EUROPEAN POLICE SCIENCE AND RESEARCH BULLETIN

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACTS

WHAT REALLY MATTERS IN POLICING?

Maurice Punch

This article examines the methodology of evidence-based policing, the political context promoting its adoption and its diffusion within the police organisation. Running through it there are three themes which have coloured my recent work and publications with my Dutch colleagues, Auke van Dijk and Frank Hoogewoning. Firstly, that 70 years of police research has produced a body of knowledge drawing on multiple methods — observation, interviews, surveys, historical work — which also provides diverse forms of 'evidence': it may be viewed as 'useless knowledge' regarding direct utility but it is vital to understanding policing. Secondly, policing is complex and demanding, and we should look at what police actually do and what public expectations of them are and then focus on competences to develop confident officers and leaders at all levels. A fixation on crime reduction in political circles and research agendas threatens to distort the relationship with the public and to diminish the skills of officers trying to cope with multiple demands. The Dutch officers dealing with the MH17 crash in the Ukraine as a result of a rocket attack in a conflict zone with much loss of life, for example, were instantly faced with unprecedented challenges. 'What works' had to be constructed pragmatically, daily and on the hoof; crime reduction was far from their minds unless it referred to the Kremlin. What drove them were prior learned skills, an institutional capacity to adapt and a philosophy of a caring and compassionate duty of care to the families and friends of the victims: that was what really mattered. And thirdly, and finally, policing is inextricably tied to issues of rights, diversity, equity, justice and use of force and is laden with significance in the vital relationship of the citizen to the state. In brief, 'what works' is clearly important and valuable but — given the nature of policing — it always remains subordinate to the pivotal issue, 'what really matters'.

ORGANISED CRIME IN EUROPE AND THE MAFIA METHOD

Vincenzo Ruggiero

This paper compares some findings relating to organised crime in Europe as presented by international agencies with findings obtained by national independent researchers in a number of countries. The comparison will help highlight the dilemmas, the controversies and the vexed questions that still adumbrate our understanding of organised crime, while it will pave the way for a tentative classification that can clarify, at least partially, the contours of the subject matter.

EVIDENCE-BASED COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY: EVALUATING THE 'BIG PICTURE'

José María Blanco and Jéssica Cohen

The core of evidence-based policy should be to evaluate if counterterrorism (CT) policies work and to fix the way we can measure them. For this purpose we propose a holistic approach, a model, in order to ensure that policing designers have the best knowledge and the best

intelligence when they take decisions on CT. Evaluating public policies on CT is a continuous process that offers, at least, three key moments (the existence of prior knowledge and necessary intelligence, failures in decision-making and the measurement of the effects and impacts that the policies developed have had), a process led by different actors (universities, think tanks, intelligence analysts, government civil servants, lobbyists, citizens' desires and needs, etc.) and a process that aims not only to know the effectiveness of the policies, but also to improve future policymaking. The framework, and the six-step evaluation process we propose, try to face the 'big picture' of terrorism, to ensure that CT policies act against root causes, groups and individuals, terrorist objectives, actions and impacts and to confirm that these policies do not generate effects contrary to our goals or that collide with our values. Through this framework it is possible to select individual measurements, or packs of them, in order to apply evidence-based methodologies.

ENGAGING POLICE AND COMMUNITY: THE ROLE OF FORENSIC PRACTITIONERS IN RESPONDING TO ABUSIVE SITUATIONS

Bridgette Webb and Sylvia Scheicher

Community policing has evolved as a multidimensional approach, containing philosophical, strategic and organisational elements, and taking on various forms, one of which is the coordinated community response (CCR). The significance of this approach in addressing domestic violence and child abuse is discussed in this work. Various sources indicate the high prevalence of domestic violence and maltreatment of children. To address such abuse, establishing an effective framework connecting victims not only to local authorities and formal agencies but also to other service providers (forensic, medical, support) and less obvious 'community contact points' could prove crucial. Evidence of the European commitment to community policing as well as to multisector intervention to combat domestic violence already exists, with research demonstrating national and regional initiatives of community policing strategies addressing domestic violence and child abuse across the continent. Victims often seek help from medical professionals when they incur physical injuries following abuse, therefore the active integration

of medical service providers, specifically clinical forensic service providers (CFSPs) is essential in developing an effective CCR to abuse. Examples of the integration of forensic physicians into frameworks supporting the investigation and prosecution of domestic violence already exist in Germany and Austria. These collaborations bring together law enforcement, forensic and medical professionals to provide a multisector service to victims of violence. Given the EU's commitment to community policing, the critical issue of domestic violence and child abuse, and already existing successful local approaches in this area, it is high time to transfer these concepts to a European level.

MANAGERIAL INFLUENCES ON POLICE DISCRETION: CONTEXTUALISING OFFICER DECISION-CHOICES

A. R. (Jo) Parsons

This article highlights aspects of original research examining how police decision-making may be influenced in times of increasing public and political accountability. It reflects the author's observations and findings as presented at CEPOL's 2015 European Police Research and Science Conference. Applying a 'theory of decision-choices' (Parsons, 2015) the officer's choice of policing response can be explained by reference to perceptions of the occupational field and situational needs (the decision-frame) as informed by the officer's orientation to the policing function, their relationship to the organisation, its leadership and those they police. This decision-frame can be influenced by management's instrumental use of rules, discipline and targets, which carries the risk of unintended consequences. However, using a before-and-after survey methodology, a study into the introduction of community resolution (CR) into one UK police organisation (force) indicates management may influence officer perceptions (and potentially decision-choices) in other ways. One significant finding was a change in officers' understanding of organisational policing priorities after being given more discretion in responding to low-level crimes and antisocial incidents. Overall the results support the theory that management can positively influence officer decision-frames through normative means (such as shared values and mutual trust), potentially improving effectiveness, confidence and police legitimacy.

'CORPORATE POLICE STORIES' — A RESEARCH NOTE ON THE IMPACT AND THE CAPABILITIES OF POLICE HISTORY ON POLICING, POLICE TRAINING AND COMMUNICATION

Patricia Schütte-Bestek and Andreas Pudlat

Over the last few years, scientific works and discourses about organisational uses of history have increased. Most of them refer to private sector organisations and their benefits from using their past. Making use of an organisation's history has already been widely acknowledged as an important means for a company's identity formation and its image. Regarding the company's internal relations, an organisational identity based on this form of history management holds potential for recognition, the implementation of values and the strengthened loyalty of employees. Concerning external relations, the properly structured management of history can result in recognisable and distinguishable image formation, leading to advantages in the competition for resources with other companies and in defining the work area. For the stakeholders, it provides a stable point of orientation among the enormous number of apparently identical organisations. In contrast to this, governmental organisations — especially those dealing with security tasks — do not seem to be in need of such measures due to their stable institutional background. However, there are still some approaches engaging in processing the organisational past of police organisations. Primarily based on empirical material from Germany (e.g. documents, websites, artefacts), this article presents first findings and assumptions on why this is being done and what outcomes the uses of the past provide for the external and internal communication processes of police organisations.

VICTIMS' VIEWS ON POLICING PARTNER VIOLENCE

Kate Butterworth and Nicole Westmarland

The latest Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary for England and Wales (HMIC) report (2014), *Everyone's business: improving the police response to domestic abuse*, highlighted that police forces across the United Kingdom were not responding satisfactorily to victims of domestic abuse, and have little understanding of coercion and control. The report suggested forces find more innovative ways of training officers to improve responses. A 1-week snapshot of domestic abuse was carried out at Durham Constabulary, which involved interviewing victims who had reported domestic abuse to the police, as well as police and support organisations. Twenty-four victims were spoken to about their recent experiences with the police. Responses were mixed, with victims reporting positive, negative and satisfactory experiences. A number of police who were interviewed reported their knowledge of coercive and controlling behaviours was more limited than that of general domestic abuse, and they found it difficult to identify these behaviours when responding to incidents. Organisations also called for police to receive further training on coercion and control. Findings from all interviews will be considered side by side to help shape a new drama-based training programme, which will be rolled out to police to address gaps in knowledge.

PUBLIC VALUE: A NEW MEANS TO PEEL AN APPLE?

Jean Hartley and Ian Hesketh

This conceptual paper examines the public value framework developed by Moore (1995) and Benington and Moore (2011) and uses the framework analytically as a way to address demand in policing and to prioritise and justify actions. It is therefore a potential tool for evidence-based policing. This paper examines the policing context in which the public value framework may be useful, and then examines existing theory and evidence about its use in policing. In the United Kingdom 'traditional' crime is reported to be falling but the demand on policing services is increasing and changing in nature. A decrease in overall measured crime is incongruent with increases in serious and organised crime, child sexual exploitation, domestic abuse and cyber offences. It is estimated that there may be as many as 3 million unrecorded fraud and cyber incidents (Thornton, 2015). There is undoubtedly a greater demand on specialist skills, time and resources from police forces. Much of the emerging threat is complex and virtual in nature, involving multiple partners and where there are no easy, agreed or known solutions. Counterterrorism, mental health, violence, child sexual exploitation and missing persons are all issues where public expectations of the police are high. Yet the

strategic management tools from the 1990s onwards focus on organisational goal setting, targets and key performance indicators, ignoring wider outcomes and often creating performance rigidity, reinforcing silo mentality and reinforcing the gaming of performance data. In May 2015 the newly elected UK government announced a review of all forces that were still setting arbitrary targets, despite numerous warnings to desist. This paper explores and reports whether and how, in a time of limited resources yet expanding expectations, the public value framework can be used as an underpinning philosophy while also providing a prompt for practical actions for policing activity.

HOW ARE SIMULATIONS USED IN SECURITY SECTOR TRAINING IN FINLAND?

Joanna Kalalahti

This article will describe a research project concerning the use of learning simulations in security sector training organisations supervised by the Ministry of the Interior in Finland. Information will be gathered about the use of simulations in basic degree training of the Border and Coast Guard Academy, Crisis Management Centre Finland, the Police University College and the Emergency Services College. The aim of the research project is to establish a common and pedagogically grounded view of the use of simulations as a teaching method. A common language and a basis for cooperation inside and amongst the training organisations will be created.

FROM THE EDITORS: EUROPEAN POLICE SCIENCE AND EVIDENCE-BASED POLICING

Peter Neyroud (*)
Eduardo Viegas Ferreira (**)
Antonio Vera (***)

As recently appointed new editors of the Bulletin we are pleased to introduce our first issue. In accordance with the Bulletin's aim of disseminating scientific research findings and good practices in the field of policing, this issue draws on articles from across Europe, including the first of a set of articles that draw on papers delivered at the CEPOL 2015 European Police Research and Science Conference in Lisbon, hosted by the Policia Judiciara of Portugal. The conference was not only a major event for European police research, but was also one of the best-attended police research conferences globally in 2015. It reflected the growth of interest in evidence-based policing (EBP) — the theme of the conference — in Europe, and an open call for papers brought scholars and practitioners not only from all over Europe but from all over the world.

EBP is an increasingly important movement within policing, but one that has, until recently, been predominantly Anglo-Saxon. The Lisbon conference was an opportunity to debate what could be distinctly European EBP.

The development of EBP has deep roots. Europe has had a long and distinguished history of applying science to policing, starting in the 19th century and even earlier. But neither in Europe nor the Anglo-Saxon countries had science in the universities translated into science more generally on the frontline of policing. On the other side of the Atlantic, Professor Lawrence

Sherman's 1998 Police Foundation lecture on 'Evidence-based policing' (Sherman, 1998) sounded a call to arms that provided a tipping point into action. Sherman's conception of EBP proposed an approach to policing for which he drew heavily on the experiences of evidence-based medicine. Even though there were clearly differences between medicine and policing, Sherman (1984) argued that one key similarity between policing and clinical medicine that could be observed was the need for both doctors and police officers to do 'something about a problem, even if the something is merely likely, but not certain, to be helpful' (p. 74). He suggested that police practices could be divided into three types: ignorance (no evidence), equity (the evidence supported neither one approach nor another) and differentiation (where there was a clear preferred approach supported by the evidence), depending on the extent of the knowledge base supporting action. The key task for EBP was, therefore, to increase the volume, availability and deployment of differentiated approaches.

Building on this typology, in 1998 Sherman defined EBP as 'the use of the best available research on the outcomes of police work to implement guidelines and evaluate agencies, units, and officers' (Sherman, 1998: p. 3). He contrasted evidence-based approaches with knowledge based on unsystematic experience and argued that experience should, instead, be used as the basis for hypotheses that could

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and should be tested in the field by methods including, but not exclusive to, randomised controlled trials (RCTs).

In the years since the 1998 lecture an EBP movement has developed. The Lisbon conference theme was an indication that the movement has spread well beyond the United States and is no longer a restricted Anglo-Saxon approach to policing. EBP should be seen as part of a broader movement for evidence-based approaches within criminal justice and social policy, within which there are some distinctive elements in policing. Some key features that deserve to be highlighted are the following.

- The growth of 'experimental criminology' as the spearhead of evidence-based crime prevention and policing (Sherman, 2013). The number of field experiments in policing has been growing significantly. There are now more than 110 (Neyroud, 2015). A new Global Policing Database of police research is aiming to give police and researchers access to more than 7 000 studies, RCTs and other controlled designs from the last half century.

- The development of a broad discipline of 'police science'. A major report from CEPOL scoped European police science and encouraged the development of the European Police Science and Research Conference and an expanded role for CEPOL (Jaschke et al., 2007); a new 'paradigm' of police science has been advocated, with 'ownership' from within the police as a mechanism to transform policing (Weisburd and Neyroud, 2011).

- The expanded use of systematic reviews of experimental and quasi-experimental studies in order to build our knowledge of what works in policing. The single most important development in this area has been the setting up of the Campbell Collaboration in 2000 and the Crime and Justice Group of Campbell (hosted in Norway), which has overseen the completion and publication of 25 policing-relevant systematic reviews ([1]).

- The emergence of a new discipline of leadership and management centred around

evidence as, for example, set out in Sherman's 'triple-T' approach (Sherman, 2013) and advocated by the Center for Evidence-based Management ([2]).

- The development of ideas for a reformed 'profession' within policing. Manifestations of this: papers proposing a 'new professionalism' in policing (Stone and Travis, 2011); the emergence of the UK College of Policing and of several police universities in Europe (Neyroud, 2011); the creation and expansion of the Society of Evidence-Based Policing (SEBP) ([3]) in the United Kingdom, Australasia, Canada and the United States as an individual member-based organisation with membership from police officers and researchers. But there is as yet no European EBP society.

- Connected with this has been pressure for a better qualified and 'chartered' profession with evidence as a key underpinning factor (Neyroud, 2011; Council of Canadian Academies, 2014).

- The growth of police universities, in many cases replacing traditional police training centres, professional police officers carrying out field research and research partnerships dedicated to police research.

At the CEPOL 2015 European Police Research and Science Conference the debates embraced all these dimensions of EBP. The papers presented covered the nature and controversies around EBP, reported key recent studies and reflected on the development of police education and efforts to translate EBP into practice. The opening article of this issue, by Maurice Punch, builds around some of the most interesting challenges facing EBP and policing in general today. The debates showed the importance of the very different contexts for EBP across Europe. For some countries with a well-established infrastructure of police universities, a strong commitment to tertiary education for police officers and government commitment to improving policing, EBP has already been influential. Where the infrastructure, education and government support is more fragile, CEPOL in particular and

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[1] http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/reviews_crime_justice/index.php

[2] http://www.cebma.org

[3] http://www.sebp.police.uk

the EU generally have a potentially vital role in supporting local developments.

One of the key debates at the conference was around whether EBP could really be seen as a 'movement' or even a programme, and whether instead it should be seen as a tactical approach, narrowly focused on questions of 'what works', which can be put alongside a long series of other innovations such as intelligence-led policing, zero-tolerance policing or problem-oriented policing.

The emerging institutional and professional changes that have been taking place over the last decade across a number of jurisdictions in Europe and internationally suggest that EBP is more a movement than a tactic. A more accurate assessment is Sherman's conception of EBP as a broader reform movement underpinned by the 'belief that greater use of research could help transform policing into a more legitimate and respected profession' (Sherman, 2013: p. 5).

The next Bulletin issues will feature more articles from the Lisbon conference, and the articles will help readers explore the dimensions of and controversies around EBP and access up-to-date research that is being carried out across Europe. This, we feel, is the critical and unique contribution that this Bulletin can make to a European dimension of policing: publish the best science, respectful of different contexts, traditions and human rights and supported by a European network of policing agencies and institutions.

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WHAT REALLY MATTERS IN POLICING? ([1])

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Abstract: This article examines the methodology of evidence-based policing, the political context promoting its adoption and its diffusion within the police organisation. Running through it there are three themes which have coloured my recent work and publications with my Dutch colleagues, Auke van Dijk and Frank Hoogewoning. Firstly, that 70 years of police research has produced a body of knowledge drawing on multiple methods — observation, interviews, surveys, historical work — which also provides diverse forms of 'evidence': it may be viewed as 'useless knowledge' regarding direct utility but it is vital to understanding policing. Secondly, policing is complex and demanding, and we should look at what police actually do and what public expectations of them are and then focus on competences to develop confident officers and leaders at all levels. A fixation on crime reduction in political circles and research agendas threatens to distort the relationship with the public and to diminish the skills of officers trying to cope with multiple demands. The Dutch officers dealing with the MH17 crash in the Ukraine as a result of a rocket attack in a conflict zone with much loss of life, for example, were instantly faced with unprecedented challenges. 'What works' had to be constructed pragmatically, daily and on the hoof; crime reduction was far from their minds unless it referred to the Kremlin. What drove them were prior learned skills, an institutional capacity to adapt and a philosophy of a caring and compassionate duty of care to the families and friends of the victims: that was what really mattered. And thirdly, and finally, policing is inextricably tied to issues of rights, diversity, equity, justice and use of force and is laden with significance in the vital relationship of the citizen to the state. In brief, 'what works' is clearly important and valuable but — given the nature of policing — it always remains subordinate to the pivotal issue, 'what really matters'.

Keywords: policing; what works and really matters in policing; evidence-based policing; research methodology and research styles.

CONTEXT

'If it works in New York it will work anywhere' — Bill Bratton, former and current Commissioner of the New York City Police Department (NYPD), in Bratton and Knobler, 1998.

The topic of this article is highly complex. As background context there is the need to address the history of policing and of police research; the current drivers of change; and the implications of all this for police research and practice. In turn there needs to be attention to system change, organisational and management development and diffusion of innovations. The transfer of knowledge and practice also has to be related to different police cultures and sociopolitical structures (Newburn and Sparks, 2004).

The trends that I see — and this may largely be a northern European perspective — are: centralisation (new national forces in Scotland and the Netherlands, economies of scale in Scandinavia); the narrowing of the police mandate to one dominating goal — cut crime; a strong emphasis on combatting organised crime and terrorism; the continued dominance of 'new public management' (NPM) in public services, including tough austerity measures (especially in the United Kingdom: Leishman et al., 2000); and significant alterations in accountability and governance (Fyfe, 2014).

In 'UK' policing in particular — with its three constituent parts of Scotland, Northern Ireland, and England and Wales (²) — there has been a search for professional status. Like medicine this means pursuing a body of knowledge and a code of ethics that in England and Wales is being promoted within the new overarching College of Policing (College of Policing, 2013). At a strategic level, moreover, the UK government has adopted the requirement that public services should be driven by 'evidence-based research' (EBR). In turn the Home Office, which is responsible for policing in England and Wales, is demanding that criminal justice policy should be based on EBR, leading in the case of policing to 'evidence-based policing' (EBP). The mantra derived from this thrust, with the college coordinating the effort, is 'what works'. And there is a 'what works' initiative within the College, some academic research institutes and a number of police forces. For example, the newsletter of the Scottish Institute for Policing Research speaks of 'Driving forward evidence-based policing by focusing on 'what works' (Issue 6, September 2013) and 'what works' figures prominently on the website of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy at George Mason University.

Much depends on what is meant by EBR and EBP. Some speak of 'experimental' research within a 'police science' whereby the ideal is the 'random controlled trial' (RCT) (Sherman, 2013). The roots of this effort to use science in running organisations can be traced to early efforts in management science in the 19th century to control behaviour and enhance productivity in industrial corporations. Then there were later developments in medical research, in laboratories and also in the double-blind testing of new medical products, with a group of patients receiving the new product along with a control group receiving a placebo under conditions kept as stable as possible.

Then in the 1960s in the United States there was wide political and societal concern about the state of policing, with both rising crime and with police being viewed as brutal, corrupt and racist. The President's Crime Commission (1967) is seen as the major stimulus to starting police research in the United States, but then with a 'problem-solving' and 'policy-relevant' slant. But research of a qualitative nature had already been started by

a few lone-wolf pioneers in the United States and the United Kingdom — namely Westley, Bittner, Skolnick and Banton (Reiner, 2015). Indeed, much of the police research in the next 50 or so years has been of a 'fundamental', knowledge-seeking sort using a range of methods both quantitative and qualitative.

