ensures their comparability and also makes possible the establishment of exchange-mobility programmes in this field between the MS/SAC. It also facilitates the development of European courses ensuring that they add onto and not overlap the national training. Progression of learning becomes clear and the qualifications obtained in different countries through courses named differently, offered by different institutions, courses of various lengths and forms of learning — now become comparable, given the common language used to describe the learning achieved, thus facilitating mobility of learning and of learners. These courses developed based on the SQF are operationally relevant, as the link between the training and the job created by the

Competence Profiles and the cross-referencing tables ensure the operational and organizational relevance of the training. Furthermore, the courses developed based on SQF will have integrated specific fundamental rights considerations, ensuring that each border guard task is performed in compliance with the fundamental rights principles, organically integrated in the border guard training at all levels and in all areas.

All these are relevant not only for the MS/SAC, but also for Frontex, in the context of the deployment of the European border guard teams called to work together and perform at the highest standards during the joint operations at EU external borders, given the challenges to border security, the migration and humanitarian crisis that we are experiencing at the time of writing.

Frontex is offering support to the MS/SAC in building the capacity to design courses and curricula aligned to the SQF. Approximately 200 curriculum designers and teachers from the MS/SAC border guard training institutions have been trained in 'Course design in line with Bologna/Copenhagen principles using the SQF' so far and an increasing number of courses are reported to be designed or reviewed in the MS/SAC using the SQF. Furthermore, to facilitate the harmonization and integration processes, Frontex most recently offers grants to the MS/SAC to design SQF aligned curricula that may be delivered as national courses or as exchange-mobility programmes involving a number of European training institutions and academies. A quality assurance system is currently developed aiming to provide Frontex with institutional accreditation as a quality assured training provider, enabling the subsequent validation and international recognition of border guard qualifications offered by Frontex, based on the SQF for Border Guarding.

The SQF itself has its own quality assurance methodology and a monitoring Expert Board to review the framework in the coming years, to ensure the most recent and emerging developments at EU level in border security, such as the increased focus on coast guard functions as part of border security, are included. One of the most interesting challenges for the coming years is to demonstrate the correct referencing of the SQF to the EQF, through the validation of the national qualifications aligned to the SQF (developed or reviewed based on it) and recognized according to the NQFs at the respective level. In the absence of a specific methodology to reference the international sectoral

frameworks to the EQF (European Commission, 2016), this approach opens interesting perspectives on linking a transnational sectoral (meta-)framework like the SQF to the EQF through the national qualifications (NQFs), which is worth exploring. A first step has been achieved already, through the development and international accreditation of the European Joint Master's in Strategic Border Management [9] run by Frontex as part of an international Consortium of Universities and Border Guard Academies, a joint curriculum developed based on the SQF level 7 and accredited through a joint accreditation in a single procedure, a pioneering pilot project coordinated by the Accreditation Organisation of the Netherlands and Flanders (NVAO) and European Consortium for Accreditation (ECA) [10] and consequently recognized by the quality assurance agencies of all Consortium Partners.

As a conclusion, it can be said that the SQF is the main tool that facilitates the implementation of Bologna and Copenhagen principles in the border guard education and training sector and also supports the national integration of the European common core curricula and learning standards developed together by Frontex and the MS/SAC, supporting effective strategic management of training and resources and ensuring harmonization, mobility of learning and comparability of qualifications in the border guard field across EU (Frontex, 2013). The SQF not only promotes, but has proven to trigger interesting debates in both higher education and vocational educational fora, with potential further developments in both areas. Whilst much work still lays ahead in terms of quality assurance and validation of qualifications based on the SQF, an optimistic quote back in 2013 from one of the SQF expert group members is proving to be true: *'Outstanding work accomplished (…). Let me confirm to you that the SQF draft can fulfill our competence profiles/learning outcomes properly at our national level (…). The SQF will promote itself due to its quality and usefulness.'* (Frontex 2013)

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[9] http://frontex.europa.eu/training/educational-standards/.
[10] https://www.nvao.com/about-nvao and http://ecahe.eu/.

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Sample of SQF products

SECTORAL QUALIFICATIONS FRAMEWORK FOR BORDER GUARDING
Learning Outcomes

Learning Area (high level description of activities)	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7
GENERIC BORDER GUARDING				
Fundamental rights	Respect the fundamental rights of all persons in the context of all border guarding activities	Promote the fundamental rights of all persons in the context of all border guarding activities	Ensure protection and respect for the fundamental rights of all persons	Strategically integrate fundamental rights within all aspects of organisational activities
Ethics, diversity and professional standards	Act in accordance with defined ethical and professional standards and demonstrate respect for diversity	Promote defined ethical and professional standards, ensuring respect for diversity	Ensure professional and ethical standards across all border guarding activities	Review the strategic implementation of professional and ethical standards across all border guarding activities
Law, policies, strategies, rules and procedures	Outline a defined range of national, EU and international law, policies, rules and procedures relevant to border guarding activities

Apply a defined range of national, EU and international law, rules and procedures relevant to specific border guarding activities | Describe a defined range of national, EU and international law, policies, rules and procedures relevant to border guarding activities

Apply a broad range of national, EU and international law, rules and procedures relevant to a range of border guarding activities | Define and explain a broad range of national, EU and international legislation relevant to border guarding activities and appreciate the implications for implementation in the national context

Exercise the appropriate level of autonomy in the application of a broad range of legal and procedural frameworks | Critically evaluate national, EU and international border security policies and strategies in the wider context of how they interface with other agencies and partners

Critically evaluate the existing legal and procedural frameworks related to border security |
| Cooperation with national, EU and international partners | Apply specific procedures in relation to partnership and cooperation agreements | Apply the terms of defined agreements, partnerships and cooperation procedures to operational duties | Assess operational activities in the context of cooperation, ensuring the operational implementation of agreements, partnerships | Engage with the development, review and evaluation of national, EU and international agreements, partnerships |

SECTORAL QUALIFICATIONS FRAMEWORK FOR BORDER GUARDING (ACADEMIC)
LEVEL 6 – Learning Outcomes

Knowledge	Skills	Competence
GENERIC BORDER GUARDING		
Define and explain a broad range of national, EU and international legislation relevant to border guarding activities and appreciate the implications for implementation in the national context

Critically evaluate national and global trends that impact on border security | Assess operational activities in the context of cooperation, ensuring the operational implementation of agreements, partnerships and cooperation procedures

Demonstrate advanced communication skills including negotiation, conflict resolution, and ensure implementation of effective communication strategies in a broad range of border guarding contexts | Ensure protection and respect for the fundamental rights of all persons

Critically evaluate information/data management systems and ensure data protection compliance

Take the initiative to identify, assess and address personal and professional development requirements for self and others utilising a range of learning contexts

Ensure professional and ethical standards across all border guarding activities

Exercise the appropriate level of autonomy in the application of a broad range of legal and procedural frameworks |
| **BORDER CONTROL** | | |
| | Select, coordinate and critically evaluate border surveillance activities

Critically evaluate the tactics and implementation of operational procedures for border checking

Differentiate between systems and technologies available for border control, compare their suitability, supervise and evaluate the operational deployment and results | Facilitate cross-border movements by balancing the right to free movement with the responsibility to prevent and detect cross-border irregularity/infringements

Manage border crossing procedures and take decisions in complex situations related to border checks

Plan, organise and deploy border control resources and critically assess performance and evaluate results |

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BORDER GUARD COMPETENCE PROFILES: LEVEL 4

GENERIC BORDER GUARDING

Knowledge knowledge and understanding of:	Skills ability to:	Competence
A limited range of national, EU and international legislation, policies and procedures	Uphold and enforce specific National, EU and International law, policies and procedures	Act autonomously within prescribed guidelines for the individual role
Specific ethical codes, values and professional standards	Communicate effectively with individuals and groups in predictable border guarding contexts	Act within organisational value statements, professional standards and code of conduct guidelines
A limited range of processes, rules and procedures for interacting with cooperative agencies and other organisations	Resolve specific problems	Facilitate the legitimate movement of people across borders
Specific cultures and customs of other countries	Assist and support people in their passage, providing advice and information as necessary, with a quality service orientation	Exercise the appropriate level of autonomy and discernment in the application of national, EU and international law, policies, rules and procedures
Specific information and data handling systems together with procedures, such as form filling and databases	Follow defined procedures to maintain accurate and timely records and reports.	
	Follow protocols for information sharing, respecting and maintaining standards of confidentiality	

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SECTORAL QUALIFICATIONS FRAMEWORK LEARNING OUTCOMES – Level 5

COMPETENCE PROFILES
Level 5

BORDER CONTROL (cont.)

Skills (cont.)

Ability to:

- Apply a comprehensive range of cognitive and practical skills to perform border checks in accordance with the SBC and/or applicable national legislation
- Conduct border interviews in irregular circumstances
- Operate a broad range of border checking technology and equipment and interpret results
- Examine and establish the validity and usage of travel related documentation
- Recognise the value of information as potential intelligence, gathered through overt or covert activities and share accordingly
- Evaluate potential risks and threats through the application of established profiling methods
- Implement correct/full responses to risks and threats
- Manage or resolve unpredictable but manageable conflict situations in accordance with relevant law, policies, rules and procedures
- Establish eligibility for admission, residence or travel within the EU/Schengen that are irregular but not complex
- Conduct return, removal, repatriation and asylum procedures in compliance with fundamental rights
- Develop relationships with local communities

Competence

- Act in cooperation with all stakeholders involved in border security
- Ensure the state obligations of international protection of asylum seekers and refugees are implemented
- Act in the context of respect and relationship building within a community

GUIDE TO INTEGRATING FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS INTO BORDER GUARD TRAINING				
				Example Learning Outcomes
Learning Area (high level description of activities)	**Level 4**	**Level 5**	**Level 6**	**Level 7**
GENERIC BORDER GUARDING				
Fundamental rights	Respect the fundamental rights of all persons in the context of all border guarding activities (SQF) Recognise the important role and responsibility of the border guard to prevent human rights violations and protect victims	Promote the fundamental rights of all persons in the context of all border guarding activities (SQF) Explain the role and responsibility of border guards to prevent human rights violation(s)	Ensure protection and respect for the fundamental rights of all persons (SQF) Identify and address barriers to the integration of fundamental rights in border guarding activities	Strategically integrate fundamental rights within all aspects of organisational activities (SQF) Take responsibility and be accountable for non-compliance with Fundamental Rights and International Protection legislation and treaties
Ethics, diversity and professional Standards	Act in accordance with defined ethical and professional standards and demonstrate respect for diversity (SQF) Apply cultural, age and gender-sensitive approaches in day-to-day contacts with persons arriving at the border, in full compliance with international law and standards Recognise and address the needs of people with disabilities and people with behavioural indicators of vulnerability	Promote defined ethical and professional standards, ensuring respect for diversity (SQF) Promote diversity based approaches within the work setting Apply national and European ethical guidelines to border guard practice	Ensure professional and ethical standards across all border guarding activities (SQF) Ensure cultural, age and gender-sensitive approaches in day-to-day contacts with persons arriving at the border, in full compliance with international law and standards Reflect on the application of ethical practice in border guarding activities	Review the strategic implementation professional and ethical standards across all border guarding activities (SQF) Strategically integrate a diversity policy within the BG organisation Value and promote ethics and standards compliance in all professional activities
Law, policies, strategies, rules and procedures	Recognise key provisions of the international, regional and national legal instruments related to human rights, including	Describe the legal nature of fundamental rights and consequences of violations and in terms of international, EU and	Analyse border specific European and UN case law related to fundamental rights and international protection and make	Review policy and procedures to ensure compliance with fundamental rights and international protection

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Education and research for 21ˢᵗ century policing: Collaboration, competition and collusion

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Abstract

In many countries around the world, there is a drive to develop formal educational qualifications for the police in support of a policing profession and identity based on an explicit body of knowledge, as well as tacit craft. This shift also includes a greater emphasis on continuing professional development and capability enhancement for existing officers and staff. This paper analyses the establishment and growth of a national, inter-organizational learning network across the nations of the UK, taking account of the different policy contexts and based on a close collaboration and co-design of education between academics and practitioners. It includes a variety of geographical, demographic and organisational circumstances in policing. The paper provides a first hand, but critical and reflective account of the planning, funding and resourcing of a policing collaboration between police and academics working with a national UK university. It examines the academic and practitioner considerations that education providers and police forces throughout Europe and globally need to be mindful of when undertaking such ventures. It proposes a model of collaboration that avoids either the police or the academics taking over the venture (competition) or alternatively failing to challenge each other's ideas (collusion). Given the complex and dynamic context for law enforcement throughout Europe, this model, it is argued, deserves further examination and testing in other contexts.

Keywords: collaboration; coproduction; network; police-academic partnership; Mode 2 research.

1. Introduction

Policing in the UK, across all four nations, has reached a watershed moment in its development (Hamlin, 2015). A similar point has been reached in many police forces in Europe and around the world as they police societies in turbulent times (van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch, 2015). There has been considerable change in the demand for policing, and in policing responses. The profession is almost unrecognisable compared with as little as ten years ago, with technology playing a major role in that transformation. The advent and widespread accessibility of online social media has led to a paradigm shift for policing services, taking it from a service concerned with protecting physical public spaces to an interconnected web of complexity in transnational virtual and real public and private spaces. A substantial increase in vulnerability has emerged from the world of cyber, and the modern-day officer is now faced with a very different world to that of their predecessors.

Furthermore, society is changing as a result of globalisation and other factors, leading to changing expectations of the police, declining deference to authority, greater social and economic polarisation within societies, and other factors which place greater demand on all public services, including police forces and their individual officers and staff. Policing demand is a reflection of the society that the police serve, so these fundamental political, economic, social and technological shifts are fundamental to the tasks and roles of police. These have consequences for the education and training of police. These changes require stronger research-based practice underpinned by professional education.

2. A shift in focus for policing education and training

The greater range and complexity of problems facing the police have caused a change in strategy about how to develop and enhance competence and capability in the policing workforce. These are called 'wicked' (Rittell and Webber, 1973) problems (where the problem itself may be novel and where views about problem diagnosis and solution are not agreed). Grint (2005) notes that wicked problems are not well served by 'command and control' leadership or unthinking adherence to existing procedures and practices. The novelty and emergent nature of problems and demand requires a workforce that is able to problem-solve, not just carry out orders; and to critically appraise novel situations. Furthermore, the increasing scrutiny of policing actions and budgetary constraints has led to the greater interest in evidence-based policing and practice (Greene, 2014; Sparrow, 2011). Evidence-based practice, in any field, requires a research base for practice (Briner, Denyer and Rousseau, 2009), and an ability on the part of practitioners to critically reflect on the quality of that evidence. This has led a number of police forces, encouraged in the UK by the College of Policing, to engage more closely with academic (university) institutions, both to create an evidence base through research, and also to develop university-level qualifications to strengthen the professional foundations of policing.

Behind the controversies about qualifications and the spread of evidence-based practice, two debates can be discerned. The first, familiar for some time now, is how far policing is a craft or a science (a debate which exists in a number of professions in various forms), and therefore how far formal education (such as university education) can equip a police officer for the practical world of policing. The second debate is about the type of collaboration between academics and police that will best suit both parties.

On the latter, what makes a collaboration between police forces and universities effective? There have been many calls for closer collaboration between police and universities (e.g. Fyfe, 2015; Fyfe and Wilson, 2012; Weisburd and Neyroud, 2011; Stanko and Dawson, 2015), but also there have been signs of frustration on both sides. The difficulties of collaboration between academics and practitioners are relatively well documented in a number of fields, including health, local government and the private sector (e.g. Barley, Meyer and Gash, 1988; Bartunek and Louis, 1996). There have been concerns on both sides. Practitioners report difficulties in understanding and applying academic work, with complaints about academic jargon and abstraction, and research reports being too long, too late or too retrospective for practical application. For their part, academics often complain that practitioners ignore, or do not even wait for, the evidence from research they have commissioned, but move into action opportunistically, and treat research findings as more robust than the academics claim.

How, then, to establish a collaboration between academics and practitioners which overcomes these difficulties and enables a feasible and productive working relationship which is effective in policing professionalization and education? This cannot be taken for granted. 'Partnership working' is very fashionable and widely advocated in western policy circles, but research shows that it is more complex and more uncertain in outcomes than the glib policy phrase suggests. An overview from Vangen (2016) notes that 'research… concludes… that collaborations are complex, slow to produce outputs, and by no means guaranteed to deliver synergies and advantage.' In part that lack of collaborative advantage may be because of unrealistic views of collaboration, that it is self-evidently 'win-win' for all parties and involves complete consensus (Straus, 2002). Alternatively, among practitioners, some cynicism about the value of collaboration is frequent, being seen as largely politically driven or pragmatically simply a way to save money.

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However, Gray (1989) offers a more clear-sighted view of collaboration: as the process through which two or more actors engage in a constructive management of differences in order to define common problems and develop joint solutions based on provisional agreements that may co-exist with disagreement and dissent (Gray, 1989). This definition permits the appreciation of the productive role of difference and tension in creative processes (Thomas, 1992) and the avoidance of 'groupthink' in collaboration. The following sections outline such a collaboration in the UK, and then presents a model (Figure 2) of the features of the collaboration which, we suggest, contribute to its effectiveness.

3. Collaborative purpose of The Open University Centre for Policing Research and Learning

The Centre for Policing Research and Learning (CPRL) is a collaboration between The Open University (as a university with a presence across the whole of the UK) and, currently, 18 UK police forces. The collaboration has been growing rapidly, with the number of collaborating forces going from 10 to 18 within the last year (2016). Those forces form the network that steers the work of the Centre. Work is undertaken jointly in the fields of Education, Research and Knowledge Exchange (as illustrated in Figure 1). Some outputs from the Centre are freely available to all police forces. The advantages of being a member of CPRL is shaping and steering the strategy, piloting and experimenting with the research and education, and having first sight of new findings and insights from the work. Some activities are only available to members of the CPRL.

The collaboration aims to achieve outcomes for police organizations and their workforces in three main streams of work, each of which overlaps and helps inform the other streams in a synergistic way. The three streams are concerned with education, including continuing professional development; practice-informed problem-solving research; and knowledge exchange. With The Open University's technological as well as face-to-face reach across the UK, the activities can be online, audio, video, or face-to-face, depending on the activity. The streams in overlap are shown in Figure 1.
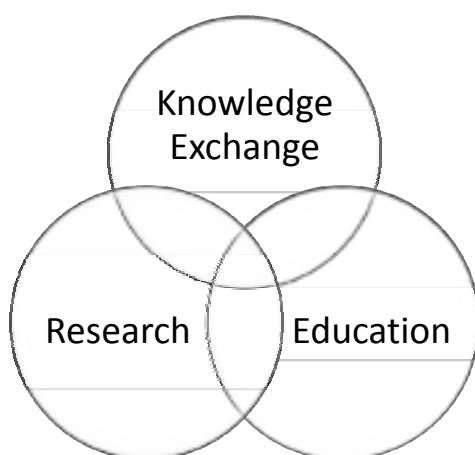
Figure 1: The CPRL core focus of work

The Police and University partnership together mapped out and developed five entry points into education, both informal and formal. Police officers and staff can experience end-to-end learning, from informal free learning in bite-sized pieces right through to the highest university qualification of PhD, and with substantial learning resources in between to suit a variety of ranks, grades, jobs and personal circumstances.

The informal educational materials, called Open Educational Resources (OER's), are available to anyone anywhere in electronic format and vary in topic, treatment and length of study. Many forces are seeing this informal, unaccredited learning as valuable in promoting continuous professional development (CPD), and some forces have put links to these materials on their intranets. At the higher academic level of qualifications there are part-time PhDs, where supervision is by academics, and in some cases includes suitably qualified

police. The other entry points into education include accredited programmes such as undergraduate modules in a range of subjects relevant to policing (from across the University and not restricted to criminology), to undertaking a full degree part-time (which will become more important for serving police officers given the policy context), and a Postgraduate Certificate in Evidence-based Practice, also part-time and based on blended learning. These qualifications map to the College of Policing landscape for CPD.

In research, the Centre police and academics jointly decide on particular research themes and questions to pursue and there is debate about how to frame interesting questions which are both high-quality academically and also contribute to policy and practice in policing. Academics come from a range of disciplines across the University and so research reflects a wide variety of issues, from forensics and witness identification procedures; through cybercrime and analysis of social media use by the public and the police, through to demand management, public value, leadership and ethics. Most research projects have an element of co-research (Hartley and Benington, 2000); or participatory action research (Whyte, 1991; McIntyre, 2007), which together can be summarised as concerned with Mode 2 research (Gibbons et al., 1994), whereby the expertise of both academics and relevant stakeholders is deployed in framing, carrying out and/or evaluating research. In this sense, the research is practice-informed research as well as research-informed practice.

An innovative element of the research programme is to include seconded police officers and staff as full-time Senior Practitioner Fellows in some research projects for periods of between three and six months. The aim is that the police get closer and more informed insights into how research is undertaken, and they also contribute insights into the design and carrying out of the research to ensure it is relevant and productive for the police.

In the stream of work on knowledge exchange, academics work with police to explore the value and use of research evidence, given the commitment of the Centre for Policing Research and Learning (CPRL) not only to creating research evidence but also using it in practice, because the knowing-doing gap is often a problematic area for many organizations (Pfeffer and Sutton, 1999). Here, the craft of policing meets the research knowledge of the university in a way in which

each can debate with the other and can explore different sources of evidence to use in practice. Briner et al. (2009: 19) argue that evidence-based practice needs to be based on the *'conscientious, explicit and judicious use of the best available evidence'* from four major sources: academically validated research; professional expertise, contextual data (e.g. the organization or local situation) and stakeholder perceptions. These sources of data come together in the Centre's pioneering of evidence cafés (Clough et al., 2017), which take place in police stations with opportunities for plenary and small group discussion of whether and how evidence works in practice (or not). Additionally, conferences, webinars and podcasts add to knowledge exchange. Evidence-based champions are supported by materials on the Centre's website to mentor and guide others to engage in evidence-based change.

A fuller account of the activities and the outputs of CPRL are available on the Centre's website (http://centre-for-policing.open.ac.uk).

4. Collaborative design and structure of The Open University Centre for Policing Research and Learning

How are these three streams, the programme of work (education, research and knowledge exchange), designed and structured to ensure high value collaboration? The Centre for Policing Research and Learning (CPRL) is based on a close collaboration as a legally constituted membership network, between the Open University (as a local, regional, national and international UK university with a presence in all parts of the UK) and, currently, 18 police forces.

CPRL is genuinely collaborative and the police and academics jointly steer the ambitious programme of education, research and knowledge exchange, with meetings chaired by the police who works closely with the academic director. Each force has at least one representative at each Membership Group meeting, held quarterly. Collaboration is woven into the design of the partnership, so, as noted earlier, the police, as well as the academics, shape the research focus, the research questions and the undertaking of the research through discussion and debate about strategic priorities within the funding. Voting is discouraged so that any differences in views are explored and resolution is achieved through debate.

Police partner forces vary in size, geographical location, performance as measured by inspection, and policing challenges. This provides a rich variety of contexts in which to design education, conduct research, test out findings and share innovative practices. The Consortium also engages with the College of Policing and with CEPOL.

5. A working model of academic-practitioner collaboration

In this section, we reflect on 'what works' in the CPRL collaboration and propose a model (illustrated in Figure 2), yet to be tested, about collaboration between police and academics.

The CPRL collaboration between The Open University and UK police forces seems to be successful on a number of counts, for example, rapid increase in number of police force members; police satisfaction in recent evaluation analysis; growing number of academics getting involved; contact analytics about the Centre website; publications from the Centre; use of informal and formal learning resources attendance at evidence cafés. However, it would be foolish to be complacent about success, given the salutary reminder from Vangen (2016) that collaboration is neither easy nor necessarily productive. We reflect in a theory-driven way on what seems to be working and invite others to extend this to other collaborations.

From research evidence, it is known that some collaborations create advantage to the partners while others can either get bogged down in process and/or fail to ensure that actions happen not just talk (Huxham and Vangen, 2005). Yet, network-based collaborations can be both innovative and productive (Hartley and Benington, 2006). What makes the difference? Here we draw on two theoretical frameworks to propose that collaborations require a recognition of difference and the management of that difference, in the way that Barbara Gray (1989) suggests.

First, collaborations can become unproductive where competition arises within the collaboration (Ansell and Gash, 2008) with each partner aiming to maximise its gain at the expense of, or without regard for the interests of, the partner. One partner may be more powerful than the other and seek to impose its views and goals on the other without sufficiently understanding the

differences which can either mar or support the collaboration (Sørensen and Torfing, 2011). Or one partner may believe so strongly in its own organizational goals, values and perspectives that they are unable to listen to, understand or accept alternative perspectives. Such a competitive situation, existing alongside a collaboration can lead to unproductive tension, conflict and continual attempts to get the upper hand.

On the other hand, perhaps surprisingly, collaborations can have too little conflict. This may not sound a problem if the collaboration is aiming to achieve 'win-win' outcomes, but there is a rich history of research which shows that too little tension or productive conflict within teams, organizations and partnerships leads to less innovation and lower productivity (Eisenhardt et al., 1997). Too little conflict can mean there is apathy in the collaboration or that that the group holds very similar views and so may not be prepared for change. It may suggest collusion rather than healthy challenge and the energetic outlining of alternatives (see also Ansell and Gash, 2008; Huxham and Vangen, 2005). Eisenhardt et al. (1997: 43) suggest that that teams and organizations require a degree of issue based (but not interpersonal) conflict, constructively managed, to avoid group think. Such conflict can provide leaders and managers *with a more inclusive range of information, a deeper understanding of the issues, and a richer set of possible solutions'.* They and other authors, however, note that the disagreements need to be about issues not people in order to achieve this variety and depth of thought and ideas. In other words, conflict is about ideas and possible actions but is not the damaging undermining or attack on people or roles that is sometimes considered to be conflict. This is not always easy, as scholars acknowledge (e.g. Whetten and Cameron, 2005). Some organizations try to use this insight of constructive challenge very deliberately, such as in the British Army, or the UK health service's use of tempered radicals to effect change at work (Meyerson, 2008).

The awareness of either too much or too little conflict in a collaboration leads us to propose the need to propose a model which we suggest applies to the CPRL collaboration and which is likely to be relevant to a wide range of other collaborations. This is shown in Figure 2. We suggest that performance is affected by the degree of conflict with both too much conflict but also too little conflict leading to lowered performance.

Figure 2. Relationship between academics and practitioners
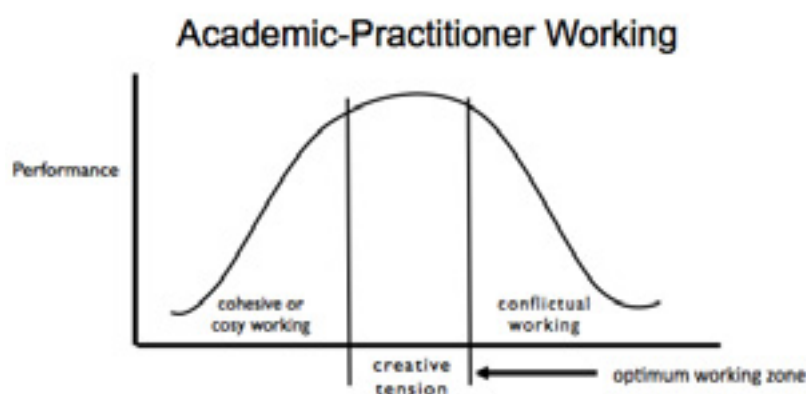
In the CPRL the design of the collaboration, and its climate of cooperation means that there are strong attempts to ensure that differences in interests, goals and values are surfaced, in Membership Group meetings, and through the use of Mode 2 research and education. This provides the degree of disagreement and exploration of alternatives which is constructive for the activities of CPRL. The differences may come between police and academics, though interestingly they may also come from among police from different forces and from among academics with different disciplinary backgrounds. The Centre works hard in meetings and in all virtual interactions to support a climate of trust and respect, and listening to someone else's views so that alternative perspectives are not suppressed but are explored. Decisions are through discussion not through voting. Debate and discussion are encouraged through regular research seminars and events and through reflection prior to decision-making. In these ways, the collaboration fosters the acceptance and exploration of difference works with those differences constructively. At the same time, there is a strong focus on outputs and ensuring that the collaboration does not end up being a talking shop. The collaboration is aided by having a number of 'boundary-spanners' who are active in the collaboration. These are either police who have experience of academic work (e.g. through having a PhD or being senior practitioner fellows) or academics that have experience of organizational and police life (e.g. former police or academics who have undertaken extensive action research). Boundary-spanners, we suggest, can facilitate greater cooperation and enable translation between theory and practice.

6. Conclusions

Both police and academics are living through a time of turbulent change, both in their own organizations, and in their service to society. Collaboration between them can support innovative, radical and robust approaches to the professionalization and improvement of policing. While collaboration can be freighted with difficulties, and sometimes does not produce meaningful or productive outcomes, the opportunities for academics to collaborate with police have never been better, as the police grapple with complex and 'wicked' problems. This paper has outlined a particular UK collaboration between The Open University and 18 police forces in three interlocking streams of work on informal and formal education, research and knowledge exchange. The paper then proposes some elements of collaboration that avoid either competition or collusion between partners in order to hit a 'sweet spot' to maximise the quality and effect of education and research for 21st century policing.

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A partnership approach to higher educational accreditation of the UK's national Direct Entry Superintendents programme

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Abstract

The evolution of the UK's high profile and first ever Direct Entry (DE) Superintendents programme followed the recommendations for policing identified by Winsor (2012) and the UK Government's vision of enabling 'fresh thinking and fresh blood [to be] brought in from outside the profession' (Green, 2013). The eighteen-month DE programme aims to attract highly talented and proven leaders from alternative sectors directly into executive policing roles. The College of Policing's (2015) own review identifies the importance for executive leaders to demonstrate on-going personal development. As a result a joint College of Policing and Teesside University team worked together to develop the Post Graduate Certificate in Strategic Police Leadership which was mapped onto the new DE education and training programme, resulting in the provision of an educational award which meets the needs of the contemporary police service. The programme has been designed primarily to be both academically and vocationally challenging, recognising the education and training previously completed by direct-entry superintendents, who may not have any previous policing experience, who are joining the police service in senior executive roles. The aim being that on successful completion of the eighteen-month mandatory higher educational programme, learners will be able to operate independently across a wide range of strategic leadership deployments as competent uniformed superintendents, bringing with them a range of new skills and ideas to the service.

Keywords: Direct entry superintendents, Higher education accreditation, Partnership working.

Introduction

There is a continuing quest for professionalism within the police service (Home Affairs Committee, 2013; Lee and Punch, 2004), with the professional body for the police service across England and Wales, The College of Policing, being at the heart of this drive for change.

Dear (2011) suggests that in order to deal with a leadership crisis within the police service, recruitment should copy the approach of the Armed Forces and big business by nurturing talented individuals in order for them to quickly rise to senior levels. Despite the controversial nature of this direct-entry approach to the senior levels of policing, which was first attempted in the 1930's (Lee and Punch, 2004), the influential report by Winsor (2012) facilitated such a change to modern policing by enabling forces to directly recruit police officers as superintendents.

There is a general consensus across both the private and public sectors that good leaders are of paramount importance to ensure effective performance (Dobby, Anscombe and Tuffin, 2004). There is recognition of a range of leadership styles across the police service.

With such a drive forward, the College of Policing embarked in 2014 on the development of an eighteen-month Direct-Entry (DE) training programme for new superintendents aiming to attract highly talented and proven leaders from alternative sectors directly into these executive policing roles. Following the successful completion of a competitive tender, a joint College of Policing and Teesside University team worked together to develop a Postgraduate higher educational award which mapped on to what is now the DE superintendent's education and training programme.