In the United States, however, there was in contrast to that stream of research an alternative, pioneering effort to base police reform and practice on an experimental research basis. This was at the Police Foundation in Washington DC, which with substantial financing from the Ford Foundation promoted experimental projects in the 1970s. These included the renowned Kansas City random patrol study (Kelling et al., 1974). This introduced three different styles of patrol and then examined the public's perception and the impact on crime rates in those areas. In brief, the public hardly noticed the changes in patrol patterns and these also scarcely affected crime rates. But with such large-scale experiments the Police Foundation had started to mine an alternative seam of experimental research, which set a trend and which produced an influential bevy of academics, many of whom are still active. In fact, police research seems to induce longevity, because many of the early researchers of diverse plumage are still active.

This 'experimental' stream of work has undoubtedly enriched police research and practice. Some of the leading players have been Larry Sherman (now at Cambridge University), Gloria Laycock (University College London), David Weisburd (George Mason University) and Lorraine Mazerolle (University of Queensland). Sherman and Weisburd have both been closely involved with the Police Foundation, where an early stalwart was George Kelling (now at Rutgers University), who became deeply associated with Police Commissioner Bill Bratton and the 'broken-windows' policing strategy within the NYPD in the mid 1990s and also later. The latter is often associated with EBP, with regard to the intelligence-driven 'Compstat' model, but many purists would not see this as based on an experimental evidence base (Punch, 2007).

Even among the exponents above and others there are, then, doubtless differences of emphasis (Heaton and Tong, 2015). The approaches of

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(²) Scotland has its own police and police educational systems while Northern Ireland has come closer to England and Wales in recent years.

Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee) and of Jenny Fleming (University of Southampton) are clearly based on a broader interpretation of EBR than 'pure' RCT projects. Peter Neyroud — a former British chief constable and head of the former National Police Improvement Agency (³) — has, since retiring from the police, become involved with experimental research projects and RCTs at Cambridge with Sherman and others within the Jerry Lee Centre for Experimental Criminology (Sherman, 2013).

Furthermore, there are a number of methodological and ethical issues surrounding EBP. There are limits to constructing control groups in the messy and conflictual world of criminal justice and of depriving a group of something beneficial that is offered to others. A promising and fruitful area of experimental research has been and remains situational crime control, where it is much easier to create control conditions.

There are three other factors worthy of mention. Firstly, there is occasionally a degree of professional friction when proponents of EBR and EBP claim primacy for these as 'real science' and appear to define fundamental and qualitative work as somehow inferior. In return there is a concern among others that EBP is in danger of being co-opted by the crime control lobby, with the skewing of research funding exclusively towards crime control.

Secondly, there is something contradictory in that the government's strong promotion of EBR in the United Kingdom is not always matched by a willingness to accept its findings. This is not unusual in politicians but the Home Secretary (Theresa May) seems to have a particularly one-sided, ideological fixation on crime reduction as the *sole* function of policing (van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch, 2015, p. 1). Yet this is despite the fact that there is an overwhelming body of evidence that police cannot do a great deal about crime because the origins of crime lie largely outside their control in the wider society. The work of Reiner (Reiner, 2007 and 2010) and Brodeur (2010), and the exhaustive overview by Skogan and Frydl (2004), demonstrate this convincingly.

Thirdly, it is questionable if the typical police organisation and occupational culture is readily open to the findings of EBR and the implementation of EBP. Much policing is highly contextual, incident driven and geared to the 'here and now', with an antipathy even to research and with a negative stereotype of academics. This despite the fact that there are now more better-educated officers with an understanding of research. For example, a recent PhD thesis at Portsmouth University by Honey (2014), who had served in the Metropolitan Police Service (Met) of London, argues that most senior officers in the Met did not use research findings; that in-house research by serving officers pursuing master's degrees was ignored; and that the research-based Strategic Research and Analysis Unit, run by Betsy Stanko and unique in the United Kingdom, was kept marginal to operational strategy and policy. It is difficult to know how general this tendency is in policing and it may well be true of other organisations as well. Indeed, Sherman (1998) gives examples of how professions tend to neglect much of the academic knowledge being published and rely on tacit knowledge in decision-making.

'EVIDENCE' AND RESEARCH STYLES

As mentioned above it all depends on what one means by 'evidence'. It is, for instance, clear that most police research has not been conducted on EBR lines but has been produced using diverse methods, often of a qualitative nature. There is, then, a need for a sociology-of-knowledge overview of the police field — who conducted it, what areas did they study, what were their findings and what has been their contribution to knowledge?

Police studies is, for instance, a relatively young discipline — about 60 years old — which can be traced to the 1960s in the United States and United Kingdom. Much early work following Bittner, Skolnick, Banton and Westley was conducted through fieldwork using observation as a prime method. They followed the adage

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(³) The National Police Improvement Agency was a non-departmental public body, established to support police by providing expertise in areas as information technology, information sharing and recruitment. Since 2012 it has been wound down and its tasks have been transferred to other government organisations.

of the Chicago School to go out in society and get 'the seat of your pants dirty by real research' (Robert Park, quoted in Punch, 1986). To learn about policing, for instance, you rode along with the patrol cops and went out with the detectives. Indeed, for a time early on much research was based on ethnographic participant observation. There were diverse studies by Manning (1977), Rubinstein (1973), Cain (1973), Waddington (1991), Holdaway (1979) and Reiner (1978). Van Maanen (1973), for instance, went through police training and spent a year on patrol as an armed observer. Others, using mixed methods including observation, drawing on interviews and surveys, included Reiss (1971), Black (1976) and Sherman (1978).

The key insight from that early work was that police officers learned their craft from experience out on the streets while patrolling and from the tacit knowledge of the occupational culture passed on by the seasoned officers. The patrolman (then always a 'he') delivered a highly specific local order by 'keeping the peace', which meant knowing his 'patch' and its characters and by using a palette of discretionary options (Bittner, 1967). The researcher was meant to experience at first hand the primary processes by sharing that patrolman's world in order to understand the essence of policing. Fortunately there has been an increasing number of female researchers in recent decades as well as an expanding number of female officers and ancillary workers in policing, which has helped to enrich police research (Hoogenboom and Punch, 2012).

There are doubtless political, social and intellectual reasons as to why police research started at that time and primarily in two countries. Social science in continental Europe was typically more theoretical than in Anglo-American academia and was highly sceptical of observational studies. Furthermore, the social sciences became associated in several countries, particularly Germany and Italy, with radicalism and even terrorism, which meant that access for criminal justice research became highly restricted. It still remains the case that much police research emanates from the United States, United Kingdom, British Commonwealth countries and northern European countries, and we know less about southern and eastern European, African, Latin American and Asian countries, although that is changing.

A major development was the founding from the 1970s onwards of government research units that both conducted and sponsored research, such as the Home Office Research Unit in London, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) in the United States and their equivalents elsewhere. They sometimes acted as gatekeepers, limiting access for research, but also tended to sponsor quantitative research with policy implications. In the Netherlands, for instance, the Scientific Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) within the Ministry of Justice became not only the largest employer of criminal justice researchers in the country but also the major funder of research. It favoured surveys and quantitative work, including some pioneering work in victimisation studies. In contrast, the Dutch Ministry of the Interior had a fund called Police and Science (Politie en Wetenschap) that sponsored a more diverse range of projects using various methodologies. In short, most police research in the Netherlands became sponsored by the two ministries, which in turn raises debate about the dominance of 'government criminology' in relation to limiting access, defining research topics and determining publication.

One result of these and other developments has been the widening of the range of research methods. These include the following.

- Historical studies: with some excellent material in the United Kingdom, United States, Germany and the Netherlands (Meershoek, 2011; Miller, 1977; Emsley, 1996 and 2009).

- Surveys and statistical studies: a major methodology on a wide range of topics, with important work done on crime surveys and in victimisation studies (British crime survey, Netherlands police monitor).

- Interviews: individual and group and within policing and relevant groups such as the public, stakeholders and criminals — see below on 'repeat burglary' project: (Reiner, 1991; Caless, 2011).

- Psychological testing: within policing and with external groups, in relation to trauma and post-traumatic stress syndrome (Brown, 2014).

- Comparative studies: within a society and cross-national research. Bayley (1967) was an early exponent of comparative studies, but with ease of travel and with new academics from other societies — increasingly with language skills — there is fresh research being conducted in Latin America, Africa and Asia (Hinton, 2006; Hinton and Newburn, 2009).

- Policy transfer: in recent decades considerable effort and funds have been expended on exporting Western policing models to developing societies and to countries coping with regime change and/or emerging from conflict (Bayley, 2006; Bayley and Perito, 2010).

- Participant observation: fieldwork employing observation remains a major research technique, although it is largely confined to the lower levels of the organisation and then more often in uniformed work than in detective work. The observation can be combined with interviews and documentary research (Manning, 1977; Punch, 1979).

- Case studies: major incidents, policy development and organisational change lend themselves to case studies. In the Netherlands the 'Crisis Research Team' (known as the 'COT' from Crisis Onderzoekteam) conducts investigations on assignment from central and local government into disasters, civil emergencies, scandals and public order incidents, with appraisals of the official handling of these by ministers, mayors, officials, judicial authorities and police officers. The researchers draw on documents, interviews and audiovisual material. They are academics but working on assignment, which raises the issue of research carried out on financed assignment, with in some areas commercial companies increasingly vying for the assignments (Rosenthal, Charles and 't Hart, 1989).

- Mixed methods: a good example of this is the 'Policing for London study' (PFLS) (Fitzgerald et al., 2002). The PFLS data draws on a representative sample of the adult London population, weighted to contain more black and Asian respondents, case studies of three 'boroughs' (police and local government districts), focus groups and interviews, and some statistical material (including the London sub-sample of the 2000 British crime survey).

- Technology and surveillance: a major topic with swift changes in technology and increasing awareness of the possibilities, and dangers, of new surveillance and *sousveillance* (Goldsmith, 2010).

- Experimental: this covers a range of approaches from experiments and quasi-experiments to RCTs. It has been employed fruitfully in analysing crime patterns leading to new police deployment around 'hotspots'. As mentioned, this approach has been promoted in a number of countries as the way forward in giving a scientific basis to police behaviour and policy on the basis of 'what works' (Sherman, 2013).

KEY ISSUES

In the social sciences, however, there are always issues of validity and reliability, while there are no 'laws' as in the natural sciences. There is often no consensus on key concepts (there are as many definitions of leadership as there are authors: Alison and Crego, 2008); most projects are never subject to replication; and replication studies frequently lead to other results. Experimental research does, however, carry the promise of more reliable findings. To a large extent the experimental approach has been confined to areas around crime control, including situational crime control, police deployment patterns and restricted areas of enforcement. There are difficulties as to how far one can go in experiments with human subjects, and particularly in the criminal justice area when dealing with sensitive matters relating to victims and offenders.

Indeed, the shifting complexity of some forms of police work does not always promise a stable environment that can be 'frozen' and kept confined to simple variables over time. From a construction-of-reality perspective, moreover, one has to be sceptical about police data, crime reports and verbal statements. Police officers, not unlike other workers but perhaps more so, can be manipulative and devious and play suitable roles for outsiders, collude on acceptable group answers for surveys and cynically doctor data.

For example, the fall in reported crime in New York during the 'zero tolerance/broken windows' era from the mid 1990s onwards — which brought worldwide attention and led to much copying of its practices — was partly generated by intimidation from above, non-reporting or downgrading of offences and massively manipulating the data (Eterno and Silverman, 2012). This fabrication of data does not fit well with the export of the New York model abroad as 'best practice'. Again, like mandatory arrest for domestic violence (see below), this supposedly police-generated fall in crime became a resilient policy myth which bypassed other explanations (Bowling, 1999) and was aggressively marketed abroad. Both the Labour and Conservative factions in British politics continued to maintain that Bratton's policies had brought down crime in New York and both feted him as a possible commissioner of the Met.

Another key factor is that EBR is not amenable to researching certain complex areas of policing with multiple factors and shifting parameters that do not readily allow for an experimental approach. These include public order, police use of force, corruption, senior officer abuse of power, undercover work, sieges and regime change, which are replete with dilemmas, tough choices, hidden processes and unanticipated consequences (Punch, 1985 and 2003). There are also the intangibles of policing in a post-modern society regarding legitimacy, trust, rights, diversity, oversight, accountability and governance (Manning, 2012).

A graphic example of a case that could not be tackled within the experimental approach is the historical police investigation in Britain of the alleged sexual abuse of young children during several decades. There are more than 260 suspects including media celebrities (e.g. the entertainer Jimmy Saville who may have been a serial abuser) and establishment figures, including a former prime minister (now deceased). The contours of the investigation are that it is highly complex, wide ranging, absorbing considerable resources, highly sensitive politically and attracting intense media scrutiny, with major problems of garnering evidence, tracing victims and having reliable witnesses who, after a long period of time since

the incidents, can be relied on in court (Gray and Watt, 2013). Next to these factors there are issues of project management — shifts in personnel and loss of expertise — as well as having to face accusations of institutional bias, incompetence and bending to political pressure ([4]).

Another example of a convoluted, multivariable investigation is the Amsterdam case where a paedophile from the Baltic region abused babies and young children in three daycare centres and put pornographic material of that abuse on the internet. A case in the United States led to the FBI placing material with Interpol, which in turn altered Dutch officers to the location. A massive operation was mounted that involved interviewing some 500 parents for victim identification purposes, which was a harrowing process for parents — and for the investigators — and intense, daily cooperation with the prosecution service, health service, media and mayor's office (the mayor is the head of the police in the Netherlands). It is difficult to convey the panic that gripped the city and also the immense effort made by the police, not least by the family liaison officers who were the prime contact with the families. This case led to two convictions — of the prime suspect and his Dutch husband — and it comprised victims who could not talk about their victimisation (he stopped when they started to speak); parents as surrogate victims; transnational policing, with cooperation with numerous forces abroad leading to 47 arrests; cybercrime, in that the material was fed into a global, commercial network of child pornography sites; and weaknesses in information exchange, in that the suspect had a previous conviction in Germany but that database was not linked to other databases (van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch, 2015, pp. 102-103).

I am trying to convey that policing can be complex, multifaceted and challenging, while demanding huge resources over a long period of time. This implies that certain topics are simply not amenable to an EBR approach but are best approached through a multidisciplinary case methodology. This does frequently happen but not in a systematic manner, and there should be a consistent effort by practitioners and academics to analyse cases systematically with

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([4]) It is difficult to convey the scale and impact of the cases. Saville was a folk hero as an entertainer and fundraiser, but behind that image he is alleged to have abused some 500 young people, including the very young and those with a limitation, and some offences occurred in BBC studios, hospitals and care homes. A number of high-profile figures in entertainment have received jail sentences and others from the sociopolitical establishment are under investigation (Gray and Watt, 2013).

a 'lessons-learned' approach. These could also include successes, as there is a tendency to dwell on failures. What is absent in policing, however, is a case-teaching tradition. All the leading business schools — notably Harvard, Insead, MIT, Wharton, Cambridge, IESE and IMD — produce cases and use them as a key didactic device in teaching. It requires a specific teaching style but it should be possible to adapt this for policing.

Yet another limiting factor to be taken into account with regard to EBR is the unanticipated consequences of policy adoption. The classic example is the 'Minneapolis domestic violence experiment' (Sherman and Berk, 1982). The study concluded that there should be the routine arrest of the offender (almost exclusively male) in inter-partner violence cases in order to reduce the chance of repeat victimisation. Those findings and recommendations led to the widespread adoption of mandatory arrest of the offender in the United States and abroad.

There have been criticisms about the project implementation by the police officers in administering the research instruments (Bowling, 2006), while the data referred primarily to the less serious cases of violence. For in practice it turned out that in the more serious cases the mandatory arrest policy led to *more* partner victimisation and not less. Indeed, Sherman has since stated that the original policy implication is not sound and that mandatory arrest laws are 'unwise and should be repealed' (quoted in Bowling, 2006). Of interest here is that the caution about interpreting the data is present in the academic report, but the supposition that mandatory arrest would lessen victimisation seems to have taken off as a policy myth leading a life of its own and spreading globally as taken-for-granted best practice (Davis, 2008).

There is no doubt, however, that EBR and EBP are valuable contributions to our research arsenal and that a 'what works' approach can be of great utility to practitioners. I simply wish to convey that EBR has limitations with regard to the more complex and 'fuzzy' areas of policing and there needs to be the usual measure of critical caution about methods, project implementation, findings and policy implications over time. This is tied to the realisation that much police research does not meet standards of validity and reliability and that it is a commendable effort by RBR exponents to construct research that conforms closely to those criteria.

CONCLUSION

Finally, I maintain that we should welcome *all* forms of research. And we should not resort to divisiveness based on a schism around how 'scientific' a certain method claims to be. Rather I would strongly support cooperation between practice, education and police science. That is the path ahead for us, but with a palette of methods that should produce better data if several methods are employed in a form of 'triangulation'.

Furthermore, another important insight is that the acceptance of research would be enhanced if police officers would be involved throughout in setting up a project and disseminating its findings. For example, the 'Repeat burglary project' in Britain was based on interviews with detectives and with imprisoned burglars on how burglars set about their trade (Anderson, Chenery and Pease, 1995). In short, their targets were not chosen at random but followed a pattern. The findings led to a change in enforcement, a fall in burglary and an increase in arrests. This used criminological methods and insights to co-produce with officers operational guidelines that fostered positive results. It was academically sound and showed 'what works' operationally.

What we do not want, however, is one style of research being seen as superior to another with an exclusiveness as if only 'true believers' are welcome. Yet that is what the UK government is pursuing in its obsession with effectiveness and efficiency and with 'what works'. This brings with it the danger of both excluding other forms of research and also of an instrumental approach that overlooks the real-life complexity of policing, which cannot be reduced to standard solutions and simplistic check-lists. This is not to say that these tools are of no value, but rather that they form a guideline rather than a rigid protocol.

There also appears at times to be an underlying paradigm of absolute control. Sherman (1998), for instance, writes of the possibility of placing a 'certified police criminologist' in police stations with access to computerised information on crime patterns, meaning that teams could be dispatched and their performances evaluated. This sounds rather like a digital 'big brother', reducing cops to near robots under constant scrutiny. This reflects a belief in technology and a faith in control that would eradicate discretion. This flies in the face of decades of police research

on the highly contingent nature of everyday policing and its interactional construction on the basis of the craft-based discretion of front-line professionals (Chan, 2003). There is also the danger of a 'McDonaldisation' of policing and the infantilisation of the policing task as if 'one size fits all' — as Bratton was promoting for the New York model of crime control — and as if 'anyone can do it'.

In contrast, van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch (2015) maintain that 'what works' is clearly important — and we should pursue that forcefully in order to support practitioners — but that it is always superseded by 'what matters'. For policing is essentially about the relationship between the state and the citizen in relation to justice, diversity, equity, rights, integrity, accountability and governance. The legacy of some 70 years of research informs us that policing is complex and demanding and touches on some of the most vital elements in society. The implication of this paper is that police research — at a time of significant change in policing — should always pursue 'what works' but that research simply has to take into account the fundamental and overriding issue — *what matters*.

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ORGANISED CRIME IN EUROPE AND THE MAFIA METHOD

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Abstract: This paper compares some findings relating to organised crime in Europe as presented by international agencies with findings obtained by national independent researchers in a number of countries. The comparison will help highlight the dilemmas, the controversies and the vexed questions that still adumbrate our understanding of organised crime, while it will pave the way for a tentative classification that can clarify, at least partially, the contours of the subject matter.

Keywords: organised crime; research; criminal hubs and activities; criminal methods; Europe.

CRIMINAL HUBS AND ACTIVITIES

In the analysis of Europol (2011a), based on law enforcement information from across the EU, there are five criminal hubs in Europe:

- north-west, with the centre of gravity in the Netherlands and Belgium;

- north-east, with the centre of gravity in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Russia;

- south-east, with the centre of gravity in Bulgaria, Romania and Greece;

- south, with the centre of gravity in southern Italy;

- south-west, with the centre of gravity in Spain and Portugal.

These hubs are deemed concentrations of illegal logistics which facilitate flows of illicit goods and in which criminal groups operate thanks to their proximity to destination markets, commercial and transport infrastructures and major migratory routes. Observing such illegal concentrations, there is a sense that organised crime is growing increasingly diverse in its methods, structures and impact on society. 'A new criminal landscape is emerging, marked increasingly by highly mobile and flexible groups operating in multiple jurisdictions and criminal sectors, and aided, in particular, by widespread, illicit use of the internet' (Europol, 2011a, p. 5). Criminal groups are also said to expand their activities, with some becoming distinctively poly-commodity in their operations and with the most successful developing diverse portfolios of criminal business interests (UNODC, 2010). Strong levels of cooperation are detected between different organised groups, transcending national, ethnic and business differences. This 'collaborative atmosphere' is attested by the common practice of barter, whereby illicit goods are exchanged rather than bought and sold, while transactions, it is assumed, tend to jettison the use of cash. A connected tendency is the intensified use of transport infrastructures, with criminal groups taking full advantage of global movements of commodities and the growing mobility of people. With the economic crisis, it is felt that organised criminal groups will have new opportunities to recruit disadvantaged individuals, who may find in illicit occupations a ready-made substitute for legitimate work. Finally, some thought is devoted to the role played by 'specialists', namely legitimate actors who are willing to cooperate with organised criminal groups and facilitate their activities in some way.

This general picture is accompanied by a detailed examination of the different sectors of illegal activities, with drug distribution, as one

would expect, regarded as paramount. Poly-drug trafficking appears to be increasing, as it ensures greater resilience to fluctuations in supply and demand while maximising profits (EMCDDA, 2010). Meanwhile, although the majority of heroin entering Europe comes from Afghanistan via Turkey and the Balkans, the proliferation of direct transport and commercial links between producing and distributing countries has contributed to diversification in route and trafficking methods. Hence the recent development of the Black Sea route, which connects Iran, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Ukraine to Romania and the Baltic countries. The Balkan route itself shows unprecedented flexibility, as heroin consignments transit through Greece before reaching Bulgaria and Romania and thus Central Europe. The Kosovo region is the operating base of ethnic Albanians involved in trafficking into central and western Europe. In the north-west hub, Turkish groups are said to be active, along with Dutch and Moroccan organisations, whereas in the north-east hub Lithuanian groups service the growing heroin market of Russia.

> 'Transportation of heroin is often paid for with the commodity itself, creating local markets in countries of trafficking routes. Because heroin commands a higher price in destination markets and large distribution centres, the smaller amounts distributed en route are often highly adulterated' (Europol, 2011a, p. 9).

Spain and Portugal remain the main European entry points for cocaine, which is also imported into the continent, through west Africa, by Moroccan groups who utilise the north African route established for cannabis. A prominent role in the organisation of cocaine trafficking, however, is now taken by west African criminal groups, who hold direct connections with South American producers. Such connections have also been established by groups operating in south-east Europe and in the Balkans.

Synthetic drugs offer organised criminal groups the advantage that production may be very close to consumer markets, thus offering a highly cost-effective activity. Ecstasy is mainly produced in the Netherlands and Belgium, but tends to be replaced by 'designer drugs' and 'legal highs' such as methylone, mephedrone, fluoramphetamine and others (EMCDDA, 2010). Synthetic drugs are in high demand in countries

where cocaine prices are high, hence the expansion of producing groups, for example, in Poland and the Baltic states. Cannabis and khat distribution complete the information provided by Europol, which singles out west African, Albanian and Lithuanian criminal organisations as the major poly-drug groups.

Illegal immigration is another important area for organised crime activity, which responds and adapts to changing law enforcement strategies. Some groups may limit their role to the provision of forged travel documents, while others may offer transport services. Yet others may direct illegal migrants to employers or employ them themselves once they have reached the country of destination. Official reports tend to overlook the instances in which illegal migrants require a mere service helping them move across borders, and focus mainly on the victimisation aspect of this illicit business. For example:

> 'Traffickers recruit their victims mostly in deprived, disadvantaged or poorly integrated sectors of society, offering them employment abroad. Many victims are lured with bogus offers of legitimate employment. Others agree on the type of work they are expected to perform, but are deceived by the actual circumstances they find on arrival in the destination country' (Europol, 2011b, p. 10).

The most powerful criminal groups are identified as those capable of controlling the entire trafficking process, from recruitment to transportation, from the provision of forged documents to illegal or criminal employment. The most frequently reported groups involved in human trafficking are, in descending order, Roma, Nigerian, Romanian, Albanian, Russian, Chinese, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish organised crime groups. Migration flows from north Africa and the Middle East are said to provide criminal groups operating in Europe with opportunities for exploitation, while trafficking is also linked to the commission of welfare benefit fraud, which implies large profits and low levels of perceived risk of detection. Finally, the use of the internet is associated with the transnational marketing of sex workers.

VAT fraud is a highly lucrative offence, accounting for an estimated EUR 5 billion in damage to European taxpayers each year (European Commission, 2010). Due to the nature of VAT fraud, which allows numerous traders to exploit

the system without affecting each other's profits, organised groups are unlikely to compete in this illicit activity; rather, they most often tend to cooperate by exchanging information and techniques. Credit card frauds in Europe are also attributed to organised crime groups, who 'collect data from payment cards by means of attacks on online payment systems, data breaching and skimming (magnetic strip copying and PIN capture)' (Europol, 2011a, p. 23).

An attractive alternative to drug trafficking is cigarette smuggling, with organised crime choosing destination countries among those with high taxes on tobacco, such as Scandinavian countries, Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. In turn, an alternative to the smuggling of genuine cigarettes is the manufacture of counterfeits, whereby fake versions of well-known brands are illegally produced and marketed. Poland and some Baltic countries are singled out as significant sources of counterfeit cigarettes. For instance:

> 'In Poland, a highly specialised and organised crime group has been involved in the illegal production of cigarettes supplying the German black market. Cooperation between Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Polish criminals has been a key feature in this case: companies in Ukraine delivered the tobacco, other ingredients passed through the Lithuanian port of Klaipeda, while production took place in Poland' (Europol, 2011a, p. 25).

The euro is yet another target of organised crime (European Central Bank, 2011). Groups engaged in the counterfeiting of this currency are characterised by rigid organisational structures and high degrees of division of labour. Participants include investors, printers and distributors, while Italy and Bulgaria are deemed the foremost countries of the activity. Chinese organised groups, meanwhile, are credited with performing a major role in commodity counterfeiting, with goods entering the EU via all major seaports before being distributed throughout the continent. Counterfeit medicines are included among such goods.

Other areas covered by official reports relate to weapons trafficking and environmental crime. The former, it is stressed, takes place through the same routes that are used for drug and human trafficking, and consists mainly of small or second-hand firearms. The latter implies the

dumping of hazardous substances and involves mafia-type structures with sufficient resources to manage the disposal of large-scale waste.

Finally, money laundering constitutes a crucial area of investigation, where organised crime continues to use traditional, established methods such as cash couriers, while availing itself of diverse types of shell companies. Moreover:

> 'The availability of many new laundering possibilities offered by modern technology has provided transnational groups with new ways to further their criminal interests. In some Member States, investigations into suspected money laundering activities continue to be hampered by the requirement for a predicate offence' (Europol, 2011a, p. 32).

A preference for offshore banking locations is noted, and organised criminal groups are also seen as skilled users of new technologies and of services (insufficiently regulated) offered by digital currency operators such as WebMoney and Liberty Reserve.

In conclusion of this section, it is worth identifying some of the most significant points addressed so far. First, official descriptions of organised crime in Europe posit that cooperation among groups is an established fact. Second, that the collaboration of some official experts is, at times, required for some organised criminal activities to be performed. For example, the production of synthetic drugs is said to involve specialists in the fields of organic synthesis and retail pharmacy. Third, that the main activities in which organised criminals engage are, typically, conventional illegal activities servicing black markets. Let us now compare these descriptions with the findings of other research studies, mainly conducted on a national level, which are presented below in the form of rough sketches.

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL RESEARCH

Research conducted by independent teams and individuals emphasise the role of networks rather than that of organisations. This research forces analysts to observe in detail how associations are formed, how plural the nature of the social is, and how mutable connections between individuals

and groups present themselves. As Latour (2005, p. 247) has proposed, the social emerges when the ties in which one is entangled begin to unravel: 'the social is further detected through the surprising movements from one association to the next'. If we apply this perspective to the analysis of organised crime, we are demanded to 'follow the actors' and observe the modalities they use to create associations (Rankin, 2011). Networks emerge within specific contexts, which determine their nature, the form of aggregations and the multiple affiliations that are likely to be forged.

Official sources indicate that collaboration among different organised groups is increasingly likely and, implicitly, that alliances make tasks viable on the transnational scene. There is some truth in this, although qualifications are required when facing specific national contexts. In the Netherlands, for example, the situation is characterised by the co-presence of distinct groups, which may cooperate, although mainly within a precise division of roles (Siegel, 2010). Such groups, in fact, are unlikely to form organic, long-term partnerships, let alone establish collegial, intra-ethnic memberships. Ethnicity is also a key variable in Greece, although ad hoc partnerships may be influential in some criminal activities (Antonopoulos, 2012). In France and Italy, on the other hand, indigenous criminal groups may act as gatekeepers, allowing access to illicit markets to non-nationals only at pre-established financial costs. In both countries, however, newcomers may also operate in illicit market sectors dismissed by upwardly mobile local groups (Lalam, 2012; Ruggiero, 2012). In Italy, moreover, rather than partners, the newcomers may well provide 'criminal labour' to locally established criminal networks. Mixed ethnic groups may be taking shape in Spain (Gomes-Céspedes, 2012), but are extremely rare in Russia (Rawlinson, 2012), while in the United Kingdom what is vividly manifest is a situation of competition and succession among ethnicities, rather than their amalgamation.

In brief, independent research describes an extremely nuanced situation, with fluid, multiple dynamics guiding the ways in which groups create associations and affiliations. The emphasis placed on criminal transnationalism is at the origin of the hurried generalisations found in official documents, where it is taken as a given that criminal groups move across national boundaries with the purpose of establishing illicit colonies abroad. Hence, presumably, the urge for such groups to form close consortia across borders. On the contrary, it has been noted that criminal organisations are mainly stationary, because it is at the local level that they provide their services and goods while accessing resources (Varese, 2011). It should be added that the way in which groups and individuals assemble is determined by the conditions governing illicit markets, as well as by the relationships between these markets and the legitimate ones. In this sense, transnational criminal activity may be successful where the formal–informal interface is remarkably large and the boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate are already substantially blurred. In such contexts, alliances and multiethnic criminal membership between groups find a favourable environment, like legitimate corporations find in deregulation the opportunities to pursue their multinational interests.

As for the 'collaboration of experts' mentioned by official agencies, this is not limited to the cases of drug production highlighted above. Observing the sketches provided above, it would appear that in some European countries (Spain, Greece, Italy, Russia) organised crime does not merely seek the scientific expertise of official actors, but attempts, and often manages, to 'assemble' with political and economic operators who occupy the legitimate domain. Entire sets of power groups are targeted, including entrepreneurs, local and national political representatives, the police and the judiciary, with a view to forging with these sectors more or less stable, illegal, partnerships (Gounev and Ruggiero, 2012).

This leads to a final consideration around official accounts. These appear to focus primarily on conventional criminal activities, thus neglecting the overlaps and joint initiatives that organised criminals undertake with members of the white collar community. In this sense, official concerns are mainly directed towards 'pariah' forms of criminal enterprise, namely those whose options in markets are limited. These enterprises are in need of the goods and services, including protection that more powerful criminal enterprises can deliver. On the other hand, they are incapable of accessing the official economy to a significant degree. More powerful variants of organised crime, which expand their activities into the licit arena of business, both maintain their characteristics of organised crime and adopt those typifying corporate actors. They are offered the opportunity to engage in value-adding

partnerships with legitimate entrepreneurs, in mutual economic promotion and through the exchange of services. Criminal groups who do not 'make it' into the legitimate arena are denied those 'multiple social affiliations' that would improve their chances. The way in which they assemble socially will confine them to the underworld.

In some countries we are faced with networks of professionals whose long-term apprenticeship has produced the skills, the rationalisations and, crucially, the reputation allowing them to operate in a variety of illicit markets. In other countries we witness successful forms of organised crime reaching out to the official world. The different power wielded by organised crime in specific national contexts reminds us of an ironic observation made by Landesco (1973) with respect to the Chicago criminal scene. In the Chicago of the 1920s, success was measured at funerals of mobsters: if when you are alive you can hide the identity of your friends, you can hardly do so when you are dead. Those funerals revealed the connections of organised crime with the institutions: mourners included businessmen, lawyers, politicians and a sprinkling of police officers. On the other hand, countries that do not display such 'assemblages' may not be paragons of honesty; rather, they may possess an elite whose inaccessibility makes it reluctant to share its illegality with outsiders.

In conclusion, research into organised crime may avail itself of new directions emerging from the cases examined above. The consortia involving conventional and white collar criminals demand a slight alteration of Sutherland's (1983) theory, which implies that techniques and rationalisations are learned within specific homogeneous enclaves or professional groups. In some European countries, on the contrary, learning processes appear to cross the boundaries of social groups, as criminal know-how is transmitted to a variety of actors. In other words, techniques are exchanged and skills enhanced within an economic arena inhabited by legal, semi-legal and illegal businesses. Law enforcers may also want to pursue these new investigative directions.

I would like to list a number of predicates that describe the consortia, partnerships and joint activities discussed above. These predicates indicate a 'method' rather than an organisation, and are termed here 'mafia method' (Ruggiero, 2011).

A MAFIA METHOD

This method is composed, first, of a culture of the fittest: in human and social evolution it is more important to win than to win by the rules.

- The law has to aid the survival of the fittest.

- Politics and markets are guided by natural selection: business and the law will always reflect the relative strength of the competing forces in a society.

- Our choices in politics and markets are not the result of individual decisions but of social relations.

- Social relations determine what is fair and what is not.

- Legality is fluid, liquid, and loyalties and commitments are contingent.

- The state has to adapt to economic behaviour, not the other way around.

- Private initiative cannot be restrained.

- We are the state: by acting in markets, we implicitly delimit the ambit in which the authority is entitled to intervene.

- Society is formed of a series of hubs of influence and interest, and a stable social order works so that all hubs are satisfied.

- Norm violation is a habit that creates its own normative order.

- The resources we already hold prove that we are able to accumulate them and turn them into general well-being.

- Deviating from norms has always been the engine of innovation.

- Action is always situated and some situations force individuals to violate the law.

- What is just and what is legal are two different things.

- Ethical standards are forged through physical, social and ideological bonds, which provide rationalisations for action and justifications for their outcome.

- Some core groups in society are entitled to choose which norms should prevail because they lead other groups towards progress.

- The law must be agile and cannot be defined as a separate world delimited by its own principles.

- The agility of the law should make it sensitive to acts performed in spheres external to it: politics, economics, everyday life.

- Our practices are tolerated, therefore they are widespread and lend themselves to imitation.

- The disadvantaged also benefit from our acts.

- The resources we appropriate gain greater value once we possess them.

- The cost of prosecuting us is higher than the gains we acquire.

It seems to me that this is a very dense agenda for future research.

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EVIDENCE-BASED COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY: EVALUATING THE 'BIG PICTURE'

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Abstract: The core of evidence-based policy should be to evaluate if counterterrorism (CT) policies work and to fix the way we can measure them. For this purpose we propose a holistic approach, a model, in order to ensure that policing designers have the best knowledge and the best intelligence when they take decisions on CT. Evaluating public policies on CT is a continuous process that offers, at least, three key moments (the existence of prior knowledge and necessary intelligence, failures in decision-making and the measurement of the effects and impacts that the policies developed have had), a process led by different actors (universities, think tanks, intelligence analysts, government civil servants, lobbyists, citizens' desires and needs, etc.) and a process that aims not only to know the effectiveness of the policies, but also to improve future policymaking. The framework, and the six-step evaluation process we propose, try to face the 'big picture' of terrorism, to ensure that CT policies act against root causes, groups and individuals, terrorist objectives, actions and impacts and to confirm that these policies do not generate effects contrary to our goals or that collide with our values. Through this framework it is possible to select individual measurements, or packs of them, in order to apply evidence-based methodologies.

Keywords: evidence-based policing (EBP); terrorism; counterterrorism (CT); analysis; decision-making.

NO EVOLUTION WITHOUT EVALUATION

Evidence-based CT policy is widely understood as a historical search for usable and relevant knowledge generated through rational scientific methods to help address and solve terrorism-related problems, 'to produce knowledge required for fine-tuning programs and constructing guidelines and tool-kits for dealing with known problems' (Head, 2008:2).

Several questions, listed below, make it necessary to evaluate policies against terrorism.

- **Is it necessary?** In many cases we create new laws that overlap older ones. We change legislation without a study on whether the previous law could assess the same threat or without the required financial resources. Sometimes the solution could be to strengthen existing policies, for example through the adaptation of the legal frameworks of the security and judicial forces and an improvement in their resources.

- **Effectiveness.** The adapted measures must face the identified risks and threats, with the objectives and desired effects being defined in advance.

- **Efficiency.** In the last 14 years there has been a massive increase in government spending on CT interventions. After the attacks in 2001, many projects have been financed by states and supranational organisations to study the phenomenon of terrorism, the root causes and the policies to be developed.

- **Undesired effects.** Sometimes, the solution to a threat has other impacts or effects (secondary or collateral effects) that could be costly, harmful, illegal or negative. Several policies imply limits to civil rights. For example, security must ensure the free exercise of civil liberties, and we must be sure

that the established measures are effective, especially if they limit our lifestyle. Adopting restrictive measures is a kind of victory for terrorist groups, which are conditioning our way of life and spreading fear in our societies. Our governments should not be indirect allies.

- **Other needs.** The utility of the large amount of research and the number of papers on terrorism. According to Schmid and Jongman (as cited in Horgan, 1997), 'perhaps as much as 80 per cent of the literature is not research based in any rigorous sense'. Evaluating CT is a way to discover what is being studied and the fields that need a greater effort, building bridges between the world of ideas and knowledge and the world of decision-making.

EVIDENCE-BASED COUNTERTERRORISM CHALLENGES

- We study terrorism in isolation, without considering the relationships with other related phenomena: organised crime, political violence, insurgencies or guerrilla actions, etc.

- Terrorist acts are random events. There is not one continuous set of data, as is the case with other criminal activities. Therefore, establishing patterns and coming to conclusions implies the existence of several limitations.

- It is difficult, dangerous and perhaps not correct to adopt a cost–benefit approach, because other parameters follow on from national security decision-making: it can increase social fear and it suffers from the subjective perception of security and zero social tolerance to terrorist events.

- Deterrence, a key factor in CT, is difficult to measure.

- EBP needs to measure the effects of concrete policies, but sometimes a mix of factors, variables or random circumstances causes the effects. It is therefore difficult to measure the direct and individual effects of most CT measures.

- In the same way, it is necessary to have an evaluation of each set of measures both individually and in general, taking into account the pull of measures that we are using in a given period of time.

- Sometimes, because of security concerns, it is impossible to develop randomised controlled experiments (Laycock, 2012) using a control group (for example diplomats in fortified embassies and diplomats in unprotected embassies).

- Political cycles (4-5 years) make it difficult to evaluate policies, and policymakers do not desire such evaluation due to electoral interests.

- Gaps between government and knowledge institutions.
    - Different objectives and cultures.
    - Gap between the world of ideas and research and the world of decisions and action.
    - Gap between static academia and research and dynamic decision-making actors.
    - Lack of skills and incentives in universities and in the system to do and to use applied research.
    - Law enforcement agencies and intelligence services have data; they can explain what is happening, but not the causes. Academia has the time and methodologies, but does not have access to data.
    - Time and personal-resource restrictions. Policymakers act quickly with limited staff resources that often have multiple tasks to attend to. Researchers have the time and the possibility of allocating researchers with exclusive dedication to each topic.
    - Lack of channels that allow the sharing of useful information between two institutions. Difficulties in generating and sharing knowledge; sometimes government priorities are not known.

- Gaps between strategic, tactic and operational visions in security activities.

- Secret information/data or limits on access to it, for reasons of national security.

- Lack of transparency in policymaking (in the process, hidden interests, final costs, other alternatives, etc.)

- A wrong culture of error and fear of being evaluated, because sometimes these systems are used to look for the guilty instead of looking to improve the effectiveness of the system. Increasing the chance of falling back into the same mistakes.

- The need to balance rigorous analysis with time restrictions.

- Consciousness about the inefficiency of evaluating CT policies if the principles, values, models or systems that lead them are wrong.

In our opinion, EBP has three requirements.

- **The absence of a framework.** Freese (2014) takes an interesting approach in her 'Evidence-based counterterrorism framework', pointing out two stages: the first is scientific research, trying to answer questions (what, how and why); the second stage entails evaluative research, with the focus on resources, processes and outcomes. But EBP could have a broader framework.