Discussion

Lee and Punch (2004) suggest that higher education courses and partnerships between both police forces and institutions should not be focused purely on the development of policing courses, but instead should enhance the broader critical thinking and professional skills acquired through studying in higher education. The Direct-Entry (Superintendent) Programme seeks to do just that, by attracting highly talented and proven leaders from other public and private sectors who are then challenged professionally and academically with-

in both the policing workplace and classroom. These leaders, recruited because they are found to be exceptional and strategic in approach, have been brought into operational policing in order to make an immediate impact on the culture, efficiency and effectiveness of the service. These changes are to be achieved through:

1. Attracting individuals who will bring new perspectives from diverse backgrounds,

2. The creation of a cohort that has the potential to further develop and acquire the skills and experience in order to progress to the most senior chief officer ranks.

3. The new employees studying an accredited development programme that will ensure direct-entry superintendents are competent in their new roles and inspire confidence in their officers, staff and the public.

Whilst developing the concept of the Direct-Entry (DE) programme, wide consultation took place by the College of Policing with existing superintendents. Methodologies included focus groups, internal reviews and online surveys, which explored the selection process, curriculum, learning outcomes and the most appropriate assessment strategy. The result of the consultation led to the College of Policing designing an 18 month DE Superintendents programme, whereby new starters, once recruited from other sectors, would be appointed as warranted superintendents. They would follow an educational development programme which included block learning at the College of Policing, in-force operational rotations as a police constable, sergeant/inspector and superintendent along with an in force mentor.

At this point, a competitive national tender process led to the establishment of a joint College of Policing and Teesside University team partnering to work together to develop a post-graduate higher educational award. After the formal establishment of the partnership, Teesside University academic researchers approached and conducted individual interviews with the first cohort of recruited learners, these officers were serving with several of the 43 police forces England and Wales.

These interviews examined how the classroom-based work would prepare individuals for their new role as superintendents, the experiences they had within the role, how the proposed learning outcomes related to their role and the relevance of the assessment processes. Westmarland (2011) suggests that it can be difficult to gain the trust of the police service to work with them, although on this occasion, the development of trust between the partners providing the programme of study and the learners seemed almost seamless. This could be due to the academic staff involved having an understanding and previous experience of the police environment, the College of Policing team having an existing understanding and experience of working with educational providers and the sharing of a common goal with tight timescales for successful completion.

The common goal was to map and accredit the DE superintendent's education and training development programme to a post-graduate higher educational award over a six-month period prior to its launch in October 2015. Initial programme discussions and explorations identified the requirement for the proposed compulsory higher education award of a post-graduate certificate (although the credits of the award are currently under review). The partners debated the merits of a number of titles for the award agreeing on a post-graduate certificate in Strategic Police Leadership. This award was subdivided in to two equally credited academic modules: (1) Policing and community practice, (2) Strategic police management. Thus enabling the aligning of curriculum content and assessment to manageable and identifiable routes of educational progression. At this point, it became clear that there was a misunderstanding in terms of language use between organisations. For example, words such as 'module' and 'mentor' had different meanings within both the College of Policing and Teesside University. Although easily overcome, this simple interpretation of words and phrases on both sides could have affected the outcomes of the partnership.

In order to ensure the success of the programme of study, the learning and teaching strategy was designed to encourage a progressive acquisition of subject knowledge and professional skills (such as legislation, custody procedures, public protection, decision-making models, critical incident management, ethical and professional behaviours) by moving from study methods during block teaching which have a greater de-

gree of support and assistance gradually towards more independence and self-direction during work-based phases, where the DE Superintendents took on more responsibility for their role.

The DE Superintendents spend approximately 30 % of the 18-month programme with College of Policing tutors, at one of the College's national sites, where the taught elements of the programme are predominantly delivered. These sessions are also supported by subject matter experts from the College, Teesside University academics and a number of guest speakers (who provide valuable illustrations of the impact of strategic leadership). The other 70 % of the programme is spent in-force, where the DE Superintendents are supported by coaches and mentors in the workplace. The learning and teaching methods used throughout the programme include lectures, seminars, workshops, case studies, peer group discussions, work-based learning, independent study, e-learning and online materials via a police learning portal, along with both individual and group tutorials.

The assessments for the programme and award of the postgraduate certificate were designed to assess learners' subject specific knowledge, academic and applied skills, cognitive and intellectual skills, along with transferable skills applicable to the workplace. These were focused around the two modules, which are both academically assessed and have more vocationally focussed pass/fail components. The learners must demonstrate, through their assessments, the acquisition of the skills of academic research and writing at post-graduate level in relation to community partnerships. They must demonstrate the core legal knowledge required to operate at the rank of superintendent and occupational competence in the workplace at the levels of constable, sergeant/inspector and superintendent. Finally DE Superintendents must demonstrate the ability to communicate orally and take questions at a strategic level in relation to a business improvement project delivering their force's strategic priorities.

Conclusion

The first cohort of DE Superintendents, studying for the mandatory accredited postgraduate certificate in Strategic Police Leadership, are due to complete their award and be confirmed in their posts in April 2017. A second cohort to study a postgraduate award will

commence in November 2016, although a follow up review of the existing programme suggests that, due to the learning hours completed by the DE Superintendents along with their degree of learning, the level of postgraduate award should be increased.

The College of Policing's Leadership Review (2015) recognises the requirement for the police service to adopt the use of qualifications which recognise the professional knowledge and expertise of police officers at various ranks. In time this will assist in enhancing the overall professional recognition of policing and support Winsor's (2012) aspirations for the recognition of the service as a profession.

The success of the DE Superintendents higher education accredited programme has led to the introduction of a Direct-Entry programme at the rank of inspector, which will commence in November 2016. The DE Inspector's education and training programme will also be mapped against a postgraduate award. Although the DE leadership programmes are still in their infancy and it is early to evidence the impact of the recruitment of talented and proven leaders on the culture, efficiency and effectiveness of the police service. Once the DE Inspectors have commenced their studies, just over a third of the 43 police forces across England and Wales will have officers studying such a programme.

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Professionalising policing: seeking viable and sustainable approaches to police education and learning

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Abstract:

This paper will explore the 'police professionalization agenda' and provide a brief outline of the 'Police Qualification Education Framework' (PEQF) administered by the College of Policing (CoP) in the United Kingdom, discuss the art, craft and science as a platform for evolving professionalization in policing and finally consider the future of policing with advances in technology. I will argue that the police service not only needs to consider how technology will affect the roles and activities of the police but also the impact on the communities that the police serve.

Keywords: Police education, technology, future, professionalization.

Introduction

This paper is aimed at exploring the development of higher education in the United Kingdom in relation to policing. This analysis will link the development of education and professionalization to past, present and future challenges in policing. Recently there have been a number of high profile criticisms of policing in the UK, some have been based on historical events, others more recent incidents. From historical criticisms of policing a major event, the investigation of serious offences from murder to child sexual abuse, the review of the police response to these events has been damaging (MacPherson, 1999, Laming, 2003, Bichard, 2004, Jay, 2015; Scraton, 2016). More recently, budget cuts result in less police resources where traditional capacity or the ability of the police to respond is severely challenged (Brogden and Ellison, 2013). Policing problems are too complex for the police to be immune from future high profile criticisms. In this respect future criticisms are inevitable. At the same time for the police to be seen as legitimate they must be less prone to scandals or high profile criticism, acknowledging short comings more quickly and being more transparent. The ability of the police to be innovated, prepared for the future and embrace change will determine the effectiveness of the police to limit high profile reviews or criticisms in the future. The professionalization agenda has a key role in supporting how the police evolve and change to meet forthcoming challenges.

Policing and professionalisation: setting the context

It is important to recognise how the police have learned in the past to understand the significance of current changes. The police service is one of the last public services in the United Kingdom to go through a professionalization and a comprehensive higher education accreditation process. Police training was 'in-house', free of charge to each officer at the point of

need and delivered by police trainers. The emphasis on training was directed entirely towards operational tasks where legal knowledge and the understanding of procedure were key. There were pressures around extracting full-time paid police officers from operational duty to attend training (Langmead Jones, 1999). Police officers were trained in regional training centres with no other occupational groups, no external higher education accreditation, a reluctance to recognise academic learning and an organisation with a rigid hierarchy with promotion based not on what you know but how many people you manage. The police constable however, continued to have considerable levels of discretion, little supervision with the power to exercise the law — or not — depending on their views, values and interpretation of the law (Reiner, 2013).

College of Policing and the Police Education Qualification Framework (PEQF*)*

In 1999 Janet Foster submitted evidence to the 'Home Affairs Committee on Police Training and Recruitment' setting out an argument for graduate recruit entry into the police service. Since then partnerships between universities and police services have grown steadily and down to local arrangements rather than any national coordination until relatively recently. This is in part due to resistance to introducing higher education into policing in a mandatory way (Aldersen, 1998; Foster, 1999; BBC 2016a), so the vision of CoP to introduce the PEQF should not be underestimated. This was underlined by the CoP PEQF consultation outlining the proposals with respondents signalling a mixed response with those in favour (46 %), opposed (32 %) and undecided (21 %), reflecting a majority not explicitly supporting the proposals (CoP, 2016). While it is important to acknowledge the current PEQF proposals do not reflect a graduate only entry requirement, it accepts recruits without a degree, but allows these recruits to achieve a degree as they go through their training.

The consultation put forward three proposals (CoP, 2016: 5):

1. Establishing a qualifications framework for policing, working in partnership with the higher education (HE) sector to set minimum education levels by practice or rank.

2. Developing opportunities for existing officers and staff to gain accredited and publicly recognised qualifications equivalent to their level of practice or rank.

3. Developing initial entry routes which involve self-funded undergraduate programmes, police force-funded graduate conversion programmes for graduates in other disciplines and degree apprenticeships.

The aim of these approaches is to recognise and reward the learning already taking place in policing, support engagement with 'what works' and to maintain accessibility to the police service (the inclusion of the apprenticeship entry allows non-graduate entry). These proposals represent a substantial departure from the past and represent an ambitious reform. With the aim of future-proofing the police, Alex Marshall (the CoP Chief Executive) explains the motive for these reforms:

> 'The nature of police work has changed significantly. Cyber-enabled crime, and the need for officers and staff to investigate and gather intelligence online and via information technology, has increased. Protecting vulnerable people has rightly become a high priority for policing. Officers and staff now spend more of their time working to prevent domestic abuse, monitor high-risk sex offenders and protect at-risk children' (CoP, 2016: 3).

The emphasis for Marshall is not only looking to the future needs of police officer education/training, but the demands currently facing the police..

The art, craft and science and professionalisation

The art, craft and science perspectives in policing are closely linked to ideas around police practice and professionalization (Tong and Bowling, 2006). Bryant et al. (2013) argued (prior to the CoP PEQF proposals) that policing already contained characteristics of a profession in terms of the role of police constables. There is resistance to the idea of associating HE level qualifications with policing. Featured in a recent BBC (2016a) article former Chief Constable, Norman Bettison, argued [that police degrees were] 'at the bottom of the priority list' for police. He said: 'The only degree a police officer needs is a degree of common sense — they'll learn on the job….

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the public don't care about police having degrees. They want someone competent, caring and capable'. This view is concerned with what is expected of police officers and if this equates to a level of skill and knowledge that meets higher education levels of accreditation.

The emphasis on the importance of common sense as a central pillar of the role of the police constable is one of the arguments regularly presented against degree educated police officers. This view aligns with the idea of valuing the craft of policing as skills learned on the job alongside experience, but not acknowledging that many of these 'craft skills' (e.g. negotiation, discretion and judgement) or experiences are worthy of particular levels of accreditation. Some argue that higher recognition of these skills and abilities are long overdue (Bryant et al., 2013, Foster, 1999). Police officers have always been seen as discretionary decision-makers with the power to interpret and apply the law (Banton, 1964). Stelfox (2009) pointed to the increasing specialist nature of police roles and the substantial increases in legislation police officers need to understand with implications for criminal law and police procedures. So learning the 'craft' from experience is a feature of professionalism and development, but passing on validated knowledge and practice has long been the role of universities providing established professions with traditional practices associated with art, craft and science (e.g. education, law and medicine) with accredited learning and professional recognition (Wood and Tong, 2009; Flynn, 2002). The absence of capturing knowledge of best practice and passing it onto trainees effectively would make a nonsense of any practitioner learning. So the debate should be focused on whether policing is a sufficiently demanding occupation to require high levels of skills and knowledge to meet the requirement of a profession and the most effective way in passing on and capturing knowledge for future learners.? In considering these issues, it is also important to ask if the police are comparable to other professions including teaching, social work and nursing.? If this is the case, then the likelihood is that universities and higher education qualifications should have a role to play.

Views around the role of the police and traditional approaches to recruitment are particularly influential in the debate around professionalisation. The resistance to degrees is also associated with concerns that having degree entry could exclude traditional entrants into the police service. Police services in the UK often refer to the aspiration of recruiting from and representing all communities appropriately. The police service still has substantial challenges in recruitment and are not recruiting or promoting female and ethnic minority officers in proportionate numbers (Silvestri et al., 2013). While widening participation rates in higher education have increased substantially (DoE, 2016), supported by central government policies, a greater proportion of female and Black and Minority Ethnic students enrol at university (Crawford and Greaves, 2015; UCAS, 2015a, UCAS, 2015b). Recruiting police officers aimed at proportionally representing communities should also consider graduate populations. The PEQF apprenticeship proposal also seeks to attract non-graduate recruits into the police service, accrediting their training after joining the police service. So the debate around the use of degrees should not just focus on graduate entry routes but the appropriateness of apprenticeships and accrediting police knowledge and skills at higher levels during initial training.

Discussions around professionalisation can be misconstrued as an argument for intellectual book worms who can patrol the streets using only their scientific knowledge for policing. Such views sometimes reject prospective police officers who are degree educated, perceived as not having common sense. To argue graduates do not possess common sense eliminates a large proportion of potential recruits. In truth police practice is about a mixture of art, craft and science in which the role of experience is crucial (Bowling and Tong, 2006). Policing does require knowledge, problem solving and analytical abilities comparable to other professions (Bowling and Tong, 2006). Local knowledge, practical and interpersonal skills are fundamental requirements for police officers, but these abilities are also worthy of academic credits as other professions have already demonstrated.

The importance of recognising policing as a profession is crucial for future recruitment and the recognition of the abilities of police officers. Police skills and abilities should have academic credits but research and knowledge generated by police officers, researchers and professional bodies should also have an important role to play in preparation for the future. The blending of experience, knowledge and research awareness, developing criticality are important in providing comprehensive support to research informed practitioners that minimizes mistakes. The future of police recruitment goes beyond accreditation and professionaliza-

tion, it also requires careful consideration of the type of future demands, skills, abilities as technological develops impact on society, crime and policing.

Policing and the future

Earlier this paper acknowledged that learning with a view to the future involves being proactive and this means attempting to plan ahead. By anticipating the future, the police can prepare in terms of developing the knowledge base they will need, understanding the potential challenges of new technologies and planning for how these changes can be managed and monitored. Crucially new technologies can influence the very model of policing that is implemented. With the future emphasis on the rapid adoption of new technology there are potential implications for particularly authoritarian approaches to automated crime control (Marks et al., 2015). Alternatively, in a context of dwindling resources and hard pressed public services technological advancement can offer cheap, clean technologies that could enhance police effectiveness and reduce the cost of policing in the future (Deloitte, 2015). Either way the importance of police legitimacy, accountability and appropriate use of force will be key to maintaining public support for the police. Where much of the technology will likely reside within the private sector (Deloitte, 2015), it is important that public policing develops and maintains its own expertise in these key areas so advances in technology can be managed and monitored appropriately. The professionalization agenda is key to supporting the police in responding to these developments.

Evolving technologies and policing

Technology will inevitably have an impact on the future of policing. Driverless cars, artificial intelligence, algorithms and automation all have the potential to transform policing practices. These changes have implications for police structure, leadership and practitioners working on the ground with new links to the private sector to meet demands. In Caless and Tong's (2015a) research on strategic police leadership in Europe, respondents were asked what they thought policing would look like in 5-10 years' time. Forty-nine out of the one hundred and eight respondents believed cybercrime and policing the internet would be the

most significant challenge to policing. One Nordic officer (Caless and Tong, 2015b: 200) said:

> '…there should be more internet police, more police software engineers, more police fraud experts to follow money-laundering and more experts who know how to harness science in the service of policing. If we can do all that, and cooperate internationally, we may make a difference.'

Policing has adopted new equipment from public order equipment through to Tasers that have raised questions about the proportional use of force (Marks et al., 2015). The use of robots was recently illustrated in Dallas when a sniper shot and killed five police officers (Thielmann, 2016). In response and with concern for the lives of others the chief officer ordered the use of the robot to denote a bomb that killed the sniper. Elizabeth Joh, law professor at the University of California at Davis explained (Thielmann, 2016):

> 'Lethally armed police robots raise all sorts of new legal, ethical, and technical questions we haven't decided upon in any systematic way… we typically examine deadly force by the police in terms of an immediate threat to the officer or others. It's not clear how we should apply that if the threat is to a robot — and the police may be far away…In other words, I don't think we have a framework for deciding objectively reasonable robotic force. And we need to develop regulations and policies now, because this surely won't be the last instance we see police robots.'

This event opens new questions around ethical dilemmas, accountability and the use of technology. Although this is thought to be the first time a robot has been used in the United States for lethal force (Thielmann, 2016), the use of robots in policing looks set to increase. Robots are now being used in Californian and China for policing tasks. Robots can be rented for lower than the minimum wage but manufacturers claim these robots will enhance security rather than replace security jobs.

The potential for surveillance is substantial with CCTV cameras, an increasing number of DNA, intelligence and image databases. The FBI recently reached at total of 430 000 iris scans in a 'pilot' (BBC, 2016b). The pilots

reportedly occurred in California are set to be expanded to other agencies while the private security systems and airports already use eye retina scans extensively (Lecher and Brandom, 2016). Eye retina scans are used at road blocks because they are seen as more practical and quicker than finger printing. Clearly as these developments occur issues around proportionality, accountability and who owns information become increasingly important particular in a more pluralized policing landscape (Marks et al., 2015). Critically, public engagement in the use of potentially invasive technologies is important to maintain legitimacy in policing methods and develop widespread understandings on the impact of technology more widely. The power of surveillance at the time of writing is being exercised following Donald Trump's travel ban to the US by citizens of named countries. Federal Judge Ann Donnelly, granted people who had valid US visas but were due to be deported, a stay on deportation (Jalabi and Yuhas, 2017), followed by the sacking of Sally Yates (the Acting Attorney General) for not following executive order on the travel ban. However, the judge's order was reportedly being ignored by some border agents (Helmore, 2017), raising not only the use of technology in social sorting but the relationship between political decision-making and the courts.

Surveillance can come in many forms, often associated with fixed CCTV cameras, more recently the use of drones has become more prominent in the media. One UK police service has 5 drones with 38 trained staff. Drones can be used for tracking and a variety of other operational police uses including the capacity to dispense CS gas. However, it is not just the police using these devices. Over 900 complaints of inappropriate public use of drones range from peeping toms, supplying prohibited items to prisoners, use of drones by paedophiles through to nuisance calls have been reported. It is the use of drones and near misses with aircraft that tends to attract the most significant heads lines. While the current use of drones in the UK is covered by the 'dronecode' with a government consultation which (may) effects how they are regulated. The responsibility to enforce the dronecode lies with the police service.

Digital evidence is often contained on digital devices and manufacturing companies take the issue of privacy extremely seriously as demonstrated by Apple's refusal to provide access to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of a phone used by Syed Farook

involved in an attack in California resulting in 14 fatalities. Apple's CEO Tim Cook stated 'The United States government has demanded that Apple take an unprecedented step which threatens the security of our customers. We oppose this order, which has implications far beyond the legal case at hand.' (Ackerman, 2016). Digital evidence is seen as a key area in one of the many technological changes the police have to manage. From challenges in overcoming encryption used in computers and various storage devices, the use of the cloud and the ability to move and delete potential evidence quickly and overcoming anti-forensics tools are some of the challenges facing investigators (POST, 2016). It is also providing public services with the challenges of sustaining the skills demanded to respond to these developments: 'Anecdotal reports suggest that skills retention is a problem in some police forces, although data on this are not currently collected. Skilled individuals are highly sought after and companies can often offer higher salaries for similar work' (POST, 2016: 3). Accessing data on evolving devices, meeting the skills needed for the police to capture evidence and commercial perspectives on the need for privacy is likely to create tensions between public and private sector agendas.

So whether it is industrial competitiveness to produce the best intelligence system, algorithms, automation or surveillance operations, in the context of providing resources for law enforcement agencies or technologies to be used for leisure, the lead will be taken by the private sector. So in the technological race private sector companies committing huge resources to research and development will have the capacity and the skills to develop and maintain these technologies. The police will not compete in the sole development of these technologies. However, it does not take much imagination to see how the impact of technology will change the arena in which crime and policing is practiced. If the police do not possess the knowledge and expertise to effectively engage with the procurement and management of technology used, it is perhaps predictable that strategic direction through to tactical responses will risk mistakes in future. With this in mind the police will not only need to develop strong partnerships with private technology companies but also develop their capacity to manage these new technological challenges through support from universities.

Professionalisation in the context of automation

Muir (2016b) has explored some of these issues particularly in relation to police professionalisation. He points to the timely work (given the recent moves to professionalise the police) of Susskind and Susskind (2015) in their book 'The of Future of Professions'. Muir (2016b) makes particular reference to their analysis that both 'experts' and established professions are at risk, given the cheaper more transparent capabilities of the internet. Susskind and Susskind (2015: 307) caution:

> '…inaction as well as action is a choice. If we choose to do nothing, and we decided to default to our traditional ways and discard the promise of technological change for fear, say, of rocking the boat, then this is a decision for which the later generations can hold us accountable'.

Applying this view to a policing context, it emphasises the importance of not just focusing on the recognition of traditional policing skills and knowledge but embracing profession needs in relation to technological developments. More broadly it points to how society more general generates and shares knowledge.

Drawing on the work of Frey and Osbourne (2013), Muir (2016a) suggests policing is less susceptible than other roles to automation when they are required to engage with the public in often challenging circumstances, he argues these tasks require:

> '1) deep and broad human perception that is capable of making sense of highly unstructured data, 2) an ability to respond to sudden events in a physically agile way, 3) an ability to interpret human heuristics and to relate and communicate on an emotional level with other people, and 4) the capacity to make moral judgments'.

Muir (2016a) sums up

> 'The technological revolution will transform the way the police work. Before that happens we need to openly debate the implications. Even if robotics and algorithms can make policing more effective and efficient, the public will still need to be convinced that their application in any particular instance would be right.'

It is these debates, it is argued, that are absent from the FBI's extensive use of iris scans. Similarly, the use of robots, Tasers and various methodologies contributing to surveillance creep with technology changing the face of policing with little consultation, yet claims of police legitimacy regularly made. Marks et al. (2015) points to the dangers of criminal justice system changing from a traditional individualised model with elements of due process to a risk based actuarial model of justice that 'minimises human agency and undercuts the due process safeguards'. From this perspective genuine community engagement and public legitimacy is paramount to maintaining a fair and balanced criminal justice system.

Conclusion

So to summarise, the police service has not had sufficient recognition for the knowledge and skills developed within its ranks with an absence of external accreditation. The high profile criticisms of the past will continue if the police do not adapt and learn lessons from the past, while being able to develop its own ability to self-analyse and improve. The professionalization process led by the CoP will need to recognise current knowledge, skills and abilities but also look to the future in preparing officers. New skills and knowledge are required to embrace technology with the ability to be effective learners, as changes which continue to take place post qualification will become more important. This will hopefully develop the research-informed practitioner that will embrace all forms of knowledge to help their decision-making alongside their experience and local knowledge. This paper is not arguing that the traditional policing skills of the past are not needed anymore, rather that police officers will need additional skills to use and respond to technology effectively. To prepare for the future, the police will need to understand the implications for technology for the service and society and make necessary preparations to have sufficient knowledge and personnel in place. Universities can support the police service in developing research and designing curriculum to sustain a viable professionalisation in the context of rapid technological change. It is this contribution from universities that is often overlooked by the critics of professionalization. Perhaps moving into what is termed as the 4th Industrial Revolution we can be guided by Johnston's thoughts on optimal policing:

'a system of security which is neither quantitatively excessive (to the detriment of alternative social values and objectives) nor qualitatively invasive (to the detriment of public freedoms) and which satisfies conditions of public accountability, effectiveness and justice for all' (Johnston, 2000: 180)

While effective enforcement will become increasingly important as career criminals and citizens gain access to more technology, the police will need to respond quickly and proactively in anticipating future challenges. Using technology in a policing context does not have to be solely about control of the masses or enforcement, but can be used to create greater freedoms, greater transparency (of public and private services) and reduce costs.

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Police commanders' education:
a continuous process

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Abstract

A permanent environmental reconfiguration introduces new educational needs for police commanders to have new integral knowledge tools which allow them to be ready for new societal challenges. Centred on the student, as part of the preparation for a long-term career, police commanders' education is a knowledge-transfer process which means they comprehend the police environment and organisation, behaviour, law enforcement, strategic, tactical and technical options and, furthermore, leadership, management and command competencies. In the 21st century police commanders must be able to understand social phenomena and reinvent police processes to cope with those societal challenges. Observing the reality, acting with criticism and in a considered manner, in routine or crisis situations, and considering the uncertainty that characterise contemporary societies imply: the permanent tracking of theoretical, methodological and technological developments of the scientific disciplines that build the police sciences; working on the behavioural dimension; and juridical preparation with relevance for the performance of the senior police officers in a democratic rule of law. Despite the fact that a police commander could perform his job on several levels, an integral education process is the only option that prepares a future senior police officer for a real police career. The preparation of a study plan must take into consideration several issues, such as: bringing teaching and training together with reality; linking research with the problems presented by the police forces on the ground; contributing to the scientifically supported definition of security policies; and not disregarding the humanist and ethical dimensions.

Keywords: police higher education; police commander; teaching; learning.

Introduction

The highly mutable and volatile environment one faces today implies understanding and accompanying the changes and rapidly adapting and responding to them. Parallel to the societal demands, profound changes are occurring in the police organisation and the individuals. With its culture of command, control and 'worse-case' scenario instruction, and taken as a force instead of a service, the presupposed authority of the police is now subject to question and challenged (Cox, 2011; Cowper, 2000; Neyroud, 2009). Within democratic countries, the issue of police legitimacy is crucial, and the more the public trusts 'their' police the more they accept police actions. External evaluation confronts the organisational status quo, putting pressure on police governance. Public and media scrutiny, scandals and new security requirements also have the power to introduce some political reforms in the police organisation. Furthermore, internal strains have the capability to transform the police institution, for instance promotions, corruption, police brutality, accountability and so on. These are some examples of issues that 'propel police education' (Wimshurst and Ransley, 2007). This permanent reconfiguration introduc-

es new educational demands for police commanders to have new integral knowledge tools, allowing them to be ready for the new societal challenges and thus transforming policing (Bayley, 2016; Cox, 2011; Weisburd and Neyroud, 2011; White and Escobar, 2008).

Contemporary society also demands continual learning and searching for knowledge by security promoters and managers. It is important to maximise the relationship between the learning and training process and reality, considering not only the scientific dimension but also the human and ethical dimensions linked with the 'self' (to be), the 'should be' and the 'should make' (do).

Regarding management and leadership, police forces are a very demanding business for all senior officers in general and commanders in particular, considering the organisation complexity and the mutability of the societal environment, mainly with regard to law and order policies (Casey and Mitchell, 2007; Felgueiras, 2011; Findlay, 2004). Police officers usually embrace a very long and demanding career with ups and downs, which means each promotion is a real test for officers and a huge challenge for new police commanders. A new position represents a new job description demanding different competencies and capabilities. Casey and Mitchell (2007) consider that:

> 'each level of promotion provides new challenges for frontline officers moving into management roles as they begin to deal with more complex responsibilities, greater ambiguities, and the increased public exposure that goes with senior management and leadership in police organisations.' (p. 4)

All this considered:

> 'given the changing realm of policing and public security, [learning and] training should be understood as both a strategic mechanism by which to pursue organisational performance and a core business tool for the delivery of efficient and effective public security. Officers who retain knowledge or skills and bring them back to their jobs can use them to enhance their performance, provide better service to the community, and do it in a safe and efficient manner.' (Haberfeld, 2012, p. 1)

Education is the obvious solution to overcome this permanent need to adapt to environmental chang-

es; sometimes it is waved as a magic wand — 'educational-reform-as-antidote' (Wimshurst and Ransley, 2007) — to deal with what may be a crisis in the police organisation. However, in realistic terms, what kind of education should police commanders have? Knowing that police commanders' educational context is so diverse, it is hard to accomplish a programme which equips each one to perform a huge variety of tasks, with a need to fulfil a collective and cultural pattern. Wimshurst and Ransley (2007) raise some questions about the model of education, the type of curriculum or who is in the best position to teach and train police commanders' courses.

The request for scientific-based police practice is now on everybody's mind. 'Higher education is seen as an essential requisite for professional standing in the community, and for police officers to be able to comprehend and cope effectively with the complex demands of contemporary law enforcement' (Wimshurst and Ransley, 2007, p. 107). In fact, police education 'adds value to police training by enabling senior police officers to make sense of developments in transnational crime, social exclusion, terrorism, public demand for transparency and a shift to proactive intelligence-led policing supported by an international research agenda' (Paterson, 2011, p. 290). Nevertheless, contemporary societal problems demand multitasking performance and knowledge, asking for different job descriptions and police profiles, which represent a huge challenge for police forces and police education (Roberts et al., 2016). It is mandatory for police commanders to have a forward-looking attitude, instead of a reactive one, and thus the capacity to adapt to and fine tune these diverse influences and pressures, being able to modify their policing strategy whenever new situations emerge. All this is of paramount importance when multilevel adaptive responses are needed, involving a sound organisation, different agencies and the communities — interoperability.

The only way to accomplish all these goals seems to be the adoption of a programme of integral education centred on the personal development of the police commander. A (the) primary task is to enhance their abilities to embrace a highly demanding career which will ask for enormous potential for transformation and adaptation to new emerging situations.

Considering the Portuguese university landscape, the specificity of police education must be stressed.

The Higher Institute of Police Sciences and Internal Security (located in Lisbon, Portugal) is the only Portuguese public institution entitled to organise and implement university studies and courses in the vast spectrum of internal security and police sciences, in agreement with the Bologna Declaration. It has, as its first mission, to give basic and advanced training to Portuguese senior police officers and to those from Portuguese-speaking African countries. The institute delivers an integrated master's course on police sciences, a course on police command and management, and a course on police command and strategy. In addition, the institute also delivers academic and technical/professional training for civilians and directors of many security-related organisations, local police forces and other companies within the spectrum of internal security. To do so the institute acknowledges developments in the police sciences by being aware of the need to link scientific knowledge and police practices, considering the increasing diversity and sophistication of the security problems posed nowadays. The close relationship with what is being done across Europe, and the international cooperation with the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL), Ameripol and the United Nations institutes and offices, have also put the institute in a position to take advantage of new scientific findings and advances.

Bearing all this in mind, teaching in the area of police sciences — and considering it an applied science — must take into account the police organisation, police activities, social sciences and the law.

On the other hand, it is supposed to work with the particular abilities (skills) freshmen students have, training them into capacities, and adequately combine them into practice considering the specific competencies needed to perform each task. By doing so it will be possible to promote personal development to achieve increasing autonomy, which is mandatory for an extended command career, while acknowledging the different profiles as providing rich potential to respond to various challenges (functional diversity).