- **The lack of applied research.** Lum, Kennedy and Shirley (2006) concluded that only seven studies were scientific evaluations of a CT programme, after selecting 354 studies that seemed to evaluate CT programmes or interventions (after locating 20 000 written

pieces about terrorism — books, articles, reports, dissertations and policy briefs)

- **The development of methodologies to do it.** It is not easy to apply a methodology and to know the effectiveness of a measure. Usually, several measures are implemented at the same time, and it is difficult to individualise the effects of each one.

DECIDE, BUT TAKE A GOOD DECISION!

But, as we have noted at the beginning of the paper, although it is difficult, it is worth doing it. Policies must be evaluated. It is a duty for transparency and for our citizens.

The main objective of evidence-based policy should be to evaluate if CT policies work and to set out a way to measure it. But our aim would be broader. It would be, in the end, to design a holistic approach — a model — in order to ensure that policing designers have the best knowledge and the best intelligence when they take decisions on CT.

Figure 1. Holistic process of counterterrorism decision-making. Blanco and Cohen, 2014

Blanco, J.M. & Cohen, J., 2014
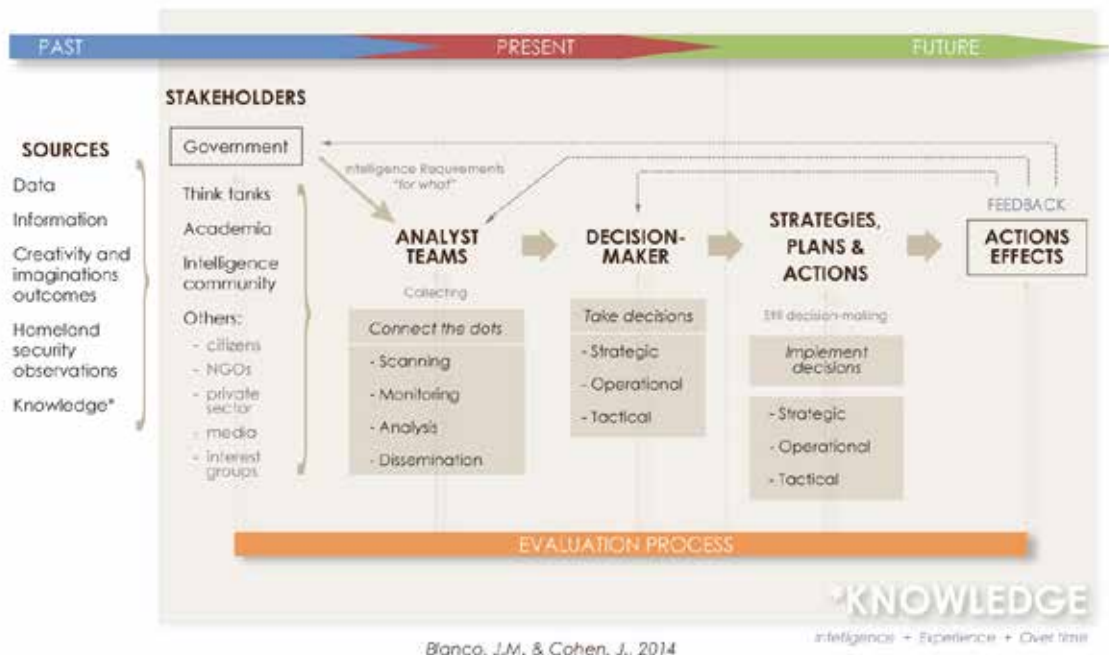
For this purpose we distinguish three phases, but each one of them is itself formed of too many distinct stages. It is not only a decision cycle, or an intelligence cycle, but also a complete set of incremental cycles, made up of different actors that are continually adding new interests and new knowledge. There are many cycles and processes led by too many different influential actors.

- **Before policymaking.** The decision-maker must have access to the best possible information. Knowledge about terrorism is fragmented and drafted by different actors, thus we must gather it. And we need to create protocols and creative means of contact. Universities, analysts and governments must research and work together. We must evaluate this process in order to know if it works and in order to propose an integral framework of knowledge and intelligence for policymakers.

- **Making decisions or policymaking.** We must know how a decision-maker acts. There is much research about this that we could apply to the process: studies about individual factors, cognitive biases, group factors, public policy theories and intelligence-led policing. We must evaluate this process in order to know the causes of a bad decision (for example, when the decision-maker does not follow the analysts' advice). It is important to go beyond classical models, as Simon's model of rational decision-making does. Policymakers are not absolutely rational, so we must consider the use of incremental models (Lindblom, 1959) or less rational models like the multiple stream approach (Kingdon, 1984).

- **After policymaking.** Policies generate effects that must be measured, but not only with rational indicators (arrests, number and cost of attacks, time between attacks). If causing terror is the main objective of terrorism, we should measure fear and terror, and other social impacts of CT measures (i.e. loss of civil liberties). Statisticians deal with terrorist attacks as random events. Nevertheless, their effects are continuous, as are the policies designed to prevent or to pursuit this phenomenon. For this purpose we should have a complete taxonomy of CT actions in order to evaluate whether they attain the aims for which they are implemented. The evaluation process would produce a new input for future public CT policies.

A key question in our model is the time factor. We must learn from the past and create the future from our present time. Policymakers take CT measures without objective analysis systems, mainly responding to opportunity or social alarm triggered by some event, without designing future scenarios, that will never take place during their term of office.

Bakker (2012) developed important research analysing the references to the future evolution of this phenomenon in 60 surveys conducted by well-known institutions and experts. This survey reached a conclusion: most of them lack a methodological basis; in general, they do not even mention possible dynamics of change that would allow the establishment of indicators to monitor the evolution of the phenomenon. In the best-case scenario, these surveys are a goodwill gesture based on personal opinions; intuition based on experience or trend forecasting. This opinion about the study of the future in academic papers is no different if we analyse official documents, strategies, plans or actions. Foresight is a field of study that should be applied in CT policy evaluation in order to prevent the future effects and impacts of the measures we plan to adopt.

360° COUNTERTERRORISM EVALUATION

Evaluating public policies on CT is a continuous process that offers, at least, three key moments (the existence of prior knowledge and necessary intelligence, failures in decision-making and the measurement of the effects and impacts that the policies developed have had), a process led by different actors (universities, think tanks, intelligence analysts, government civil servants, lobbyists, citizens' desires and needs, etc.) and a process that aims not only to know the effectiveness of the policies, but also to improve future policymaking.

The core of our system is based on the strategic action of terrorist actors (states, groups or individuals) and counterterrorist actors, expressed in two horizontal lines in Figure 2. All actors have goals, develop actions and produce impacts. The two lines allow comparisons to be made between each of these elements and CT policies to be designed that act on them.
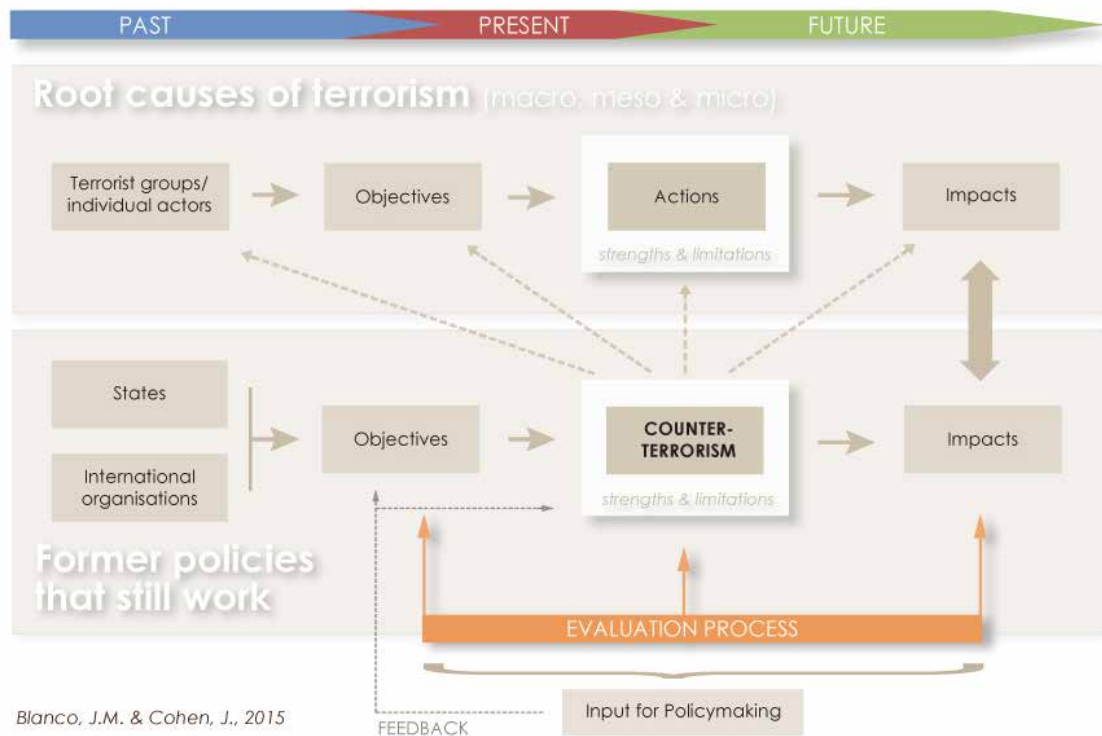
Figure 2. Counterterrorism decision-making evaluation. Blanco and Cohen

CT policies should deal with terrorism's root causes. There is no clear consensus about the root causes of terrorism, in the same way there is no consensus about what terrorism is. Macro (political, economic, social and technological factors), meso (society and groups) and micro (individual, psychology) theories are developed by researchers, but there is no common pattern. Perhaps it is more interesting to talk about facilitators.

CT policies must take into consideration the characteristics of terrorist groups (or states or individuals). A clear analysis of these provides us with key knowledge about their ideology, leadership, hierarchies, membership, financing, area of action, weapons used, relations with other criminal groups or states, modus operandi, financing, supporters, sympathisers communities, gateway organisations, ties with other types of crime and safe havens.

Terrorist groups, states or individuals act in order to achieve their terrorist objectives. The main objective of terrorists is to terrorise populations, to generate fear. Terrorist groups establish their own objectives: terror, fear, political change, social polarisation and overreaction in Western

countries. Fighting against these objectives should be part of CT efforts, and there is a lack of measures answering these questions.

States and international organisations have their own objectives. They must guarantee safety and security in order to allow the exercise of civil rights. Following the content of several CT strategies, states and international organisations must detect, prevent, deter and reduce. Focused on terrorism, states must detect, prevent, deter and reduce it. Resilience, the capability to react after an attack, securing public services, is a key factor, considered in every national security strategy. For these purposes they develop CT strategies, plans and actions that also produce severe impacts.

There is a clear asymmetry if we compare these objectives. Terrorists do not have to obey a legal framework, they have direct incomes, they do not pay taxes, they do not have ethical considerations and they are not pressed and controlled by mass media and citizens.

Terrorist groups try to achieve these objectives through various actions: attacks, kidnappings, illegal trafficking, communication, diffusion

of videos and images, narratives, recruitment, financing and radicalisation of communities or individuals. Perhaps this is the main area of CT action, but it should not be the only one.

The impacts of terrorism are not only the number of attacks, deaths or injuries, or the number of people arrested or condemned. There are other effects that are not usually considered: social and economic outcomes, the level of social terror (the main objective of terrorist actions), the way that attacks affect governments' actions or the way they make us modify our system, values and way of living. Although it is not a comprehensive classification, the following figure shows the impacts of terrorism on the society that suffers it.
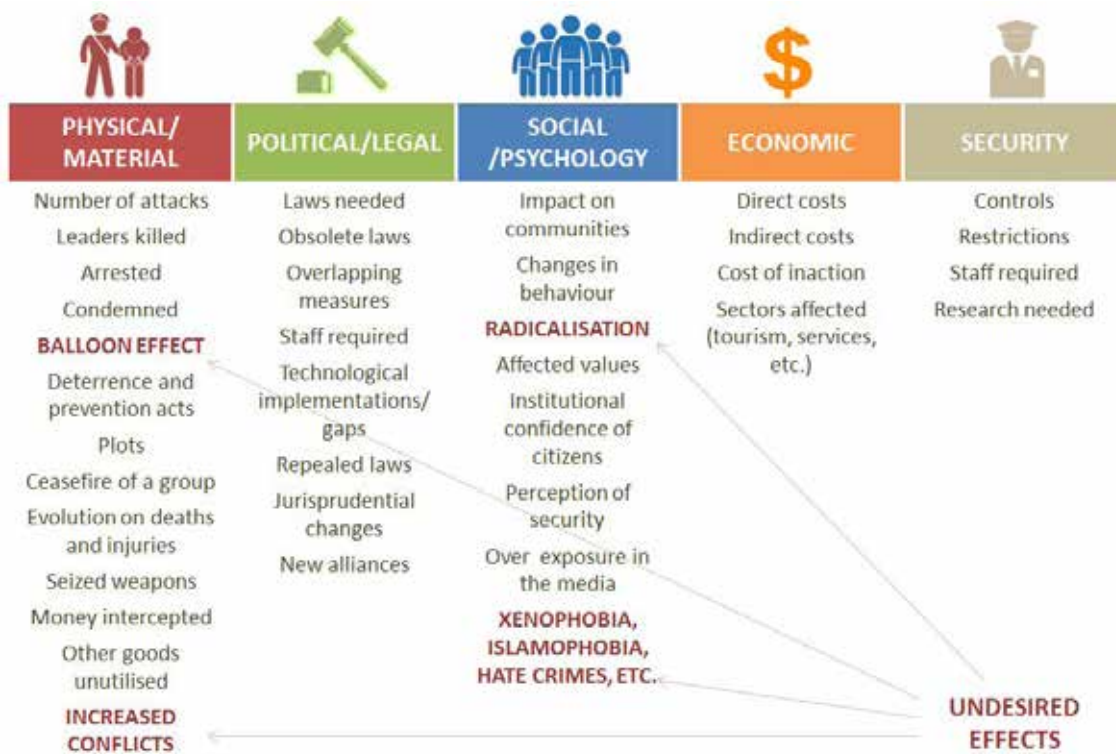
Figure 3. Terrorism impacts. Blanco and Cohen

We define CT as 'policies, operations and programmes that governments implement to combat terrorism' (Spencer, 2006, p. 180). In a similar way, the evaluation of CT r a clear definition of CT; knowledge about different Western models and the factors that condition them (sometimes as limiting factors); a classification of CT measures, methodologies and techniques to evaluate CT policies; and research about the impacts of these policies, which sometimes could be ineffective, have undesirable effects or act as a fuel.

There are several, non-comprehensive, lists of different CT measures, and specific studies about individual measures. After identifying more than 200 possible measures, they could be classified in the following way.

DIFFERENT COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES

Figure 4. Counterterrorism measures. Blanco and Cohen

For this evidence-based framework the most important issue is not to have a classification of CT measures but to point out several key questions. Lee Jarvis (2015) proposes a framework named 'The three Ws of counterterrorism'. The first ('Is it warranted?') involves the consideration of whether there is a need for any new CT policy, because perhaps there are enough mechanisms in place. The second ('Will it work?') manages our ability to identify the purpose of a CT tool, to predict its future functioning, to link cause and effect and to know the impact on its targets. The third ('Is it worth the consequences?') tries to measure the consequences, intended or not, of CT policies. Our model integrates two levels, as follows.

- For each measure we must answer several questions: for what, who, what, why, where, when, how. Each measure must have a clear context. Measures are not effective every time or everywhere or for all terrorist typologies. CT needs strategic decision-making: strategies, programmes, actions, resources and a temporal and geographic framework.

- Each measure that we could establish must consider the desired outcomes, possible indicators to be measured and results to evaluate the policy.

Firstly

Secondly

	Measure	Desired outcomes	Indicators	Effects/Results
Politic				
LEAs				
Military				
Legal				
Social				

Figure 5. Counterterrorism decision-making evaluation. Blanco and Cohen

CT policies produce a broad set of impacts that should be measured. In this way we could compare CT impacts and terrorist impacts and evaluate if these measures are dealing with root causes, groups, objectives and actions. It would also allow evaluation of whether the impacts are against our own objectives and values, whether there are undesirable effects and whether they are the way or if there is a way to generate feedback to improve the system.

PHYSICAL/ MATERIAL	POLITICAL/LEGAL	SOCIAL /PSYCHOLOGY	ECONOMIC	SECURITY
Attacks	Scheduling changes	Migrants	Value of damage	More controls
Deaths	Political decisions (i.e. participation in international missions)	Hate crime	Insurance	More restrictions
Injuries		Xenophobia Islamophobia	Companies' decisions on internationalization or leaving countries	**CT POLICIES**
Kidnappings	Policies for victims	Social polarisation	Commercial routes	
Damage (buildings, infrastructure, etc.)	Political polarisation	Social fear	Tourism	
	Debates about security and liberties	Mass media communication impact	Financial instability	
	Debates about secrets and transparency	Change in way of life	Stock market instability	
	Limits to rights and liberties	Values	Consume	
	Overreaction of Western states		Kidnappings for ransom	
			Cost of security systems	

Figure 6. Counterterrorism impacts. Blanco and Cohen

It is impossible to measure all these impacts arithmetically (De Graaf, 2010), but there are several methodologies and models that could be applied. It supposes a multidisciplinary effort (criminology, law, psychology, sociology, economy, philosophy, anthropology, education, etc.). It is not possible to evaluate CT only by means of rationalist approaches (number of attacks, number of arrested people). They must be completed with constructivism (Spencer, 2006). We need to apply quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Or laypersons' discourse, analysing in different mass media, blogs, forums, tweets and the web the use of adverbs, adjectives and verbs that are building our vision of this world (Milliken, 1999, 2001). Or the 'performativity' model from Beatrice De Graaf (2010). Or introducing foresight into the model: each measure must be analysed with prospective methodology before its implementation, with the objectives pointed to by Jarvis, and with methodologies like factor analysis, game of actors, cross-impact matrix, what if, trend analysis, wildcards or scenarios (Blanco and Cohen, 2014) — or through the impact of perceptions (Perl, 2007). Finally, there is a creativity technique to generate ideas that propose to think in a negative/opposite way (perhaps easier for our human mind). If it is difficult to determine what we should do, perhaps we can begin pointing out what we should not do.

Following this model, and Figure 2, we propose a 'six-step evaluation process', with the following stages.

Make sure that CT policies are aimed at terrorist actors (groups, states or individuals), terrorist objectives, terrorist actions (including financing and communication) and terrorist impacts, but especially, although it is not usually taken into consideration, the root causes of terrorism, and the effects of previous CT policies. Sometimes CT policies are only oriented towards one of these factors, especially terrorist groups or individuals as a reaction to previous actions and attacks.

1. Establish criteria, methodologies and indicators to evaluate CT impacts.

2. Compare the impact of terrorist actions with the impact of CT policies.

3. Carry out a critical analysis of each CT measure, or at least sets of them, testing their needs, effectiveness, efficiency and possible unwanted effects.

4. Confirm that the policies do not generate effects contrary to our goals or go against our values.

5. Redefine CT policies, eliminating or changing former policies, and introducing a long-term vision before implementing new ones. Avoid overreaction and the bad decisions of the past.

AVOID BAD DECISIONS!

There are several lessons to be learned from the past that demonstrate that taking bad decisions could motivate a rise in violent radicalisation, present or future, and terrorist attacks, or could be used in the terrorist narrative for its objectives. Some policies could act in a positive way in the short term, but we do not know the effects in the future, generating serious doubts. The following is a list of these practices.

- Torture (Abu Ghraib).

- Advanced interrogation techniques.

- Convictions without judgment. Prisons like Guantanamo.

- Hidden prisons all over the world.

- Illegal flights for arrested people.

- Finding a balance between killing leaders and taking them to prison after being judged.

- Collateral civil victims (drones, bombs, etc.).

- International military operations without a stabilisation plan.

- Not considering lessons learned.

- Arrogance in international relations.

- Barriers between law enforcement agencies and intelligence services.

- War against terrorism, legitimisation of these groups, militarisation of holistic problems.

- Propaganda of terrorist actions. Mass media and Daesh.

- Imperialism.

- 'Westernism' or 'Occidentalism'.

- Values that are not demonstrated (democracy, justice, empire of the law, etc.).

- Collective punishment.

- Bad use of language, for example with minorities, communities.

- Criminalising communities.

- Attacking human rights.

CONCLUSION

Evaluating CT policies is not an easy task, but we need to do it in order to know if our policies are effective or not. We usually evaluate direct impacts or actions against terrorist groups, terrorist states or terrorist individuals, but we should not forget that terrorism generates a great many impacts, not only a number of deaths and injuries, and that the main goal is to terrorise populations, therefore fear should be a key element in an evidence-based CT framework. CT policies generate great social, political or economic impacts too. Their evaluation is key in order to know if we are being effective facing threats, and especially to confirm that what we do does not go against our core values.

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ENGAGING POLICE AND COMMUNITY: THE ROLE OF FORENSIC PRACTITIONERS IN RESPONDING TO ABUSIVE SITUATIONS

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Abstract: Community policing has evolved as a multidimensional approach, containing philosophical, strategic and organisational elements, and taking on various forms, one of which is the coordinated community response (CCR). The significance of this approach in addressing domestic violence and child abuse is discussed in this work. Various sources indicate the high prevalence of domestic violence and maltreatment of children. To address such abuse, establishing an effective framework connecting victims not only to local authorities and formal agencies but also to other service providers (forensic, medical, support) and less obvious 'community contact points' could prove crucial. Evidence of the European commitment to community policing as well as to multisector intervention to combat domestic violence already exists, with research demonstrating national and regional initiatives of community policing strategies addressing domestic violence and child abuse across the continent. Victims often seek help from medical professionals when they incur physical injuries following abuse, therefore the active integration of medical service providers, specifically clinical forensic service providers (CFSPs) is essential in developing an effective CCR to abuse. Examples of the integration of forensic physicians into frameworks supporting the investigation and prosecution of domestic violence already exist in Germany and Austria. These collaborations bring together law enforcement, forensic and medical professionals to provide a multisector service to victims of violence. Given the EU's commitment to community policing, the critical issue of domestic violence and child abuse, and already existing successful local approaches in this area, it is high time to transfer these concepts to a European level.

Keywords: community policing; clinical forensic medicine; domestic violence; child abuse.

COMMUNITY POLICING: PHILOSOPHY TO PRACTICE

Coherent community policing approaches began to appear in the United States following a publication entitled 'Broken windows' in 1982 (Kelling and Wilson, 1982). Since then, community policing has evolved as a multidimensional approach, containing philosophical, strategic, tactical and organisational elements (Gordner, 1996). Viewed as both a philosophy and an organisational strategy, it has no simple or commonly shared definition (Rosenbaum, 1998), but does provide a term to describe police and community members working together to address and solve problems jointly (OSCE, 2011). The most crucial point within this philosophy is seen to be the cooperation between various 'actors', such as agencies within law enforcement, social services and other stakeholders (Nalla and Newmand, 2013). The quality of this cooperation has been shown to influence the reporting and following up of violent incidents, the prosecution of perpetrators and the action taken to prevent future incidents of violence (UN Women, 2012). The success of the cooperation has been found to depend on a number of essential elements, including the need for well-defined organisational structures, partner roles and responsibilities, as well as effective mechanisms for information sharing (Giacomazzi and Smithey, 2001).

Community policing approaches vary based on the needs and responses of the communities involved (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994). One approach which is highlighted in the literature is the so-called coordinated community response (CCR), the goal of which is to provide an infrastructure

to effect systems-level, and ultimately societal-level, change (Salazar, Emshoff, Baker and Crowley, 2007). This response corresponds to a collaborative undertaking by two or more agencies and/or service providers (UN Women, 2012). The implementation of this approach creates a network or infrastructure to bring together advocacy, law enforcement, judiciary and social agencies to holistically address a specific problem within the community (Salazar, Emshoff, Baker and Crowley, 2007). The implementation of such an approach to address domestic violence and child abuse is discussed in this work.

A COORDINATED COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND CHILD ABUSE

According to a report from the European Commission in 2010, up to 10 % of all women living in the EU experience some form of domestic violence in a given year (Council of Europe, 2002). Furthermore, in 2013 the World Health Organisation (WHO) reported that in Europe the prevalence of maltreatment of children is approximately 20 % with regard to physical abuse (Sethi, Bellis, Hughes, Gilbert, Mitis and Galea, 2013). Domestic violence, sexual assault and physical child abuse affect the quality of life of not only those directly victimised through such actions, but also the entire community. Based on the premise that a single organisation alone cannot solve all the issues surrounding sexual assault and physical abuse, the development

Figure 1. Depiction of potential actors in a CCR to address domestic violence and child abuse

and enhancement of CCRs and the formation of strong and functional partnerships in this field is essential (Reuland, Schaeffer Morabito, Preston and Cheney, 2006).

The actors defined in Figure 1 include those affected by physical violence as well as those involved in supporting victims and identifying, investigating and preventing domestic violence and child abuse. Victims of physical violence are considered the 'central actors' and potentially come into contact with all other actors, including citizens, community contact points, formal agencies or service providers and local authorities. Involved citizens are those who are directly or indirectly affected by violence, as either a victim or an offender. They are inclined to confide in or come to the attention of low-threshold community contact points. Such community contact points include teachers, day-care providers, paediatricians, emergency department staff or simply friends and neighbours. These people may lack the professional knowledge or skills to recognise the signs of domestic violence or child abuse, or to effectively support those experiencing interpersonal violence. They can therefore feel helpless and overwhelmed (Guddat and Tsokos, 2014). In many cases, these people are the first contact for victims of domestic violence or child abuse, and therefore a greater effort should be made to equip these citizens with the skills to recognise and help those in need. Formal agencies and service providers include clinical forensic service providers (CFSPs), who perform a physical examination following a violent incident and are trained to collect and preserve physical evidence for future use in court. Further examples of such agencies are established victim support centres, which offer counselling and advice, as well as organisations such as women's shelters. Local authorities, which are responsible for the investigation and prosecution of violent crimes, as well as the safety of minors (e.g. law enforcement and child protective services), make up the final group of actors in any proposed CCR to address domestic violence and child abuse.

To address the issue of physical violence there is a great need for the establishment of an effective framework to allow these individuals and organisations to work together and to mutually share the responsibility for resolving crimes related to domestic violence, sexual assault and child abuse. The appropriate selection of partner organisations and the definition of their functions in

a structured framework are essential in addressing the needs of central actors. Responsibility should not be carried by a single organisation (Reuland, Schaeffer Morabito, Preston and Cheney, 2006) and the majority of partnerships described in this context take the form of a CCR. It has been shown that the more avenues of help which are available to victims, the more likely it is that victims will seek assistance. CCR can open doors to a range of community services available to those affected by physical violence (Reuland, Schaeffer Morabito, Preston and Cheney, 2006), and adopting an approach that focuses on the coordination of medical, police and social resources has previously demonstrated its effectiveness in the prevention of and fight against domestic violence (Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs of the Council of Europe, 2007; Feltes, 2014).

A EUROPEAN COMMITMENT TO COMMUNITY POLICING

In 2009, the Council of the European Union adopted Decision 2009/427/JHA to support the development of various initiatives related to crime prevention at the EU level. This decision renewed support for the European Crime Prevention Network (EUCPN), founded in 2001 to support crime prevention activities at both national and local levels across the EU (Council of the European Union, 2009). Specifically, a major task of the network is the organisation of annual best practice conferences and other activities to develop crime prevention and share the results of work on crime prevention. Emphasising the growing importance of community policing in European policy, the conference held in Cyprus in 2012 focused on community policing as a tool for crime prevention related to burglaries, domestic violence and juvenile delinquency (Wijckmans, Klima and Vanhauwaert, 2012). The potential of community policing to assist in addressing domestic violence was a specific focus of this conference and many of the projects submitted for European Crime Prevention Awards highlighted ways of implementing community policing for this purpose (EUCPN Secretariat, 2014).

Furthermore, in April 2011, the European Parliament issued a resolution on priorities and outlined a new EU policy framework to address violence against women, once again bringing to light the importance of this topic across the continent (European Parliament, 2011). Here the requirement for multisector intervention through a combination of infrastructural, judicial, enforcement, educational, health and other service-related actions to combat violence was recommended. Further highlighted were plans to develop specific investigative routines for police and health sector professionals in order to secure evidence of gender-based violence (European Parliament, 2011). Additionally, from a European viewpoint, the creation of partnerships with higher education institutions to provide training courses to professionals in fields such as law enforcement, health and education and victim support staff is desired (European Parliament, 2011). Finally, the new comprehensive European policy approach includes plans to create methodological guidelines and obtain comparable statistical data on gender-based violence, including female genital mutilation (European Parliament, 2011), a finding ascertainable through the clinical forensic examination of victims. The commitment shown by the EU to developing and strengthening community policing strategies, as well as the resolution to prioritise multisector intervention to address violence generally, and gender-based violence specifically, demonstrates the importance and relevance of supporting research to create community policing strategies purposefully involving forensic physicians designed to counteract domestic violence and child abuse.

PAST AND CURRENT EXAMPLES OF COMMUNITY POLICING/ CCR ADDRESSING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND CHILD ABUSE

Looking at past research undertaken in Europe and elsewhere, there is ample evidence of the implementation of a number of community policing strategies to address domestic violence and child abuse (Nalla and Newmand, 2013; Wijckmans, Klima and Vanhauwaert, 2012). Examples of national community policing strategies specifically designed to help counteract domestic violence include initiatives in Portugal, Germany and Finland. In Portugal a mobile tele-assistance programme for victims of domestic violence offers protection by means of a hotline and guarantees victims a quick and proportional response according to their risk of danger as assessed by the courts. This technology was connected to the Portuguese Red Cross.

This programme has been implemented at national level since 2011 (Wijckmans, Klima and Vanhauwaert, 2012). A further example of national research highlighted in the *EUCPN Toolbox Series* is a domestic violence round table in Germany that aims to network and coordinate participating institutions to optimise interventions by the state, to provide counselling and to achieve optimal protection for victims of violence. Specifically, this project brings together police, local authorities, counselling services and members of the judiciary (Wijckmans, Klima and Vanhauwaert, 2012). Finally, the pilot project 'Itäkeskus' in the eastern police precinct in Helsinki (Finland), where social workers accompany police officers responding to reports of domestic violence, is an example of the potential for multiagency teams, consisting of healthcare, youth and victim services working with law enforcement to coordinate and address domestic violence (Nalla and Newmand, 2013).

Given that victims most often seek help from medical professionals when they incur a physical injury resulting from domestic violence (Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs, 2010; Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs of the Council of Europe, 2007), the authors are of the opinion that the active integration of medical service providers, specifically CFSPs, is essential in developing an effective CCR to address domestic violence and child abuse. Forensic physicians have the ability to objectively evaluate physical injuries, which has been shown to facilitate disclosure of domestic violence. This objective evaluation could assist in increasing reporting of domestic violence where a sense of self-awareness is reinstated in victims when they know that concrete evidence can be collected to support their complaint. In at least two EU Member States the integration of forensic physicians is already being supported regionally by CFSPs and state governmental bodies. These projects cover the establishment of local clinical forensic networks to strengthen cooperation between local police and healthcare providers.

An initial example of efforts in this area can be seen in the 'ProBeweis' project in Hannover (Germany). This project is dedicated to providing a service to individuals who have experienced domestic or sexual violence, where injuries can be documented and evidence preserved free of charge. The approach integrates hospitals with gynaecological and trauma departments into a network coordinated by the Department of Legal Medicine at the Hannover Medical School, which provides expertise, training and examination/documentation materials. The network currently includes 15 clinics and is supported by the State Ministry for Social Affairs (Medizinische Hochschule Hannover, 2015).

Secondly, in Graz (Austria) a regionally based platform that brings together participants from medical, scientific and legal fields, the Clinical and Forensic Network Styria, has been established (Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Klinisch-Forensische Bildgebung, 2015). Through its multidisciplinary approach and interinstitutional collaborations, this platform brings together police and forensic medical experts, helping to harmonise the organisation and performance of clinical forensic investigations. This interdisciplinary cooperation in the field of clinical forensic medicine helps not only those affected by violence but also police officers who are working to investigate suspected violence in the community. In this project, clinical forensic experts provide a medico-legal examination service (within 1 hour) to hospitals, police stations, detention centres and organisations offering assistance to victims of crime. A recent sociological study demonstrates the importance and awareness of this project by various organisations (Dohr and Wirnsberger, 2015). A user-friendly website providing information to the public and linking partner institutions across the state and a module-based training programme to familiarise medical practitioners with the requirements of clinical forensic examinations have been established. Interest and direct enquiries from other states indicate that this innovative programme and structured collaboration has resonance beyond the Styrian borders.

Although these and many more promising examples of local approaches exist, until now the experience gained at a local level has unfortunately not been brought to the European level.

OUTLOOK: CFN EUROPE — STRENGTHENING COLLABORATION BETWEEN FORENSIC CARE PROVIDERS ACROSS EUROPE

Taking together the commitment of the EU to community policing, the critical issue of

domestic violence and child abuse and the already existing, successful local approaches to address these issues in the form of networks, the authors are of the opinion that it is high time to transfer these ideas into Europe-wide approaches. To achieve this goal a network between organisations/institutions involved in the issue of domestic violence and child abuse has to be established. Starting from the already existing network projects, the formation of networks between CFSPs across Europe seems to be the most reasonable approach. CFSPs form a local connection point between victims, law enforcement, victim support centres and other individuals directly or indirectly involved in this issue. The formation of a European clinical forensic network (CFN Europe) would accelerate the exchange of information and experience as well as harmonise processes across Europe.

To facilitate the formation of CFN Europe itself, and communication in general, several convenient, low-threshold measures for communication have proved useful. In modern society, many convenient measures exist due to technological advances, specifically internet access. Access to the internet, either via a personal computer or via mobile smartphones, is relatively inexpensive and offers immediate availability of information, as well as being flexible in terms of when users connect. A Europe-wide survey showed that 79 % of all Europeans between 16 and 74 years of age have experience using the internet (Eurostat, 2013). The first step towards strengthening collaboration between CFSPs across Europe and the corresponding formation of the proposed CFN Europe is the launch of an online platform that is open to the public. The platform should include information on local services and contact details, as well as the possibility to share information between CFSPs in a members-only section, thereby exploiting the ever growing, widespread access to internet services. This approach has already been proven useful in the United States, were law enforcement agencies have added social networking and media to their public relations, crime prevention and criminal investigation toolboxes. In 2012, 92.4 % of US law enforcement agencies were using such tools (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 2012).

Given the aforementioned aspects, and in an initial effort to strengthen collaboration between CFSPs, a CFN Europe platform was recently launched (http://www.cfn-europe.org). This platform seeks to encourage an extension of the network to include additional CFSPs across Europe, as well as acting as an invitation to local law enforcement and support services to establish local networks. A technical expansion of the platform itself is also in the planning.

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MANAGERIAL INFLUENCES ON POLICE DISCRETION: CONTEXTUALISING OFFICER DECISION-CHOICES

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Abstract: This article highlights aspects of original research examining how police decision-making may be influenced in times of increasing public and political accountability. It reflects the author's observations and findings as presented at CEPOL's 2015 European Police Research and Science Conference. Applying a 'theory of decision-choices' (Parsons, 2015) the officer's choice of policing response can be explained by reference to perceptions of the occupational field and situational needs (the decision-frame) as informed by the officer's orientation to the policing function, their relationship to the organisation, its leadership and those they police. This decision-frame can be influenced by management's instrumental use of rules, discipline and targets, which carries the risk of unintended consequences. However, using a before-and-after survey methodology, a study into the introduction of community resolution (CR) into one UK police organisation (force) indicates management may influence officer perceptions (and potentially decision-choices) in other ways. One significant finding was a change in officers' understanding of organisational policing priorities after being given more discretion in responding to low-level crimes and antisocial incidents. Overall the results support the theory that management can positively influence officer decision-frames through normative means (such as shared values and mutual trust), potentially improving effectiveness, confidence and police legitimacy.

Keywords: police discretion; accountability; managerialism; trust; legitimacy.

INTRODUCTION

For jurisdictions that follow the British model of policing by consent it is the individual police officer's behaviour in dealing with citizens that has the potential to undermine legitimacy and effectiveness. An effective policing response must be seen to meet the expectations of the community, support the victim and make it clear that the suspect/offender (wrongdoer) is dealt with fairly and correctly. Despite best organisational intentions to ensure appropriate police behaviour, it cannot be assumed that officers will precisely adhere to management directives, for officers are not robots programmed for automatic compliance. To some degree the officer's behaviour will be unpredictable, particularly when there is an element of choice in how he or she responds to any situation. How can management ensure that officers make the right choices when policing the community? In this paper the officer's use of discretion is explained

with reference to a 'theory of decision-choices' (Parsons, 2015) and illustrated via findings from the 'Police discretion survey'.

THE PROBLEM OF CONTROL

Police discretion is the means by which officers choose how to use their police powers. In a consensual model of policing, officers can select how to respond to an incident because they have the legal and practical capacity to choose from various options. Discretion provides the flexibility to ensure the policing response meets the needs of the situation, crucial in securing just outcomes. But police power can be abused, as seen in cases of unlawful arrest, detention and the use of excessive force (police shootings for example). Because much of the officer's operational street-level activity does not take place in a supervised environment, this presents a major challenge

for police managers and administrators (Bittner, 1990; Goldstein, 1960; Reiner, 2000; Wilson, 1968).

In democratic states, police power is limited through the acceptance of, and adherence to, the rule of law (Lustgarten, 1986; Tamanaha, 2004). This means the officer's choice of policing response (and resultant behaviour) can be constrained and controlled in accordance with the law as expressed in legislation, judicial oversight and administrative directives. Legal rules and organisational procedures can specify when and how the officer should exercise discretion and may limit the choice of action available (i.e. the officer may be permitted to adopt a particular course of action but only if certain conditions are satisfied).

With the impact of a globalised financial crisis (manifest in severely reduced policing budgets) and the unprecedented level of public media scrutiny of officer behaviour, there is an increasing demand for police accountability. In the UK, demands for accountability and transparency have expanded the remit of regulatory agencies (such as Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary (HMIC)) and the workload of authorities responsible for investigating allegations of police misbehaviour (such as the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC)). Applying new public management (NPM) principles (intended to demonstrate value for money by making public sector agencies answerable for the use of public funds and demonstrate effective performance — Hood, 1991), central government has also imposed specified organisational objectives, reinforcing stipulated limitations and performance expectations on police organisations.

These requirements are relayed and impressed upon officers through the force's managerial practices and procedures, which emphasise outputs, targets and cost savings in the criminal justice system (McLaughlin et al., 2001). Police management traditionally relies on instrumental means (predominantly the threat of discipline) to ensure officers comply with organisational requirements. Such methods may reassure the public that police are accountable for their behaviour, but indiscriminate use of such measures can lead to unintended consequences. Increased accountability has resulted in more paperwork and an audit bureaucracy for police organisations. This in turn has arguably encouraged a target mentality among officers

whereby achieving targets (such as increased detections and arrests for specific crimes) has been prioritised at the expense of less visible (or quantifiable) preventative, peacekeeping and order-maintenance policing activities (Hough, 2007).

In the light of such unintended consequences, a review of policing in England and Wales culminated in a number of recommendations. One such recommendation included the need for the proportionate recording of crime. By emphasising a proportionate policing response, officers would be expected to exercise their professional judgement based on value- or principle-based decision-making to determine whether incidents of minor crime or antisocial behaviour could be resolved without recourse to the criminal justice system (Flanagan, 2008). Seen as a means to maintain public confidence and improve police legitimacy, it was also proposed that officers needed to be less risk averse in using their discretion in order to deal with the real concerns of the community. The inherent contradiction is obvious: how can you give officers more choice, more discretion in how they police and at the same time retain control of the officer's use of police power?

A THEORETICAL APPROACH

The answer to the paradox may be found by exploring the normative influences upon officer decision-making. Synthesising theories from various disciplines such as sociology, criminology, psychology and social work, the 'theory of decision-choices' (Parsons, 2015) proposes that if you want to motivate a person to act in a certain way, it is possible to do so through normative or value-based means (such as leading by example, respecting others and doing the right thing). This can reduce the risk of unintended consequences that may occur when instrumental means (namely setting targets or securing compliance through threat of punishment) are used exclusively to manage and control behaviour.

The theory of decision-choices views the exercise of police discretion as a process of interplay between the officer's actual working environment and 'decision-frame' (Parsons, 2015). It adopts the PCS model of Neil Thompson (2010) and incorporates the concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' (Bourdieu, 1977), emphasising the importance

of perception and motivation (Barbalet, 2001) in the individual's decision-choices. The framework of the theory of decision-choices is illustrated in Figure 1 below:
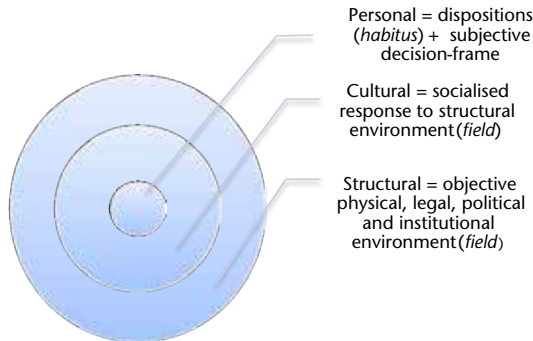
Personal = dispositions (*habitus*) + subjective decision-frame

Cultural = socialised response to structural environment (*field*)

Structural = objective physical, legal, political and institutional environment (*field*)

Figure 1. PCS model (Thompson, 2010) incorporating habitus, field and decision-frame (Parsons, 2015)

Applying this theoretical model to how the police officer operates in their working world, P is the person (officer) at the centre of the model. P's power is increased or reduced by the objective physical, geographic, political, legal and institutional environment (structure — S) in which P is situated. But the influence of this structural environment on P is moderated to some extent by the culture (C), being the socialised response associated with that environment and reinforced through P's interaction with others. This culture can act as a resource which may assist P to cope with the challenge of the environment's structural limitations (S). For the officer, P, their occupational world (Bourdieu's field) consists of that which structurally empowers or constrains them and the social and/or occupational culture that surrounds them at any given time.