Approach

Considering the different career functions senior police officers will perform, the lifelong learning strategy must be drawn up based on professional and personal competencies, and on knowledge about the police organisation, policing and its theoretical foundations. The police education continuum must follow a mul-

tilevel approach, which should combine the type of police units involved, the specific contexts and scenarios within which they will perform (local, regional, national, international), the profiles required for police commanders and the different scientific disciplines. To better understand contexts and behaviours, police commanders should rely on social sciences, the law and police sciences to adequately choose among police strategies, tactics and techniques.

Problem

'The added value of higher education involvement lies within the role of designing and implementing a learning strategy that is underpinned by a clear evidence-base to meet identified targets' (Paterson, 2011, p. 295).

The permanent transformation of society and human relations and the urgent need for answers in the face of new problems compel police education institutions to question the traditional ways of conveying knowledge. Thus, a major problem arises: how can police commanders' education be adjusted in the face of permanent societal reconfiguration? Or, in other words: what kind of knowledge should we talk about?

Method (for diagnosis)

It was necessary to get better knowledge of police commanders' competencies regarding the contemporary functional requirements. Commanders' profiles were set up, taking into account organisational needs and strategic objectives, and job descriptions. Senior police officers responsible for learning and training policies were listened to. Also, a survey was done to collect evidence from commanders on the job (58.98 % response rate in a population of 512 senior police officers) to grasp the real needs, regarding knowledge, they actually consider beneficial and necessary to adequately perform their tasks. Subjects like specific needs, gaps and suggestions were asked for to improve the study programme, considering the demands they are confronted with on a daily basis, as well as the idea they have about the competencies they think are essential to a senior police officer. Parallel to this, some discussions took place (in small groups) on the topic of police sciences, and an international seminar was held to deepen the theoretical conceptualisation of police sciences.
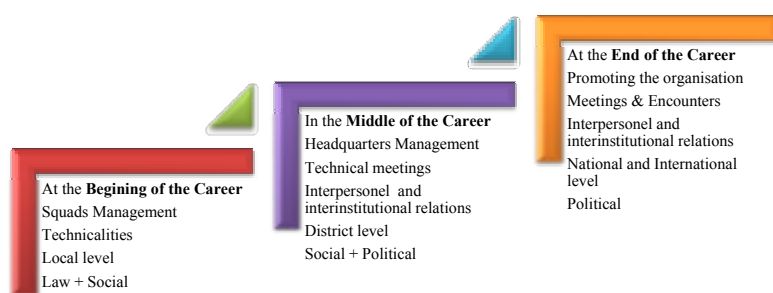
Outcomes

A learning programme scheme was the product of all the abovementioned efforts. It involves the concept of police sciences, contributions from other scientific areas, the competencies at stake and the professional experience of senior police officers. Therefore, the learning programme is oriented towards general, special, operational and academic competencies.

Learning programme scheme
The future senior police officers must be prepared for their mission on several levels: local, district, regional, national and international. Taking into consideration the length of the career and the need for lifelong education and training, three main courses are mandatory: the first to enter the career; the second to be promoted to a new level at which district functions will be performed; the third to be promoted to higher-ranking positions where knowledge about top management and police strategy is essential to assume the leadership, management and command of police departments while coping with political powers. Also, in these last positions, senior police officers may take part in international missions with command functions (see Figure 1).

At the **Begining of the Career**
Squads Management
Technicalities
Local level
Law + Social

In the **Middle of the Career**
Headquarters Management
Technical meetings
Interpersonel and interinstitutional relations
District level
Social + Political

At the **End of the Career**
Promoting the organisation
Meetings & Encounters
Interpersonel and interinstitutional relations
National and International level
Political

Figure 1: Learning programme scheme

The master's course in police sciences — EQF 7 in the European Qualifications Framework — is the mandatory course for those who want to become senior police officers. After making their application, first-year students must be successful in several physical and psychological tests and a vocational interview. The course will provide the essentials for starting the career at the local level. In addition, it acknowledges the fact that it has to prepare senior police officers for a reality that is still to come (Roberts et al., 2016). The course plan will be discussed in the next section.

The command and police administration course (curso de comando e direção policial — CCDP) provides information that will allow organisational processes to be improved in several areas, for example operational planning, budgetary administration, human resources management, command and leadership.

The top management and police strategy course (curso de direção e estratégia policial — CDEP) is designed to give a global view of the law enforcement agencies and their strategic role in society, considering the contemporary societal demands and challenges. The crucial areas (e.g. public management, leadership and communication, prospective policing) address subjects with a wider perspective, relating them to each other and stimulating organisational change to reshape and better place the police organisation within society.

Main guidelines
Let us see in more detail the study programme that qualifies people to enter the career, the master's course in police sciences, which deserves particular attention as it is supposed to provide basic knowledge to those who have completed the selection process and want to become senior police officers.

It is centred on the students, considering them not only as a recipient of knowledge but also as a big driver for new approaches, due to the intellectual plasticity and scientific curiosity they may reveal. Besides, 'we know that learning (the ultimate goal of any teaching process) is determined more by what the student does than by what the professor does …' (Almeida, 2005, p. 17). Also, the diversity of students is important because it brings creativity to the teaching and learning process. This creativity must be acknowledged by a learning programme scheme that does not castrate idiosyncrasies but instead takes them as important inputs for the problem-solving tasks the career demands. At times, some inspiring — though apparently unorthodox — individuals emerge, showing their

potential to contribute to the evolving organisational process while being cultivated into its structures and culture (Macvean and Cox, 2012). This approach allows for greater adaptability and changeability in a world full of uncertainties. In this sense, embracing the positive and creative deviance can translate into clear and open progress for the whole police organisation and the society.

Furthermore, theoretical, methodological and technological developments are taken into consideration, along with the juridical framework and behavioural training, all of this tending to prepare the future senior police officers for their mission.

These changes, however, and following the spirit of the Bologna Declaration, put teachers up against a major challenge, i.e. the need to modify their way of 'giving classes'. In fact, 'students' learning is more decisive than teachers' teaching' (Almeida, 2005, p. 18). Rather than 'giving' classes and 'ready-made' knowledge, they should create a setting in which students can adopt an exploratory attitude towards knowledge, face problems and experiment with solutions, while being adequately supervised.

To some extent, the discussion by Jaschke et al. (2007) was considered to fit with the general principles that underline the master's course programme. It was developed on the basis of three main axes, in accordance with the different levels of intervention that are intended to be improved through the educational process: individual, organisation and context.

Axis (a) — the self: the policeman as an individual (man or woman); the policeman of individuals (the police officer); the 'regular' citizen and the potential offender or victim.

Axis (b) — the integration of the self (in the organisation): focus is put on interpersonal relations, teamwork, problem analysis, project management, time management, accountability, assessment and evaluation.

Axis (c) — the macroscopic perspective: the societal structure is brought to the scene, ultimately considering the problems raised by the particular social and political arrangements. This approach implies gaining knowledge ranging from the street to the world (the street, the city, the country, the world).

Implementation

First of all, built upon the three axes mentioned above, the course curriculum was shorter than the previous one. Also, an effort was made not to confuse the curriculum with the syllabus. Learning how to use weapons or how to drive in extreme or dangerous circumstances does not mean the learner understands their 'value or the social responsibilities they implied. The concept of "curriculum" when distinguished from "syllabus" makes problematic the relationship between teaching and learning' (White, 2006, p. 387).

The curricular units' (CU) syllabuses are based on both theoretical and empirical research, and on the teachers and trainers' professional experience. The CUs' syllabuses bring together content anchored and derived from the three axes (above) and also from those related to the specific domains which are considered to be fundamental for the learning and training of the future senior police officers. The CUs have broad general objectives to avoid closing knowledge off within sealed modules, and therefore closing it off to the incorporation of scientific novelties, the crossover of information from different scientific perspectives and the diversity of problems that real life may pose.

The length of the learning and training programme must deliver an experience that begins with the subjectivation of the police sciences concept, which progressively transforms into an increased capacity for critical thinking and reasoning, and decision-making autonomy regarding police problem-solving (White and Escobar, 2008).

Knowledge acquisition and integration are encouraged, therefore developing critical thinking, teamwork, research on topics related to police and societal demands, and problem-solving.

Conclusions

Police commanders perform their tasks better if they can observe the reality and act in a critical and considered way, in ordinary or crisis situations, bearing in mind the uncertainty that characterises contemporary society. This requires the constant following-up of theoretical, methodological and technological developments derived from the different scientific areas on which police sciences are based on, in addition to the proper technical-juridical preparation to deal with specific situations. To achieve all this, the link between learning, training and research is of fundamental importance, allowing for adequate responses to the problems faced on the field, and also for a scientifically sustained definition of security/safety policies (White and Heslop, 2012).

During their long-lasting careers, and being professionals who are always expected to perform highly relevant duties in the society (as commanders, leaders, and managers), new senior police officers must embrace ways of working based on respect for citizens' fundamental rights, always considering the legal, political, social and cultural dimensions, during the planning and implementation of police interventions. To do so they must be open-minded and prepared to question the reality by creating and feeding a network of credible partners (coming from different areas and having different competencies) that can be of assistance in complex decision-making situations, when accountability will (for sure) be at stake. Meanwhile, they must also be available to keep searching for further knowledge, understanding the need for learning and training throughout their career.

To sum up, future commanders must be able to:

- give the proper legal framework to specific situations, enabling police interventions with legal sustainability;

- put problems into context by understanding and analysing them adequately;

- instead of controlling individual behaviours while being an authoritarian leader, support team building, inspire and promote positive changes, communication, self-criticism and personal engagement;

- make decisions, command and use the management cycle to improve police activities;

- reshape their role throughout their career, every time they are promoted or allocated to a new mission.

Final remarks

The entire programme presented above implies a learning organisation in which each police commander must know how to learn by themselves. Van Beek et al. (2005, p. 5) state that 'police officers must be responsible for their learning during their whole career'. Therefore, the organisational infrastructure must provide an adequate learning environment, where up-to-date police practices, fed by scientific knowledge and professional experience, take place. Also, the organisation should provide a self-service learning system, along with a quality-assessment system. As Senge (1990, p. 3) has stated, a learning organisation is the one 'where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together.'

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Law enforcement agencies and action learning approach — a potential tool for leadership development

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Abstract

Law enforcement agencies increasingly have to adapt to the fast-changing global environment and local challenges. In order to maintain public trust and increase professionalism and efficiency, law enforcement should implement new management and leadership skills. However, law enforcement agencies often maintain traditional hierarchic structures and leadership roles which often interfere with new challenges.

One solution to this complex challenge could be the leadership development training of law enforcement officers with an action-learning approach. Action learning focuses on real problems, provides practical and easy-to-adapt solutions and allows leaders to improve problem-solving processes within the organisation.

The paper discusses in detail the implementation possibilities of action-learning training methods in law enforcement training sessions, which could help not only to improve problem-solving skills and leadership performance but also to change organisational culture and attitudes.

Keywords: action learning; organisational culture; change; law enforcement; leadership development.

Introduction

In our globalising world, having an organisation that is flexible and able to change quickly is increasingly important in the life of companies and also in the area of public service. Public service has to meet changes in the environment since its primary purpose is to serve the citizens. This statement is entirely true in respect of law enforcement as well, together with the fact that law enforcement operates in a specific cultural environment. All this demands that organisations and the organisational cultures of companies have to be continuously adapted to their environment.

In the present study I try to find the answers to the following questions: How is it possible to manage the transformation of organisations as an organic, unified process? How is it possible to establish it based on the specific features of the organisational culture using the methods of action learning? How is it possible to facilitate the organisational model that is considered to be the most appropriate from a professional aspect, through which the law enforcement agencies are able to establish the medium in which law enforcement tasks may be carried out, meeting their specific needs?

In the first section I review the basics of organisational culture, then I cover the special features of law en-

forcement. Subsequently I introduce the relationship and condition system of organisational culture and cooperation. After briefly introducing the action-learning (AL) method, I focus on the role the method plays within the organisation and change management. Subsequently the subject of my studies involves the way action-learning training events can be used to carry out organisational changes and change the attitude towards changing the organisational culture, and through this to improve cooperation within the organisation in the area of law enforcement.

Organisational culture

Organisational culture came to the attention of organisation researchers in the 1980s. This topic became very popular after its appearance. Researchers examined lots of its aspects, issuing a confusing volume of publications. It is characteristic of the proliferation of the topic that one can hardly find any grouping in professional literature that specifies the different schools of approaching the issue of organisational culture. One of the most well-known classifications of this type can be connected to the name of Meyerson and Martin (1987), who separated integrating, differentiating and fragmenting approaches.

However, the purpose of present article is not to discuss these groups in detail, therefore it is only necessary to mention the theories that are related to this topic. Nevertheless, it can be stated that an increasing number of researchers started to deal with this topic, and this is the reason why there is no generally accepted definition of organisational culture in use. One rather meets solutions within the framework of which the authors collect definitions of organisational culture or only review the elements that are relevant for them and, based on this, they create a new definition (e.g. House, Wright and Aditya, 1997).

In my article I use the definition that is provided in the research of GLOBE (¹), since the author concluded their definition on the basis of the summary of the experiences of the research that was done in the international arena and its findings. According to this definition (House et al, 2002) organisational culture is 'shared motives, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from com-

mon experiences of collectives and are transmitted across age generations'.

After defining the term, I continue by covering the types of cultures, which may provide assistance in defining the types of law enforcement agencies. I cover this on the basis of the most widely used Handy-type (Handy, 1985) classification, which is based on organisational structure. Handy defines organisational cultures based on power, role, task and person structures. Herein I only present the most typical one for law enforcement agencies: role culture.

In the case of role culture, the structure most resembles the structure of a Greek temple, in which the supporting columns represent the specific functional units. This type is characteristic of bureaucratic, rational and logical organisations, which operate along procedural rules and examples, authority and operation policies. Practically, the policies define each activity and their process within the organisation. The well-defined roles stipulated by rules are the most important aspect, and the person fulfilling the given role is less important. They even select the appropriate person for the role, who will fill in the role in line with the rules. This kind of organisation does not evaluate performance exceeding the role, since this kind of performance is not desirable. Therefore, it does not support creativity, self-dependency, proactivity and independence. An organisation of this type operates efficiently in a stable, slowly changing environment or under integrating pressure. On the other hand, in a continuously changing, unpredictable environment it becomes uncertain, since it is able to change itself only by restructuring the roles, the tasks and the responsibility scopes.

Organisational structure within law enforcement

As we can see from the previous section, the organisational culture is significant from the perspective of the operation and performance of the organisation. It defines the processes, it influences management and competitiveness and it has an impact on the entire organisation. And in the case of law enforcement agencies we can talk about a culture that has very strong traditions, since the character of their task already significantly predestines that law enforcement has to establish a special organisational culture.

(¹) GLOBE on the research, see: http://globe.bus.sfu.ca/

Of the above culture types, role culture is the most appropriate for the organisational operation of law enforcement, since basically in this regard we can talk about a bureaucratic organisation. Several researchers have tried to describe this culture type, and as regards their characteristics these descriptions are similar to the typology of Handy. According to Quinn (2006) this type is a hierarchy; according to Feldmann (1985) it is culture of conformity; Deal and Kennedy called it process culture; while according to Kono (1990) it is bureaucratic culture.

Although there are differences in countries' organisational cultures, in many cases due to national cultural differences, nevertheless it may be said that the cultural elements of law enforcement agencies are the same as regards their main features. These similarities can be observed obviously in the unified nature of their related task system.

According to Gábor Kovács (2009) it is characteristic of law enforcement organisational culture that it forms a closed, autocratic, command-based power system, within which there is a strict hierarchy. However, in addition to this, the author mentions human orientation, i.e. caring, as a cultural element. The reason for this in this case is not caring by the management, but social caring that is due to the closed system, which is provided by public service workers. Control is strong — it is exercised by the management — and there is little scope for criticism and conflicts. However, people working in law enforcement consider their profession to be a mission of their lives and performance orientation also unambiguously appears in the culture of the organisation. The author also mentions the dimension of risk avoidance and risk undertaking. In this regard, he describes the organisation as a risk-undertaking one. However, this is due to the character of the tasks of the armed organisation rather than to undertaking risks of organisational decisions or to the implementation of innovative ideas. These factors include characteristics of bureaucratic or role culture as well. However, examining some of its characteristics it can be said that it includes special elements as well, which cannot be classified under bureaucratic culture. These characteristics include, among others, the reaction or relationship to the environment, since according to Kovács law enforcement has to react to its environment, although, in spite of this, relationship with the environment and flexibility appear to a smaller extent among the features of this category. It has to be added that reaction

to the environment is probably one of the most important factors in respect of which the police have to meet the requirements. However, the present practice — especially in Hungary (Krémer at al., 2008) — reflects to a significantly greater extent the bureaucratic, inflexible organisation, hierarchy-based, formalised organisational structure, which does not offer any space for creativity and for innovative solutions.

The appearance of community policing (Wilard, 2001) can be also interpreted as a response to this specific problem, since while with the development of means of state penalising power, law enforcement — and law enforcement agencies as well — became increasingly regulated, they adapted themselves with increasing difficulty in the 1960s to increasingly dynamic societal-economic relations, especially to the demands of local communities. The attitude-related response to this was the appearance of community policing, which was based on the establishment of organisational strategies — and of organisational cultures — which increasingly take into consideration the demands of local communities, and which try to achieve partnerships with them, which produces new problem-solving methods and approaches criminal acts in a proactive manner (COPS, 2008).

Another research project (Pirger, 2015) that primarily examined Hungarian law enforcement agencies points to the fact that there are differences between the desired cultural values and those that are realised in practice. This involves human orientation, i.e. the level of empathy of the leaders and their social sensitivity, the extent of performance orientation and willingness to be creative and to innovate.

Based on my own experience gained as a trainer I have to mention that law enforcement today needs development of the superior–subordinate relationship, i.e. the development of leadership skills and creativity. Implementing ideas with more risk undertaking is the leadership behaviour required in order to allow flexible adaptation to changes in the surrounding environment and to react to the challenges. In the next section I cover these challenges, which have proliferated over recent decades.

Challenges facing law enforcement agencies

In recent decades we have witnessed a number of societal, economic and technical changes, which have transformed societal and economic life at its roots and, due to this, have an influence on criminal activities and crime-fighting as well. Let us take into consideration one by one what these changes may be and which of them represent the greatest challenges for law enforcement agencies.

Use of technical devices has become increasingly widespread in the 21st century, and this field has undergone accelerated development. This development offers newer and newer opportunities to those committing crimes, including smartphones, fraud committed with bank cards and the application of blackmail viruses. In addition to this, not only have the innovations been used, but the methods for committing crimes have also changed, to which the police have to react and adapt (Stephens, 2013).

With the spreading of globalisation and the spreading of extreme ideologies, an increasing number of terrorist acts can be also observed. As a consequence of this, fighting against terrorism became of primary importance not only within countries but at the international level as well. Therefore, law enforcement increasingly needs the deployment and ensuring of international networks and information flows. To this end several initiatives have been conceived (²); some of them are more refined, while others are still operating only in their initial phase. In the case of terrorist acts we have to keep abreast of the devices used and the changing of the group of perpetrators and the changing of their criminal act-related behaviour.

Differences between the generations have always been a part of our lives. However, there has never before been such a huge technical, knowledge and behavioural difference between the different generations as there is nowadays. While the baby boomer generation was already working hard at the time when the first office computers appeared, generation X could get acquainted with the new technologies right from the start. However, even among that generation there are lots of people who are lagging behind as regards mobile applications and cloud-based systems. Generation X had the chance to get acquainted with the new

technologies as youngsters, however the employees of the future, the online generation or generation Z, can already use new technologies as real digital natives, beginning at the age when they start to walk, and in line with this their brains, their way of thinking and their problem-solution abilities have already shifted to using mobile technologies. Based on this, it represents an increasing challenge for employers to transfer knowledge between the generations and to optimise their cooperation (Frost, 2011). All these challenges, and primarily the increasingly accelerated pace of change, place a significant burden on law enforcement. Law enforcement agencies, in order to be able to adapt themselves to these societal changes and to meet the increasing societal expectations, have to incorporate innovations into their day-by-day work in a flexible manner. And this requires an organisational culture that supports and facilitates these solutions and is able to manage changes in a flexible manner

Therefore, it can be seen that the current, rather hierarchical organisational structure of law enforcement agencies is less suitable for flexibly adapting to rapid changes. To this end, it is essential to reduce the hierarchy and at the same time to support within the organisation the deployment of attitude forming, cooperation and professional relations. There are several options for achieving this attitude transformation. However, according to the experiences (Stephens, 2013), and in my opinion, the method of action learning could be a method that on the one hand may adapt itself to the thinking and structure of law enforcement and on the other hand may provide an answer to these challenges and provide the assistance law enforcement needs even today.

About action learning

The process of coaching that serves the development and supports the management skill of the top managers is an area that is already known to many people today. In fact it is an advice-providing system tailored to the individual, the essence of which is to support leaders in managing problematic situations arising out of their work, which essentially goes hand in hand with the development of the leader's skills. In addition to business coaching, this development tool has numerous forms. Interaction takes place primarily between the manager and the coach in the course of this process. However, there is so-called team coaching as

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(²) Pearls in policing: http://www.pearlsinpolicing.com/ialgs/.

well, in which the method employed is similar, however in this case the coach already leads a team unit. Similarly to training events, team coaching is also done in small groups. Nevertheless, the main difference is that it does not exclusively deal with management problems, rather it deals with problematic situations or group dilemmas. This method places a greater emphasis on cooperation, through which it highlights the way the players can work together in the most efficient manner. The subject of my study is the action-learning method, which is one of the variants of team coaching.

But what actually is action learning? In short, 'Action learning is nothing else, but learning through actions within a controlled environment' (O'Neil and Marsick, 2007). This method is connected with the name of Reg Revans. He developed it in the 1940s and 1950s. Reg Revans recognised at a relatively young age, when he was still a teenager, the significance of information sharing. His father was a member of the examination committee of the Titanic disaster, which within the framework of this work drew conclusions as regards the circumstances of this fatal accident. The examination established that it would have been possible to avoid the accident if everybody had received the important information (the fact that the ship was approaching an iceberg) in due time and in due quality. This was the time when Revans recognised the huge opportunities that are represented by questions. He recognised that we have to find the answer to the question 'what?', i.e. the plain information and facts, instead of trying to answer the question 'why?', i.e. instead of dealing with marginal issues. Probably everybody knows the situation in which, after assigning a task to a subordinate, the latter primarily tries to find out why exactly they are the person that has to implement the task, and why it is not the task of someone else. That is, they do not deal at all, even by chance, with what they should do and how they will carry out the task.

The method was initially applied in coal mines and in hospitals, then — encouraged by the success — multinational companies that manufacture IT, electronic and telecommunication devices also started to use it, and even one of the largest financial service providers in the United States applies it. Several companies active in the international information technology sector ex-

tended the application of this method and introduced it in most of their subsidiaries. In addition to the private sector, the method has been also spread in the group of state companies. For example, it is also used in the United States by the Ministry of Defence, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) (Lanahan and Maldonado, 1998) and the Department of Justice.

Action learning is basically a kind of further development of competence-based training events. It is based on the elements of the methodology of training, and it uses its principles to provide the solutions. Its great advantage is that it uses experience-based learning as its foundation, i.e. the participating leaders learn and develop through solving specific problems. The participants may come from similar areas of the organisation, but they may even come from completely different special fields, and the selection of the topic will not necessarily be connected directly to each participant. This issue is completely irrelevant from the point of view of achieving the purpose of action learning. Therefore, the members of the team may work on different slices of the same organisational project, or they may even work on completely different projects. During training events they get to the recognition through simple, schematic tasks, from which they can draw the appropriate conclusions. The conclusion is important from the point of view of the task, which we can build around many areas. However, the method exceeds the methodology of training, since it brings the participants and the members of the team nearer to the problem, and over a short time a solution may be achieved — a solution that may be immediately applied in the course of day-to-day work.

The essence of the method is summarised by Marquardt (2011) in six components. These represent the basis of the methodology of action learning. The efficient operation of these elements offers the opportunities included in this method, which lead to fast, efficient and — according to the experiences — spectacular results in the lives of the organisations. This way the method is capable of managing the challenges in a more focused manner. The specific elements are summarised by the following figure. Subsequently I try to describe these elements briefly.

The problem

Action learning focuses on the problem in the project, the challenge that is faced by the organisation, the difficult case or task. It is important that these problems are very important from the point of view of the individual, for the team and/or the organisation. It can also be said that generally they require an urgent solution, and it is expected that the team will provide one. In addition to the team focusing on solving the problem, it offers a possibility for learning and for establishing joint knowledge, and in addition to this it provides an opportunity for individual development. Simultaneously, the capabilities and skills of the team and of the organisation are also able to develop. The situation to be solved may be a simple or a complex problem, although challenges that do not involve a single solution provide more opportunities for the participants.

The team

A key element of action learning is the group or team. In an ideal case the team consists of four to eight persons, who are present as participants and who work on the organisational problem to find its solution. Usually the members of the team have different backgrounds and different professional experiences, and this ensures that they will consider the situation to be solved with a new, fresh approach and encourages the participants to get acquainted with different perspectives and opinions. The character of the problems depends to a great extent on the composition of the team. The team — depending on the character of the action-learning

problem — may consist of voluntary applicants or of delegated members, of colleagues from different specialised areas or organisation units or of representatives of other organisations or professions. Moreover, it may also include suppliers and consumers.

Questions

Action learning gives priority to questions and feedback rather than to statements and opinions. It focuses on the good questions and even more on the good responses. It places emphasis on what we know and what we do not know. Action learning deals with the problem through the flow of questions, through which it is possible to clarify the problem and its character. Subsequently it provides feedback and identifies the possible solutions. It defines the measures needed only after having implemented these steps. The questions are in the focus, while the great solution contains the best solutions and the essence of the best questions. The questions build up the team, define the dialogues and facilitate cooperation, and in addition to this they support creative and system thinking and improve the results of learning.

Action

In the process of action learning it is an expectation that the team should be able to work on the problem. The members of the team themselves have to take the necessary steps or they have to ensure that their expectations should be implementable. If a team phrases

only expectations it will lose its energy, creativity and commitment. In this case there will be no sensible or practical learning in the course of the process and reflecting. Also in this case it is not certain that an idea or plan will be effective and that it will be possible to incorporate it. Action learning enhances learning because it provides a base and provides handholds to the critical feedback points. During the course of action learning the participants reframe the problem and define the targets again and again, step by step, and the participants define the strategy only after these steps, and then again they will define the measures required.

Learning

It provides a solution for an organisational problem straight away, within a short time, for the organisation and in a refunded way. Learning means a greater, longer-term and more complex advantage for the organisation, while at the same time the profit obtained from learning involves each team member and the team as a whole as well. Thus, experience-based learning acquired in the course of action learning represents greater strategic value for the organisation than the direct, tactical advantage that is acquired in the course of problem-solving. Accordingly, the method places equal emphasis on learning and the development of the individual, as well as on the team and the solution to the problem. The smarter the team becomes, the faster and higher quality the decisions will be, and the measures will be defined as a result of the action-learning meetings.

The action-learning coach

In the case of coaching it is important that the team focus on the important (e.g. learning) and the urgent (e.g. problem-solving) issues. The action-learning coach helps the team with feedback in respect of the learning of the members and the problem-solving method. In the question phase the coach permits the members to reflect on what they have heard, i.e. through this the coach helps them to reframe the problem, to provide feedback to each other, to plan and work, to define their assumptions and, finally, to define their beliefs and measures. The coach also helps the team to focus on what the members wish to achieve, to find out what they consider to be difficult and to define the processes they use and their consequences. The coaching role

may rotate between the members, or the team may even appoint one of its members to be the coach.

These training sessions may be used for a number of purposes beyond competence development. From the point of view of the present study, it can primarily be highlighted that the leaders participating in the training are able to acquire a new attitude, which is based on common thinking and the sharing of experiences. If the leaders are able to also apply this approach — which operates successfully within the controlled training environment — within the organisation, they may build a new organisational culture. Since the leader carries forward the action-learning approach and the 'attitude that is experienced and acquired' together with it, this approach will also slowly transform the method of organisational thinking. Therefore, action learning is the method for changing the organisational culture, and it can be an excellent means for reform and change management.

Implementing organisational change and culture shift is always a complex process, and the process is never linear (Fullan, 1993). According to Senge, cited by Silins (2001), organisational change is like a 'fundamental shift of mind'. This change has to be accepted by each member of the organisation and they need to be able to integrate it into their day-to-day work. This kind of integration may occur with a higher probability if the individuals are organised into work teams. Learning within a team has a higher probability of being implemented, and it also has a higher probability of reaching other persons and teams. Through this, organisational change and its acceptance may become more efficient.

In one of his studies Robert Kramer (2008) also examined the role of action learning in connection with organisational culture shift. According to his standpoint the change may be realised by the participant living through and experiencing the essence of the method, and by establishing a closer relationship with colleagues and by asking questions the participant gets a huge amount of additional information. However, if the original organisation culture is rigid and hierarchic, and it has a more direct management style, the manager participating in the action-learning training will be able to apply what they have learned only in a restricted way. Therefore they will be forced to reduce the distance between their subordinates and themselves, and through this to establish a looser organisa-

tional culture, since the leader will get information and their team will be successful only if in the course of applying the method ('what') they reduces the distance between themselves and their subordinate.

Applying action learning in the area of law enforcement

Let us now see in what respect the method of action learning is different and why it can be used more efficiently in the field of law enforcement. As I have already outlined in the first section, the organisational structure in the area of law enforcement has a very strong, hierarchical character, which includes strict expectations and well-demarcated performance requirements. In an environment of this type, a focused tool that provides a solution in a brief manner is required. While team coaching in many cases covers several areas, it tries to map cooperation and workplace relationships with a wider scope. Contrary to this, action learning dictates more focused and stricter rules, which matches well to the expectations of an organisational culture of this type. In addition to this, the processes of learning and problem-solving are also more evident for the participants in the case of action learning.

Although the daily operation of the law enforcement agencies is characterised by a high degree of unpredictability, which organisations try to counterbalance with their internal stability and predictability, achieving a more risk-undertaking and looser structure may also improve efficiency and performance. This is also proved by the research that has been introduced in the previous sections.

Since traditions and attitudes may be traced back a very long time, even a period of several hundred years, the changing of the culture at law enforcement agencies — also due to weak organisational intentions and experiences — means especially great challenges. It is obvious that this type of organisational change is a process that cannot be conducted easily. In my opinion, for this reason, especially great emphasis has to be placed on involving the persons participating and on implementing gradual transformation instead of radical change, since without this not a single organisational change can be successful.

From the point of view of my topic the role of leaders is especially significant. The professional literature

of today already assumes an unambiguous relationship between organisational culture and managers' behaviour (Schein, 2004) and attitude, which have a forward–backward impact. For example, according to Schein (2004) the most important function and task of management is the establishment and maintenance of an organisational culture.

If we consider this to be the basis, it can be said that an efficient organisational environment can be consciously facilitated with exercises which model the required operation, while at the same time the controlled environment provides an opportunity to correct the improper sample, to assist leaders in experiencing and practising the desired form of behaviour and to pass over the approach that has been acquired. Consequently, from the point of view of transforming the organisational culture, it is of key importance to form of the leadership attitude and acquire the necessary management support. It is obvious that changing the organisational structure of law enforcement agencies is a very slow process, and primarily the target is not to change the entire system in a radical manner but rather to establish an organisational medium where cooperation and relationships can operate more smoothly in the fields of both domestic and international relationships.

Although the methodology of action learning has been basically set out for the entrepreneurial environment, in my opinion the flexibility of the elements of the methodology allows its efficient and successful application also in environments that significantly deviate from the entrepreneurial environment. Naturally, to this end, it is necessary to modify to a greater or lesser extent the six components described in detail above, the purpose of which continues to be to find adequate responses to organisational challenges.

It is the advantage of action learning that it is possible to rely, on the occasion of its introduction, on the already existing structure. While the professional literature highlights the different professional backgrounds of the participants, nevertheless, in my opinion, this method should primarily target an improvement in the cooperation in and the efficiency of the professional areas in the field of law enforcement. Therefore, it is more important that the result be achieved through the cooperation of participants of different backgrounds. On the one hand this is indispensable because in a number of areas it is necessary that several organisations

work together in a harmonised way. On the other hand teamwork and case discussions directed at solving specific and complex problems can help other participants in exploring their own problems and cases.

For example, such a group may be a group of colleagues in a city that work in the area of crime fighting, which may even be implemented in several forms. Based on my professional experience, the operation of a professional area (e.g. investigators) in the form of an action-learning team or the establishment of a mixed group within the crime-fighting area (e.g. patrol, explorer, investigator, etc.) may be efficient. In this case the collision of viewpoints that originate from the different professional backgrounds and experiences, described by Marquardt (2011), also appears, naturally with the modification of the original concept, making it specific to law enforcement.

In addition to this, the application of the method can also contribute to the mitigation of generational conflicts existing within the organisation, since it usually encourages leaders that belong to the older generation to be flexible and open and to acquire higher-level management skills. As I see it, these faculties are of key importance for understanding and motivating younger colleagues.

In addition to being used within the country, it can be also be used effectively in international cooperation. At present, there is one European example ([3]) available, in the case of which the police leaders of the world worked within the framework of a longer training course using the action-learning method, with the aid of which international relationships and cooperation, as well as strategies, can be implemented more smoothly. The good practice referred to, in my view, could be used effectively in the central/eastern European region as well. There may be cultural similarities in the areas of crime and crime fighting, and the development of crime-fighting cooperation in this region still includes significant hidden opportunities.

Summary, conclusion and recommendations

Generally, we can conclude that organisations may be successful if they are able to continuously adapt themselves to societal-economic changes. From the point of view of law enforcement this is of outstanding importance, since the service is provided for the citizens, therefore the changes taking place within the environment can be immediately felt. In addition to this, the activities of law enforcement agencies are less similar to those of a producing enterprise, since in this area the processes are based less on detailed process descriptions, standards and automated solutions than on experiences, customary procedures and know-how. Naturally, in this area there are similar and repeated tasks, but there is also an increasing number of tasks that require complex solutions, especially in the area of crime fighting.

For this reason it is an important aspect for law enforcement agencies that they should be able to adapt themselves rapidly. A significant role in this may be played, among others, by external forces, the flexibility of the organisation and management support.

Action learning is able to facilitate this process because it is able to change attitudes in such a manner that while dealing with the solution of problems it directly involves the organisation and the work. In addition to this, it is suitable for forming the approach of the leader and for developing the managerial competences. Therefore coaching will provide an opportunity that the manager will be able to apply in the case of his subordinates as well. The spreading of this method as wide as possible in this way will also exert an impact on organisational culture. In my opinion, the usability of this method within law enforcement is primarily within the area of short, focused, cost-efficient and relevant problem-solving, and I hope that in the future it will be used increasingly widely.

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CEPOL

Putting learning into practice:
self-reflections from cops

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Abstract

Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) have been involved in police education with serving officers for over twenty years. The College of Policing (COP) are currently considering a range of options to develop learning within the police organisation and this involves a drive for more officers to be degree educated. The responses to a recent public consultation on this proposal involved some differing views on its introduction. Some of the criticism coming from officers themselves about the proposal argues that there is a limited evidence base for degree level entry and this small study provides some insight into this world. This paper will discuss the findings from interviews conducted with police graduates from CCCU following their completion of either a BSc or MSc degree programme in Policing. It will discuss officers' perceptions of their ability to utilise the learning they have gleaned in the classroom and how it is received from their supervisors and peers. The aim of the drive to increase education in policing focuses on the need for students to develop critical thinking skills, to further apply knowledge and their problem solving abilities. The research found that police officer graduates felt these skills were enhanced as a result of undertaking a degree, and felt empowered to apply their knowledge. However, findings indicated inconsistencies as to whether this knowledge was applied in practice. This often depended on whether an officer's immediate and senior management were receptive to embrace learning, more often than not there was a lack of willingness from management to 'hear' the learning from the police graduates interviewed in this study. Therefore, this research found that in order to embed knowledge systematically, a wider infrastructure is required to facilitate this at every rank of the police organisation.

Keywords: Police, Professionalism, Education, Knowledge, Culture.

Introduction: Professionalisation and the role of education

The term police professionalism has been widely contested (Sklansky, 2014; Chan, 1997; Fleming, 2014; Weisburd and Neyroud, 2011), as has what constitutes the type of police behaviour that makes them professional (Miller, 1999; Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2010). Its meaning is therefore ambiguous and is interpreted differently between and within practitioners, policy-makers and academics alike.

Arguably it is these complexities and tensions that make police reform so challenging. Sklansky (2014) identifies four key meanings of police professionalism. Whilst these are not mutually exclusive and should ideally work together there are some different notions of what makes up the meaning of professional. Firstly, the term may simply mean high expectations in relation to ethical behaviour, appearance, performance and the core application of the law. Other interpretations may relate to the police self-regulating which focuses on operational independence and politically distance.

Neyroud's (2011) perceptions of professional policing focuses to the application of expert knowledge, evidence based practice and an affiliation with the academic community to develop professional expertise and guide operational practice. Such ideas are fundamentally concerned with reflective practice and learning rather than a reliance on police intuition. In contrast to this, other definitions of professional policing focus on police common sense. As Segal (cited in Sklansky, 2014: 345) states, such rhetoric around the art of police work has always been present. Arguably it offers a more realistic option on which to debate the meanings of professional behaviour from the perspective of the practitioner themselves.

For the purpose of this article we will focus on Neyroud's considerations of professional policing. It is predominantly this model that is driving the professionalisation agenda in the UK which is focused on the implementation of a code of ethics, a drive for academic and police collaboration to further embed evidence based practice and the standardisation of police training through education both pre-entry, via apprenticeships into policing and through the potential for officers to gain academic credits based on previous training and experience. How much police knowledge can be provided 'off the shelf' via education is an interesting debate. Indeed the term evidence based policing itself has been widely contested (Punch, 2015) as have the outcomes of police research in terms of how much they could, undermine the professional identity of officers themselves (Wood and Williams, 2016). However, the Police Education Qualification Framework (PEQF) being driven by the COP is progressing across the UK.

The argument for the PEQF programme is predominantly grounded in the complexity of changing demands and the need to standardise training nationally. Technology and crime, child sexual exploitation, dealing with mental health and terrorism all provide justification for the police to be more reflective in their approach and to be able to think analytically in order to solve the problems presented to them via these 'wicked problems' (Grint and Thornton, 2015). It is argued that police officers through the application of a higher level police education will develop the critical thinking and analytical skills that feature in most teaching at under graduate and post graduate study. As Christopher (2015) argues, police officers are routinely placed in nuanced and complex situations that require professional judgement, interpretation and reflection. Tilley and

Laycock (2014) argue that as well as problem solving and critical thinking assisting with understanding the changing demand, such a focus on longer term crime prevention should in theory reduce constant police response to particular areas, to particular victims and offenders and at particular times.

Such ideas about the role of and application of education in policing are not without their issues. Indeed, Fleming (2015) has widely presented the difficulties of this within the professionalisation agenda in Australia and highlighted the conflict between officers feeling personally and subjectively professional without the assistance of education from academics. The reasons for this are multifaceted, however one key issue that is debated regularly around this topic is the impact that top down guidelines being imposed on an organisation and its' staff will have. It can result in much local challenge and the undermining of any success of a standardised professional agenda (Wood and Williams, 2016).

What is the evidence base?

There is evidence to suggest that education further develops critical skills, better communication, a more nuanced understanding of complex police problems and police powers and can be more effective leaders (Roberts, 2015). However, there is limited evidence on officers' own perceptions of how education is received by the organisation and their colleagues, despite a large number of officers going through a variety of police related education every year in the UK. Indeed, this is what prompted the small scale study that the authors will discuss here.

There are different models and perceived aims of education within academia itself. One of the most well established long standing police education programmes is run at Canterbury Christ Church University CCCU). The ethos there focuses on the achievement of professionalism via a process of continual development rather than it being established in the abstract, without the interplay between the lecturer and the practitioner and off the shelf (Bryant et al., 2013). Such ideas recognise the role of the practitioner as an active learner within the education process and therefore part of that journey must involve the opportunity to take the learning from the academy and utilise it in their operational role, alongside their own professional knowledge. Indeed this is where knowledge can help inform decision-making in a more reflective and evidence based manner. This notion of officer involvement very much

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concurs with writers such as Davis (2002) and Sklansky (2008) who argue that top down control to monitor police professional behaviour and decision-making can have the reverse effect. Such arguments, whilst not the focus of this paper are critical in the context of understanding procedural justice, community confidence in the police and the perceptions of police legitimacy (Rowe, 2015). Indeed top down prescriptive process can reduce reflexivity and in a culture which is becoming increasingly risk averse this is important to note within the challenge to the COPS's reasons for professionalising through education.

The CCCU National Student Survey (NSS) annually reports the results from final year students on the degree programme we run at our University. The programme has historically received high levels of satisfaction from serving police officer students on the programme. However, in NSS results between the years 2013-2015 we noticed a fall in the satisfaction rates under personal development. This was reported at 80 % in 2013, 74 % in 2014 and 61 % in 2015. Over the same time period the satisfaction rate relating to teaching on the programme rose from 88 % in 2013, to 94 % in 2014 and to 97 % in 2015. The personal development of students on this programme is largely facilitated but their employer. Therefore, it seems likely that officers are displaying in these findings a lack of ability to demonstrate reflexivity at work and the learning gained from the programme. The degree programme has reflexivity as a core component of the entire degree. However when officers attempt to apply this in practice, it is within a constrained context that allows little scope for its use. Overcoming these limitations requires a better understanding and collaboration between universities and police services and such issues may take time, effective engagement and mutual negotiation (Bryant et al., 2013). As Hallenberg (2012) states, unless senior leaders within the police are supportive of education, any positive outcomes are likely to be lost. Leaders need to create opportunities for learning collaborations and develop systems that encourage and incentivise staff (Roberts et al., 2016). However, even where support is forthcoming from senior police leaders, there are still strong cultural barriers that need to be overcome.

The resilience of the police culture has been discussed widely (Reiner, 2010) and that has implications for officers who want to use their learning at a practical level. The fostering of reflective practitioners within policing demands internal democratic structures that allow

for appropriate levels of dissent, diversity of thought and questioning (Wood and Williams, 2016). This can be problematic within an organisation that has a defined and authoritative rank structure (Silvestri, 2003). The failure to allow for the kind of reflexivity that allows officers to consider the nuances within which policing operates can result in police organisations denying challenges to unexamined assumptions, and an exploration of more innovative ways of working (Vickers, cited in Silvestri, 2003: 182).

Research shows us that there are real opportunities to enhance a sense of internal democracy within the police service through organisational justice measures (Sklansky, 2008; Haas et al., 2015). Fairness, participation, inclusivity of all ranks will encourage a more engaged and motivated workforce within the police (Bradford, 2014). Therefore, the allowance for student officers to be creative through their education is key.

Given the drive by the COP is focused on using education to encourage a learning culture, to critique current practice and to embed reflexivity the lack of support to use learning in professional development as is indicated in CCCU NSS findings indicate that the culture as is, is not ready.

Research indicates that certain internal processes can also inhibit reflexivity within the organisation. Current performance measures which focus on quantitative, target oriented approaches are still in place (Cockcroft, 2013), despite sustained criticism (Guilfoyle, 2013). Such methods predominantly prioritise the crime fighting view of policing at the expense of non-crime policing functions (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). As a result, the interactions / relationships and processes involved in police work are ignored to make way for numerical outputs. Therefore standalone quantitative measures make it particularly difficult to establish *being reflexive* as an important component of what it means to be a good police officer.

As Roberts et al., (2016) discuss investing in and standardising education within an organisation is an enabler to change. However, the organisation needs to both value learning and make a commitment to staff that its provision will assist the workforce to further understand current challenges.

Research/method

In order to consider the extent to which our own police students at CCCU were encouraged to practically use their learning with their role, we conducted a small scale piece of research that comprised of undertaking ten semi-structured interviews with participants. All of the participants were serving police officers of varying ranks and forces, who had graduated from BSc in Policing (Hons) In-Service Programme on or before July 2015.

Findings

The two main findings from the research have been identified through the interviews following a thematic analysis undertaken on NVivo. The first related to positive perceptions from participants in relation to their academic study. When participants reflected on how they viewed the knowledge they had acquired from the course, they felt it contributed positively to an understanding of their own role and function in the workplace. This lead to a sense of empowerment and a sense of individual professionalism. However, they felt unable to utilise this knowledge in their workplace. The second theme that prevailed related more to participant perceptions of the strategic delivery of professionalism and embedding the research agenda from the top and how this actually played out for them in practice. They felt there was a disconnect between the professionalism agenda coming from the COP and the operational reality in the organisation, as a result the agenda was perceived as being aspirational and short-term without a realistic ability of being able to embed knowledge and education in police forces in the long term.

1: Positive perceptions of the degree programme and a sense of individual professionalism

Participants of the research described how their involvement and engagement in education via the degree programme had helped shift their perspective to a more positive one and reinvigorated their passion for policing. They had gained the ability to think more creatively by utilising their knowledge from the course. Consequently, rather than being influenced by what they described as a negative canteen culture amongst their peers, participants had gained the ability to reflect on different perspectives and provide more positive suggestions to issues that affected their police work. As a result, they perceived themselves as having more credibility through knowledge and therefore more confident to use it within their work, This resulted in an individual sense of professionalism.

The knowledge gained from the course was considered to empower officers. This related to the level of inquiry that was subsequently applied when thinking about policing, in practice. The course provided a wider context for them about policing and relevant partners. Consequently, using knowledge to understand and analyse a particular issue had developed their ability to: identify different problems and barriers, to suggest realistic solutions and alternatives, using research, and to be open to new ideas. These elements were felt to be provided by the degree course and contributed to a sense of credibility and professionalism.

Promoting officers to think differently about problems by utilising knowledge and an evidence base informed by research is a key aim of the COP's professionalisation agenda. However, the ability for participants to utilise their skills gained from their degree programme was not consistent. Their ability to use research in practice was related to holding a strategic position/rank, or if in the capacity of their role, if they were a decision-maker. This was not the case with officers in operational roles. Therefore, overall participants felt that the organisation currently lacks the opportunity to listen and utilise the skills of officers.

'…I think it's really, really, really difficult for people who go back in after doing a degree and I think a lot of it is about that hierarchal framework because people of a certain level think they have the knowledge anyway so therefore why would they ask the lowly level PC or PS or whatever…. But I just think it's interesting that at a time when they're supposed to be encouraging more engagement from the troops and bottom-up engagement and all that kind of thing that you still feel that you're almost looked down upon for the fact that you've tried to…'

This led to frustration and a sense of feeling undervalued and deskilled. Feelings of frustration about knowledge being dismissed in a 'dictatorial and top-down' environment were further compounded at an individual level. Participants had a high sense of personal legitimacy with aspirations to impact on organisational legitimacy in relation to more informed decision-making. These students were investing in themselves, to improve their own decision-making and to apply the knowledge internally. However, they found themselves disarmed and unable to do this as a result of top-down rank and file. This is despite the apparent drive for an evidence-based approach from the COP. As a result, the short-term gain of individual engagement with

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higher education is being inhibited by the existing police culture and a lack of infrastructure to embed the professionalisation agenda from the top.

2: The strategic approach to drive education in policing was perceived to be aspirational and 'short-term' rather than embedding a research agenda in the long-term

Integrating education and research in policing was perceived by participants to be challenging at every level. At a strategic level the public sector cuts were seen to be the main inhibitor for investing in a long-term professionalisation agenda utilising evidence within policing. At an organisational level, the focus on police targets meant that 'short-term' and prescriptive policing agendas were advocated over developing an infrastructure to embed research. At an operational level, the culture was described as resistant to utilising and applying knowledge and expertise from police officer students.

Perceptions of the COP and its aims were sceptical

Whilst the COP is an independent body to the Home Office, the extent to which it is perceived as such is questionable. Therefore, the COP is seen to be an additional layer of governance dictating what is professional, rather than a body working for the police to professionalise officers.

'…For me realistically I don't think anything has changed. I think they've rebranded a lot of things. And some of the things that are coming out of it particularly we're now going onto the Skills of Justice process in terms of how we're assessed and the competencies that we hold as staff and again that's another organisation that actually the College of Policing are adopting, so at what point are they independent because actually they seem to be leaning on a lot of our organisations that actually are linked to the Home Office. So their independence is always questionable. For me apart from the rebranding of a name I've not seen any change in the way they run as an organisation…'

The COP is considered as detached from operational police officers and staff

There was a sense that the COP was detached from the operational functions and realities of policing. Ironically, one participant learnt about the COP and its' aims from undertaking the degree programme, rather than from any formal communication from the organisation itself.

'…The grass roots level — because I got into the degree and the academics I found out more about the College of Policing and the NPIA and all of that. Most people don't know anything about it. They don't know what it's there for, they don't know it's there for them…'

Organisational infrastructures are not conducive to embedding evidence-based practice or the application of knowledge at a local level

The organisational focus on police objectives and priorities were described as one of the main barriers to embedding knowledge. The infrastructure was felt to be driven by a strong culture of performance that is purely focused on inputs (officer numbers) and outputs (what they do), For example:

'…I don't think there's a facility in my job to apply knowledge back into the structure. I think if you get into a role and you're trained in that role and you're expected to go off and do it and if you branch out into something different, there's no way to feed that back into the organisation. I think a lot of it is that you're viewed as a number and I know it's callous, but you're a number, you're an officer, you're a small wheel in a big machine and therefore what you can do, what your skills are, don't matter….'

This quote illustrates a perceived conflict with the top-down, performance-driven approaches that set agenda for action at an operational level, as opposed to involving officers more democratically around decisions. Establishing reflexivity as a core attribute within policing is challenged by such rigid performance structures. Indeed, as Cockcroft (2013) argues, despite a sustained criticism of targets, especially the way in which they prioritise the crime fighting area of police work at the expense of non-crime policing functions which is arguable where the demand now predominantly lies (Punch, 2015). Quantitative measures as a standalone make it very difficult to establish *being reflexive* as an important component of a police officer's role (Wood and Williams, 2016).

Infrastructures to practically support police officer students to study was inconsistent

The officers described a lack of a consistent system to support officers whilst developing their learning. Although corporate policies existed to support the practicalities of studying as a full time worker, through the provision of funding or study leave, accessing this was inconsistent at a local level.

Some respondents were not aware of such policies to support them because they had not received information from their line management to support their development. Whilst some officers had received funding, this was described as reduced since the cuts to budgets and reduced police officer numbers. This sense of unfair process has serious implications on officers commitment to the organisation and buy in to its' priorities (Myhill and Bradford, 2011).

In the absence of practical support from the organisational at a local level — individual motivation was a key factor in making the programme work

The police officer students were self-motivated to achieve their degree and make the course work around their own personal work commitments. The motivations, as to why police officers undertook a degree in the first place, referred to their own professional development and to obtaining a further qualification. In some of these cases the officer students wanted to expand their portfolio in order to leave their current department or role or indeed, leave the organisation altogether. There was a sense that management felt threatened by individual expertise gained through the completion of a degree programme. Some students experienced total disinterest from their senior management for undertaking a policing degree. Others had their motives for studying questioned, with the implication that a degree was either a 'ticket' out of the organisation or a perceived threat in preparing the police officer students for promotion.

Despite these unsupportive attitudes being displayed from middle and senior management, the students believed in the programme and felt the individual benefits in undertaking were positive. The programme provided them with the motivation and resilience to overcome some of the practical issues and lack of support experienced whilst undertaking a degree.

Without a consistent organisational infrastructure to support the development of individuals engaged in educational programmes and the embedding of knowledge exchange, the use of knowledge was 'ad hoc'. It relied on the individual to challenge 'upwards' the information learned from the programme and this could be seen as blocked at the first stage, due to a lack of receptiveness, at both senior and middle management levels.

Conclusion

Understanding the implications of these findings is critical in the context of the COP's agenda to professionalise the service and the PEQF. Moreover, the findings of this research suggest that the short-term gain and personal sense of professionalism described by students can be overturned by the perceived rigid approach and organisational inflexibility to use knowledge in the workplace. This is further indicative of a culture that is resistant to the kind of reflective practice that should feature as a core component of ethical policing. Paradoxically, process driven frameworks operating within the organisation ignore the process of decision-making, the ethics involved and indeed the behavioural aspects of police encounters. All core aims of the professionalisation agenda.

To further understand and more effectively deal with the type of 'wicked problems' (Grint, 2010) the police are increasingly faced with, critical thinking is imperative. From the findings of this small piece of exploratory research, it seems that what the current internal structures advocate and measure as 'good police work' conflicts with the reality of the job and, indeed, the aim of standardising education within the policing environment.

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The role of the Police Research Centre in strengthening criminalists' competencies and securing society

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Abstract

The multidimensional expansion of security from the state towards the individual, human security and human rights significantly determines the contemporary social role of the police as a security institution.

The adoption of the educational processes, with an accent on the need for multidimensional competencies of police professionals, actualises the question of the educational model and its compatibility with European or Croatian qualifications frameworks.

The effort to change the paradigm of 'research after learning' to 'learning through research' tries to influence the creation of academic programmes, directing the focus and adjustment of the researchers, and improve the output competencies of criminalists.

Development of the concept of integration of police practice and science-associated education content and research with practical participation in the police and criminal investigation procedure of security phenomena in real time.

This paper analyses the need for the transformation of higher police education through model integration of police practice, theory and science. The aim is to argue the reasons for the development of the Police Research Centre within the Police College, resulting in the launch of the strategic programme for its development.

Keywords: Police Research Centre; police practice and science.

Introduction

Modern-day security highlights concerns over human potential because of new insecurities, threats and danger with, perhaps, increasing understanding by society overall of human values, and in particular human rights and freedom of citizens.

The development of human resources to promote safer societies and national security is a particularly important national issue for every educational, scientific and technological system.

Reflecting the theoretical underpinning of the management of resources in this field, it is clear that national security is for the public good.

It is therefore important to discuss human resource management in the public sector, especially police training.

These resources, in the narrowest sense (Marčetić, 2007) are referred to as the totality of formal knowledge, practical skills, abilities, behaviours, social characteristics, psychological characteristics and other skills of public servants, as the most significant group of people in the public sector (on matters of public inter-

est). The multidimensional and multidirectional expansion of state security towards the individual, human security and human rights significantly determines the contemporary social role of the police as a security institution. Police educational systems are determined by internal policies, along with the need to develop human resources in order to achieve the fundamental societal role of the police and compliance with the legal scope of police duties and powers (The Police Act, 2011, 2012, 2014 and The Police Duties and Powers Act, 2009, 2014).

In particular, it relates to basic police education, training, specialisation and professional development. However, higher police education is also influenced by wider academic fields, empirical work and societies' expectations concerning leadership, ethics and fairness. Thus, these influences upon higher police training are broader in scope than merely the policy and legal frameworks that might otherwise apply.

Therefore, the design of educational processes, with an emphasis on the need for multidisciplinary competence of police and crime professionals, raises a question concerning their compatibility with the Croatian qualifications framework, with reference to the European qualifications framework and European educational standards and programme.

Consequently, based on the analysis of the situation and possibilities, this points to the need to upgrade the higher police education system, involving a central role for the Police Research Centre joining forces with other functional areas of the Police College.

Lifelong learning

In view of the police service as a career category and assuming the need for overall lifelong professional engagement of the individual, the ongoing professional educational system is an extremely important feature of the Strategy of Education Science and Technology of the Republic of Croatia. Education itself might be viewed as extending only to organised learning, whilst learning is a broader concept that should include less formal, unintentional, unorganised and spontaneous acquisition of knowledge and skills and can be carried for a lifetime. Lifelong education refers to all ac-

tivities of gaining knowledge, skills, attitudes and values throughout a lifetime with aim of endorsement and expansion within a framework of personal, social or professional development and individual practice. Lifelong learning can be viewed as a base for personal development and managing the constant adjustment of the individual in a changing environment in one's personal life, at the work place and in society (Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education, 2011). These linked development and education systems are socially important processes of career development and gaining new knowledge and skills by, inter alia, staff training that results in preparation for professional practice and the acquisition of specific skills required by the organisation (Buble, 2006).

The dynamics of policing subjects — starting from the individual and extending to public safety and criminology through to organising, recruiting and other aspects of police management, international corporation and the training of officers — demand the continual adjustment and development of the educational context, methodology and objectives. At the same time there is a recognition of the responsibility of the individual and self-initiative and awareness and the formal-informal elements of education.

Within European reform guidelines for education it is suggested that there is a need for the development of new transparent systems of employment within the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia (MoI) and for progression through the ranks and specialist roles in the police service due to the fact that all modern police forces are organised as structured and hierarchical services (MoI, Police education reform, 2014). The reform of police education is important from, inter alia, the point of view of police culture, which influences the reaction of police officers to pressure and conflicts in their job that might be characterised as social isolation, conservatism, suspicion and highlighted internal solidarity.

Police and criminalist education must understand the educational context of a wide scientific spectre, but it also demands in-depth specialisation, continuous professional development and specialist training. In that context questions arise regarding when and to what level scientific methods should be implemented and what place police science has.

Safety as a subject of police science and criminalistics

Whilst a preliminary view of the police might characterise them as action centred and organisational, a more enlightened perspective would recognise policing in the context of police science (Butorac and Solomun, 2013), which consists of a wide body of knowledge impacting on police practice that is shared with criminology, law, criminalistics, other forensic sciences, sociology, psychology, management, safety, political and other academic disciplines. It may be a widely accepted opinion that police science is primarily concerned with safety or public safety phenomena according to which we can simply name it 'science of safety'. (Porada, et al., 2006:17, according to Erneker and Holcr, 1997). According to criteria for determining public safety from internal and external perspectives, police science from an internal point of view is considered an integral part of the wider concept of police and legal science, which involves the investigation of threats, danger, disruption of public peace and order, life and property of citizens, prevention, discovering, processing, sanctioning, etc. External aspects of police science involve numerous aspects of international police corporation, whether it is within the framework of the EU integration (Europol, CEPOL, Frontex and other) or globally, the role of police within the system of international security and establishing and maintaining (peacemaking and peacekeeping) international peace and safety under the umbrella of the UN, NATO, bilateral and multilateral police arrangements, etc. The presence of police science in all aspects of safety undoubtedly confirms the police as the cornerstone of the modern system of national security, despite opinions (Tatalović and Bilandžić, 2005), that exclude the police and dispute their obvious role in the system of national security.

Following trends within higher police education, science and research, especially through CEPOL (the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training) programmes it seems justified to orient the subject of police science in Croatia towards the EU context.

The framework programme of the EU for research and innovation (Horizon 2020, 2013) is a three-dimensional programme, including financial priorities, which focuses on social challenges. In Chapter 7 (Secure society: Protection of freedom and safety of Europe and its citizens), referring to the sub-chapter on safety, this highlights that Europe is confronted by large socioeconom-ic challenges, such as growing economic and cultural interdependence, ageing population growth, social exclusion and poverty, inequality, migration flow, closing of the digital gap, etc. This causes many forms of insecurity — crime, violence, terrorism, cybernetic attacks and breaches of privacy, etc. — which leads to erosion of trust among citizens and towards institutions. The fight against crime and terrorism, strengthening safety and security by managing borders, maintaining of cybernetic security, strengthening resistance in crisis situations and natural disasters, ensuring privacy and freedom on the internet and the strengthening of the social dimensions of safety are also intentionally targeted by European activities and programmes concerning public safety in our country. Many of the public safety duties that the police preform raise public safety questions and concerns in both academic and practical terms, therefore they pose valuable research questions.

Police science differentiates the pre-science and science levels (Butorac and Solomun, 2010, according to Porada et al., 2006:24). The subject of pre-science police knowledge is a certain individual situation, while from a scientific perspective the subject is abstract and relates to undetermined idealised police situations. Many public safety topics are useful for developmental and basic scientific research. With regard to the course matter and methodology of criminal investigation, and trends in contemporary science, inter-, multi- and transdisciplinary research are fostered, which represents a special challenge to the researchers and the creation of new projects. The interdisciplinary nature of criminal investigation also defines and characterises the output competences and the aims of study programmes at the Police College, and significantly determines the ratio of courses of criminal investigation profession and science to other disciplines.

The primary function of the criminal investigator as the expert or practitioner with relevant competences is shown through the social and state/administrative function of the MoI as a central body, and also through individual departments intended for the achievement of individual and internal security and the preservation of the peace and order of the Croatian nation and society.

Care and responsibility for the achievement of a satisfactory level of security is the fundamental purpose of police work, as a central element of the ministry. In this process, the role of the police and the multidisciplinary

link between criminal investigation and security phenomena are very important. In the safety–police/criminal investigation/law relationship we find the purpose and content of professional challenges fundamental, as well as the establishment of research efforts, interests and issues. With regard to the investigation of security issues, in figuring out what had happened or could have happened, several scientific disciplines are implemented according to their methodological frameworks in order to establish causalities (Solomun, 2007).

The criminal and legal fields of the profession, and indeed science, are especially important in this spectrum, because, in addition to prevention, the imperative of the security actions of the police and the application of criminal investigation is in proving responsibility for the violation of the protected object. The roles of sociological, criminological, psychological, organisational, informational, biomedical, economic, technical and other scientific disciplines are no less important in this field (both negative and positive security developments) (Petz, 1996). By taking account of current empirical work, and by changing the paradigm of 'research after learning' to 'learning through research', we could try to influence the creation of academic programmes, in particular focusing upon research professors and student criminalists in relation to their competencies.

However, there appears to be a distinct lack of research undertaken by students as part of their study programmes both before and after their stay at the Police College, which points to the need for study programmes linked with relevant research and practice. Consequently, the postgraduate study and research ambitions of criminalistics and police professionals are likely to remain unrealised and unfulfilled, and their competences may suffer.

Grading issues/discussion

The most advanced models of modern day development of employee organisation are based on Integral theory by Keneth Wilber (Borš, 2012). This theory tries to synthesise the best of pre-modern, modern and post-modern reality (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2010). Especially relevant for the evaluation and discussion of the integral model are the recommendations contained in the report on quality for the academic year 2014/15, drafted by the Quality Committee of the Police College (Police College, 2014). In the category of grading evaluation

and practice of students and their studies professors are marking with higher grades 'possess certain levels of practical knowledge and regular attendance at seminars', whilst some of the negative aspects were found to be 'insufficient cooperation with the Human Resources Service of the MoI and Police College regarding studies and insufficient motivation of students to study'. Similarly, in the category of the practical worth and applicability of study students show relatively 'low satisfaction levels in relation to the study programmes'. The main objection is insufficient connection of study programmes and practice, whilst in relation to possible improvement of exit results of studying, respondents highlight as a priority 'the need for a more substantial element of practical work'.

By grading the general situation and circumstances of the Police College as adequate, the committee recommends that in the forthcoming period the connection of the Police College with the Police Directorate be intensified at all levels.

Assessing the state of the Police College in the area of expert and scientific activities with a SWOT (strength, weakness, opportunities and threats) matrix, it can be concluded that the internal strengths consist of professors, students, infrastructure, tradition and exclusivity of study programmes (the only one in Croatia), subject of research, in addition to theoretical/practical integration with mutual activities of professors and practitioners. These elements ensure equilibrium in relation to internal weaknesses, the most significant of which include organisational and financial constraints (MoI), inconsistencies in subsidisation associated with scientific development of professors, recruiting systems and human resource management, the relative comfort and protection from competition among the professors, lack of commitment on international cooperation, etc.