The objective reality of the individual's occupational world is one thing; how the individual perceives that world, may be something rather different. Over various life experiences P will have developed personal dispositions ('habitus' — Bourdieu, 1977) as well as moral values (Sayer, 1999). Every person views their world from their own individual perspective. How P interacts with their world will depend on perception, moral orientation (Wikström and Svensson, 2010) and motivation (Barbalet, 2001). The theory suggests these are all important components of the 'decision-frame' (Goffman, 1974; Hawkins, 1992; Manning, 1986, 1992; Tversky and Kahneman, 1981).

We can illustrate the theoretical model by looking at the UK officer's occupational field. When appointed as a constable, the officer is entrusted with a range of powers to stop, search, arrest and detain citizens as permitted by law (using force if necessary), and remains accountable to the police organisation as to how such police powers are used. The police organisation is answerable both to government and to the public. It is subject to scrutiny by administrative and judicial bodies of regulation and oversight. This encourages the organisation to manage and control the officer using primarily instrumental means, for example setting targets, using audit and discipline, limiting time and budgets. Even the use of body-worn video provides management with an instrumental tool that has the potential to influence the activities of the officer. This constitutes the officer's occupational field whereby the individual's powers are constrained by the limits of the law and controlled by instrumental mechanisms of supervision and accountability.

The theory suggests that how the officer responds in this working environment will be influenced by the officer's perception of this field through their decision-frame. The officer's framing will depend on their habitus, their attitude to the policing function and their relationship to the organisation, its leadership and those they police. If the officer has had negative experiences of the organisation's administration (perhaps having experienced a denial of organisational justice, for instance), their perception and response to management directives may be quite different to that of an officer who is highly committed to the organisation. In addition the officer's response may be affected by the prevailing occupational or workplace culture. If, for example, P is a discontented officer who works within a team of like-minded officers, there may be more subversive influences that, in extreme circumstances, could encourage an attitude of defiance and possibly corrupt behaviour (Sherman, 1993). But again, the effect of such influence may be diminished by P's habitus and moral values.

The question posed is: what are the effects on the officer's decision-frame when a change in the structure of the officer's field removes some constraints on their choice of policing response?

THE 'POLICE DISCRETION SURVEY' — METHODOLOGY

The introduction of community resolution (CR) into one UK force provided an opportunity to examine whether officers' perceptions (and arguably decision-frames) change when some instrumental limitations on their use of discretion are removed, i.e. there is an actual change in the structure of the officers' occupational field. In 2011, adopting the Flanagan recommendations (Flanagan, 2008), officers of the study site (Sussex Police) were given greater discretion to use CR to resolve incidents of minor crime and antisocial behaviour. If victims did not want the matter to proceed through the usual criminal justice process and preferred an apology and/or some form of reparation from the wrongdoer, then, applying a restorative justice approach, CR allowed officers to exercise their discretion and facilitate an agreed outcome between the victim and wrongdoer, in lieu of recording and processing the incident as a crime.

As all officers required training in the use of CR before it was implemented, this permitted a before-and-after (or test/retest) survey to see whether officers' perceptions changed once they had an opportunity to experience CR in practice. The target population was 1 095 officers scheduled for CR training in early 2011. At time 1 (before CR training) the initial return rate of the stage 1 questionnaire (administered by individually addressed work emails) was 28 % (310 officers — from constable to inspector rank). At time 2 (6 months later) the replica stage 2 questionnaires administered only to stage 1 respondents returned 252 responses. The final study cohort was a good reflection of the officer profile for Sussex Police generally (26 % female; constables, 75 %; sergeants, 20 % and inspectors, 5 %). The questionnaire contained attitudinal items (Likert styled statements) from which scales were developed to measure various constructs, including: organisational commitment, perceived supervisory support, job satisfaction, alignment to the policing vocation and officers' views of others in their working world (organisational leadership, victims, wrongdoers, citizens and media).

KEY FINDINGS

It could be expected that with greater discretion, more power to resolve lower level crime and the capacity to more appropriately respond to victims' needs, officers would feel more satisfied in their job and more committed to the organisation. The analyses of the data however showed no significant differences in levels of organisational commitment, perceived supervisor support (i.e. the degree to which the officer felt supported by their supervisor) or job satisfaction between time 1 and time 2. This may have been due to the shortness of time (6 months) between the two stages of the survey. However, as we shall see, this finding may also be explained by the major changes that occurred in the national policing landscape over the same period, which had important consequences for the study site.

ORGANISATIONAL POLICING PRIORITIES

Although no change to levels of commitment or job satisfaction was noted, the final results of the 'Police discretion survey' did demonstrate changes in officers' perceptions of their occupational world. Officers were asked at time 1 and time 2 what they believed their force required them to prioritise when performing their police duties. The options (rated 1 to 8, with the highest priority being rated 1 and the lowest being rated 8) were: enforce the law; keep the peace; help people with problems; prevent crime; make the community safe; catch criminals; support victims; and meeting targets.

On a collapsed scale (taking into account first and second preferences) at time 1, 48 % of the cohort believed meeting targets was what their force required them to prioritise in their policing duties (referred to as 'the descriptive'). But when officers were then asked what they personally believed their force's policing priority should be ('the normative'), only one officer responded that meeting targets should be the policing priority. This divergence between the descriptive and the normative was further underscored by the data, which showed 91 % of the officer cohort personally believed meeting targets should be the lowest priority, with over half of the respondents agreeing that making the community safe should be their most important policing priority.

Interestingly, 6 months after being trained in using CR at time 2, significant differences were noted in the officers' perception of (actual or descriptive) organisational policing priorities. As shown in the table below, significantly fewer officers (32 %) believed their organisation wanted them to prioritise meeting targets and more officers (over 42 %) believed that community safety was their force's policing priority. Notably, apart from a small change in the importance of catching criminals as a priority as at time 2, there was no change in what officers considered their force's policing priorities should be (the normative) over the course of the study.

	Q5 — Perceived force priority (descriptive)		Q7 — What force priority should be (normative)	
	Time 1 (%)	Time 2 (%)	Time 1 (%)	Time 2 (%)
Meeting targets	48.4	31.9***	0.4	0.4
Support victims	33.9	41.8*	25.9	24.5
Community safety	31.3	42.6**	53.8	55.6
Catch criminals	34.8	20.7***	36.4	29.7*

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ [1]

Table 1. Perceptions of policing priorities [Time 1: N = 248; time 2: N = 251]

ORGANISATIONAL NEEDS

The survey also asked officers what was the most important thing they needed from their force to do their policing job well. The respondents again rated each of the eight options provided, namely: training; supportive supervisor; guidance on what was required of the officer; opportunities for personal development; being trusted to make the right decisions; good equipment/resources; a safe working environment; and knowing their efforts were appreciated. The survey results (as illustrated in Figure 2, based on a collapsed scale) indicated that whilst officers were not overly concerned with safety or personal development (and clearly had needs in terms of training, good equipment and resources), overwhelmingly 66 % of the respondents answered that being trusted to make the right decisions was the most important thing they needed from their organisation.

Officers' organisational needs (time 2)

- Training
- Supportive supervisor
- Guidance
- Personal development
- Trusted to make right decisions
- Good equipment/resources
- Safe working environment
- Knowing efforts appreciated

Figure 2. Officer priorities: what is needed from the force — cohort % [N = 252] [2]

[1] Analyses were performed applying the Wilcoxon signed ranks test for non-parametric data (Brace et al., 2000; Field, 2009). Q5 (descriptive): meeting targets ($z = − 4.687$, N(247) − 139 = 108, $p < 0.001$); support victims ($z = − 2.085$, N(247) − 129=118, $p = 0.037$); make the community safe ($z = − 2.803$, N(245) − 106 = 139, $p = 0.005$); catch criminals ($z = − 4.427$, N(246) − 114 = 132, $p < 0.001$). Q7 (normative): catch criminals ($z = −2.448$, N(244) − 125 = 119, $p = 0.014$).

[2] Graphic illustration of proportion of preference ratings only, therefore component percentages do not total 100 %

DISCUSSION

The theory of decision-choices involves an examination of the officer's actual occupational field and an understanding of how that environment is perceived by the officer (the decision-frame). We have only considered some of the findings from the 'Police discretion survey' but these findings do provide an insight into officers' perceptions of their working world and can usefully illustrate the theory as to how decision-frames may be influenced.

Remembering we are examining how the officer perceives the policing field, it is important to acknowledge that in the 6 months between time 1 and time 2 a number of events occurred which impacted upon UK policing nationally, with direct consequences for the study site. These included: increased budget cuts; forced redundancies of officers (as permitted under the police regulations); different work demands due to organisational restructuring; the deployment of Sussex officers to support the Metropolitan Police following the eruption of the London Tottenham riots (including some officers from the study cohort); and the experience of adverse media accounts, critical of police response to the riots. Furthermore, during the same period, central government endorsed the recommendations of the Winsor report (which had the potential to reduce officers' pay and employment conditions — Winsor, 2011) and also introduced the election of police and crime commissioners (PCCs). Under new legislation PCCs were given the power not only to set policing priorities, but to also appoint and dismiss the chief constables of their regional police force. In combination these dramatic developments may have been perceived and interpreted as additional constraints on officer autonomy. So perhaps it was not surprising that officers did not feel more satisfied or committed to the job, despite being given more discretion or choice in how they policed the community.

The survey results did however indicate changes in the officers' understanding of what the organisation required them to prioritise in their operational police work. Before the introduction of CR almost one half of the study cohort believed (whether accurately or not) that their force required them to prioritise meeting targets in carrying out their police duties. Even though this understanding of Force expectations (the descriptive) may have been in conflict with the officer's personal opinions (the normative), such

a perception has the potential to skew officer decision-making. Prioritising the meeting of performance targets and corporate objectives over and above the delivery of a policing response tailored to meet the needs of the situation risks undermining the quality of officer–citizen interaction to the detriment of public confidence and police legitimacy.

Importantly, after 6 months with the option to use CR, more officers considered the organisation's primary focus to be on protecting the community rather than meeting a target-driven agenda. The data also suggested that with the introduction of CR officers became more concerned with meeting the needs of victims rather than adopting a law-enforcement approach, indicating a change to the officers' framing of the policing role, both in the community and also in their interactions with citizens. In contrast, it was noted that officers' beliefs about what their policing priority should be (the normative) did not change between time 1 and time 2. This finding tends to suggest that, unlike perceptions of organisational expectations, personal values (habitus) may be more durable and less easily influenced by structural changes in the occupational field.

The preponderance of institutional systems and processes designed to hold officers to account may understandably be interpreted by officers that they are not trusted. This could explain why being trusted to make the right decisions was considered by a greater number of the study cohort (66 %) to be the most important thing needed from their force to do their policing job well. This finding emphasises the importance of normative influences on officer decision-choices. In addition to training, equipment and other tangible resources, trust has been identified as an essential ingredient in the officer–organisation relationship, necessary for the delivery of better policing services. Arguably, where trust is not cultivated within the police organisation, this will have negative implications for officer morale, self-efficacy, commitment and job satisfaction.

CONCLUSION

The findings from the 'Police discretion survey' did indicate that while the granting of wider discretion through the CR initiative did not fundamentally alter the officer's relationship with their force, there was a significant change

in officers' perceptions of organisational priorities after being given the option of using CR, and this shift had the potential to make officer decision-choices more aligned to community safety and meeting victims' needs than achieving organisational targets.

Although we have only highlighted some of the findings here, analyses of the data also showed that after the introduction of CR officers had a more positive view of senior management and organisational leadership. Furthermore, regression analyses identified that the officers' perceptions of leadership was consistently the most significant predictor in officers' perceptions of victims, wrongdoers and the public image of policing, such that an officer who viewed their management/leadership more positively was not only more satisfied and committed to the job but also had a more positive outlook on others and their policing role.

While the 'Police discretion survey' has acknowledged design limitations and would benefit from replication in other police organisations, the findings are supportive of the theory of decision-choices. Normative influences, such as trust, leadership and organisational justice, are as important as structural facility (e.g. training and resources) and instrumental influences (e.g. discipline and target incentives) in moulding good police officers who will make the best policing decisions in any situation. This research has important implications for police management. Simply giving officers more discretion or choice in how to police the community will not make officers more committed to their organisation or encourage them to respond appropriately to citizens' needs — this can only be achieved if mutual trust exists between the officer and the organisation. Such trust is essential to the promotion of public confidence and police legitimacy.

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'CORPORATE POLICE STORIES' — A RESEARCH NOTE ON THE IMPACT AND THE CAPABILITIES OF POLICE HISTORY ON POLICING, POLICE TRAINING AND COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: Over the last few years, scientific works and discourses about organisational uses of history have increased. Most of them refer to private sector organisations and their benefits from using their past. Making use of an organisation's history has already been widely acknowledged as an important means for a company's identity formation and its image. Regarding the company's internal relations, an organisational identity based on this form of history management holds potential for recognition, the implementation of values and the strengthened loyalty of employees. Concerning external relations, the properly structured management of history can result in recognisable and distinguishable image formation, leading to advantages in the competition for resources with other companies and in defining the work area. For the stakeholders, it provides a stable point of orientation among the enormous number of apparently identical organisations. In contrast to this, governmental organisations — especially those dealing with security tasks — do not seem to be in need of such measures due to their stable institutional background. However, there are still some approaches engaging in processing the organisational past of police organisations. Primarily based on empirical material from Germany (e.g. documents, websites, artefacts), this article presents first findings and assumptions on why this is being done and what outcomes the uses of the past provide for the external and internal communication processes of police organisations.

Keywords: police; organisation; history; identity; image.

WHY AND HOW 'HISTORY MATTERS' IN ORGANISATIONS

'History matters' (Rowlinson, Hassard and Decker, 2014, p. 250) not only in historical sciences, but also in organisational research and theory and, last but not least, in practice. In recent years, uses of the past have become an important topic in organisation studies (Bucheli and Wadhwani, 2013; Kipping and Üsdiken, 2014). Related literature points out, for example, that history is helpful for understanding organisations, organisational culture and cultural differences, and organisational decisions, developments or pathways, as have several other studies (e.g. Rowlinson, Hassard and Decker, 2014; Brunninge, 2009; Sydow, Schreyögg and Koch, 2009; Schein, 2003; Hofstede, 2001). Some studies emphasise particularly the effects of organisational uses

of the past on organisations' communication processes with different stakeholders in terms of 'storytelling', 'narratives' and 'corporate stories' (e.g. Foster, Suddaby, Minkus and Wiebe, 2011; Gill, 2011) and discuss certain impacts on image and identity formation (e.g. Anteby and Molnár, 2012; Gioia, Schultz and Corley 2000).

The past as a means of history is currently not only dealt with for the sake of (scientific) knowledge, and thus as an end in itself, but also with the objective of being used intentionally by organisations for added value to be further determined in each case (Kühberger and Pudlat, 2012). In this process, external stakeholders (customers, cooperation partners or an — undefined — general public) are potential addressees, as well as the organisations' employees. Thus, history becomes a meaningful source of communication regarding both external and internal relations (Burmann and Zeplin, 2006;

Schug, 2003, p. 21), an aspect that has rarely been dealt with so far in scientific research (Bauer and Windischbauer, 2012, p. 88; Buß, 2007).

In some organisational research, it is highlighted that using an organisation's history for its image construction (directed at external parties), as well as its identity formation (directed at internal parties), is a recent trend, mostly observed in organisations in the private sector (Bühler and Düring, 2008, p. 47). It is stated that in the time of an increasingly complex and dynamic society (due to globalisation, informatisation, mediatisation, etc.), the public's need for a cultural identity and its conservation, stability and the recognition of values, as well as guidance, is constantly growing stronger. Organisations acknowledging this development meet those needs, which are also addressed by their stakeholders, by forming a history-based organisational profile and a complementary identity. Traditions, historical symbols and regional references make an important contribution to this process (Buß, 2007, pp. 72-73), since 'traditions become the place of safety, controllability in a diffuse, big globe of emotions' (Buß, 2007, p. 72; Schütte-Bestek, 2015b, pp. 116-117). Cultures of memory are one result of this.

Therefore, usage of one's own past fulfils two important functions for organisations. On the one hand it fulfils an associative function, as an organisation displays its unique image by linking itself to its history, identity and values. This creates a so-called recognition value for the organisation, through which it can take its place in collective memory. By forming a history-based identity and mediating its own set of values, employees in particular become more closely committed to the organisation. On the other hand, making use of its own past fulfils a distinguishing function for an organisation, as the differences from other organisations are based on the distinctive and specific organisational histories. The role, function, meaning, brand and uniqueness of an organisation are established from its history and tradition. Thus, if an organisation manages to include an individual history in its self-representation, it is able to install a steady public image of itself and distinguishes itself at the same time from similar organisations. This provides advantages in the competition for attention, considering customer loyalty, recruiting, information, financial support or other resources the organisation requires from its environment (Buß, 2007, pp. 73-74; Schütte-Bestek, 2015b, pp. 116-117).

While this 'history marketing' is perceived as essential for the continuing existence of companies in the private sector, it seems that public organisations are not as much in need of dealing with their past. This might be partially due to their stable institutional background. Nevertheless, there are public organisations, particularly governmental organisations, that are gradually starting to process their own past. Particularly in the field of security, governmental authorities and organisations concerned with security tasks — as it is the case in Germany — are opening up to these forms of research projects (e.g. Baumann, Reinke, Stephan and Wagner 2011; Bundeskriminalamt, 2011; Bundeskriminalamt, 2008; Conze, Frei, Hayes and Zimmermann, 2010).

As can be seen in our first (empirical) overview, police organisations (POs) in Europe are engaging, and have been doing so for some time already, in different approaches relating to the handling of their past. Hence, a vast number of police museums (re-)opened after World War II in Europe, displaying the histories of individual POs in regard to societal as well as regional developments at that time. Furthermore, the organisational past has also been used in publications such as chronicles (e.g. Präsidium der Bayerischen Bereitschaftspolizei, 2011) or magazines for the members of POs (Dölling, Gössel and Waltoś, 1998; Linssen and Pfeiffer, 2009; Prange, 2010; Pudlat, 2012; Schweer, 2007). We assume that these approaches can be seen as an integral part of internal and external POs' communication or as a kind of 'corporate story', which portrays the individual organisation with its values, development and tasks (Buß, 2007, p. 82; Mawby, 2002). These are essential requirements supporting external stakeholders in their decisions regarding determining interactions with a PO (Buß, 2007, p. 82). These approaches also function as groundwork for making sense of and legitimating police work (Sillince and Brown, 2009). Processing an organisation's own past also seems to be important for internal relations, as for example the results from a research project regarding the changing of the German Bundesgrenzschutz (Federal Border Guard) into the Bundespolizei (Federal Police) indicate (Schütte-Bestek, 2015a).

However, in research on (history-based) identity formation and image construction, POs for the most part remain disregarded (Mawby, 2014). Thus, a research gap in the field of police and

organisational research can be found concerning questions such as to what extent POs use their past internally and externally and whether it is a constituting element of police culture (Behr, 2006; Behr, 2008; Loader and Mulcahy, 2003). As this field of research still has to be further explored and spread, our research project focuses on the uses of the past of police organisations in Europe (UPPE) and aims to answer the questions of how and why POs in Europe use their pasts in their public relations strategies, policing strategies and police training and what strategic and tactical capabilities can be identified within policing, police communication and training contexts. Therefore, we will be using qualitative methods to analyse empirical data, for example documents like magazines for members of the organisations or press releases, websites and artefacts (police museums) that were collected in the first instance in German POs. As a second step we will analyse other selected European POs. Due to financial resources and language skills this will happen especially for Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

The present paper, in terms of a research note, is an outcome of the first phase of the aforementioned research project. The aim is to present the first findings and assumptions drawn from an explorative and inductive overview of the collected empirical data and to deduce some preliminary conclusions and implications for future research.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK, FIRST FINDINGS AND ASSUMPTIONS

We define the past generally as something that happened before the present time — for example events, incidents, organisational and individual actions — and is used in form of a narration (history) to interpret and understand contemporary aspects. Against this background, history is already part of the internal and external communication processes of POs all over Europe as far as our first findings are concerned. Police history can be found to be communicated in

police museums and historical police collections in nearly every EU Member State. The history and organisational or individual stories of German POs — on which we focus in this article — are also an integral part of several elements: magazines for members of the POs ([1]), image brochures (e.g. *Polizeiakademie Niedersachsen*, 2009), the websites of different police forces, anniversary events and jubilee publications (e.g. *Der Polizeipräsident in Berlin*, 2011), as well as informal talks and stories (e.g. 'adventure stories' (Behr, 2008, p. 143)) embedded in police training and everyday work. All of these examples are evidence for actual uses of the past within the POs' internal and external public relations — whether intended or unintended, or even though there are no hints that specific communication strategies relating to history exist.

That is why we initially work with documents (e.g. brochures, chronicles), the homepages of POs and artefacts (e.g. police museums) as outcomes of POs' communication processes that contain organisational history or stories. At first we collected them from German POs. Then, as noted previously, we started the analysis with an explorative and also inductive overview, according to the different sources. We were therefore able to complement our theoretical (deductive) categories (e.g. identity, image) with inductive categories. Taking our different sources into account we used artefact analysis (Froschauer 2009) and content analysis (Mayring 2010) in order to explore additional important categories of uses of the past in POs from the empirical material and to complete our category system for another systematic analysis. In this article we would like to present the preliminary results and assumptions from our previous research steps.

Combining the aforementioned organisations' theoretical aspects and our first findings we argue that POs' histories are necessary resources in their communication processes as a basis that could be used flexibly to adequately address different and sometimes conflicting demands from their internal (members) and external (e.g. public, media, political actors, other POs at national and international levels) stakeholders.

In a kind of sustainable communication, police forces try to present their development as a

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[1] Some examples: *Bundespolizei kompakt*, a magazine for members of the Federal Police; *Streife*, a magazine of the North Rhine-Westphalia police; the *Polizei Journal* of the Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania police

directed, 'linear process' from the past to the present time, 'based on tradition, experience and innovation' (Ackermann, 2012, p. 70). With regard to this, a specific German issue is the topic of National Socialism (²). In order to underline the democratisation 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 being represented in image brochures. As one example of this, the Lower Saxony police state that it was important to reinstall people and their dignity as a measuring stick for policing after the 'inhuman system of National Socialism'. The result is the successful model of a *Bürgerpolizei* (citizens' police) (*Polizeiakademie Niedersachsen*, 2009, p. 17). The Berlin police, as another example, link the history of the city with their own: 'Berlin has so often been subject to fundamental change that the face of Berlin has changed more than any other of the world's major cities. As we say: […] Berlin is not, Berlin will be!' (*Der Polizeipräsident in Berlin*, 2013, p. 44), referring to the world and the city changing at a fast pace, which means a professionalised police is a necessary part of society. Professionalism here means the ability to change processes, technologies, values, attitudes and aims deliberately in that context. This is similar to PR in the private sector: the importance of 'change in the strategic planning and the communication' is increasing (Ackermann, 2012, p. 70; Deekeling, 2009).

Another trend can be identified within this means of communication for police and policing: 'glocalisation'. In a globalised, dynamic world, people ask for local anchor points. As the CEPOL conference in 2015 showed, there are specific local cultures used as frameworks for policing as well as police studies. On the one hand this underlines the importance of historical knowledge for the understanding of national or local policing cultures. On the other hand an explanation for exhibition concepts in police museums all over the world can be found. Criminal cases, some of which have been spectacular, are an integral part of the exhibition and, for the most part, there are links to regional police work. Local police history and policing issues are covered there. However, as already mentioned, this suggests a positive,

linear process, as can be seen in a documentary film about special police forces (SEK-Einsatz 2015). German police focus on the 1972 incident when the Olympic Games in Munich came under attack and the lack of special weapons, tactics, snipers and well-trained police officers led to many Israeli sportsmen being killed. As a result, all police authorities put in place special forces units (e.g. Bundespolizeimuseum), the best-known of those being the GSG 9. However, thematising failure is not usually part of police PR strategies. It is mainly possible due to another famous incident, operation 'Feuerzauber'. In 1977, the GSG 9 became well known for successfully fighting terrorism by rescuing the hostages of a hijacked German aeroplane called *Landshut* in Mogadishu. The myth of Mogadishu and the GSG 9 was born and, ever since, police authorities have been able to communicate their ability to reform police strategies and tactics in order to fight serious crime and terrorism. However, there is mostly a lack of communication about misconduct and decisions between local police operations. Assuming POs should bear corporate historical responsibility (CHR) as part of corporate social responsibility, it is necessary to use history in a reasonable way for external and internal communication. This includes talking about failures and scandals in order to enhance trust and integrity as fundamental parts of policing. CHR is a voluntary contribution (Ackermann, 2012, p. 74) and 'hinges on the recognition of the past as a moral issue and on the organisation's ability to create historical accountability, take responsibility, make public acknowledgements, and remember its past. It further illustrates that CHR creates sustainable policies that can strengthen corporate citizenship and serve as a means of (re-)legitimation' (Jannsen, 2013).

However, it must be noted that the use of police history often does not really intend a kind of accounting for the past (³). Creating the image of a modern organisation is a more important motive. Primarily, it is the capacity for communication in general that compels POs to mention history and to tell their stories. It enables the POs to get in touch with citizens in order to fulfil the classic duties of policing, like crime prevention. The Hamburg police, for example, combine

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(²) One example is the project 'Die Polizei im NS-Staat' (2008-2011) under the leadership of Wolfgang Schulte (Deutsche Hochschule der Polizei) and Detlef Graf von Schwerin (formerly Fachhochschule der Polizei des Landes Brandenburg), which led to the exhibition 'Ordnung und Vernichtung. Die Polizei im NS-Staat' shown in the Deutsches Historisches Museum from April to August 2011

(³) An exception is the aforementioned project 'Die Polizei im NS-Staat'.

their exhibition within the police museum with policing matters by providing information and hints on how to prevent burglary, pickpocketing, cybercrime and stalking. Additionally, they provide instructions on traffic safety. The same can be noticed when POs are celebrating jubilees. When the mounted police of Hannover celebrated their 200th anniversary in 2015, for example, the citizens were invited to the police premises. However, only parts of the event actually thematised the historical development. For the most part, people were able to see presentations about contemporary police work, equipment and cars. Catering was provided and there was a kids' play area. Therefore, it can be assumed that POs' histories function as 'catalytic convertors' that translate police and police work into socially comprehensible facts and images.

Hence, the presentations and exhibitions are often tied up with established images and clichés of police. Citizens can see 'action'-artefacts, like weapons, handcuffs, truncheons and uniforms. They can have a look at patrol cars, and techniques for self-defence and arresting people are demonstrated. This is not only in order to implement trust, but might also be an approach for the recruitment of young people to the organisation.

Beyond the abovementioned capabilities of uses of the past for external communication — for example with the public — organisational history and organisational stories are also important resources for the internal communication of POs. In this context, it could be seen as more than the chronology of an organisation (Rowlinson, Hassard and Decker, 2014). As we know from organisational theoretical literature, the use of history supports identification processes and the formation of an organisational identity for members of the organisation (Anteby and Molnár, 2012; Gioia, Schultz and Corley, 2000; Hansen, 2007; He and Brown, 2013; Mordhorst, 2014).

Results from interviews with police officers of the German Federal Police (formerly known as the Federal Border Guard), as an example, underline this. Some of the police officers interviewed highlighted links between the organisational history and identity and their identification with the organisation. Due to the unification of Germany and its consequences for the Federal Border Guard in terms of structural changes, new responsibilities (railway police competences,

aviation security) and finally the change of its name, they reported for example that from their point of view, the organisation has lost an important part of its identity (Schütte-Bestek, 2015a), which could be seen as a kind of 'identity threat' (Jacobs, Christe-Zeyse, Keegan and Pólos, 2008). It seems that some (particularly older) members are currently searching for a new organisational identity that links the past and the present police organisations. The interviewees mentioned their fear that the old times — particularly the old Federal Border Guard, with its image as an impressive, robust and effective police force and its success stories — might be forgotten in a few years' time, and they expressed their wish for more documentation, conservation and opportunities for reflection concerning the whole history of federal police in order to support identity and image formation (Schütte-Bestek, 2015b).

According to our first empirical results we have observed some organisational attempts to provide identification as well as identity-forming processes by integrating the organisational past into internal communication in a more formal way. For example, in the magazine of the German Federal Police (*Bundespolizei kompakt*) a new section was introduced in 2015 entitled '5 questions to …', in which single police officers from different departments tell their individual stories within the organisation. They report the different career stations, highlights and challenges of their work-life (*Bundespolizei kompakt*, 2015, Vol. 1-4). Other magazines of POs entail the history of certain police units, such as in the context of jubilees (e.g. *Bundespolizei kompakt*, 2015, Vol. 4), or explain how a certain PO has developed over the last 25 years (e.g. *Polizei Journal* of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania). These stories transfer long-existing values (e.g. solidarity, unity and team spirit), norms (policing ideals, mission statements) and traditions, and are therefore helpful for organisation members to be able to better understand their (current) organisation, organisational decisions and changes. Beside these communication media, some sections of police museums function as historical police collections of teaching aids that are used for the training of police. The official aim of this is to present police cadets with examples of real-life police work, policing methods and operating resources and how they evolved; the regional or local history of a PO and its relations with the public; actual cases; and several others (e.g. Polizeimuseum Hamburg, 2011). However,

as persons responsible explain, police cadets are actually just hustled through the historical collections without being given the opportunity to reflect on history, operations and critical events or to depict lessons learned from these. What this points to is that there is no mature didactical concept in handling the past within police training contexts.

From these observations, we work out the assumptions that using a POs past in terms of internal communication is an opportunity for linking together past, present and future of an organisation. At the same time, it is seen as a condition for (historical) sensemaking, since history transfers organisational traditions and meanings, institutional concepts as well as local specialities of POs, which are important for their members to form an organisational identity and which are necessary to understand 'their' organisation.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings and assumptions presented concerning the uses of the past in POs' internal and external communications are the first results, and refer only to German POs. Due to this fact our propositions are limited and must be further developed over the next several years. For now, it can be stated that POs already use their history for internal and external communication processes, but not as strategic or selective corporate storytelling, or rather story building. While police history and stories are a small part of police PR, they are used for the self-presentation of POs to different internal and external stakeholders. In these terms, police history seems to function as a 'catalytic convertor' that provides links between POs and other social actors as much as between POs and their members. This implies a high potential to promote, for example, legitimacy, trust and satisfaction (in terms of external relations), especially in the contemporary dynamic world with specific issues of globalisation as well as loyalty, solidarity, engagement and identification among organisation members.

This also entails a chance for the Europeanisation of local, regional and national police forces.

Persisting national cultures and laws may have an effect not only on local policing, but also on cross-border investigations and operations, as well as on handling global problems (e.g. refugees). EU agencies (e.g. CEPOL and Frontex) dedicate themselves to this challenge, as do common offices (e.g. Bureau Commun de Coopération Policière) and exchange programmes. As history shows, the need for this development is obvious. Since the 19th century law enforcement agencies and politics have responded to the cross-border movement of criminals in terms of cooperation frameworks, conferences, agreements and search publications (Aden, 1998). But there are different cultures, languages, structures and work mentalities. That is why it is helpful and necessary to understand the partners in fighting crime. Referring to the European area of freedom, security and justice and the EU's efforts to enhance the cooperation of police bodies, local and national identities (referring to community policing) and a European identity (referring to cross-border cooperation) should be combined. In this context, history provides associative grounds for crosslinking, networking and exchange. It can be assumed that police stories are able to boost a European police spirit — they just have to be told (selectively). There are enough tales about joint operations and missions (e.g. by Frontex), about policing football championships or Olympic Games, about combat team conferences and other joint training scenarios and, last but not least, about CEPOL conferences. Basically, there is the opportunity to write European corporate police stories.

Nevertheless, we assume from our findings that these uses of the past have thus far been a less regulated and professionalised part of police communication. 'Corporate police stories' indeed already exist as 'narrations from within the organisation relating to its people, practices, policies and visions' (Gill, 2011, p. 1). However, they do not seem to be used in a strategic and reflexive manner as for-profit organisations would use them, for example in a target group-specific direction. Furthermore, there might be unintended effects that have to be further explored.

In conclusion, it can also be stated that no matter whether the past is used in a local, national or European perspective, it should reasonably comply with the scope of CHR. Therefore, self-presentation with the help of the past should

be an integral part of police PR strategies and guidelines. Good and bad times are equally part of the police history, as are success and failure in operations. Both sides should be mentioned and reflected, because reappraisal of and accounting for the past counts more than an incident in itself when it comes to establishing trust in the organisation. To support such a kind of reasonable use of past, collaborations between police (policing, training) and research (organisational studies, didactics of history, etc.) are recommended.

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VICTIMS' VIEWS ON POLICING PARTNER VIOLENCE

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Abstract: The latest Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary for England and Wales (HMIC) report (2014), *Everyone's business: improving the police response to domestic abuse,* highlighted that police forces across the United Kingdom were not responding satisfactorily to victims of domestic abuse, and have little understanding of coercion and control. The report suggested forces find more innovative ways of training officers to improve responses. A 1-week snapshot of domestic abuse was carried out at Durham Constabulary, which involved interviewing victims who had reported domestic abuse to the police, as well as police and support organisations. Twenty-four victims were spoken to about their recent experiences with the police. Responses were mixed, with victims reporting positive, negative and satisfactory experiences. A number of police who were interviewed reported their knowledge of coercive and controlling behaviours was more limited than that of general domestic abuse, and they found it difficult to identify these behaviours when responding to incidents. Organisations also called for police to receive further training on coercion and control. Findings from all interviews will be considered side by side to help shape a new drama-based training programme, which will be rolled out to police to address gaps in knowledge.

Keywords: policing; coercion; intimate partner violence.

INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence and abuse (DVA) is a crime of huge scale. Between August 2012 and 2013 there were 269 700 DVA crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales, with someone contacting the police regarding DVA on average every 30 seconds (HMIC, 2014). This research focuses on DVA between partners or ex-partners, and will therefore, going forward, be referred to as intimate partner violence (IPV). Considering IPV from a feminist viewpoint, Johnson (2011) states how it can be split into three separate areas: intimate terrorism, violent resistance and situational couple violence. Violent resistance often involves a woman fighting back towards her male partner, and situational couple violence is where both partners in a couple become aggressive towards each other (Johnson, 2011). Intimate terrorism, which involves a pattern of violent coercion and control in which someone is oppressed and their freedom limited (Stark, 2007), is the primary area that this research will consider.

Anyone can be a victim of IPV, however most reported cases involve a male perpetrator and a female victim (Women's Aid, 2014). Myhill (2015) states that when research finds that abuse is mutual between genders, this is because it is taking into account situational couple violence and not focusing on coercive and controlling intimate terrorism, which is highly gendered. Coercive and controlling behaviours are the newest additions to the Home Office definition of domestic violence within the United Kingdom, and are set to become a criminal offence in the United Kingdom in the near future. For this reason, it is important that police officers have sufficient knowledge of and are trained in how to recognise these behaviours and respond appropriately when responding to IPV. Myhill (2015) states that in order to identify if someone is experiencing coercion and control, appropriate questions need to be asked. He proposes that if someone answers 'yes' to both have they 'repeatedly belittled you to the extent that you felt worthless' and 'frightened you, by threatening to hurt you or someone close

to you', that this could be classed as coercive control. Myhill's suggestion was used to help shape relevant questions to identify coercion and control in this research.

Within the United Kingdom there is a small pool of research that specifically considers police response to domestic abuse victims. Research carried out by Robinson and Stroshine (2005) in Cardiff, United Kingdom has considered the importance of expectation fulfilment on levels of satisfaction that victims feel when reporting domestic abuse to the police. The authors conducted structured interviews with 222 victims of domestic abuse to consider factors that contributed to their satisfaction. They found that when (1) what victims expected police to do and (2) how they expected police to act correlated with what police actually did, satisfaction levels were higher. The researchers also found that when police appeared concerned and listened to the victim these behaviours were correlated with higher levels of victim satisfaction than any police behaviours such as making an arrest. These findings of victim expectations correlating with victim satisfaction have also been alluded to previously (e.g. Reisig and Chandek, 2001).

The aim of this research is to evaluate the current police frontline response to IPV victims by means of interviews with victims, police officers and support organisations, and to identify 'weak' areas to be included in new, drama-based training to be rolled out to front line officers at a police force in the North East of England. This paper outlines the steps taken so far, up to and including the findings from the interviews with the three groups mentioned above.

METHODOLOGY

In order to collect representative data for the research, interviews were carried out with victims who had reported domestic abuse to Durham Constabulary within a 1-week period in February 2015. The snapshot approach has been used previously with success (e.g. Westmarland, Hester and Carrozza, 2005), and consists of gathering data from a specific time period that is seen to be roughly representative of other time periods.

INCLUSIONS AND EXCLUSIONS

The snapshot data was gathered via police systems at Durham Constabulary. This involved identifying every incident that was reported as a domestic (or had a domestic 'qualifier' ([1]) on) during the target week. This data was then sorted into those that met the research criteria (partner and ex-partner cases) and those that did not (family violence, no safe number to call, deemed too risky to call). The researchers followed a safety protocol that outlined criteria that each case must meet to be classed as safe to call. If there were cases that a researcher was unsure about, a discussion would follow, including liaison with the safeguarding team if needed.

TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

An interview schedule was devised with input from the researchers, staff within Durham Constabulary and ideas from the Home Office. Each eligible person within the snapshot was contacted by telephone a maximum of three times; if there was no response after the third attempt no further contact was made. For those who agreed to take part, the questions focused on asking victims how happy they were with their recent response from the police, questions to identify if they were experiencing coercion and control, and rating scales to measure various aspects of satisfaction, such as being believed and treated with respect. Interviews lasted approximately 15 minutes.

FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEWS

One-to-one interviews were also carried out with police and support organisations. Emails were sent out to invite people to participate, as well as an internal message to police officers. Nine police officers and eight members of support organisations were interviewed. Questions to police included asking what actions they take to make victims feel safe, how they identify controlling and coercive behaviours when responding to incidents and questions to support organisations focused on their opinions of police response to IPV victims based on their client work. The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes.

([1]) A qualifier shows that the incident was not initially reported as a domestic incident, but it meets some of the criteria of a domestic.

LIMITATIONS

The snapshot only focused on 1 week of domestic incidents, so generalisability must be approached with caution. However, the week was chosen as it was thought to be roughly representative of a typical week. Family violence was also excluded from the snapshot, and so any findings may not be applicable to these incidents.

As all interviews were carried out on a voluntary basis, it is also possible that only police officers who were confident that they respond effectively to domestic abuse expressed an interest in taking part in the research. Similarly, when contacting victims, those who did not answer the telephone or refused to take part may have had particularly negative experiences of police response and be fearful of speaking to us. We attempted to alleviate this when speaking with victims by stating that we were from Durham University, not the police, but it is possible that victims may still have had concerns about speaking to us. These limitations must be taken into account when considering the findings.

FINDINGS

Overall, victims were happy with the response they received from the police, and when asked this question ratings ranged from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unsatisfied, and 10 being completely satisfied (mean = 8.3, median = 10, mode = 10). Similarly to results found by Robinson and Stroshine (2005), the majority of participants in this research reported that having the police listen and reassure them was the most useful thing that they did, more so than physical behaviours such as taking statements and removing the other person. 75 % of participants also said they would call the police again if they were in a similar situation. In terms of negative findings, 62 % of participants could not recall the police leaving them with details for support organisations following the incident, and 25 % were not told what would happen after the officer left.

Participants were also asked why they called the police on this occasion when they may not have before, and the most common responses were that the incident involved physical violence, or that calling was a last resort. This suggests that victims may experience IPV on more than one occasion before they decide to report it, and that

they believe that physical violence will be dealt with more effectively by the police.

Participants were asked a final three questions designed to examine whether they were experiencing coercion and control in their relationships. A high number of victims gave the maximum score of 10 for these questions, indicating that coercion and control behaviours were high in this sample. This was apparent for those in current relationships as well as those who reported IPV from ex-partners. Though 18 out of 24 victims indicated that coercion and control were present in their relationships, the police had recorded only 3 out of 24 of these incidents as involving coercion and control on their systems, suggesting they did not always pick up on these behaviours when responding.