Considering the opportunities and possibilities of the environment we can highlight the needs of society, communities and citizens for improving all aspects of safety, modern trends and support for research and scientific activities from European strategic programmes and financial frameworks, which would have a positive effect on the Police College and would redress the danger of environments that may be difficult to recognise.

By doing a SWOT analysis we can recognise the need to address the issue.

With a consistent policy of subsidising the scientific development of professors (funding towards research doctorates, international advanced training etc.), along with development of the recruitment and retention of scientists, this would ensure long-term stability and would enhance the national and international reputation of the Police College.

The systematic regulation of financial autonomy and identification of independent accounting protocols within the MoI would ensure that the Police College had external recognition and the autonomy to bid for projects. More frequent submission of bids for domestic projects (especially within the EU research framework and programmes) would strengthen the position of the Police College and would guarantee its prospects and the prospects of professors.

In addition to the integral model we can use the final report and accreditation recommendation of the independent expert committee of the Agency for Science and Higher Education of Republic of Croatia in the reaccreditation of the Police College. The final conclusion of the Committee highlighted that the study programme should improve in the direction of the integration of theory and practice. Importantly, the Centre of Police Research is classified as an exemplar of good practice.

The Police College has a strategic plan up to 2018 that includes the aim of enhancing personnel, organisation and financial potentials. It is based on values dating from 2008-2012. The document includes aims and objectives in five strategic areas, including education, study programmes and human potential.

The Police Research Centre, cornerstone of the implementation of the model

According to the strategy for reform of the system of managing human potential by the MoI for the period 2009-2011, in the context of strengthening education design in the Police Academy, the Police Research Centre (referred to below as 'the centre') was established as a part of the Police College. The published aims of the centre refer to gathering together all the trainers, professors and researchers of the Police College and involving other Croatian and European experts and related institutions. As an institution whose purpose is identification and evaluation of the development of

insecurity and criminality risks, the centre should contribute to the clarification and development of significant guidelines and strategies of the government of Croatia, especially in prevention, to enable the context of training to be updated, to enable the professional development of teaching staff to be evaluated and to enhance their expertise.

The activity of the centre would give (as a result) suggestions, recommendations or projects in the area in police methods and techniques, and that work could, depending on the subject and the nature, involve all MoI staff.

At the same time, an important role for the centre would be in the creation of preconditions for cascading expert and professional activities of the police and criminal experts.

Furthermore, experts and staff returning from abroad (or other projects) would represent a valuable resource to the Police College.

Based on national and departmental strategies in developing human potential, starting from lower organisational long-term guidelines and strategies, the centre follows the vision, mission and aims of the Police College, the long-term guidelines for the education and training of police officers (MoI, Police Academy, 2013), the strategic plan of the MoI, the strategy for developing of human potentials in public service, the strategy for education, science and technology and other programmes and strategy guidelines in the area of science and higher education.

According to the statute law of the Police College, the centre is positioned as the body dealing with research into delinquency and criminality, safety issues, standardisation of police proceedings and promotion of good police practice.

The aim of the functional position of the centre and of creating a system of referral centres is to update practical experiences and improve the competencies of the teaching staff of the Police College. Additionally, the aim is to recruit teaching staff from the ranks of criminalists/police practitioners.

An element of the aims and objectives is the systematic focus and analytic organisation of safety events (statistical reviews of safety indicators), as the main safety

issues in addition to clarifying the context and subjects for scientific research.

Implementation of the integral model — the basic elements of the strategic plan

Even in a complex organisational context, for the purpose of clarifying the perspective, following the general methodology of strategic planning (Bahtijarević-Šiber and Sikavica, 2001), the organisational mission, aims and objectives still remain clear.

In accordance with the object and purpose of this work, one cannot precisely determine aimed values and deadlines by strategic planning.

Methodologically, the concept has a vision and a mission and consists in two strategic areas, nine strategic goals and other tactical and operational aims and measures.

Vision for developing the centre

Based on professional values and principles of excellence, nurturing police specialisms — safety and criminalistics subject and environment and integration of domestic and foreign police practice, education and interdisciplinary science and to confirm high educational and scientific relevance and competence.

Mission of the centre

To create conditions for enriching expert competence, but also to satisfy the instructional, scientific and research ambitions of users within and outside police structures. By including and motivating police officers for the systematic monitoring of positive and negative safety events, to guarantee career prospects, to expand the educational culture and ethos, to promote lifelong learning and to create a database of professors, ensure compliance with the regulations for participation in domestic and foreign scientific-expert police and safety projects.

Strategic areas of the implementation model

Implementation of the integral model involves two strategic areas.

1. Integration of police theory and practice-expert contribution.
2. Development and emancipation of police science subjects — scientific contribution.

Strategic goal within strategic areas

Within strategic areas the strategic goals, as well as some operational measures, are highlighted as follows.

1. Integration of police theory and practice

1.1. Teaching staff

Enabling the continuous professional development of and achieving expert competences of teaching staff at the Police College and researchers from the Police Research Centre (*The Code of Police Education*, 2012) by direct monitoring of police methodology, enriching the experiential segment/exercise designed by staff so that they can improve transfer of knowledge in the teaching process at the Police College.

1.1.1. Including teaching staff/employees of the Police College in the operational working processes of the MoI, police departments, police stations and other partner agencies (*The Code of Police Education*, 2012).

1.1.1.1. Formulating the plan for conducting joint practical workshops/experiences of teachers and lecturers on a yearly basis according to determined priorities.

1.2. Practitioners

Integrating police practice and study programmes into the Police College through participation of practitioners from the police system in teaching and other educational activities.

1.2.1. Improving and modernising the system for tracking quality and evaluation of success of police officers/practitioners, and recognition and acknowledgement of their ambition for participation in higher educational programmes.

1.3. Reference centres

Creating the system, organisational model and methodology for monitoring safety events as examples of police activities through reference centres based upon criteria of the most frequent type of safety events in relation to time and space (statistical indicators of safety events and other documents of MoI, statistics of judiciary, state attorneys, National Protection and Rescue Directorate, etc.) or specialism of the police organisation in police operations (criminalistics police, traffic, surveillance and securing of the state border, specialist roles, etc.).

This approach will enable systematic research into the main safety issues (criminal offences, misdemeanour, etc.) as a subject of police actions and interest of an associated part of the public, as well as internal organisational police organisational issues (human relations, evaluating the performance of police, job satisfaction, working conditions — especially dealing with 'burn out' syndrome, which is harmful to psychophysical ability as a *conditio sine qua non* of successful policing).

Reference centres will gather together all interested professionals, practitioners and staff of the MoI, but also include members of other safety structures and, in accordance with point 1.2.1., create conditions for the expression of theirs teaching and research ambitions. Also, the participation of professors from the Police College and researchers in the reference centres will improve the updating of their practical experience and will also enable recognition and indication of the practical context and processes suitable for further research and scientific analysis. These will create fundamental assumptions for designing developmental (expert) and scientific (fundamental and applicable) research.

1.4. Students

Enhancing and strengthening the competencies of the graduates of the various training programmes and courses for criminalists and criminalistics specialists (study programme of the Police College) in the context of mastering discussions about the relationship between the police and safety as context for the ultimate goal in the social role of the police, standardisation of police methodology in Croatia, multidirectional improvement of success of the police system.

1.4.1. Monitoring, analysis and evaluation of the theses and final work of specialist students of the Police College and encouraging quality and the propensity of authors and mentors to publish as contributors to the creative dimension of the Police College.

1.4.1.1. Defining criteria for the evaluation of student work and creating a competitive scheme for rewarding the most successful students and mentors.

1.4.1.2. Creating a thematic frame for final theses and specialist academic work by students.

1.5. Lectures, advisory workshops, round tables, workshops and open forums on real issues where professors participate in the discussion/answer questions.

These goals involve improvement in internal communication and better exchange of information about scientific/expert achievements of all members of the MoI, especially teaching staff from the Police College and researchers from the centre with the ultimate goal of improving expert competences.

2. Development and emancipation of subjects of police science

Due to the relatively modest participation of scientific research using police methodology, organisation, criminalistics and safety as police science subjects in the scientific corpus of Croatia, it is necessary to have a research context that is suitable for scientific inquiry and the application of scientific methodology, including the availability of population samples and ethical and data protection issues.

In order take cognisance of previous scientific research it is necessary to create systems and raise the level of knowledge for gathering data from those relevant studies and organise, index and analyse them to define criteria for judging their significance and critiquing others work.

Adequate financing and the existence of proper infrastructure are essential for effective research activities. This is only possible by strengthening the financial autonomy of the Police College and by the provision of a clear budget delineated in the financial plan of the MoI and Police College.

Taking into account the subject of police science and the level of police knowledge, these steps would be essential to encourage basic developmental scientific and expert research.

2.1. Scientific-research projects

Creating a system of approving, analysing and grading suggestions for research projects from the Police College.

2.2. Multi-institutional cooperation

To achieve effective cooperation through contractual relationships with scientific institutions within the academic and public policy systems of science in Croatia.

2.3. International cooperation

Establish and develop systematic cooperation and apply it to research projects in cooperation with other states, EU institutions, CEPOL and other international organisations.

2.4. Scientific professional meetings of the Police College

To standardise and make it commonplace to host regular international scientific/expert meetings organised by the Police College, perhaps annually.

With the aim of undertaking thematic scientific profiling the Police College suggested titles for suitable research projects for the medium term, to be discussed and adopted by the expert committee. Therefore they would become a part of this chapter and any objectives that would be additionally set out would be clear.

If the Police Research Centre had teams of suitable personnel starting up activities and supporting/encouraging students, at the same time promoting evidence-based practice, then achieving these goals would be more likely.

Conclusion

It is possible to improve higher police education based on lifelong learning by officers and placing the subject of police science into the framework of public safety studies.

Moreover, the integration of teaching-theoretical and practical-empirical content through the participation of teaching staff at the Police College in real time contributes to their professional and research competences and encourages evidence-based practice. Developing a system of higher education integrated with police practice and having teams of personnel and a consistent quality of work of the Police Research Centre would lead to scientific and expert challenges but would also develop a more meaningful concept of the links between police higher education, scientific work and research. By having a protocol that would comply with principles and norms of the Croatian qualifications framework we would be following the trend of the modern era in regulating standards of professionalism, qualification and competencies. Proceeding in this way guarantees us a more dynamic foundation and functional positioning of the Police College as an integral mechanism providing the most direct support to operational activities of the Police Directorate, the MoI and other institutions within the system of public safety in Croatia. Also, the Police College would establish or confirm its importance and position within the Croatian higher educational and scientific system, the region and the EU. By steering the Police College in this direction (with an emphasis on research and evidence-based practice), we are attempting — by the acquisition of knowledge through science and innovation — to contribute to the improvement of the overall intellectual potential and safety of society, and to pursue reputational improvements for the Police College among the wider law enforcement and academic communities.

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APPLICATIONS IN TRAINING AND EDUCATION

When does training become learning?
Reflections about transmitting ideas across borders

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Abstract

This paper starts with summarising research conducted in London, England. It draws on the author's experience as a senior civil servant inside the London Metropolitan Police Service managing analytics and evidence for performance and evaluation. Part of that analytic work included a ten-year study of the outcome of rape allegations (eight years were tracked during this decade), and whether and how that research found its way into the conversations within the organisation about how to police/investigate rape and sexual assault (see Williams and Stanko 2015). This work has served as a core part of the evidence base underpinning the co-production of a new police training course for sexual assault liaison officers. To consider sharing the practice of police training *across* borders, the role of academic research evidence in the preparation of training necessarily raises questions about the core messages of police 'training' police and how improvement in the policing of sexual assault evolves for one of policing's wicked problems. As the 2016 CEPOL conference focused on 'Global Trends in Law Enforcement Training and Education', the reflections about the process of co-production of training locally and across borders are discussed here.

Introduction

Research confirms that few allegations of rape are reported to police. Even fewer rape allegations reach court, and even fewer still result in convictions of the alleged suspect. This outcome in terms of justice is replicated throughout the world. Characterised as the 'justice gap' (see for instance Horvath and Brown 2009), the process of investigating rape allegations was the subject of a ten-year inquiry inside the London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). Two full months' data in 2012 was the focus of more detailed analysis (Hohl and Stanko 2015). This analysis showed that victim withdrawal accounts for almost half of the attrition of the 587 sample cases studied. The next largest contribution to attrition is the police decision to take no further

action, *accounting for 67 % of attrition in non-withdrawn allegations*. These decisions are rarely scrutinised by anyone outside of policing. Analysis shows that there are three critical factors present in decisions to proceed in the police recorded allegation data: the availability of independent evidence of the incident, the identification of a suspect who is a 'credible criminal', and the assessment that a complainant is 'credible' strengthen the likelihood that an allegation will result in a charge by the Crown Prosecution Service.

The above findings were cited in a commissioned enquiry into the policing of rape allegations in London (Angiolini 2015), and this enquiry concluded that there was a compellable case for improvement in the police management of rape and sexual assault. The Angio-

lini Review found that rape myths still influenced the way police manage rape complaints, and that the officers who were in roles to support rape victims perceived victims as 'not telling the truth' (2015:76). There is growing acceptance, from the Angiolini Review to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (an independent police oversight body in England and Wales), that victims who report rape to police in London are more likely to be highly vulnerable (see also Stanko and Williams 2009), more likely to know their assailant, and only occasionally involve a complete stranger attacking a victim without warning. Four key vulnerabilities dominate rape allegations reported in London over the decade of study: the complainant is young (under 18) at the time of the rape; drugs and alcohol mis/overuse are present (either for the victim, the assailant or both); the complainant has mental health issues; domestic abuse/violence is the context. Police investigation, as the consensus of research and the conclusions from a raft of enquiries point out, needs to be framed through the lens of how vulnerable victim experience sexual assault/exploitation. Through a UK 2015 Home Office and HEFCE funded Police Knowledge Fund (PKF) grant, with projects overseen by the College of Policing (CoP), the lessons learnt from the project are used as the foundation for re-thinking and designing a new approach to the training of sexual assault liaison officers. The reflection here is to consider how one might also apply the lessons from this collaboration with two English forces to police training of police officers about sexual assault across national and international borders.

Police training

The purpose of the 2016 CEPOL conference was to consider global trends in law enforcement training and education. Much of the conversation at the conference about improvement in policing has recognised the importance of learning the lessons from evidence based policing literature and folding academic research into policing training and education. There was a consensus at the conference that this aspiration was very much in the beginning stage of the journey, and that there was limited progress to date.

In this paper, I share insight about the process of creating a new approach to improve the business of sexual assault liaison officer training informed by research evidence published in 2015 on the London study of

rape allegations (see Hohl and Stanko 2015). The lessons learnt from the academic-police collaboration's creation of a new training course for use in the two partner forces, can be shared with other police forces at home ([1]), in the UK and abroad. Using the lens of this PKF project, the paper is reflective, and raises a number of questions about the current generic approach to police training, not only in England and Wales (home), but abroad as well. I suggest that in order for innovative, evidence infused police training 'to be understood and relevant', there must be a broad alignment of what is considered to be 'good policing' or 'good enough policing' (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2016)(Bowling, 2007) shared across borders. These reflections here will largely focus on the grounding of 'what is meant by good training' or 'good enough' training, so that policing is better (after all, that is the purpose of training — improving professionalism). This explicitly means that somehow — and over time — the impact of the training should be able to be measured, transparent, and experienced by victims who report sexual assault as 'good enough'. I am purposely choosing one of the biggest challenges to policing across the globe — the response to reports of sexual assault — which universally are criticised as 'not good enough'. The paper draws on learning from a police-academic collaboration funded through the UK's PKF which has translated academic research on the policing response to rape to a new training programme designed for sexual assault liaison police officers in two forces in England.

Sexual assault liaison policing is a specialist role inside the police service in England and Wales. As a role it differs among the forty-four police forces. Some of the roles combine support with sexual assault investigation; other forces separate support for the victim as a function from the investigating officers' role. So even with England and Wales, the approach to the policing role and its place overall in the policing of sexual assault differs and 'training' officers for this role is largely in-house. For the purposes of discussion, police training approaches should be compatible with national training standards set by the CoP. The sexual assault police officer training modules abide by learning objectives specified by the CoP, but these do not yet require that the specific information within any module align with the available (best) evidence according to *academic* standards. As preparation of any training delivered to

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([1]) Home would be England, and in particular, the London Metropolitan Police.

officers desiring a new role is largely undertaken by training units within individual police forces, the 'evidence' basis for what an officer 'does' and how s/he 'does it' is largely managed through *craft-based* skill development. A distinction between *craft-based* and *science-based* skill development has been addressed by Willis (2013). He suggests that *science-based* (or even *science-informed*) approaches are less prevalent.

Police officer trainers who train police officers for new roles access first their own experience as police officers 'doing the role' to inform the substance of the ways of working they wish to train other police officer to do. They further draw on knowledge about the local, social, legal and organisational context for 'best practice' from their operational experience. Police trainers too rely on 'command and control' to provide an invisible funnel through which new information is assimilated into police action. 'This is the way we do things around here.' Developing a lesson plan on what constitutes a problem (here how to provide the liaison between the victim and the investigation of a sexual assault) and to manage it (as police action, process and procedure) is constructed through the lens of organisational process. Telling trainees 'what to do' turns the job into using process as the anchor for deciding how to respond to a situation, event or report of a crime. Police training, as I have come to understand first hand, is largely overshadowed by force process and procedure, an invisible institutional framework to exclude knowledge that is generated outside policing itself. Yet individual police officers (who are providing vital support to sexual assault victims) are continuously confronted by having to make informed (and defensible) decisions about very complex situations (and as time goes on, academic evidence informed decisions which may — or may likely — clash with institutional practice). Routinely accounting for how policing decisions are made (when, why and often, under some form of supervision) invisibly underpins the training ('we need to help officers tell the investigating officer that s/he is wrong') but with a form of hopelessness that such attempts are not always successful. The training unit, I have come to learn through working with both police partners, is not routinely informed by the police force's routine way of accounting for its success in its business (for instance, a look at the overall performance of the police force for rape allegations for instance or understanding how responding to rape allegations rarely result in any criminal justice outcome might require some reflection about what they are asking officers to

do). There is — at least in these training units — no internal in-house feedback loop to assess whether what the police trainers are training officers to do 'works', or makes any difference in the performance of a police force in terms of delivering 'good enough policing.' To become more professional I suggest requires policing to be better customers of their training units ([2]).

Police training has been staffed largely by police officers who bring with them a view about '*the way things work in policing and particularly* **here**'. Trainers — at least those in England and Wales — undergo certification in order to become 'trained trainers', a certification which demonstrates that the new trainer understands how adults learn (craft). The approach recognises the handing down the craft from one officer to another, and often relies on tacit knowledge (not academic knowledge) to share good practice. Professional skill development — especially for police officers seeking to learn a different role — then takes place *inside policing*, and as studies of policing and police culture consistently find, rests on information that is largely sealed away from any other eyes (and particularly independent academic evidence). The approaches and techniques that are being handed down have rarely been tested, are not challenged by those outside the police, least of all from academic research, because the world of in-house training is largely hermeneutically sealed to outside eyes and ears.

There is much expectation about the power of training overcoming shortcomings of current police practice with regard to improving the experience of victims and the outcomes of allegations in the criminal justice system. Police training on sexual assault and for sexual assault liaison officers has commonly been part of the recommendations for improving the policing of rape and sexual assault. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary has published a number of reports over the past two decades, and improving the justice outcomes for rape allegations has been linked to more training. My experience in this project is that recommendations should be linked *to 'better or improved' training*. The role of sexual assault liaison officer is created to improve the two key contributions to attrition (see for instance Angiolini 2015): the high levels of victim withdrawals and improving the investigating officer's investiga-

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([2]) Some police functions have been under scrutiny more than others. Take shooting in the USA or public order in the UK. It would be worth a better understanding of how this kind of craft training is done, and how 'what works' informs the approach to police training in these scenarios.

tion. The theory of change underpinning this project is that better evidence informed training (officers attuned and better informed about victim vulnerabilities and the implications for criminal investigations) would strengthen (or at least align) police training with improving the justice outcomes of rape allegations. This should be further tested (if the training can be delivered).

A review of sexual assault liaison officer training

The PKF project's theory of change draws on what the research evidence says about what contributes to victim outcomes for rape allegations. The research (Hohl and Stanko 2015) highlights the vulnerabilities of victims through an analysis of allegations reported to the local police force, and demonstrates the influence of these vulnerabilities on outcomes. The new course set out to develop explicitly an appreciative inquiry approach to putting victim vulnerability at the heart of sexual liaison police officer training and requires the trainees to think differently in order to make decisions informed by victim need. Although only a partial 'fix' to whole system improvement in the investigation of rape allegation (there needs to be more work regarding the interviewing skills of officers who are after all interviewing highly vulnerability victims), the project provided new insight into the process of academic-police collaboration on police training in general.

The number of recorded rape allegations in England and Wales in 2015/6 has risen by 123 percent since 2011/12, with the number of convictions in court decreasing by half (7.5 percent of recorded rape allegations) (RMG, HMIC 2016). The biggest contribution to attrition is victim disengagement/withdrawal. As police investigation is the next largest contributor to attrition (when the victim stays with the criminal justice process), better training and supervision are named as critical factors in improving outcomes for victims. Keeping training in-house, without the contribution of outsider academic or practitioner knowledge, has not resulted in the level of improvement needed to address the issues outside scrutiny in England and Wales continuously finds. The academic research evidence (Hohl and Stanko 2015) as well as the Angiolini Review (2015) points to key areas for improvement.

The PKF project, which academic-police officers co-produced a new police training package for Sexual Assault Liaison Officers, opened the discussion in the two forces' training units about how the needs of the complainant of rape and the needs of the investigation are often in tension. These are not fixed, and the training package needs to frame the new training through the lens of what the victim and criminal justice process 'needs' (which starts with the cooperation of the victim). Learning to balance these should be part of the core competency of the successfully trained specialist officer, the working group agreed. As the data in the police forces (which are the data used by the researchers), the needs of the complainant are framed by kinds of vulnerabilities complainants 'bring with them' when reporting a rape. As noted above, understanding the nature of these vulnerabilities should enable officers to prepare in advance how they will manage these vulnerabilities within the investigation window. These should be explicit as common issues officers will be managing in their roles. What we found in the discussions was what the researchers put in the foreground — victim vulnerability — the police trainers had previously put in the background — with legal definitions, process and procedures trumping the understanding of how vulnerability plays out in recorded allegations of rape. We debated how to introduce research-informed approaches, which contrasted with police trainers who draw on their own expertise *as officers* (even if this were the best craft knowledge possible) to carve the way the trainee officers learn their new roles.

Co-producing sexual assault liaison officer training

The PKF project set out to work with two different police forces. Working with two forces though meant that there were two *different* approaches to the policing roles which supported victims and led investigations, and thus there were different in-house training designs for that support. The project was keen to align the research evidence on the rape allegations that provided the bulk of the business for the forces. We agreed to two key changes to the previous training course that the working group agreed were critical to delivery. First there was the inclusion *as a core part of the lesson plan* of the use of case studies that reflected the kinds vulnerabilities those who allege rape *in their own force* have. Second, the training package addressed well-being needs of the police officers themselves, as officer

resilience is often stretched when working with victims with high vulnerabilities.

Simply the process took the following approach. The academic team played the role of critical friend, and the working group collaboration focused around key steps:

- The academic team reviewed the existing evidence base, interviewed officers serving in the roles; interviewed third sector victim support to document a seasoned outside perspective on 'how the policing support' works; and observed delivery of current course.

- Analysis and observations from above set the substance for critical reflections on the training with a core working group (from both forces, comprising trainers and operational officers).

- After a review of CoP competencies, the academic team proposed functional competencies for the role of sexual assault liaison officer and these were reviewed and revised with police partners.

- Academic team drafted the training drawing on their knowledge of the key learning to set the foundations for understanding the needs of victims based on the kinds of vulnerabilities reported in the force itself, a review of 'what works in adult training (especially the role of reflexivity in professional development) and drafted the core classroom learning about rape and victim vulnerability. Most importantly, the working group discussed and designed in debates and reflections about what they concurred a sexual assault officer would do differently as a consequence of understanding these vulnerabilities.

- A consultant with recognised expertise drafted the police training package as resources were tight in both forces to produce a new approach using their own design teams.

- A drafted new training approach was peer reviewed by operational police officers.

- Both forces have pledged to use the new materials, harnessing the information on vulnerabilities reported to the local force as the case study materials.

The above process was resource intensive, involved continuous debate and discussion and required the confidence to challenge organisational issues in the police forces, such as arguing for the additional resources in order to change the 'way we do things around here.' This was an endeavour that required full time resources from part of the academic team, and involved a fair amount of robust discussions about change. In other words, it took a lot of effort to shift 'the way we do things around here'.

There is more work to be done to monitor and to assess whether this new approach to sexual assault liaison training (one that translates the needs of the victims in a different and new way than has been done in the past) makes any difference to justice outcomes (or to the way rape victims feel about their treatment by police) in two ways: whether victims feel supported differently (and some measurement for this may be a fall in withdrawal from police contact) and whether police officers feel they are better prepared and more resilient as a result of the training course (do officers themselves feel more confident and/or resilient as a consequence). Over time (it will take a few years) it would be possible to measure whether there is any change in the number and proportion of allegations that result in a criminal justice outcome. It is also important to review whether this is the right measure of success. At the same time, it might be possible to introduce an exit interview for as many victims as possible. (The author has tried this before inside a police force, it proved difficult to capture the views of those victims who chose to disengage with the police.) It would also be possible to measure the impact on police officers who serve in the role as sexual assault liaison officers. It is important, however, to map a theory of change for the training course, and set out systematically to measure and to monitor whether this approach contributes to the kinds of improvement proposed by various external reports over the past two decades.

The above process — incorporating what we know about the victims of rape and sexual assault, what we know about what works in training, what we know about how police officers' role as sexual assault liaison officers impact their well-being to name a few — and to collaborate with two different police forces with two different ways of working is labour intensive. There are high level lessons which we can share across borders, but what it does tell us is that 'evidence-informed training' — in an arena that is largely an evidence free zone

— is in its infancy as a process of changing policing. To adapt learning from the lessons of changing police training in the above example to that of the contexts of policing across borders is, I suggest, a very tall order.

Some thoughts about sharing the above process across borders

There is a growing consensus that a core value at the heart of policing is its legitimacy in the eyes of citizens. I have crossed many national borders speaking about my research, work in the Metropolitan Police London and sometimes delivering training to police officers about the impact of police decision-making on justice outcomes for rape and sexual assault allegations. This paper is as much a reflection from working inside my own organisation (see Williams and Stanko 2016) as it was across continents. In this last section, I would like to talk about why some of these presentations abroad end up with mixed receptions, at times with police becoming defensive about 'how hard their job is' or surprised that an evidence base might serve as grounded information for change, and me becoming frustrated about police practice that is 'not good enough' and not seen to be heading in the direction of improvement (as measured both by an increase in justice outcomes for victims who approach police with an allegation of rape and sexual assault and how victims feel). Academic research gives us some of these clues as to what is hiding behind each cross-border encounter. Rape myths continue to infiltrate the processes and practices of police decision-making (see Horvath and Brown 2009; Hohl and Stanko 2015). Yet, I believe the persistence of rape myths influencing practice doesn't quite account for the growing understanding among policing colleagues that there are real problems in the management of victims' rape allegations in many police services across the world. I would like to make three points about the link between training and learning.

1. There are substantial challenges in police handling of rape allegations across the globe. My research suggests that in particular training for improvement in the police investigation of sexual assault requires an understanding of victim vulnerabilities and how this impacts (a) rape victims and (b) the way police approach an investigation as a consequence.

Discussions about policing sexual assault — recognised as one of the main issues facing women around the world and a growing recognition of a factor in the abuse of men — are swamped by concentrating on 'how difficult' victims or their situations are, and therefore, bringing these kinds of complaints to the justice sector is fraught with 'mess' (see the most recent inquiry in London, Angiolini 2015 as an example). While there is much to share and to learn between police services, finding 'common ground' is problematic because jurisdictional police processes and procedures have such a prominent role in the thinking about 'what police do'. These procedural and legal traditions differ across jurisdictions and interfere in the ability to start any conversation about police training using the evidence — the analysis of who reports what — as the starting point for thinking differently about training differently in any local context. What I learned after a decade and a half inside the Metropolitan Police was that the issues undermining better justice outcomes could be and should be linked to an *analytic* grounding in the voices of victims who are already engaging (or are trying to engage) with police by reporting rape and sexual assault. A knowledge of what the law says about what constitutes rape and sexual assault is clearly presumed. Where a training session rarely starts is with a clear analysis — an *evidence grounded review* — of what the victims are telling police *locally* about the problem of sexual assault victims face. What are the circumstances presented by those who are reported sexually assault or rape and how do these circumstances challenge the application of law? This complexity can be analysed, but it involves active analytics inside a police service exploring the impact of reported victimisation on the demand of the police service to apply its legal powers. What most police services will admit is that many of the victim know their offenders, and the circumstances of applying law requires unpicking tricky issues of consent, force and exploitation of vulnerability. For forces using practitioner trainers, a focus on applying procedure and law doesn't help steer trainees' skills toward gathering (best) evidence of what happened and how that evidence might demonstrate a violation of law. The bulk of cases coming to police attention will be 'messy', not straightforward application of law. The impact of 'messy' cases on high demand for limited resources requires far more attention and time, and in the age of austerity, often causes frustration and/or officers' stress and burn-out inside policing. The ability to *train* police officers across borders

requires police officers to acknowledge the business they manage ('messy cases'), *learn* how to manage 'messiness' differently from insights using scholarly research on victims' vulnerability, adapt the learning to enable officers to understand the business of sexual assault allegations and apply their practice and problem solving skills to the kinds of rape allegations that actually are reported to their local police service.

The ten year monitoring project in the Metropolitan Police Service I oversaw taught me that the overwhelming majority of rape allegations are not be considered 'good enough' rape allegations deserving of robust investigation (Hohl and Stanko 2015). And that just over half of these London victims turn away from justice after they contacted police. There is academic research that tells us why this might be happening, *but not what to do differently as a consequence of knowing this*. This does not mean that the rape allegations reported by those victims who disengage with police are unfounded; it does tell us a lot about the majority of these victims who are highly vulnerable at the time of the assault. These incidents deserve much more understanding so that we might improve victims' experience **and** their strength to challenge the assailant that did 'something' to them. If the UK has learned anything in the past two years from the scandals of historical sexual abuse allegations is that few victims were treated seriously, felt that they were disbelieved or had the strength to push back against 'rape myths' seeping into their exchanges with authorities. Linking police training — at home or abroad — with an analysis of the situations and victim who report rape allegations locally requires the police services — as 'good enough' organisations — to know their business first (and consequently the business needs of those who turn to police for help). Police training should first and foremost be leaders in this business.

2. There is a challenge in shifting police training across the globe to shape the thinking of recruit and specialist officers drawing on science (academic) informed practice rather than craft-based practice (police officer training police officers using experiential and procedural expertise). There is slow traction in the use of evidenced based policing practice and this is also true of the use of evidence (science) informed training.

I ask the reader to reflect on debates about evidence based policing in an international context. Sharing a new idea (for instance, a co-produced (police/academic partners) syllabus and course material for a police training course to improve the experience of sexual assault victims) across borders must have some grounding in the 'local'. It is difficult to share the ideas about the use of advanced analytics within a police service when it is not standard practice. Furthermore, advanced analytics — as resources for police tactics to address crime — are not commonly used in grounding *training* improvements. Evidence based policing approaches are more likely to be associated with deployment or response tactics, not those for the treatment of victims and the collection of evidence from traumatised or highly vulnerable victims, or placed at the heart of the police force's own understanding of 'how well are we doing'. When I ask a police service if they can share their data on the kinds of victims who report rape using a robust analysis of their own crime data, I often get silence. I have rarely found a police organisation that understands its crime reports for the purpose of tracking outcomes of police decisions, understanding vulnerable victim needs or suspect danger and does so *routinely* so that it can feed into 'performance' diagnostics as well as consider the way in which this information can be shared with officers investigating cases and *training* those to investigate cases. Police training is based on what police trainers believe to be the legal evidential problems of sexual assault, with trainers drawing on their experience of doing the job themselves. The training is overshadowed largely by process and procedures dictating how investigation is recorded (forms, supervision, gathering evidence and interviewing skills), but rarely informed by analytic understanding of the problem of rape/sexual assault in their local jurisdiction (using the data held within the police force itself). Without this analytic understanding (I would term it evidence informed), local police processes and procedures — the dominant topics for police training — are introduced without fundamentally challenging the kind of business police officers manage. In police speak it is not just knowing about the 'problem profile' of the issue that needs trained officers to respond to. It is knowing the difficulty this 'problem' poses for caring for its victims and the very process of the investigation strategy. This is highly influenced by the academic findings of researchers in areas such as psychology, legal studies, child protection, and many other academic disciplines who have highlighted the impact of rape and sexual assault on victims for dec-

ades. For many (most) allegations of rape, the victim (and the context within which the alleged rape took place) is the site of and for the investigation. It is the very kind of crime that must benefit from fresh academic knowledge.

What I have learned from the PKF project is that local police training remains dominated by local process and procedure. Outcomes of decision-making — my example here has been the outcomes of rape and sexual assault local allegations — rarely drive the direction for improvement, not only for the police force, but for the substance of the police training modules. This is why the inclusion of academic evidence insight facilitates police training to move out of the revolving door of 'the way we do things here.' But to do so, police training must be more open and transparent about what it does to train police to do, how it trains them to do it, what academic insight it applies to the training, and how it demonstrates that policing is 'good enough' and getting better. The PKF project has led to the creation of a part of a new training module to improve support to sexual assault victims. Most of the effort was devoted to communication, my final point.

3. There remains a gulf between academic language (science informed) and practitioner language (craft informed), and this communication gap hinders the integration of 'academic/outside the force' knowledge into training/policing/procedures/understanding inside the police force.

I was asked to comment on how the accelerate 'training into learning'. Of course, each writer will say that this is hard to do. It is. My advice is that you the reader — perhaps a police trainer yourself — need to facilitate the conversation. You need to be persistent and patient, and brave enough to find a way to systematically review and refresh training in light of operational business and academic insight. The process for translating must be an open and transparent one. This means that police forces should invite academics with subject matter expertise and expert operational practitioners to participate, to observe and to help transform training. The co-production of the content and the approach to the training will be uncomfortable and irritable at times. But it will need to be so in order to find common ground and a workable approach that reflects the best information that academic/scientific knowledge can offer, a more sophisticated way for adults to learn (outside of the command and control regime), a steer on 'what to do next with the information' and the practical skills officers' need to apply the learning successfully. The space within which the police 'train their own' has tended to be a closed shop. Craft-based trainers dominate this space, and these training officers may have been out of operations for a long time. They may not have been the best practitioners either. Too often training is considered a 'dead zone', where officers who have grown weary of front-line work, or officers are burnt out and 'need a rest' or who can't find a role in the rest of the organisation train others to do what they no longer wish to do. This is an unspoken problem, one that is seldom articulated as an organisational barrier to improvement.

All is not doom and gloom, however. The conference that this paper was presented is one form of activity that is promoting new learning. My sense from talking to many participants from many different countries is that no one is satisfied with where police training is at the moment in the use of academic learning or in its translation into policing practices. This shows there is a hunger to get better. I for one wish the pace of change would quicken.

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Warrior or guardian or both?
Effective counter terrorist tactics and police integrity, to shoot or not to shoot: is this the question?

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Abstract

As we proceed to safeguard democratic principles, with the assistance of law enforcement organizations on the ground, we continue to encounter the challenges of the mandate to use coercive force as one of the most extreme tools in the toolkits of our officers. It has been a long term belief of this author, that the more civilized we become as a society the more we resent the concept of coercive use of force as a solution to the myriad of problems we need to solve to safeguard the so highly cherished democratic principles. This article will focus on the three challenges we need to address and incorporate into law enforcement training and especially counter-terrorist training, at the basic academy level, in order to achieve a more effective and less criticized performance of the officers charged with delivering the impossible: preventing and solving violent crimes with much less violent means. In order to do the impossible we need to integrate the following 3 concepts: technology, quality and performance. While the first concept appears to be fairly self-explanatory the two others seem to be more complicated. Yet, enabling the best possible future had always been one of the main challenges facing scholars and not just in the field of law enforcement and this attempt to identify what needs to be done is just another endeavour to create the best possible template for effective and respected law enforcement.

Technology: policing is hard on democracy

In the 21st century, it has become quite a cliché to talk about the importance of technology in daily enforcement strategies and tactics. However, the unchallenged truth about effective enforcement is tied directly to the legitimate nature of policing. Without the trust and legitimacy attributed to law enforcement tactics there is no real way to safeguard our democratic principles and continue policing as a respected profession that will not only attract the best and the brightest candidates but will also generate the highest possible respect from the public. Given the recent de-velopments in the way police forces are perceived by its publics around the world this might seem however unrealistic, but the need to at least attempt to reach these high standards is long overdue and cannot be postponed any longer (Haberfeld, 2016).

The continues and endless coverage of any high profile law enforcement response, is especially true with regard to terrorist attacks and active shooter situations that might or might not be ideologically motivated. Over half a century has passed since Berkley (1969) mentioned the idea of *Policing Being hard on Democracy*, and as much as his concepts rang true in the aftermath of the Civil Rights era of the 1960s, they have be-

come much more important with the advent of new technologies. This includes two types: the technologies that track and report police conduct and misconduct, like the various smart phone, cameras and related devices; Secondly, the technologies representing military high grade equipment, normally used in remote global locations to decimate enemies of the nations and now used by various law enforcement tactical units to eliminate the enemy within, in the cities and villages populated by civilians. Further, in the 1980s Tyler and Folger (1980) found that when citizens call the police for assistance or are stopped by the police, their perception of the fairness of their treatment by the police has an impact upon their satisfaction with the police that is independent of whether the police: (1) solve the problem about which the citizen calls; or (2) cite the citizen they have stopped for a violation of the law.

While the idea of knowing the key to failure, by trying to satisfy everybody, appears to be yet another cliché we struggle with while trying to devise the most effective counter-terrorist responses the power of negative perceptions cannot be ruled out from our attempts to achieve legitimacy from the public we police.

The ever present concept that the criminals amongst us do not come from some extraterrestrial space but rather, increasingly so, are home grown with parents, siblings, friends and supporters, we need to address the interrelated issues of effective response paired with much effort to legitimize the nature and scope of this response.

The use of force never looks pretty, and in the era of counter-terrorist and active shooter response it will continue to look even uglier and the proliferation of various visuals of the aforementioned responses, over the multitude of media and social media outlets, who continue to manipulate the way such images are presented to the public, requires a proactive approach on the part of local law enforcement. Such a proactive response can be achieved in the most successful manner through an elevation of standards for recruitment, selection and training with a simultaneous public relations campaign aimed at the public, through which the necessary steps that need to be taken by the first responders are explained and justify **prior** to any high profile event and not in the aftermath (Haberfeld, 2013).

Technology: or maybe democracy is hard on policing?

Crazy, crusader or criminal?

The discipline of marketing and communication are well developed in other spheres, both public and private, unfortunately, this has been one of the weakest points of any law enforcement agency (Haberfeld and Cerrah, 2007; Haberfeld, 2013). Not only it is very challenging for local law enforcement to explain why they do what they do, it is also frequently something they are prohibited from doing, for various political considerations. Well, the time has come to revisit the way policing is presented to the public, especially with regard to counter-terrorist response on the ground and the necessitated tactical response, which includes the use of deadly force or in other words: *to shoot or not to shoot: is this the question?*

Fredrik Hacker (1977) coined the term of *Crazy, Crusade or Criminal* when discussing the most effective police response when dealing with a hostage situation. Although his theoretical framework has been ignored by local law enforcement agencies throughout the world, for more than 5 decades, most recently, in the aftermaths of many high profile events police departments around the United States and some other countries, started to incorporate Hacker's ideas into their active shooter training.

Crazy,	Crusader or	Criminal?
1. Motives and goals clear only to the perp.	Motives and goals driven by a 'higher cause'	Motivated by personal goal and profit
2. Willingness to negotiate limited	Rarely willing to negotiate	Willing to negotiate
3. Expectation of survival strong but not realistic	No substantial expectation of survival	Strong expectation of survival

While it is finally gratifying to see the incorporation of Hacker's vision from decades ago into the 21st century tactical response on the ground, much work still needs to be done in order to pacify the critical audiences that already had and, undoubtedly, will continue to raise their voice in anger when faced

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with the scenario which includes the following variables:

What if the crazy, crusader or criminal is:

1. A child
2. A pregnant woman
3. A disabled person

It is our duty as law enforcement scholars and practitioners to ensure that the public is ready and well-informed about the real possibility and challenges involved in countering, effectively and safely, perpetrators who represent the traditionally viewed 'vulnerable' populations like children, pregnant women and disabled persons. The time has come to look, very seriously, not just at our response on the ground but also at the quality of our recruitment and selection standards in order to counter the critiques, achieve legitimacy and enhance performance that will, ultimately, lead to a safer and more effective tactical response (Haberfeld, 2012; Haberfeld and von Hassell, 2009; Haberfeld, Clarke and Sheehan, 2011).

The terror attack in Nice, France, July 2016 — Some questions to ponder

In order to highlight what needs to be done and what exact parameters were missing from the law enforcement response on the ground, an example of the terrorist attack in Nice, France in July of 2016 is presented. Despite a multitude of possible explanations that could attribute the blame for the inadequate response to the event in Nice on, among other routinely offered justifications by many law enforcement agencies that have a relatively limited experience in tactical response to various mega attacks, the manpower shortage and deficiency in training of the municipal police forces, it is imperative to ponder about possible responses to the following two questions, as they are tied directly to the type of standards for recruitment and training that are advocated for in this article.

1. What are the short term, immediate, training needs from the tactical aspect to ensure the most effective containment of the terrorist attack while minimizing the number of casualties?

2. What are the mid and long term educational needs that will emphasize the necessity to develop new training modules on ethics, to ensure that officers authorized to use deadly force, prior to actual crime being committed, but based on the totality of circumstances, will not abuse the rights of their office but use this discretion with the ultimate caution and ethical considerations and will be ready to report forms of misconduct while witnessing such?

There are no easy answers to the above questions, that will not be met with various forms of criticism, primarily based on a long held belief that effective response to crime, in general or more specifically to terrorist attacks, is primarily related to manpower. Although there is some truth to the idea that more officers will make it more difficult for people determined to commit crimes to be successful in their endeavours, it can also be posit that it is about tactics and common sense that seems to be missing from the current response. For one, learning from the past is always a very good idea when one prepares for the future attacks but, it becomes a much better idea when it is paired with creative imagination that takes into consideration customized circumstances and possible scenarios that are not based on events past but rather on the ability and willingness to execute them (Okochi and Haberfeld, 2013).

Looking at the unfortunate events in Nice, one could very easily identify the weaknesses in the proactive preparedness and the actual response on the ground. While keeping in mind the shortage in manpower and resources, it is not hard to envision effective training modules that can be based on hypothetical scenarios, created by the officers themselves while scanning the environment they police for generic targets like high profile events, locations and people. It is one of the most cost-effective ways of training officers, when you engage each one of them in creation of hypothetical threats and ways they can be addressed, while identifying possible resources and the highest priorities. It is beyond the scope of this article to go into these concepts with any further details as they should be worked on by each and every law enforcement agency that feels seriously about the level of threat directed at their jurisdictions.

The final transition from these paradigms into the quality dimensions of such responses has to do with

who are the police leaders involved in creative thinking that will enable the most effective, cost rigorous and ethical tactics that will not only engage the public in understanding why officers did what they did but will also ensure that future attacks will be minimized and mitigated based on the successful level of reaction.

The second dimension of a successful counter — terrorist approach has to do with the quality of response. Not necessarily the purely tactical/operational response but rather the thinking behind the plans and actions. It is no secret that the general public, the one on whose legitimate approval democratic policing is so dependent upon, does not have much admiration for the profession itself (Haberfeld, Walancik and Uydess, 2002). Effective counter-terrorist response however, is only as good as the support from the general public, paired with the understanding of what needs to be done and why.

For decades now, scholars started to look at individual intelligence as a function of 4 separate categories; IQ or the Intellectual intelligence, EQ or the emotional intelligence, SQ or the social intelligence and CQ or the change intelligence (Clawson, 2006). While most people are quite familiar with what the IQ entails, very few know how important the other 3 types of intelligence are for effective policing, especially when it comes to the discretionary process of the use of deadly force. For police officers charged with the authority to use deadly force in a proverbial split second decision, or using the more up-to-date terminology, a nano-second decision, the ability to have a high EQ which means that he/she has a good grasp of their own emotions, is absolutely critical. This intelligence needs to be paired with high SQ or the ability to understand the emotions and feelings of others and the CQ that allows him/her to adapt, rapidly, to the changes in the environment and the Standard Operating Procedures of a given police organization.

Quality: in search of the qualified officer

SL = High IQ + High EQ + High SQ + High CQ

In the second half of the 20th century human intelligence received a totally new and different orientation and understanding as social scientist began looking at intelligence as a social rather than physical phenome-

non. New levels of intelligence were identifies, dividing this quality into four specific categories:

1. Intellectual intelligence = IQ
2. Emotional Intelligence = EQ
3. Social Intelligence = SQ
4. Change Intelligence = CQ

(Haberfeld, 2012, 2013).

What if the new leaders are the ones who need to be developed from the earliest stage of their careers?

It has been a topic of some debate, whether leaders are born or made and what constitutes leadership traits. Early trait theory, also known as the 'Great Man' theory held that leadership characteristics were innate, fixed and relevant to all situations (Hollander and Offermann, 1993). In the nineteenth century, the leadership traits included physical characteristics such as height (Bryman, 1992).

A pure trait approach is characterized by viewing personality traits as determining leadership in isolation. Particular situations, or the context of the individual possessing the traits, are not emphasized (Stogdill, 1974; Bass 1990). From approximately 1900 to 1940 leadership researchers attempted to establish intrinsic traits which differentiated leaders from non-leaders by profiling such leaders as Napoleon, Hitler, Gandhi and Kennedy (Jago, 1982). Sarachek (1968) uses characters in Homer's *Iliad* to build archetypal leadership qualities: Agamemnon represented justice and judgment; Nestor embodied wisdom and counsel; Odysseus possessed shrewdness and cunning; and Achilles represented valour and action (Stogdill, 1974). More modern applications of trait theory emphasize that a combination of personal characteristics contribute to successful leadership, but that situations may also be important (Stogdill, 1974). Many leadership scholars have declared trait theory dead because it failed the test of social science (Owens, 1973; Baruch and Lessem, 1997; Jago 1982), but it continues to appear in modern leadership materials.

Calder (1977) puts forth that leadership is built on traits, but that the traits need only to exist in the perception of others for the leader to be successful. People define others as either possessing or not possessing leadership traits. From this approach, called the *attribution theory of leadership*, the followers' perceptions of lead-

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ership qualities determine whether the leader will be effective (Jago, 82).

In addition, Bass (1990) argues that there is an interaction effect between the situation and the traits possessed by the leaders. 'There is no overall comprehensive theory of the personality of leaders. Nonetheless, evidence abounds that particular patterns of traits are of consequence to leadership, such as determination, persistence, self-confidence and ego strength' (p. 87).

Social scientific evaluations of leadership traits (Bass, 1990)
1. Drive for responsibility
2. Completion of tasks
3. Vigour and persistence
4. Originality in problem solving
5. Social initiative
6. Self-confidence
7. Sense of personal identity
8. Acceptance of consequences
9. Tolerance of frustration and delay
10. Ability to influence others' behaviour
11. Capacity to structure social interaction

It is probably safe to say that the correct answer to the query of whether leaders are born or made would be 'both', with a caveat, that there are probably more made than born. One undisputable concept though has to do with the way people, the public in general, perceive the need for solid and ethical leadership as it is probably one of the most craved public desires of our times. Given the sense that police profession, at least in most of the democratic countries around the world, is not considered to be on the list of the top desirable professions and when things go wrong policing is, probably, one of the most criticized professions, at least in the United States, a fresh look at what is takes to be the new and respected police leader, who will be afforded by the public with full legitimacy, is long overdue.

In search of the new leader
- **Intellectual intelligence (IQ)** is the only one identified as a genetic trait, it is revealed in curiosity, honed by discipline and supported by a range of experiences.

- **Emotional intelligence (EQ)** depends upon the level and ability to recognize your own emotions,

the ability to handle them and the level of control one exercise over those emotions.

- **Social intelligence (SQ)** is the ability to recognize emotions in others, the ability to listen and care about others' emotional state and the ability to help others to gain control and manage their own emotions.

- **Change intelligence (CQ)** calls for the ability to recognize the need for change, the ability to understand the change process and a level of comfort in managing it (Clawson, 2006)

What qualifies you to be a successful leader?
What are then the ultimate qualifiers for a successful law enforcement leader, one who will receive full support of the public, regardless of how 'bad' the tactical response to a terrorist attack will look like? Based on the 4 types of intelligence identified above, such a successful leader will need to have a combination of high IQ, EQ, SQ, and CQ. This is not to say that a person who does not fit the SL (successful leader) formula cannot be a good leader or a successful one but, the degree to which one is deficient in one of the variables and/or categories of different types of intelligence will significantly affect his/her overall success.

However, the good news is that, from the perspective of police education and training, while not much can be done to increases a person's IQ (although some studies have shown that this is also a real possibility, Lynn and Vanhanen, 2006) honing one's EQ, SQ and CQ are entirely possible and thus our attention should be devoted into creation of training and educational modules that enhance one's ability to excel in these 3 types of intelligence. The ability to translate the combination of these 4 types of intelligence, the IQ, EQ, SQ and CQ cannot not be overestimated when identifying the best possible way to create legitimate and effective tactical responses to terrorist and active shooter situations.

> SL = successful leader
> This is not to say that anybody who does not fit the SL formula cannot be a good leader or a successful one, but the degree to which one is deficient in one of the variables will significantly affect his/her overall leadership success, thus:
> SL =High IQ + High EQ + High SQ + High CQ

Performance: integrity management as an essential tactical concept

Finally, to compliment the concepts of technological advances and the accountability awareness they create for an effective tactical reaction one needs to look at the integrity level of any police force as part of the effective tactical response. The 5 Step Approach to Integrity Management, developed by a team of researchers headed by the late Carl Klockars (2003; 2006) over a decade ago, one that this author was part of, is presented here as a necessary building block for an effective counter-terrorist training and education (Klockars, Ivkovich and Haberfeld, 2003, 2006; Haberfeld, Klockars, Ivkovich and Pagon, 2009; Ivkovich and Haberfeld, 2015)**.**

Why we need to ensure that Integrity becomes a part of a tactical response

The main reason why we need to be concerned with the level of integrity in any police force has to do with the themes introduced under the concept of *Democracy is hard on Policing*. While nobody questions the need for legitimacy for any democratic police force, it is hard to achieve the desired level of legitimacy when a given force is not recognized for its integrity. This is especially true when a given police force response is judged by the public in high profile situations where use of deadly force became a necessary tactic.

One of the first steps in the Integrity Management formula is asking the officers about the knowledge of their organization's rules. It might come as a surprise to some of the people concerned with education and training of police officers but our research in over 30 countries around the world (Kutnjak Ivkovich and Haberfeld, 2015; 2016) has proved that many officers do not know the rules of their respective organizations and this can become a truly significant part of their emergency response performance and the degree to which their reaction is effective or ineffective, not just from the perspective of the immediate, short term outcome, but rather from the angle of the long term legitimacy related paradigms.

Is knowing the rules sufficient enough?

If and when, through the appropriate training modules, we can assure that the officers in a given organization actually know the rules pertaining to their tactical responses, it will be equally critical to ensure that they actually support these rules. As stated before, the level of one's SQ and CQ will be critical in properly internalizing and understanding what is at stake if and when such rules are violated and/or ignored.

Is supporting the rules always necessary?

When it comes to supporting the rules of a given organization the EQ of an officer becomes critical. The higher the EQ the better the chances that an officer will follow the rules out of understanding of their importance rather his/her emotional feelings that might prompt them to violate the orders at the heat of the moment. Such violations might occur more frequently than one can assume due to the discretionary nature of police work and especially during the stress generated by the nano-second decision-making process.

When the end justify the means and trump the fear?

Questions 3 and 4 exemplify the need for a combination of high EQ, SQ and CQ. No matter how much training and education officer will receive prior to the engagement in an active shooter or a terrorist attack in progress situation, there are always a myriad of situational variables that cannot be predicted or anticipated ahead of time. This is precisely why field officers are afforded with a relatively high level of discretion that has to do with their perceptions and assessment of the situations (Ivkovich and Haberfeld, 2016). If we use the example of the terrorist attack in Nice, we can illustrate this point even further. One of the officers present at this attack can be seen at a You Tube posted video (2017) chasing after the truck and shooting in its direction. In some jurisdictions, in the United States and around the world, the rules of police organizations prohibit the officers from shooting at a moving vehicle, as it is not recognized as a deadly threat. Now, given the number of casualties that this attack generated, it is hard to argue that this particular moving vehicle should have been certainly designated as a deadly threat. However, it had to be a decision to be made by the officer at the scene and this decision should have

been enabled, in the best possible way, by a combination of high EQ, SQ and CQ.

How high is the concept of integrity on your 'effective responses' list?

Finally, in order to complete the illustration of the SL (successful leader) formula we need to look at the level of personal integrity displayed by an individual police officer and how this ethical stand compares again the ultimate outcome of an effective response or, using the old term label: does the end justify the means? Or, even in a more blunt approach one needs to ask: how high is the concept of integrity on your 'effective responses' list?

To clarify this paradigm a bit further, by using a hypothetical scenario, if an officer sees a fellow officer/s engaging in a violation of the organizational rules, while responding to an ongoing terrorist attack or threat, how willing he/she will be to report or stop this misconduct? This is where the combination of a high IQ, EQ, SQ and CQ becomes a mandatory component of every officer' effective response to a terrorist attack. Since it is not the victory over one event that will change police effectiveness but rather a long term support from the public that will not only legitimize their tactical responses but, will also contribute to the legitimization of police profession for years to come and, ultimately, mitigate the threats.

Conclusions

I would be remiss if I did not conclude this article with a very clear statement that it was not intended to criticize police forces, of any jurisdiction, for their inability to respond, more effectively, to an active crime scene that, is most cases, is very unpredictable, complex and complicated in its nature, scope and intensity. Studying police training and response to various problematic and complex events exposes a host of issues that require skills and tools that are yet to be found in most law enforcement organizations. Police profession is frequently undervalued and even more frequently misunderstood, not just by the public they serve but also by the politicians in charge of standards for recruitment, selection, training and resource allocation.

Those who study policing as a profession and the ones who actually practice the profession can easily point to the volumes of criticism directed at police performance, be it from the individual or organizational standpoint. Most of the 'remedies' and 'panaceas' are directed, primarily, at organizational structures, units, and individuals that operate in a deficient manner and point to a myriad of accountability mechanisms that need to be put in place in order to improve performance and transparency.

While nobody argues with the validity of these perspectives and their relative contribution to the profession, the larger picture, of looking at the complexity of tactical response to a constantly changing and evolving threat of terrorism, is needed, one that combines a new look at the leadership skills and integrity levels required of the police professional in the 21st century, be it a warrior, a guardian or both.

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The power of dialogue in public integrity and curriculum development — lessons learned from the training of integrity advisers in Hungary

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Abstract

In recent years, both in the public and private sector, the integrity-based approach to corruption prevention, which combines active and integrated rule-based and value-based strategies, has gained importance because it proved to be more effective than traditional anti-corruption strategies built mainly on regulatory and legal compliance instruments. In the field of law enforcement the integrity approach is new. Only a very few countries and agencies employ integrity officers or include a strong value-building component in their anti-corruption strategies. The expectation is that this will change in the future.

In this paper we claim that the introduction of a local integrity development practice should not be based on the simple adoption of best practices but should aim to develop contextualised solutions. We propose that, in each new context, interdisciplinary work is necessary that involves a diverse group of professionals. We also present a highly innovative collaborative model for developing a localised integrity method that has already been tested in the Hungarian public administration. The process we present has produced a contextualised method, a profile for integrity professionals and a curriculum for their education. While the process engendered locally applicable methods for anti-corruption practice, through the collaboration a committed community of practice also evolved that is key for the sustainable application of the results. We propose that a similar approach should be applied by law enforcement agencies if they decide to introduce the new role of integrity officers in order to enhance police integrity and strengthen public trust in law enforcement agencies.

Keywords: integrity development; integrity officer; integrity education; integrity curriculum development.

Introduction

Corruption is without a doubt among the biggest threats to law enforcement. Police officers demanding bribery, extorting money or framing innocent individuals are present not only in developing countries but all over the world. Police corruption has serious consequences. It not only undermines the legality of police actions and harms human rights, but also makes law enforcement agencies ineffective. A corruption-free police force is not only a stable pillar of a given country's institutional system but is also key to fighting corruption in other sectors and a lever to encourage systemic social and political reform in

countries in crisis or emerging from conflict (Bayley and Perito, 2011: 1).

In order to explain why law enforcement is specially exposed to corruption, we can specify numerous factors.

- **Wide discretional powers.** Police officers often have wide discretional powers to limit the rights of citizens or impose fines. This creates a high risk of violation of professional procedures or regulations.

- **Direct contact with criminals.** Criminals are often involved in very profitable, illegal businesses like drug or human trafficking, prostitution or money laundering. These financial sources facilitate the bribery of police officers, who are often underpaid.

- **Organised crime.** In order to ensure uninterrupted criminal activity, crime organisations need access to information on ongoing prosecutions, police organisational models, etc. They look for loopholes in law enforcement agencies.

- **Organisational culture.** Law enforcement agencies usually have a strong *esprit de corps*, which helps them to overcome difficulties connected with the service. However, like a blue shield (Thurman-Zhao, 2004), it can also help to hide minor misconduct, irregularities or corrupt activities. A toxic organisational culture and lack of accountability can turn law enforcement agencies into entirely the opposite of what they are supposed to be, allowing police officers to commit crimes without consequences.

Law enforcement agencies are conscious of these risk factors and have put in place sophisticated responses for their management.

First of all, law enforcement agencies — together with prosecutors — detect and investigate corruption cas-es. We can define this as the first-level anti-corruption activity of law enforcement agencies. In the 1930s, alcohol prohibition made criminal gangs in the United States powerful and violent and able to corrupt police officers. The appearance of drugs in the 1970s had a similar effect. At the time they led to numerous investigations. Bayley and Perito (2011: 15) report that, in the English-speaking world, 32 so called blue-ribbon commissions have been active since the late 19th century. Ten of them were created exclusively to investigate police corruption, the rest to investigate the police generally.

The increased public awareness and the propositions made by the blue-ribbon commissions have supported police reforms and have led to enhanced law enforcement accountability. The typical representatives of these reforms were the internal affairs units for crime detection and investigation. The names of these units varied from country to country but their main task was the same: to rid the police force of crime and corruption and to enhance public trust towards law enforcement. These second-generation anti-corruption activities include sophisticated, very often classified information and tools like integrity testing to detect and fight internal corruption in order to ensure police actions comply with rules and regulations.

The effectiveness of the first- and second-generation anti-corruption activities varied greatly, but they could not eliminate corruption from law enforcement. Detection and evidence gathering have limits, and criminals and 'fallen blue knights' (Kutnjak Ivković, 2005) use sophisticated strategies to avoid being detected. The common features of first- and second-generation anti-corruption activities are that they are both reactive and focus on individual corruption cases and individual perpetrators.

Our first claim is that, besides the first- and second-generation anti-corruption activities, third generation ones are also needed

We acknowledge the importance of first- and second-generation anti-corruption activities in investigating and prosecuting corruption cases. At the same time, we propose that law enforcement has to use a wider range of anti-corruption measures, including preventive and integrity-building measures.

If we look for examples, we can find some law enforcement agencies that have successfully applied the integrity development method to anti-corruption. In the last half century the New York City Police Department has been shaken by corruption scandals. Multiple independent commission reports (Knapp Commission, 1972; Mollen Commission, 1994) have led to changes in the anti-corruption strategy within the New York City Police Department, including the creation of the position of integrity control officers in 1973. The position was originally created as a precinct-level contact point of the Internal Affairs Bureau, but over the last few decades it has lost many of its administrative tasks and gained active integrity-related duties (Commission to Combat Police Corruption, 1996: 7). The current *Patrol guide* (2013: 1) defines among other things that integrity control officers: '1. Perform NO DUTIES other than integrity control', '4. Make recommendations to commanding officer concerning integrity control' and '5. Observe command conditions and visit corruption prone locations frequently, at irregular hours. Keep commanding officer advised of conditions and possible corruption hazards.' Integrity control officers are senior officers with the rank of lieutenant, designated as a key member of the commanding officer's management staff. In the last few decades the position of NYPD integrity control officer has changed a lot, but the complexity of the task has remained. Integrity control officers are responsible for both corruption control and corruption prevention.

In Hong Kong there is no distinction between civil service and law enforcement agencies regarding anti-corruption. The regional government of Hong Kong embraces the holistic strategy of sanction, prevention and education to tackle corruption. It has developed the Ethical Leadership Programme, which seeks to entrench ethics and the culture of integrity throughout the whole civil service through the leadership example and commitment of senior management. Within the Hong Kong Police Force, the commissioner of police has appointed a director of management services responsible for ethics and integrity, who works as the force ethics officer. Each formation has a Formation Integrity Commission which is headed by the formation commander as formation integrity officer (FIO). The FIO's task is to promote values, advocate leadership, commitment and responsibility and instigate local initiatives for the reinforcement of Hong Kong Police Force values. The FIO heads the Formation Integrity Council, which reviews and monitors integrity related issues (Hong Kong Police Force, 2016: 15). Additionally, the law enforcement integrity officers are part of the government's online community for ethics officers and have access to the thematic website, which allows them to exchange views and experiences with each other. In this practice integrity work is focused on ethics management.

In Canada the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) have a professional responsibility officer (PRO — former professional integrity officer) who has the rank of assistant commissioner. The PRO is responsible for providing a comprehensive integrity and responsibility regime for the RCMP, and for the entrenchment of professional values and ethics across all working levels of RCMP. The PRO is in regular contact with external and internal partners, including oversight bodies and agencies (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2014: 20).

As we can see from the above examples, new, third-generation, anti-corruption activities have appeared in some law enforcement agencies. Their main task is to enhance integrity, ethics and professional responsibility, and with it the concordance between rules and values. We can summarise the characteristics of the different generations of anti-corruption activities as follows.

Table 1: Three generations of law enforcement anti-corruption activities

		First generation	Second generation	Third generation
1.	Approach	repression	repression	prevention
2.	Direction	external	internal	internal
3.	Based on	rules	rules	rules and values
4.	Implement	criminal code	criminal code/service regulations	integrity systems and ethics
5.	Focus on	citizens	staff members	leadership, staff members
6.	Activities	detection, investigation	detection, investigation	control, guidance, advice
7.	Subject	individuals	individuals	organisation
8.	Data types	restricted	classified	open

Based on anti-corruption development trends and law enforcement organisational needs, we propose that law enforcement agencies need to apply this new type of organisational answer to corruption challenges. Besides the detection and investigation of corruption cases, more emphasis should be placed on adequate control systems and value-building, and on the adjustment of organisational rules and values. That is, we propose that the introduction of an integrity management approach to corruption prevention would be important in the field of law enforcement. We also propose the creation of a new position ('integrity officer') which could serve as a key player in the process of strengthening integrity of operation and, as a consequence, enhancing trust with regard to law enforcement.

Our second claim is that for effective integrity management we need contextualised strategies

The main tenet of integrity management is that, in order to curb corruption, it is not enough to punish rule breaching, prosecute crime and alter the rules of an organisation — the values of the organisation that support the implementation of the rules need to be also strengthened. The approach aims to create a fine balance between regulatory and compliance instruments and ethics management instruments (Figure 1).
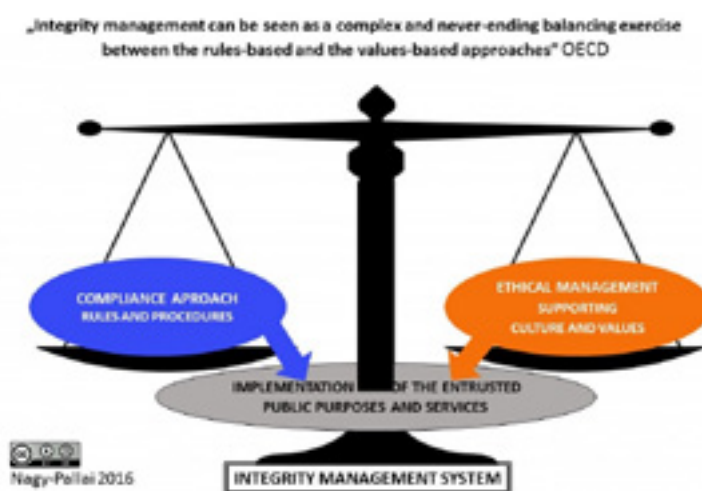
Figure 1: Integrity management system

Source: *Balázs Ágoston Nagy and Katalin Pallai (2016).*

Some instruments within compliance systems may be rather similar in various cultural contexts, but intercultural studies have demonstrated that the norms, cultural patterns and opinions of people on what is right or wrong can be widely different. (Douglas, 1978) This is why ethical and organisational culture-build-ing strategies do not necessarily travel between different cultures (Hofstede, 2010). Consequently, we argue that when integrity management practice is introduced in a new context, instead of the adoption of instruments that worked in other contexts, contextualised solutions need to be developed. Instead of

the common 'best-practice' approach a turn towards a 'best-fit' approach is advisable (Huberts, 2016: 196). We also propose that, if we intend to avoid the traps of the 'best-practice' approach and produce effective practices that are 'best-fits' for the specific, local, implementation context, substantive dialogic work is necessary between experts familiar with international anti-corruption practices and 'best practices' and local experts who have intricate knowledge of the local implementation context.

Figure 2: The dialogic process for setting out a 'best-fit' anti-corruption approach

Source: Pallai *(2016).*

Our third claim is that to develop third-generation anti-corruption strategies a dialogue involving four types of expertise is necessary

We claim that to set out the 'best-fit' integrity approach, i.e. the integrity development method and the profile of the integrity officer that fit into the local context, we need not only the abovementioned two kinds of anti-corruption professionals, i.e. international experts and local practitioners. We also need team members with regulatory expertise and others with expertise in value-building processes and a substantive dialogue involving the four experts possessing these four types of expertise (Figure 3) — a dialogue that stretches across professional boundaries (Pallai, 2016a: 11).

Figure 3: The four types of expertise for developing contextualised integrity strategy

In order to support our argument we present a highly innovative collaborative dialogic approach for integrity practice and curriculum development that has already been tested in the Hungarian public administration.

The process we present was initiated when integrity development as a method and the role of the integrity adviser was new. The aim of the process was to develop contextually adequate practices for public integrity development in Hungary and the curriculum to train integrity advisers. The case study will show not only that the collaborative dialogic approach has produced a contextualised curriculum widely accepted by stakeholders, but also that the process also engendered locally applicable methods for the anti-corruption practice and a committed community of practice that is key for the sustainability of results (Pallai, 2016a: 16-28).

Law enforcement agencies that consider moving towards an integrity approach to anti-corruption and creating the position of integrity official face a similar threefold challenge to the one that the Hungarian public administration faced a few years ago: the new professional field of integrity management should be developed; organisational changes need to be implemented and integrity education designed. Our proposal is that instead of the fast adoption of a ready-for-use integrity curriculum and practice, contextualised solutions should be developed using our collaborative, dialogic approach. A diverse group of academics and anti-corruption and law enforcement professionals should together explore the complexity of the corruption problem within the local context and propose contextualised strategies in view of the whole. The dialogic model we propose could not only exploit the collective wisdom of national and international experts and academics but could also create an engaged and empowered local law enforcement educator and expert community prepared to follow up results, and if necessary make adjustments.

In the paper we present the model, discuss the implementation challenges and set out some proposals for its implementation in the field of law enforcement.

Conceptual underpinnings

The complexity of corruption in contexts with pervasive corruption and the consequent complexity of the anti-corruption strategy

The compliance approach and rationalist administration studies are underpinned by the conceptualisation of corruption as an act of rational calculation. The consequent response is focused mainly on regulatory instruments and external incentives: rewards and sanctions (Kiltgaard, 1988). However, especially in environments with pervasive corruption, the problem is more complex. Many practices that breach public integrity are deeply rooted in organisational operation and in the system of both formal and informal incentives. In such cases, resistance to corruption can be difficult for individuals [1]. It is easier to give in to peer pressure, internalise the supporting social and organisational narratives and slide into faulty practices. This process can lead to the normalisation of corrupt practices within the organisation. When wrong practices are normalised they can distort the moral awareness of staff. Recent research in psychology has proved that when the results of individual moral judgement and social environmental pressure clash people often decrease stress by pushing the unethicality of their action beyond their awareness (Vries and Sobis, 2016). They may not even recognise that what they do and happens around them is wrong. This phenomenon is called bounded ethicality, a concept that encompasses the systematic and predictable ways in which humans act unethically beyond their own awareness (Chugh, Bazerman and Banaji, 2005).

One of the authors created a metaphor, the stretched tangle, depicted in Figure 2, that attempts to capture and visualise the complexity of material, social and psychological drivers that can lead to corrupt and integrity-breaching practices. (Figure 4) [2]

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[1] The situation can produce a collective action problem (Persson et al. 2012).

[2] More detailed explanation of the metaphor in Pallai (2016a: 5-8).
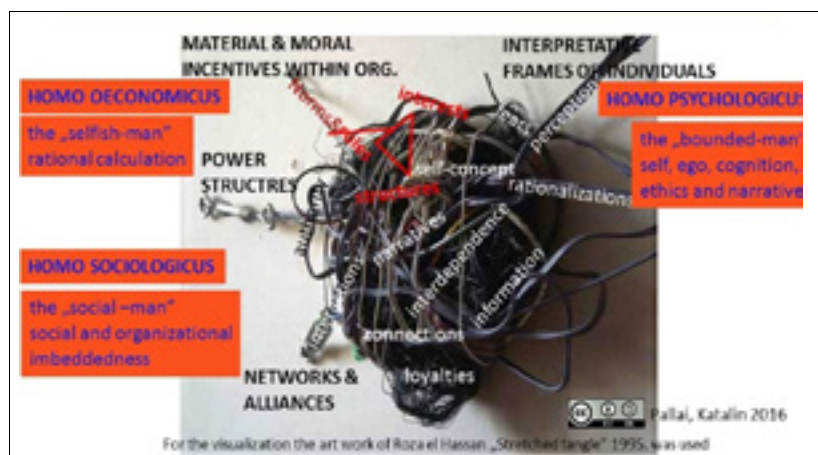
Figure 4: The stretched tangle — a metaphor for corruption

Source: Depiction of Rosa el Hassans' art work adapted by the author (Pallai, 2016a).

The role of the metaphor is to remind us of the multiple components of corruption and of the complex interdependence of the different factors. If visuals have power, this picture must convey that, if we want to curb corruption, we need to understand not only the roots of the problems but the interdependence of the roots as well. Otherwise, there is a high level of risk that we design an instrument that may eliminate one driver but the system recreates itself by creating new connections that substitute the eliminated one. We need complex intervention strategies that can eliminate multiple roots and drivers at the same time. And for this we need cooperation among many different kinds of expertise.

In corruption-tolerant environments conscious, selfish calculation and bounded ethicality are equally important drivers of corruption and are often in a mutually supportive relationship. Rational calculation can be diverted by external incentives that rules and compliance systems produce. For their design rationalist/positivist policymaking expertise is necessary. Bounded ethicality can only be corrected by a dialogic and processual approach that involves stakeholders in reframing their awareness, reflections and relationships. For this value-building component post-positivist/argumentative instruments need also to be applied in concordance with the positivist regulatory instruments.

The role of dialogue in the face of complex problems

A complex approach that integrates positivist regulatory and post-positivist argumentative instruments can emerge only from a substantive dialogue involving a wide range of experts. Multidisciplinary dialogue can only explore and capture the specific interrelationships between factors that are symbolised by the stretched tangle and prepare the ground for the 'untangling of the tangle', i.e. for the coordinated and holistic process of interventions that can liberate actors and practices from their multiple dependences. The experts involved must work across boundaries of professional paradigms and organisational mandates connecting their fragmented understanding, knowledge and capacities (Pallai 2016a: 10).

For models of this cross-boundary work we suggest going beyond anti-corruption theory and using insights from organisational and social-system theory (Heijden 2005, Senge 2013, Scharmer 2016). System experts suggest that in the face of complex problems we need to engage in a collective inquiry among many disciplines, fields and experiences and to initiate a processual and dialogic approach ([3]) that can create a new understanding and knowledge from the diverse insights and expertise of those who participate (Pallai 2016: 12). Such a 'dialogue' is the process from which new solutions can evolve (Bohm, 2004).

An illustrative case: collaborative dialogue for parallel praxis and curriculum development for integrity advisors in Hungary ([4])

The case that we present to support the viability of our propositions is peculiar because a postgradu-

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([3]) 'Bohmian dialogue': the flow of a conversation in which participants attempt to explore, understand and experience everyone's point of view and reach a new and deeper common understanding of the situation/problem and engender shared responses/solutions. (Bohm, 2004).

([4]) For a more detailed presentation of the case see Pallai (2016a) and Pallai (2016b).

ate training curriculum for integrity advisors and the elaboration of a 'best-fit' method for public integrity development was designed within the same process. The process, started in 2014, shows how a sustained collaborative dialogue involving a diverse team of professionals could engender a localised integrity method and the curriculum for the postgraduate programme for integrity advisors at the National University for Public Service in Budapest.

The background to the case is that in 2013 a new position, that of integrity advisor, was created in Hungary in an attempt to create a new and effective anti-corruption agent within each public administration organisation. The regulation defined the post through a list of technical tasks. In 2014, when the redesign of the education programme for integrity advisors started, it

was already obvious that the actual practice had little impact. Not only was a new curriculum needed, but also a new integrity development method.

The abovementioned (Figure 3) four types of expertise, international and local knowledge and regulatory and value-building expertise were brought into the process by four types of experts. Academics and anti-corruption practitioners possessed the international and local knowledge and process and communication experts the value-building instruments.

These four types of experts were invited to a dialogue process. A faculty lab was established for the parallel dialogue on professional methods and their education (Figure 5).

Figure 5: The composition of the faculty lab and the aim of the process

The work process in the faculty lab and in the classrooms

The professionals who entered the faculty lab had different views and saw different components of the stretched tangle. Establishing a collaborative dialogue was a challenge. Although the aspiration to advance public integrity and create a good curriculum was more or less shared, the communication was the usual type of professional debate and definitely not a creative dialogue (5). Nobody had an effective solution for curbing corruption, nobody looked at others for solutions either. Months of work was needed for the faculty members to begin to develop connections and realise that fields previously neglected by them can contribute to finding better responses to problems that they alone could not solve. Nearly a year passed

before the first moment of 'presence' (Senge, 2013) evolved: when walls between professional universes collapsed and ideas suddenly became aligned and integrated. This condition of 'group flow' opened the door to the integration of ideas in a locally applicable integrity approach and curriculum. The core concepts and instruments began to crystallise. Technical and process experts who had gained mutual understanding of each other's' fields could integrate the technical tasks in an internal multistakeholder dialogue process: in an integrated risk management process. The innovation that evolved from the dialogue: a collective, processual, dialogic method to integrity development, a method that involve internal stakeholders in a collective inquiry and action process. The design was not addictive from different technical and dialogic tools but a new approach, born across traditional professional boundaries, and designed for the specific local context. A method that at this point could be accepted by the stakeholders within the faculty group.

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(5) We use the word debate for the competitive and adversary exchange of ideas whose usual aim to decide what is right or wrong, as opposed to the collaborative nature of the dialogue whose aim is to explore and create shared understanding and ideas.

The new profile of the integrity advisor is a hybrid professional (Pallai 2016: 13) who facilitates the integrated risk management process within the organisations and offers technical support for its participants. This is a profile that none of the professional groups involved in the faculty lab could have designed alone.

The merit of the process was that while the locally 'best-fit' method evolved from the discussion, thanks to the contribution of academics the conceptual frames, language and curriculum content necessary for the education of the integrity professionals was also developed. Two key pillars of an effective implementation process were created parallel: a strategy and the training curriculum for the professionals who can implement it.

Another benefit of the involvement of all faculty was that on the basis of the shared concept of the profile and the tasks of the integrity advisor faculty members see what is relevant from their knowledge and can omit unnecessary elements from the subjects. This is how the training of the hybrid professional can be squeezed in a one year long programme. The integrated curriculum is certainly leaner and more effective for mid-career professionals' training than the usual 'solo performances' of individual faculty members could have been. The result is a curriculum that faculty members could create only together.

Parallel to the dialogue in the faculty workshop the evolving new method was also piloted in an organisation with the leadership of those faculty members who were active practitioners and many of the students have also experimented with dialogic methods in their organisations. We did not have resources for research to evaluate the impact of these multi-stakeholder dialogues within the organisations. The only indicative data we have about the result is that the organisation where the new method was piloted has improved the measure of Factors of Risk Reducing Controls according the yearly survey of the State Audit Office much more rapidly than the average in the same group of organisations [6].

As a result of the process in July 2016, the Hungarian regulation was changed: the collective risk analysis and management process that evolved from the fac-

ulty dialogue has been included in the regulation of the internal control and integrity systems of public organisations [7] in the form of an integrated risk management process. Since 1 October 2016 the duties of the integrity advisors have been extended: they are responsible for involving stakeholders and for facilitating this integrated risk management process within their organisations. The some 18-month-long dialogue produced a method for organisational integrity development that fit in the local context and also built a community of professionals who could advance it to the decision-making process and support it in various forums until re-regulation. It is our conviction that this parallel introduction of the method into education and its institutionalisation is the most effective way to change practices.

Based on our successful experience, we propose that it is effective to combine the processes of the development of a new method and the curriculum for its education because when those who will educate professionals who will implement the method take part in the dialogue developing the method, they will be prepared to design the most effective curriculum.

Proposals for implementation in law enforcement

We propose that a similar dialogic process be applied in law enforcement if the decision is made to introduce integrity development strategies, to introduce the integrity officers' function and to design their education in contexts where the integrity approach is new.

In the case of the adaptation of the integrity method to law enforcement, the profile of the professional groups involved in the process should partly be different.

- There should be academics from various disciplines, in a similar way as in the process described.

- There should be anti-corruption practitioners who have experience with integrity management instruments and building integrity systems in organisations.

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[6] The average improvement from 2014 to 2015 in public organisations was 1.5 %. The organisation where the first pilot was executed improved by 13 %.

[7] Government Decision No 187/2016 (VII.13) amending the Government Decision No 50/2013. (II. 25.) and Government Decision No 370/2011. (XII. 31.).

- There should be law enforcement officers who know the actual practices and are aware of the possibilities and constraints of the targeted organisations.

- There should be competence trainers who can identify and train the new competences necessary for the work of the integrity officers.

Figure 6: Model for law enforcement

If the dialogue involving these professionals can be sustained there is a good chance that they will design a method and a profile for the integrity officer that fit the local environment. That is the 'best fit', instead of plugging in a 'best practice' from somewhere else.

For the adaptation of the method to law enforcement we make further suggestions.

- **Leadership support.** The future integrity officer should provide direct support to the commanding officer of the law enforcement agency. The integrity officer is not an additional control over the commanding officer; his/her main task is to make the leadership performance of the organisation better and to enhance integrity and trust with regard to the organisation. This is crucial for the success of the whole organisation, therefore rivalries should be avoided.

- **Position.** The integrity officer should be a high-ranking, senior officer of the law enforcement agency who understands not only the organisation and processes of law enforcement but has an intricate understanding of the organisation as well. Regarding his/her personality, he/she should be a widely trusted person in order to bridge the gap from the commanding officer to staff members and citizens.

- **Innovation.** Law enforcement agencies generally have a strict hierarchical order which leaves little room for innovation. This, however, hampers innovation and better adaptation to the local environment. The integrity officer could become the innovation hub for the law enforcement unit. His/her most important tasks are to draw up and implement innovative solutions and changes. For this, risks connected to innovation and organisational changes could be both shared between leaders and limited through tedious preparation processes.

- **Professional autonomy.** The integrity officers should perform no duties other than integrity management. They should work in their own organisation and keep professional contact with other integrity officers, sharing experiences. At best, such knowledge and information sharing should be coordinated by an appointed commander or by a central integrity unit maintaining discretion and confidentiality.

- **Visibility.** Integrity officers should be visible for law enforcement agents and citizens. Only this wider visibility allows them to perform their integrity building duties well.

As we have presented in the paper, a new generation of anti-corruption activities are needed in order to further enhance police integrity and strengthen pub-

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lic trust with regard to law enforcement agencies. For an effective integrity management system we need contextualised strategies, i.e. 'best-fit' solutions. We suggest that a facilitated collaborative dialogue pro- cess involving diverse professional groups can not only contextualised anti-corruption strategies, but can also build a local professional community.

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Preventing violent extremism and strengthening democracy — civic education in law enforcement and policing in Germany

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Abstract

Europe is currently threatened by extremism and terrorism. That is why there is a need for a response by well-trained law enforcement officers — among others in the field of preventing violent extremism. Facing this challenge law enforcement training tries to professionalize the officers by providing civic education and knowledge about extremist threats and prevention strategies. As it is shown by the example of the Lower Saxon Political Crime Prevention Unit such efforts are inspired by various European law enforcement authorities, e.g. by the Danish SSP-approach. The article in terms of a research note describes recent strategies and capabilities of civic education in order to prevent violent extremism and strengthening democracy.

Keywords: Extremism, Prevention, Civic Education.

Background

Civic education has more than 100 years of tradition in Germany. 'More than other subjects, it is influenced by the political and social system' and 'burdened with high demands.' (Händle, 2002). It is an important issue in different societal systems, but especially within the internal security system in which political and legal logics cross each other against the background of democracy (Lange, 2000). This has also an impact on law enforcement organizations (LEOs) which represent the executive power monopoly. Following the assumption that no community could solely be based on external coercion and compulsion (Gintzel, 1987), it seems obvious that state protection tasks need civic education for their (societal) legitimation. There are only a few studies about the relevance of the subject for LEOs and their training practices. As this 'promisingly field of

research' (Pudlat, 2014) still needs to be explored and spread further, the section 'Ethics, civic education and historical learning' as part of the research project 'Uses of the Past by Police Organizations in Europe' (UPPE) (1) is dedicated to those issues from different perspectives. Among other questions, the section intends to explain how recent trends in Germany (bottom up *and* top down), with regard to strengthen civic education within LEOs, can be identified. It will also present current strategies and capabilities of civic education within German LE authorities in order to prevent violent extremism and to strengthen democracy. The present paper, in terms of a research note, is an outcome of the first phase of research. Referring to political didactics, historical didactics, and police sciences empirical data, such as documents (e.g. the police training curriculum

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(1) For further information and first results see Schütte-Bestek and Pudlat (2015).

of Lower Saxony Police) and interviews with experts and police officers as well as knowledge gained by ethnography, will be analysed. The aim is to present findings and assumptions depicted from an explorative and inductive overview over the collected empirical data and deduce some preliminary conclusions and critical thoughts.

Development of civic education in German LEOs

It seems obviously that civic education is a valuable part of LE training. The etymology of the word 'police' shows a range of senses encompassing (public) policy, state, public order, administration, government, citizenship, civil polity, and so on. That means LE refers to the civil society, which is considered by the LEOs.

Since the 1920s, the subject is part of LE training plans in Germany. Firstly, it was called 'Staatsbürgerkunde'. After World War II, the Allied Forces pushed the subject due to the striving for democratization. Progressive police leaders did the same for citizen- and consumer-oriented LEOs. Civic education was taught in a subject which has had different names since then. It was partly combined with constitutional law courses. The subject intended a continuous teaching of formal democratic basis knowledge. It should thereby support an internal and external legitimization of LEOs. Unfortunately, the Allied Forces implemented the 'political re-education' differently and democracy was taught in a heteronomous way. The Germans and their LE officers should become democrats by order. Curricula and teaching materials, that focussed on knowledge about institutions, election procedures, historical as well as political facts and the comparison of different political systems indicate that (Schulte, 2003).

In the 1970s, social sciences and psychology were implemented in German police schools. This was an opportunity to enhance reflective and emancipatory elements of civic education and to support them in developing their own ways of teaching democracy. Unfortunately, there was a selective and instrumental reception of sociological contents since 1975 (Schulte, 2003).

At the beginning of the 1990s, xenophobia was a serious problem in Germany. There was an increasing number of right-wing violence since the 1980s and in 1991 massive attacks on accommodations for refugees challenged the police authorities in whole Germany [2]. That is why the curricula of civic education was enhanced in order to enable LE officers to fulfil their missions and to prevent and fight extremism. Since the new millennium, there has been a conceptional lack of civic education. Only the objective of the subject is determined: It should contribute to a critical and rational reflection of the political and occupational reality and deliver orientation in order to fulfil the missions in the daily law enforcement routine and frame the democratization of police authorities based on the constitution (Schulte, 2003).

Even today civic education in Germany is taught as a subject with different names. Due to the German history and recent developments, the subject and its teachers are confronted with high demands. Unfortunately, members of staff at LE universities are not always qualified in the field of civic education. Either they are LE officers without the necessary theoretical background or they are 'normal' teachers without the necessary knowledge of LE practices. This means that they are partly not aware of specific needs and interests of ongoing LE officers (Pudlat, 2014).

Chances of preventing extremism by civic education

In 2011 a right-wing terrorist group, the so-called NSU, was uncovered after a series of 14 bank robberies. 10 persons, 9 immigrants, and one female police officer were killed by at least two criminals. While the main suspects died by suicide, the trial to their associates is on its way since May 2013. Regarding to the specific German history and the fact that an extremist group could exist undiscovered since the 1990s, led to different committees of inquiry at the political level. One result was the demand for more civic education in LE training. The existing courses should be enhanced and become better at avoiding prejudices and discrimination in police practice. Politicians said that there is a need for courses about human rights and intercultural competences even in the training for the non-commissioned ranks (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). It was also stated that that more historians and political scientists should be recruited (Sächsischer Landtag, 2014). Ac-

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[2] A study by Hans-Gerd Jaschke (1994) showed that German LEOs were burdened and overwhelmed in fighting right-wing extremism.

cording to this it can be seen that preventing violent extremism and strengthening democracy has become an internal topic of LE in Germany. It seems that police is still a part of the problem itself in this point of view.

As a result of those claims, the LEOs offered *employment* opportunities, e.g. professorships for civic education. They also provided room for a more research-based police training. In October 2016, the project 'Politische Bildung und Polizei' (civic education and police) started as a cooperation of the German Police University, the Public Administration University of Applied Sciences North Rhine-Westphalia and the Federal Agency for Civic Education in Germany. It aims to analyse the existing external and internal structures, proposals and programs as well as teaching plans in the whole country. It is also going to uncover the special needs within different LE bodies. Thereafter, specific teaching programs and materials will be developed (Frevel, 2016).

Actually, the efforts were underlined bottom up by some members of staff, interested in history. The Austrian expert in historical and political didactics, Christoph Kühberger, stated, that it is impossible to think the political without the historical and vice versa (Kühberger, 2009). Hence, it is no surprise that a part of civic education is addressed by another current trend: Dealing with law enforcement history.

'Over the last few years, scientific works and discourses about organizational uses of history have increased. Most of them refer to private sector organizations and their benefits from using their past. Making use of an organization's history has already been widely acknowledged as important means for a company's identity formation and its image. Regarding the company's internal relations, an organizational identity based on this form of history management holds potential for recognition, the implementation of values and a strengthened loyalty of employees. Concerning the external relations, a well-structured history management can result in recognizable and distinguishable image formation, leading to advantages in the competition for resources with other companies and stake out claims. For the stakeholders, it provides a stable point of orientation among the enormous number of apparently identical organizations' (Schütte-Bestek and Pudlat, 2015: 51).

In a kind of sustainable communication, police forces try to constitute their development as a directed, 'lin-

ear process' from past to contemporary time, 'based on tradition, experience and innovation' (Ackermann, 2012: 70). With regard to the German history, National-socialism is still an important topic in Germany. One example is the project 'Die Polizei im NS-Staat' (2008-2011) under the leadership of Wolfgang Schulte (German Police University) and Detlef Graf von Schwerin (formerly Brandenburg State Police Academy), that led to an exhibition presented by the German Historical Museum in 2011 [3]. Additionally teaching materials were developed in cooperation with the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Kaiser and Köhler and Gryglewski, 2012).

In order to underline the democratization of the POs and their members after World War II, the period between 1933 and 1945 is often a part of exhibitions in police museums (e.g. in Berlin and Hamburg) as well as of image brochures. As one illustrative example for this, the police of Lower Saxony stated that it was important to re-implement people and their dignity as a measuring size for policing after the 'inhuman system of national socialism'. The result is the successful model of a 'Bürgerpolizei' (citizen police) (Polizeiakademie Niedersachsen, 2009a: 17). That PR statement is underlined by the objectives within the curriculum for police training. The students are expected to be familiar with the historical development of the executive power monopoly and the field of police activity, the principles of the democratic state governed by the rule of law, and the structures of society from a political scientific perspective. They should accept human and fundamental rights as a frame for policing and gain knowledge in constitutional and European law as well as in international cooperation (Polizeiakademie Niedersachsen, 2009b). Responsible for teaching are social and legal scientists. Other modules are dedicated to the investigation of political crimes. The students learn about drug policy, right and left-wing extremist ideologies, and terrorism.

These aspects of police training point to internal issues. The LE is addressed to the public welfare and it deals with crime prevention and crime fighting. That is why another trend has to be mentioned. Due to the recent threats and the UN Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism, German authorities intensified their efforts in extremism prevention as it is shown by the example of the Lower Saxon Political Crime Prevention Unit that was founded in 2014. The unit tries to undeceive vari-

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[3]   For further information and exhibition catalogue see Deutsche Hochschule der Polizei (2011).

ous groups about the threats, the aims, symbols, and actions of different extremist groups. It legitimizes their presentations and courses with terrorist attacks since 9/11. Target groups are police trainees and officers, prison staff, administration officers, members of the social services, an undefined general public, and — inspired by the Danish SSP-approach [4] — teachers. In the early 1970s, youth crime in Denmark increased. That is why the so called SSP-system was established in 1975 in order to develop more efficient methods of crime prevention. Schools, social services, and the police are working together to prevent and reduce crime and related risk behaviour among young people.

So what the Institute for History at Hildesheim University did in cooperation with the Political Crime Prevention Unit was to establish prevention courses in the regular teachers education in order to professionalize the teachers, by providing civic education and knowledge about extremist threats and prevention strategies. Explaining the negative way in the extremists thinking in religion and politics means to underline the values of a democratic society and to strengthen democracy. In the sense of lifelong learning this courses were opened for senior teachers. However, students were more interested. Due to the different responsibilities and liabilities, teachers that already practice their profession, cannot be motivated in the same manner as students. Content-related the project considers all kinds of extremism in order to avoid conjectural focusses and instead to gain sustainability. The success of prevention is not measurable, but the feedback is promising. Students are writing their exams about this topic on a voluntary basis and teachers ask for more information and project presentations at their schools. Thereby civic education provided by the police finds its way into society.

Preliminary conclusions

Civic education is already an integral part of LE training and holds potential for external and internal legitimization. The subject is able to transfer democratic values, to strengthen employees' loyalty as well as to provide mission-related knowledge for police officers. Civic education is highly connected with history and

historical education and it is framed by the political system. Recent strategies and capabilities within LEOs point to their changing and learning efforts related to the prevention of violent extremism and strengthening democracy — within the LEO itself as well as in the whole society. Regarding to National Socialism, the right-wing terrorism of the NSU and extremist threats in Germany civic education is instilled *ex negativo* and has the character of heteronomous democratization. Lastly, it is more or less a topic for the leadership of LEOs, not of the LE officers themselves. That is why civic education holds potential in more than one sense and is still a challenge — for police practice as well as police research.

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[4] SSP stands for School, Social Services and Police. In order to prevent crime the Danish police forces cooperates with schools and social workers. They try to fight causes of juvenile crime as early as possible.

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Towards multi-strategic police organisations

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Abstract:

From one hand, recent police reforms in Europe had illuminated the fact that most reforms were loosely linked to problems of safety. Reasons for reforming the police are hidden in an economy, politics or some other domain instead of public order or crimes — the problems that are traditionally associated with the police. From the other hand, the wickedness of security issues requires the police to be more professional. The question is, how the police that in the police literature are mostly presented as a monostrategic organization can be linked to issues of security in a way that it could have at least a chance to mitigate these wicked problems? This article suggests that the knowledge of police management about strategies of policing and police organization should be enhanced. The article sketches out the idea for how the strategies of policing together with the view of the organization as an open system can hold the police to be more focused on its core mission and connected to the task environment.

Keywords: the police, policing, police strategy, organisation

Introduction

In the general level, the core mission of the police is to enhance and advance the internal security of a particular country, and the guiding principle of contemporary policing is that the (civil) police should be separated from the military. (United Nations General Assembly, 1979; Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, 2001) However, the question of security is not constrained only by the topics of public order or crimes. That was so centuries ago at the times of the birth of Continental police culture in France or Anglo-American police culture in England (see Brodeur, 2010), or in age at cockcrow of police science at the beginning of the last century (see Vollmer, 1930, 1933). The concept of security is now defined as a wicked problem (see Rittel and Webber, 1973) — the problem 'that are complex, unpredictable, open ended, or intractable' (Head and Alford, 2015: 712). Despite this monstrous

challenge that the police should answer, many of the latest police reforms in Europe (see chapter 1.2. below) were not driven and not designed to address security issues. The economic situation was the main starter for reforming the police to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness, and the centralization was the dominant mechanism in reforming organization for these purposes. From research papers that describe or analyses particular reforms one can hardly find a note about strategies of policing. In this article I argue, that the traditional view of an organization and the lack of knowledge regarding strategies of policing detach the police from its core mission, and brings on new reforms. Although every organization ought to develop and change, it is wise to anticipate significant shocks that most reforms definitely are. Thus, the central question for this article is composed of two parts. First, how the concept of the organization should be handled in a way that it at least gives a chance to mitigate wicked

problems? Second, what are these mechanisms that could develop police's professional status in society and act as a tie inside of an organization but also connects the organization to existing task environment? I argue, police strategies are these means that gives a meaning and real 'soul' for the buffering and bridging techniques and are the basis for the metalanguage of the police.

These questions are important not only for the police but have more general implication for all social world. Since security is like a two-faced Janus: one face tells us that security regarding traditional crimes is in decline, and the other face refers to new global trends like terrorism or fears related to migration. However, the social world is not simple as that, and it would be misleading to describe it in such dialectical or dichotomy way.

In order to stay in frames of current conference aiming to exchange the ideas, which could advance the police, and policing it would be beneficial to emphasize two rising questions at issue. The first question has some bearing on all history of the police — the dilemma between the theory and practice. The gap between scientific knowledge and the actual action of the police has been widely discussed topic that recently got a more concrete form. The 'pracademics' (see Posner, 2009; Willis, 2016; Braga, 2016; Tahiliani and McCabe, 2016) are seen as a possible bridging mechanism having a potential to connect these two poles. Another trend related to the latter concerns the question of the police science in general. As stated by David H. Bayley (2015: 11): 'Police science must become part of police professionalism.' (See also Huey and Mitchell, 2016)

To offer some fresh and in police literature underdeveloped aspects that may help the police advance and anchor its position as a professional player in the field of security I draw some ideas from contemporary organizational theories and strategic management. The article consists of four main parts. The first part, the introduction, outlines the problem and takes up the research questions. Second, the empirical part illuminates the problem through the case of Estonian police, the European police reforms, and the problem of monostrategicism. In the third part, theoretical principles that are familiar to management audience but not so familiar in the field of policing will be introduced, and the fourth part summarizes the article and makes some concluding remarks. Since the article is not build up as a traditional empirical article, the reason for that

needs to be clarified. Traditionally in empirical articles a theory precedes empire, but in this article, it is in the opposite. Although the empirical part composed of three different studies, and all of them had different purposes as well as results, in this article they will be used as problem-constructors, and the theoretical part should be handled as possible solutions to the problems posed.

1. Police strategies: ignored and underestimated

Some years ago, I started the research of Estonian police with the purpose to discover and explain organizational changes that took place after restoring the independence of Estonia in 1991, while the Soviet military militia was reorganized into Estonian police. Studying changes in one particular organization provide an opportunity to go deeper than just a comparison of organizations or countries. Often the importance of findings gets precise meaning in some specific context. For that reason, I simultaneously with studying the Estonian police, analysed police reforms in Europe during last two decades. I also revised the leading journals in the field of policing (1) from the same period to find an answer to the question: how the police strategies are portrayed and analysed? In this chapter, the problems from all studies in the context of this article will be presented. Since the studies under discussion, are extensive, what follows is a very cursory and simplified view of them.

1.1 Changes in astrategic organization: the case of Estonian police (2)

The case of Estonian police is interesting in many ways, but in the context of this article two central points should be highlighted. First, the Estonian police is an interesting object for a study, since it has such a dramatic history and rapid changes in replacing Russian-speaking military Soviet militia with democratic Estonian national police organization in 1991. Second, security in Estonia has improved enormously after the

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(1) There are three police-specific journals that were indexed in the databases of Thomson Reuters Web of Science: Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management; Police Quarterly; Policing and Society.

(2) Main results of the analysis are presented in following article: Suve, Priit; Peeter Selg; and Georg Sootla. 'Two Decades of Estonian Police and the (Ir)relevance of Police Models for the Development of Safety Policy'. *Studies of Transition States and Societies* 8.1 (2016): 36-52.

early years of independence (see Saar, 2004; Markina, 2011; Saar, 2013) despite the fact that the Estonian police has not knowingly practiced any strategy of policing during 1991-2013 (Suve, Selg, and Sootla, 2016).

The analysis was based on documentary analysis of following public documents: two principal laws regulating police action during the period 1991-2013 (Eesti Vabariigi Ülemnõukogu, 1990; Riigikogu, 1998); four basic regulations structuring the organization at the government and local level (Politsei- ja Piirivalveamet, 2012; Vabariigi Valitsus, 1991; Vabariigi Valitsus, 1992; Siseminister, 2009); four major development plans (Politseiamet, 1999; Riigikogu, 2008; Riigikogu, 2010; Siseministeerium, 2001), and five instructions for police work in order to understand changes at the operational level (Politsei- ja Piirivalveamet, 2010a; 2010b; Politseiamet, 1993; 1998; 2001).

In analysing changes of Estonian police the Cordner's four-dimensional (philosophical, strategic, tactical, organizational) model of community police (see Cordner, 1995; Cordner and Sarborough, 2013) were used. The model of community police was exercised in a reason that it is probably the most well-known model in last 50 years, and since it could be useful to analyse changes through of some concept and not run the analysis without any particular point. The latter can be used as a mirror to reflect changes under discussion.

We found that the overall development of the Estonian police has contradictory directions within different dimensions and between them. For example at the philosophical level (development plans) emphasize is on an importance of prevention, but the tactical level sets bureaucratic activities (e.g. registering and handling reports) before the activities of prevention. The tendency to more militaristic principles can be recognized from the organizational behaviour. Namely, the military-like career system is the example of that. (Suve, Selg, and Sootla, 2016: 47-49)

To be correct, the 'model' and 'strategy' of the police are in this article used as synonyms ([3]). Thus, we do not know how would the developments of Estonian police be different, if there were intentionally be used some police strategy, but we are aware that without

any precise and understandably stated strategy the developments were unplanned and unpredictable. To conclude the point for this article: the Estonian police have developed without using intentionally any police model or strategy, and changes in the police were inconsistent in many ways. Despite the latter, the overall security in Estonia has improved a lot.

The case of Estonian police emphasizes only one side of the problem — the organizational size. Since till now, the link between the police and security was not under discussion but have the important element in this article, the section below shed light on this topic through the police reforms in Europe.

1.2 Reforming police organization instead of policing

The primary aim of studying police reforms came from the need to put the changes of Estonian police into the European context. The literature of public administration recognizes some different views how the European territory should be analysed, but none of them are familiar to police specific audience. The police culture is often split into two cultural zones — a Continental, and Anglo-American police. The historical roots of the former stem from France and the latter from England. (See Brodeur, 2010) From the regional point of view, the Scandinavian police culture can also be highlighted as a specific and distinctive in many ways. For that reasons, the samples for the analyses were chosen on cultural argumentation. The other reason for picking exactly these examples is related to existing empirical material. Nevertheless the fact that police reforms are common in many countries, there is not too many studies (in English) to take into the analysis ([4]). Considering aforesaid information the following countries were chosen as appropriate: the England and Scotland as countries representing Anglo-American police culture, the France and Germany as the countries representing Continental police culture, the Finland and Sweden as the countries representing Scandinavian police culture. The Holland and Belgium were chosen because they do not directly belong to any precise police culture.

The analysis revealed at least two important observations. First, the main trend of the reforms was concentrated into reforming organization, instead of policing. Centralization and merging of police units were the

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[3] Here is the right moment to highlight another comment: terms 'police model' and 'police strategy' are in police literature often used in an ambiguous way. The ontology and epistemology of these terms need to be specified, and I dealt with the question in my Ph.D. studies.

[4] The study embraces the research within English language literature, but the problem of research in the multilingual region is not new in police research (see e.g. Holmberg, 2005: 206).

predominant mechanisms in reforming organization (see Scotland (Fyfe and Scott, 2013; Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015); Finland (Virta, 2013; Vuorensyrjä, 2014); Belgium (Maesschalck, 2002; Devroe and Ponsaers, 2013)). Second, security had an equivocal meaning in a context of police reforms. Most important from the point of the core mission of the police: security had a secondary meaning. From one hand it is good news since it allows assuming the good overall condition of security. From the other hand, in reforming the police — the only professional player in the field of security — forgetting its core mission and role in society, pave the way for de-professionalization and further police reforms. The reasons for the latter may be exclusively related to security questions since there are not anymore any professional player in the field.

Among the cases under study the reforms in Belgium (Devroe and Ponsaers, 2013; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011), Holland (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015; Terpstra and Fyfe, 2014), and Sweden (Betänkande av Polisorganisationskommittén, 2012; The Swedish Parliamentary Ombudsmen, 2014) had still some links to security. The problems were not related to overall security situation, but with some single failures of the juridical system (include the police) (see the case of Marc Dutroux in Belgium) or police organizational failures (see fragmentation and problems of cooperation among the police in Holland or dissatisfaction with the quality of the Swedish police). From the perspective of this article, it is important to mention, that one can hardly find police reform that is focused on policing — that discuss police behaviour from the point of police strategies (even at the corporate level).

The analysis raises the question of police professionalism: how the police can improve its reputation as a security professional, and what are those mechanisms that guarantee the continuous development of the police and links the organization to immediate task environment?

1.3 The problem of a monostrategic policing

After analysing the studies related to police strategies that were published in the top police-specific journals, the conclusion is quite simple: the police are mostly presented as a monostrategic organization. The latter is not critical of oneself, but it is just unrealistic — every police organization run simultaneously many strategies in single as well as in different levels. The only question is about the consciousness of police action. It

is likely that most of the time police action is based on an unconscious choice of various tactics or techniques, but these tactics and techniques do not constitute any particular strategy. In vain, the problems that the police should face are simple, complex and wicked, and the organization needs different strategies to succeed. Opportunities for this are extensive, and the only obstacle is probably the knowledge about these odds. I would go even further: the metalanguage of the police base on knowledge about police strategies. The reason for that is quite simple — police strategies are these constitutive ties through the principles criminology and management constitute the police science. Hence, one may ask: Is it possible to be a (police) leader without the understanding of a metalanguage of specific domain? It would be hard. The wicked problem may also ask: how the police leaders will mitigate the security issues without understanding possibilities for that? The field of the police embraces a variety of strategies that are necessary for contemporary policing.

The community policing is indefinitely the dominant topic in the field. (See e.g. Frank, Brandl, and Watkins, 1997; Oliver and Bartgis, 1998; Barlow and Barlow, 1999; Gowri, 2003; Somerville, 2009; Ferrandino, 2014) Topics like problem-oriented policing (e.g. Mazerolle and Terrill, 1997; Jesilow, Meyer, Parsons, and Tegeler, 1998; Bichler, Schmerler, and Enriquez, 2013), zero-tolerance (e.g. Burke, 1998), Compstat (e.g. Walsh, 2001; Moore and Braga, 2003) or intelligence-led policing (e.g. Ratcliffe and Guidetti, 2008; Schaible and Sheffield, 2012), have got least attention. Monostrategic or comparative or combining studies of two, seldom three strategies is the penetrating characteristic that should be highlighted. In some sense, it is understandable because the particular strategy has developed for a particular situation. In reality, the police have to solve many different situations at the same time. For example, a police station has to resolve a murder case; thefts from rural properties; arson episodes in a city; push drugs near schools; and so on. Some of the cases extend over the station's border; some of them needs to be solved with an external help; some of them limited to a specific area or period; some of them require top manager's personal attention; and so on. There are a uncountable amount of situations related to management (leadership) as well as to security, and the police should be managed in an adequate, understandable and efficient way. Notwithstanding, one can hardly find some analysis about multistrategic police. Is the analysis too complicated to carry out? Maybe, but without having

knowledge (metalanguage) of police strategies, on which the citizens trust on the police should rest or on which rests the police officers faith to police leaders? What is the 'professionalism' in policing concerning organization and security? How this specific type of organization should be managed to get the best possible results for citizens and police organization? These blunt questions are intimately related to each other and together with facts mentioned above illuminate the importance of police strategies in policing.

2. Theoretical perspectives

The police science, grasping part from criminology and part from management theories (see Greene, 2007), is interdisciplinary by nature but still have the metalanguage distinct from the other players in the field of security. This chapter consists of two subchapters where the first concentrates to organization and the second to strategies. They both are well-developed concepts outside of the police science, and in combination have a strong potential to offer a solution for the problems under discussion. The purpose of this chapter is to develop a mental framework how the concept of strategy should be combined with the idea of organization as an open system in a way that the potential for developments of the police would be illuminated.

2.1 Security as a wicked problem and organization as an open system

First of all, I have to explain what I meant above in saying 'traditional view on an organization.' From that perspective, the traditional organizations are 'designed for efficiency, which emphasizes vertical linkages such as hierarchy, rules and plans, and formal information systems, or toward a contemporary organization designed for learning and adaptation, which emphasizes horizontal communication and coordination.' (Daft, 2009: 127) These organizations have internal logics that base on fixed ties between organizational units and functions like we know from the early organizational scholars (see Taylor, 1947; Fayol, 1949). A history of contemporary police denotes to military, the only example to draw ideas in building up the police. The latter is important since we know from Stinchcombe (2000: 233) that organizations tend to maintain its initial structure. The police are still in many ways a paramilitary organization (e.g. chain of command, internal hierarchical bureaucracy, ranking system, tasks that expecting military-way organization (e.g. riots, deten-

tions of criminals)). It has at least some of characteristics (see Cox, 1995: 66-67) as the following ones: (1) centralized command structure and chain of command; (2) control exerted through the issuance of commands, directives, and orders; (3) vertical communications going from top to bottom; (4) coercion as the method of employee motivation; (5) initiative neither sought nor encouraged; (6) authoritarian leadership; (7) low tolerance for nonconformists; (8) lack of flexibility in confronting novel situation. These principles may go with the simplified and very narrow view of police tasks (e.g. catching criminals, random patrol arrangement) but the organization that base on previously stated principles (inherent to the concept of traditional organization) probably come to grief with security as a wicked problem. Before we go further with the organization, the question of wicked problems needs to be clarified.

By definition, there are no 'right' or 'wrong' solutions to 'wicked problems,' but only 'good' or 'bad' ones. (Selg, 2016: 18; Rittel and Webber, 1973) Since there is no crime-free society out there, this is exactly the way how security should be handled. As stated by Roberts (2000: 1-2), wicked problems can be distinguished from other types of problems in the following way. Simple problems enjoy a consensus on a problem definition and solution; problem solving is straightforward engendering little if any conflict among those involved. Complex problem solvers are agreed on what the problem is, but there is no consensus on how to solve it; despite agreement on the problem definition, there are unresolved issues concerning its solution. The increase in conflict makes the problem solving process more complex. Wicked problems engender a high level of conflict among the stakeholders. In this instance, there is no agreement on the problem or its solution. The problem solving process is further complicated because stakeholders in a democratic society have the power to block initiatives not of their liking through lawsuits, judicial reviews, and the time-honoured tradition of throwing the 'rascals' out of office. Nothing really bounds the problem solving process — it is experienced as ambiguous, fluid, complex, political, and frustrating as hell.

So, security has previously defined as a wicked problem. It means there are no solution but only mitigations and choices that have to be made in every single case and should always be considered particular context. Described context of security requires an appropriate mentality to portray organizations. Instead of a

traditional hierarchical well-structured organization, designed for solving simple or complex problems and having units or functions tightly fixed, we should turn to organization as a system (open or closed). Although the latter is a seldom-used concept in police literature, there are significant exceptions. Gary W. Cordner [5] and Kathryn E. Scarborough are the scholars among others who have made a great contribution to police science from the organizational perspective. Their Police Administration (2013) is one of the remarkable books in the field of policing, offering a description of organization as a system. From this book a reader will get an overview of organization as a system with the focus on police organization: '[p]olice departments are systems no more or less complex than other organizational systems. Police organizations consist of numerous involved, interdependent subsystems.' (Cordner and Sarborough, 2013: 59) However, the purpose of this article is not focused narrowly on organization but takes a more sociological line. Therefore a wider view is needed. The reason for the latter comes from the core mission of the police — the police should deal with the (wicked) questions of security (it does not mean that all questions of security are wicked). In this sense, the police are always as a tool in hands of government having specific strategies and techniques. At the same time the police are only one actor of many in a social system, and since the questions of security are penetrated through society, the police should be treated as a part of particular society. For this reason, I move from the narrow focus of an organization to more sociological explanations. In this article, I trace the ecological level of analysis and see an organization as a collective entity operating in a larger system of relations. (See Baum, 1999) At this point, the organization is viewed as an open system. The open system view of organizational structure stresses the complexity and variability of the individual parts — both individual participants and subgroups — as well as the looseness of connections among them. Parts are viewed as capable of semiautonomous action; many parts are viewed as, at best, loosely coupled to other parts. In that kind of organization participants — groups and individuals — form and leave coalitions, there is continual fluxation of relations. (Scott, 2003: 101) Thus, organization itself (their inherent logic) and its relations to the task environment have deeply interdependent character. But what are these ties inside organization but also

between an organization and environment that (1) binds actors inside the organization, (2) makes possible a flexible relationship between organization and environment, (3) guarantees appropriate answers in solving or mitigating security questions, and (4) provide an organizational context for continuous advancement as a professional organization? In this article I argue: these ties are police strategies.

2.2 Indispensable roles of strategies in (the police) organization

Strategic management is youthful discipline (see Guerras-Martín, Madhok, and Montoro-Sánchez, 2014) with several turns from looking for best practices to concepts like competition or relationalism in and between organization(s) and environments. Although we can draw many parallels between the strategic management discipline and developments in the field of police strategies, these discussions remain for future. Since the purpose of this article is to create a mental framework that could help police leaders and educators advance the police's ability for being a professional player on the field of security, this section will focus on a role of strategies in police organization and for security, but not to precise strategies [6].

In traditional organizations designed for efficient performance, strategy is formulated by top managers and imposed on the organization. (Daft, 2009: 33) This description reveals the particular problem that is intrinsic for many organizations, including the police: organizations are often seen as monostrategic (see section 1.2. above). On some extent it can be so, but only on the corporate level. It is hard even to imagine that some organization could use only one strategy or no strategy. If an organization does not have any obvious and clearly expressed strategy, if leaders do not have a knowledge of strategies related to the organization and its task environment, it can be a tragedy for the organization, for its members and clients. To avoid such kind of tragedy, the meaning and possibilities of strategies are needed to be clarified, and this is the topic of this article.

To stay in line with the sociological institutionalism, and particularly with the Scott's (2003) view on it, this section will focus on techniques that should address the previously posed questions.

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[5] Professor Emeritus G. Cordner at Kutztown University is one of the key contributors of the conference (https://www.cepol.europa.eu/science-research/conferences/2016).

[6] About the combination of (conflicting) strategies in police organization see the article entitled: 'Designing Multidimensional Policing Strategy And Organization: Towards A Synthesis Of Professional And Community Police Models.' (Suve, Selg, & Sootla, 2015).

It is relatively easy to define core activities for every organization to which the focal of a body is connected. Teaching in schools, healthcare in hospitals, helping people and solving security problems in the police are only a few examples of the core activities from different fields. However, every organization has a technical core, regarding Thompson's (1967) seminal book. It means that organizations have some recourse critical to its mission. The recourses can be material (like cars or computers) as well as mental (like knowledge, software or metalanguage), and every organization has two — in some sense inconsistent — responsibilities concern to its technical core. First, these primary sources need to be protected from the turbulent environment. Second, these sources cannot be too protected, because they need an adequate information and energy to survive. As stated by Scott (2003: 124): 'Organizations must both distinguish their systems from and connect themselves to their environment. Boundary-defining mechanisms as well as the tactics used by organizations to buffer their technical core and to build bridges to other organizations.' Buffering is the term denoting these tactics that protect a technical core from turbulent environment, and bridging is the term denoting tactics for the bridging organization with the environment. (See Scott, 2003: 199) To get the idea, some widespread tactics from earlier mentioned terms will shortly be introduced as follows.

Starting with buffering tactics (see e.g. March and Simon, 1993; Scott, 2003; Oliver C., 1991) the coding is probably most well-known tactics. It is important for any organization to select and control every source that will be used by technical core. A pupil's age and knowledge should be checked before appointing she/he into particular class; a car spare should be checked before pinning up; drunk juvenile is taken to home instead to prison with murderer; and so on. To survive and develop an organization needs to have several stocks. A hospital needs syringes and fresh blood; the police needs weapons and personnel for the emergency; organizations need to train new leaders; and so on. Every organization deals with forecasting. Schools need to know the demographic situation; a car selling company forecasting people's needs and taste; the police forecasts possible crime hot-spots; and so on.

While buffering tactics are mainly concerned with protecting the technical core, the bridging tactics (see e.g. Meyer, Brooks, and Goes, 1990; DiPaola and Tschannen-Moran, 2005; Scott, 2003) are designed for protecting an entire organization. To survive, the organization needs energy and information from its environment. Interdependence is the term characterizing the organization from inside as well as outside perspective. The latter means that there is not any organization out there without interdependent connections between other organizations and environment. Thus, to survive, organizations need information from other organizations in the field (e.g. about trends, market situation), but also energy (e.g. new staff, knowledge) from its environment. The problem is: organizations do not control resources mentioned above they need. Since bridging techniques are tightly related to recourses that needed to survive, the Pfeffer and Salancik's (2003) ideas on this topic are probably most cited. First and one of the most common tactics is bargaining (Scott calls it pre-bridging tactics (Scott, 2003: 204)). Through bargaining process organizations try to avoid total dependence on a partner but strive best possible conditions or sources. The crucial element here is knowledge of own priorities and interests. There are many problems in the field of security, in which is not clear the responsibility of related players, but precise roles need to be clarified. Close to bargaining tactics is contracting — the negotiation for something that will appear in the future. Although the scope in contracting is unlimited, from the context of this article the possibility for different coalitions should be highlighted. These coalitions may be by nature as preventive as well reactive (post factum). Merge is the most topical tactics concerning police reforms that described above. To be more effective and efficient, the trend of merging police units is well-known. However, the process of merging is not used only on organizational level it also concerns strategic level. Public-private partnership (see e.g. Das, Huberts, and Steden, 2007; Savas and Savas, 2000; Ponsaers, 2001; Terpstra and Vijver, 2006) is the well-known police strategy that aims divide resources between the police and partners from the private sector.

To summarize this section, it should be highlighted, that a core of any organization needs to be protected; to survive, an organization needs information and energy from its environment, and there are many tactics out there that are helpful for these purposes. But there are still something missing. Something that is particular for every organization and field. As it was stated earlier, in this article I argue: police strategies are the means that gives a meaning and real 'soul' for the buffering and bridging strategies. The section below is dedicated to explaining this argument.

Discussion and concluding remarks

At the beginning of this article, two questions were posed. First, how the concept of the organization should be handled so that it at least gives a chance to mitigate wicked problems? Second, what are these mechanisms that could develop police's professional status in society and act as a tie inside of an organization but also connects the organization to existing task environment? Through the theoretical part, it emerged that buffering and bridging are these mechanisms with different techniques that protect organization's technical core and links an organization to its task environment. Since the purpose of this article was to create a mental framework that could help police leaders and educators to advance police's ability for being the professional player on the field of security, in this concluding section, the framework will be elaborated and outlined.

For now, it is evident, that for addressing wicked problems the police should be treated as an open system. The latter does not mean that organization does not have any boundaries. It has, but these boundaries are blurred compared to the traditional organization as a closed system. Regarding police organization as an open system, it means that the organization is a compendium of various groups (e.g. units, police stations), alliances (e.g. informal or working groups) or functions (e.g. law enforcement, forensics, criminal police). Aforesaid have own subgroups or sub alliances having mixed and interdependent relations with each other. Thus, this kind of organization needs also to be protected from external turbulence, but also advanced for more current and professional organization.

As it was shown above, the police are often presented as a monostrategic organization despite the fact that there is always many techniques from diverse strategies simultaneously in use (knowingly or not), and security as a wicked problem needs to be mitigated by using different but contextual approaches from the police.

Before we turn to the police from the point of security, the buffering and bridging techniques have to be discussed regarding police. Without deep discussion, for this article, it is enough to give only some examples to imagine the context of the police. In protecting its technical core, the police are using buffering strategies like coding (e.g. specialized workflows), stockpiling (e.g. recruiting, retraining, special equipment) or forecasting (e.g. crime analysis, geographic information system), and so forth. To receive information and energy from the task environment, and protect a whole organization from external impacts, the police organization use diverse bridging techniques. The following are just some of them: bargaining (e.g. whose responsibility belongs public order nearby bars and restaurants), contracting (e.g. agreements between the police and local municipality) or joint ventures (e.g. cooperation with schools for lecturing about prevention or drug use). Both, buffering and bridging techniques have countless examples, but for now, we need to specify: these techniques always has occupation-specific nature. It means that there is always some metalanguage or coding system that needs to be recognized. The police have its particular metalanguage, which is composed (similarly to police science) by two different disciplines — criminology and management. Finally, police strategies come into the scene. Police strategies are the focal points or coupling points for criminology and management principles — the essence of the metalanguage. Thus, all buffering and bridging techniques should be handled through particular police strategy at the appropriate level of an organization, and in a particular context. There is no right answer but only continuous experimentations with various combinations that can lead the organization towards success in dealing with both, organizational as well as security problems.

Police strategies are the essential part of police's metalanguage, a tie within an organization and between the police and its task environment, and last but not least: the key to mitigating wicked problems. That is the reason why in police education we have to turn more attention to police strategies.

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He was a police officer for more than 30 years, serving in Hampshire, West Mercia, Thames Valley (as Chief Constable) and the National Policing Improvement Agency (as CEO). In 2010, he carried out the "Review of Police Leadership and Training" which led to the establishment of the new "National College of Policing", in 2012. He was a member of the National Policing Board, National Criminal Justice Board, National Counter-Terrorism Board, the Sentencing Guidelines Council and an Independent Reviewer of the Parole Board.

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Professor Stanko has been awarded a number of academic lifetime achievement awards, including the prestigious American Society of Criminology's Vollmer Award (1996). From 1997-2002 she was the Director of the ESRC Violence Research Programme. She was awarded an OBE in 2014 for her services to policing.

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Paddy Tomkins was a police officer for 30 years. Educated at King's College London (First Class Honours, History), the UK government's Top Management Programme (2000), and was awarded the Queen's Police Medal (2006). He has an MA in Classics (2012). He served in Sussex Police before moving to the Metropolitan Police Service. He attended the Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS) where he took the top prize for that year (1997). From 1998 he was Commander (Crime) for Central London and then Deputy Assistant Commissioner. In 2002 he was appointed Chief Constable of Lothian & Borders Police, Edinburgh. As Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland (2007-2009), he was the senior professional police adviser to government ministers. His principal professional areas of interest include cybercrime management, counter corruption, police governance and accountability, and international co-operation in the modernisation of policing.

Tong, Stephen
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He is currently the Director of the Canterbury Centre for Policing Research (CCPR) and Adjunct Associate Professor at Charles Sturt University, Australia. He have been based at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) since 2002. Stephen has contributed to the development of the policing curriculum at undergraduate and postgraduate level and by publishing on a range of policing issues at CCCU and other universities. He has been involved in research ranging from the work of detectives, trainee police officers, restorative justice in prisons and strategic police leaders across Europe. He is interested in conducting research in a variety of areas in policing and his main research interests include police reform, training and education, pluralisation, leadership and criminal investigation.

Vera, Antonio
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Antonio Vera is a full professor for Organization and Human Resource Management at the German Police University in Muenster. He received his doctorate as well as his post-doctoral qualification (Habilitation) from the University of Cologne, Germany. His main areas of expertise are police and health care management, focusing in particular on leadership, innovation and organizational culture.
He used to be the managing editor for the European Police Science and Research Bulletin from 2015-2017.

Vinet, Guy
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Guy Vinet is the Head of the Strategic Police Matters Unit of the Transnational Threats Department of the OSCE Secretariat. He was a Colonel of the French Gendarmerie. He has worked extensively in South-Eastern Europe for the UN, NATO and the European Union. He has supervised police operations in Africa and French overseas territories. He is a graduate of the Air Force Academy, the National Gendarmerie Academy, and the Army Senior Staff College. For two and half years before joining the OSCE Secretariat, he supervised the Security Cooperation Department at the OSCE Presence in Albania. Mr. Vinet holds a PhD in Political

Science and Masters' degrees in International Relations, Geopolitics and Diplomacy from Paris Universities.

Wainwright, Rob
Europol

Mr Wainwright was appointed Director of Europol in April 2009. He has overseen Europol's transition from intergovernmental organisation to EU agency in 2010, ensured the agency's pivotal position in the new EU Policy Cycle on Serious and Organised Crime, established the European Cybercrime Centre in 2013, and the European Counter Terrorism Centre and European Migrant Smuggling Centre in 2016. During his tenure, the number of cases initiated at Europol has more than tripled and the agency has significantly strengthened its portfolio of operational tools and services. Prior to joining Europol, Mr Wainwright was, amongst other things, Chief of the International Department of the UK Serious Organised Crime Agency (2006-2009) and Director International of the National Criminal Intelligence Service (2003-2006). He has twice chaired the World Economic Forum's 'Global Agenda Council on Organised Crime' and was on the Steering Board of its 'Partnership for Cyber Resilience' project.

Watson, Amy
United Kingdom

She is a current student of the University of Stirling studying Business and Management so she can understand leadership from a business perspective. Previously, she studied at Teesside University where she achieved a first class degree in BSc (hons) Crime and Investigation. Alongside this she also won the "Cleveland Police Award" for the most topical dissertation in the social science school. The dissertation itself was on comparing the leadership in the police force alongside the military.

She first became interested in education and leadership in the police force during an internship with Dr Ian Pepper where they worked with the College of Policing in order to investigate whether the Direct Superintendent Scheme training and education was at a Masters educational level.

Williams, Emma
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Emma is the Deputy Director in the Canterbury Policing Research Centre which was launched in 2016. The Centre aims to conduct research that focuses on both involving and assisting the police practitioner. She is also the programme director of the MSc by research in policing and MSc Applied Police Practice.
Prior to this she worked as a senior researcher at the Metropolitan Police Service conducting operational and strategic research on priority issues and developed practical outputs to guide evidence based police practice and training.

She is undertaking a PhD at Southbank University on the police treatment of victims of sexual violence. Her research interests are policing and victims of interpersonal crime, police professionalism, the use of research and education in policing, public perceptions and confidence in the police and community policing.

Her background has been very much grounded in research and she has in depth knowledge of the development and conducting of operational action research. She has developed and delivered training courses on research findings and recommendations including training for rape investigators (vulnerable victim input) and community police officers (drivers of public confidence and the importance of information provision).

Xu, Tao
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Tao Xu is the professor and Dean of International School at Zhejiang Police College, Director of the Center for Policing Theory, and Director of the Center for Evidence-based Policing, Zhejiang, China. He is the editor of the Journal of Public Security Science (China). His research interests include police legitimacy, crime and place, and citizen satisfaction. As a consultant for several police bureaus in China, he is dedicated to strengthening and evaluating the partnerships between researchers and practitioners. He has been a visiting fellow at Utrecht University in the Netherlands in 2008, a visiting scholar at Minnesota University in 2004 and 2007, etc.

His most relevant publications as follows: "Governance reforms and public participation: a legal examination of policing innovation of China in transitional period" (Beijing: China University of Political Science and Law Press, 2012) and "The basic theory of modern police law from a comparative perspective" (Beijing: Zhongguo Jiancha Press, 2012).

Zeiser, Matthias
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Matthias Zeiser is the Vice-President of the German Police University since April 2016. During the past years, from 2009 to 2016, he was the head of criminalistics, phenomenon orientated criminal strategy, working on organised crime, corruption, economic crime, counterterrorism, politically motivated crime, high risk management for the German Police University. He was also the head of communication section, communication director of the task force of Baden-Württemberg State Police during the NATO-Summit 2009 Strasburg/Baden-Baden, and of the negotiation group of Baden-Württemberg State Police for cases of hostage-taking, kidnapping, extortions and assessment of Amok-Threats. He also worked for two years as Deputy of CID Freiburg, Head of Criminal-Division 1 (serious crime, state protection) and Criminal Division 3 (economic crime, cybercrime).

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