Police who were interviewed mostly indicated that their knowledge, experience and confidence with responding to controlling and coercive behaviours was lower than for domestic abuse generally. More than half also felt it is difficult to identify these behaviours when responding to incidents. Professionals from organisations stressed that victims find it difficult to report IPV to the police and that they need to be believed and referred onto appropriate support agencies. Professionals also felt that non-physical forms of abuse are the hardest for police to respond to, and their knowledge of coercion and control is low, with reasons including lack of understanding about myths, personal prejudices and lack of awareness around what coercion and control is.

CONCLUSIONS

Victims are generally happy with the first response received by Durham Constabulary, although there are still mixed responses based on individual officers, suggesting more consistency is needed within the force. Victims see police as a last resort and are more likely to call if they have experienced physical violence, and coercive and controlling behaviours are not picked up on by many officers when risk assessments are being carried out. Police and support organisations agree that knowledge of coercive and controlling behaviours needs to be improved. More training is needed to educate officers on how coercion and control are perpetrated in intimate relationships, and ways of responding to victims experiencing these behaviours.

NEXT STEPS

The findings from this stage of the research have been used to develop an innovative, drama-based training programme to be rolled out to all officers within the North East force. Working with a theatre group who are proficient in the dynamics of coercion and control and using drama to portray these issues, victim and police voices have been used to shape the content of the programme, which aims to increase frontline police officer's knowledge of and confidence with responding to these subtle aspects of IPV. A snapshot will be repeated in February 2016 to assess the impact of the training on police response to IPV victims.

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PUBLIC VALUE:
A NEW MEANS TO PEEL AN APPLE?

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Abstract: This conceptual paper examines the public value framework developed by Moore (1995) and Benington and Moore (2011) and uses the framework analytically as a way to address demand in policing and to prioritise and justify actions. It is therefore a potential tool for evidence-based policing. This paper examines the policing context in which the public value framework may be useful, and then examines existing theory and evidence about its use in policing. In the United Kingdom 'traditional' crime is reported to be falling but the demand on policing services is increasing and changing in nature. A decrease in overall measured crime is incongruent with increases in serious and organised crime, child sexual exploitation, domestic abuse and cyber offences. It is estimated that there may be as many as 3 million unrecorded fraud and cyber incidents (Thornton, 2015). There is undoubtedly a greater demand on specialist skills, time and resources from police forces. Much of the emerging threat is complex and virtual in nature, involving multiple partners and where there are no easy, agreed or known solutions. Counterterrorism, mental health, violence, child sexual exploitation and missing persons are all issues where public expectations of the police are high. Yet the strategic management tools from the 1990s onwards focus on organisational goal setting, targets and key performance indicators, ignoring wider outcomes and often creating performance rigidity, reinforcing silo mentality and reinforcing the gaming of performance data. In May 2015 the newly elected UK government announced a review of all forces that were still setting arbitrary targets, despite numerous warnings to desist. This paper explores and reports whether and how, in a time of limited resources yet expanding expectations, the public value framework can be used as an underpinning philosophy while also providing a prompt for practical actions for policing activity.

Keywords: policing; public value; legitimacy; performance; PEEL.

INTRODUCTION

The public value theory and framework, originally developed by Moore (1995) and then expanded on by others (Alford and Hughes, 2008; Benington and Moore, 2011) provides a framework to think about how police organisations add value to society, and it also provides a toolkit to help police officers and staff strategically manage demand. In this conceptual paper the framework is briefly outlined and its relevance to policing explained. The paper explores the implications, including the clarification of how the modern police service secures and maintains the confidence of the public, for decision-making and allocation of shrinking resources, and how it frames and measures service and societal outcomes. The evidence suggests that a public value approach can be helpful in both philosophy and practice in the modern policing environment.

First, this paper sets public value in the context of rising demand and expectations along with austerity pressures. The Assistant Chief Constable of Norfolk and Suffolk Constabulary, Sarah Hamlin, captured the essence of a requirement to rethink demand in policing in her observations:

'Policing has reached a watershed in its modernisation programme, attempting to change its value discipline from operationally excellent to customer intimate. Operational performance needs maintaining and yet there is an expectation on us to not only

engage with our customers but understand their needs, motivations and what they value most from the services they receive. Our drive to improve confidence and satisfaction may have led to us creating an "emotional bond" between the public and police and consequently this may explain why the public contact the police first rather than a more appropriate organisation (Hamlin, 2015, p. 1).

Organisational understanding of customer (or citizen) need and customer-perceived value are both critical success factors. Customer needs, values and expectations are very likely to change as they encounter different departments and organisations along their 'customer journey'. However as a service policing has not refocused or educated the public about how to engage with appropriate organisations for their needs, and instead we have continued to promote accessibility for everything and this has led to a greater need for partner engagement and/or referral. This essentially adds another step in the process, duplicates effort, and adds cost.

PUBLIC VALUE

This paper provides an overview of public value and proposes that the public value framework (Benington and Moore, 2011) provides a useful strategic management tool for policing, with the potential to help police professionals:

- prioritise resources in a time of rising demand and expectations;

- address complex problems, often in collaboration with partners and other stakeholders;

- enhance innovation in order to find better ways of keeping the public safe;

- ensure that the focus remains on processes and outcomes for victims, communities and society;

- adapt to on-going changes in society.

This framework has already been used in a practical way by a number of public sector services, including policing, the BBC, local authorities and health.

CONTEXT

The Police Service in the United Kingdom is undergoing the most significant change in its recent history. This is as a direct result of the demands imposed by the *Comprehensive spending review* (Treasury, 2010), which initially commanded a 20 % reduction in police funding by 2015, opening up the debate around what the police can actually deliver (Millie and Bullock, 2013). In most police forces this has resulted in significant reductions in staff numbers and has been the source of redeployment issues, as well as triggering significant changes in working practices. Nationally, police forces have planned to make GBP 2.5 billion in savings between 2011/2012 and 2014/2015, with a 36 672 workforce reduction having been made between 2010 and 2014 (Morse, 2015). The government review will result in a reduction of the workforce by 43 % by 2021 (Stansfield, 2014). Crime is reportedly falling (Farrar, 2013), but what is clear is that the demand on police services is increasing exponentially. There is a much greater demand for specialist skills, time and resources from police forces (Liver, 2015). Many of the issues that the police increasingly have to address are what Grint (2010) describes as 'wicked problems', in that they are complex, involve multiple partners and are problems where there are no easy, agreed or known solutions. Counterterrorism, mental health, violence, child sexual exploitation and missing persons are all issues where public expectations of the police are high. Yet the strategic management tools from the 1990s onwards focus on organisational goal setting, targets and KPI's, which create a number of rigidities, reinforce silo mentalities and create 'gaming'. These performance measures undermine the overall intention in performance regimes (Hood, 2006), increasing competition within and between organisations; and reducing innovation (Hartley, Sorensen and Torfing, 2013). Nor will 'command and control' approaches create the agility and responsiveness to new challenges in society that will be necessary in this rapidly changing environment.

The independent, from both government and the police, inspecting body for UK police forces is Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC). It has adopted an approach, labelled PEEL (Winsor, 2015). This is 'police effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy', and is a play on the name of Robert Peel, the reported founder of policing in the United Kingdom. 'Peel's principles'

are often referred to as the foundation of modern police methodology (Lentz and Chaires, 2007), and from which the title of this paper is drawn. The HMIC inspection criteria set out to examine how police forces provide value for money, how they measure and address performance and how they operate legitimately in society, by consent.

PUBLIC VALUE FRAMEWORK

So, in a time of limited resources but expanding expectations, what can the public value framework add? Mark Moore of Harvard University developed the original approach to public value (1995), and this was then developed further with John Benington of Warwick University (2011). They created a framework, which focused on the added value created by public services. They recognised that measures of added value needed to go beyond the counting of activities, or even the counting of outputs (e.g. stop and search, number of arrests or convictions) to include ways in which public organisations contributed to the wider aims of society, for example creating a fair, just or peaceful society or enabling citizens to live confident, safe and fulfilling lives.

This approach has been applied in both the United States and the United Kingdom, and it takes account of 'networked governance' — that multiple stakeholders are involved in creating and evaluating decisions that affect society and have a view about what is valuable and/or desirable (Benington, 2000).

There are two components of public value.

1. What the public value.

What the public indicate they value or see as important priorities, which is sometimes different from what they want. This involves professionals taking into account the values, needs and aspirations of citizens (individually and collectively) as the professionals design, provide and evaluate services.

2. What adds value to the public sphere.

Value cannot be determined solely from the first component, otherwise it could be based on populist or majoritarian views, whereas a fair society also needs to consider both the longer term (e.g. protecting future generations) and

also minority views. The public sphere is the web of places, organisations, cultures, rules and knowledge held in common by people and held in trust by government and public organisations (Benington and Moore, 2011).

Value may include:

- political value (stimulating and supporting democratic participation and dialogue);

- economic value (generation of economic activity and employment);

- social value (strengthening social capital, social cohesion, social relationships and culture);

- ecological value (contributing to environmental sustainability).

THE PUBLIC VALUE STRATEGIC TRIANGLE

Public servants can create public value by paying attention to three elements, which need to be in alignment to create public value. These elements are dynamic.

1. What is the public value proposition?

What is the value that we are aiming to create/enhance? Can we state this clearly and persuasively? Is it focused on processes and outcomes?

2. What is the legitimacy and support we need to achieve that public value proposition?

This is the authorising environment. Who needs to be on board? What stakeholders will support (or not oppose) this?

3. What operational resources do we need to achieve this outcome?

This is operational capacity. Where will resources come from (resources may lie outside the organisation not just within it)?
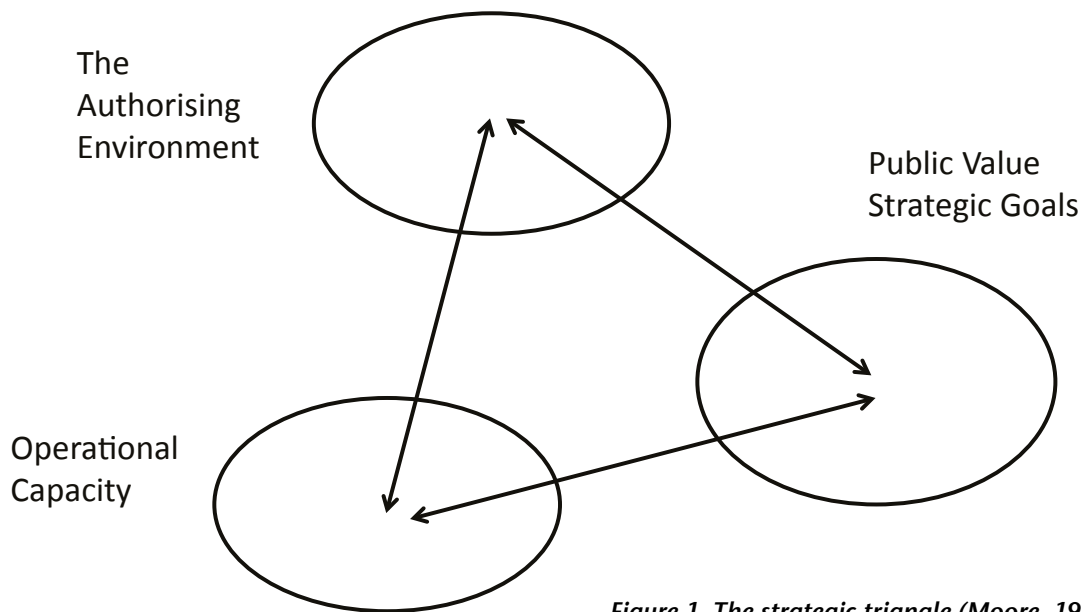
The
Authorising
Environment

Public Value
Strategic Goals

Operational
Capacity

Figure 1. The strategic triangle (Moore, 1995)

WHO CREATES PUBLIC VALUE?

Public value is not only created by the public sector. The private sector and the third sector can also create and add public value. However, one of the key roles of the state and its agencies can be to harness the work of other partners behind clear public value goals and outcomes.

PUBLIC VALUE AS A KEY TOOL IN DEMAND MANAGEMENT

The concept of public value helps to focus attention and effort outward towards mobilising practical and useful outcomes for citizens, communities and society at large, as part of a whole complex adaptive system of governance.

It is a useful tool for strategic planning, posing questions such as: 'What is the public value being added? Who supports this to be achieved? What operational resources are needed?' It also requires clear measurement, or at least assessment. Public value can be used as a mechanism (among professionals, between professionals and the public) to stimulate debate about how to achieve value. It asks where public value is being added (or destroyed), and how this might be improved.

The public value framework was applied to the policing of the Drumcree demonstrations in Northern Ireland, enabling a shift in perspective and purpose that led (over time, and with some problems on the way) to more peaceful protests in which the principal community groups contributed to their own policing and law-keeping, rather than relying on police and army resources to keep them apart (Benington and Turbitt, 2007; Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Policing is trying to come to terms with managing rising demand and the context of austerity by shifting its ways of prioritising from operationally excellent to focusing on the service user. Policing is attempting to change its value discipline from operationally excellent to customer intimate. Operational performance needs maintaining, and yet there is an expectation on police professionals to not only engage with customers/citizens but also understand their needs, motivation and what they value most from the services they receive, as well as what contributes to the public sphere. The public value framework appears to provide a prima facie way of creating valuable outcomes for the public by building

stronger legitimacy and wider support from the public and other key stakeholders. For policing, public value has the potential to inform, clarify and operationalise the notion of prioritising, producing, providing and adding to the services to the public.

The public value framework is not a panacea for difficult choices and tough decisions. The two elements of public value (what the public value and what adds value to the public sphere) can be in tension and can change over time, and different sections of the public may have different assessments of value so this is not always an easy course to follow, as the Drumcree case study demonstrates. Furthermore, it would be a mistake to think of the public value framework as the 'one best way' to address demand or to enact priorities, given that a single way to achieve complex and contested outcomes has never been found to work. But public value does provide a way of asking penetrating questions, orchestrating important debates among relevant stakeholders and providing a clear rationale for sometimes unpopular courses of policing action, so there is mileage in understanding it and using it as an approach to policing.

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HOW ARE SIMULATIONS USED IN SECURITY SECTOR TRAINING IN FINLAND?

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Abstract: This article will describe a research project concerning the use of learning simulations in security sector training organisations supervised by the Ministry of the Interior in Finland. Information will be gathered about the use of simulations in basic degree training of the Border and Coast Guard Academy, Crisis Management Centre Finland, the Police University College and the Emergency Services College. The aim of the research project is to establish a common and pedagogically grounded view of the use of simulations as a teaching method. A common language and a basis for cooperation inside and amongst the training organisations will be created.

Keywords: security sector; training methods; simulations; Finland.

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

The Police University College gathers information about the use of simulations in the basic degree training of security sector training organisations supervised by the Ministry of the Interior in Finland, i.e. the Police University College, the Emergency Services College, Crisis Management Centre Finland and the Border and Coast Guard Academy. The project is funded by the Ministry of the Interior. By gathering pedagogical understanding of simulations as a teaching method and best practices of their use and by establishing a common vocabulary, it is possible to enhance the use of simulations in developing vocational competence. A shared view of simulation learning is likely to promote cooperation inside and amongst the training organisations, which will open possibilities for cost savings.

This article will provide an overview about the research project for security training organisations in Europe that are interested in simulation learning. References are warmly welcomed and information about the research results will be shared with those who are interested, as they become available. The research project started on 1 October 2014 and will finish at the end of February 2016.

THE AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of the research project is to create a theoretically multidimensional and practically fruitful understanding of simulations as a part of vocational training and to establish a comprehensive view of the use of the simulations as a teaching method in the abovementioned training organisations.

The main research questions are as follows.

1. What kind of simulations are used in the basic degree training of security section training organisations supervised by the Ministry of the Interior in Finland (the most representative simulation exercises/other simulation exercises and classifying them, studying them with the help of a simulation element framework, integration with other teaching)?

2. In which phases of basic degree studies are the simulation exercises carried out to different degrees (police officer, firefighter, emergency response centre operator, border guard)?

3. What kind of best practices emerge in the simulation exercises (existing research results

compared to the practical experiences of simulation learning, accomplishment of the exercises, origin and further development of the exercises)?

Also, the aspirations and needs of the training organisations that are the target of the research will be taken into account as much as possible, especially concerning the future directions and needs of simulation learning.

DEFINITION OF CENTRAL CONCEPTS

At the beginning of the research project, we started to search for information about existing simulation exercises using a wide-ranging definition of simulations according to which any exercise that simulates some aspect of practice or a real situation was regarded as a simulation, as well as simulators that simulate a technical system. A wide-ranging definition was reasonable to make sure no simulation exercises were omitted from the study in the first phase, because it seemed to be common to regard only simulators as simulations.

Based on the literature review and discussions held with representatives of the training organisations, the definition of simulations was clarified and tightened. A lot of reflection about simulation learning has already been carried out at the Emergency Services College, and also other elements than the simulation itself have been seen to be essential (Helveranta et al., 2009). Other elements are, for example, the theoretical understanding needed before the exercise, the preparation and orientation of the exercise and the learning discussion or debriefing accomplished after the exercise, according to the simulation setting model of Dieckmann (2012) (Figure 1). Typical for a simulation exercise is a systematic, repeatable design carried out

through a manuscript. It is also typical to video the exercise in order to support a learning discussion afterwards.

Debriefing is an essential part of simulation; it can even be regarded as the most important element of the simulation exercise (Crookall, 2010). The importance of debriefing is also supported by the research results from another strongly experience-based learning method, namely learning games. It has been discovered that learning from games is most effective when methods that structure the learning (such as debriefing or reflection) are used along with the games (e.g. Sitzmann, 2011; Wouters et al., 2013; Wouters and Oostendorp, 2013; Kiili and Ketamo, 2007; Mayer and Johnson, 2010).

In this research, simulation has been defined as a teaching method that simulates real situations or systems, is structured with methods encouraging reflection and further analysis of learning and is operated according to a manuscript.

Because simulations and the goals of their use differ from each other, a simulation taxonomy will be created. Simulations can be classified into different categories based on their type and the features and learning goals that are best supported by each of them. Also, the context where the information will be used, varying from simple and static to highly complex and chaotic, can be taken into account (Kurtz and Snowden, 2003). The taxonomy may help in planning simulation-based teaching. So far, simulations or simulators have been classified according to the modelled object, its type and the relationship between the model and modelled object, how simulations are linked with learning objectives and learning assessments, and partial or whole-task viewpoint and integration of technical systems (Joolingen and Jong, 1991; Miller et al., 2010; Galloway, 2009; Alinier, 2007.)

Figure 1. Simulation setting (adapted from Dieckmann, 2012, p. 629)
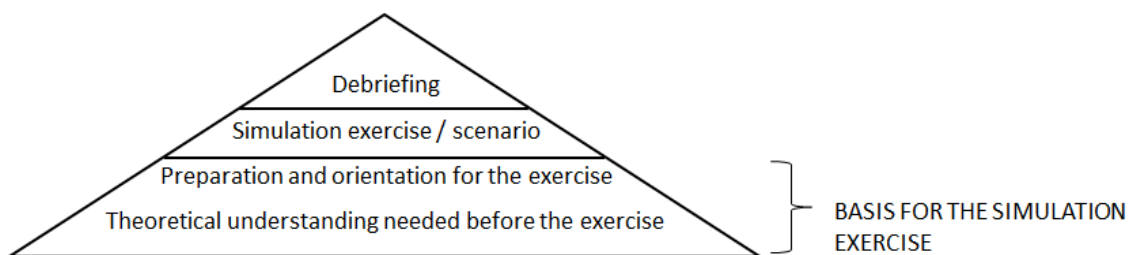
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

At the beginning of the project, research articles about simulation learning were studied thoroughly. Attention was specifically directed to learning the theoretical characteristics of simulations. Several learning theories can be found behind learning simulations. Salakari (2007) has studied the use of simulation in the context of learning skills. He identifies theories such as constructivism, contextual learning, cooperative learning and experience-based learning behind the simulations. A constructivist-realistic-experience-based view of learning forms the basis of simulation learning in the Emergency Services College (Helveranta et al., 2009). This kind of learning view also appears to be suitable for the other training organisations in the security sector.

The student is seen in an active role, constructing his/her own competence based on what has previously been learned, but the training organisation also guides the development in a certain direction. Learning is based on both theoretical and practical information, which together are merged into experiences. Simulations can offer the learner the possibility of applying theory in practice and gaining experiences. It has been seen as crucial for the development of the expertise to offer learners plenty of different kinds of learning situations resembling the authentic situations at work and as much practical training as possible (Daley, 1999; Ericsson and Charness, 1994; Haskell, 2001; Helveranta et al., 2009; Miettinen, 1998; Poikela, 2012; Salakari, 2007; Saugstad, 2013; Siljander, 2014.)

Learning goals should guide the selection of learning methods used, and the development of simulation taxonomy may help in these decisions. What is special for simulation learning compared to other practical learning methods should also be clear and taken into account when one decides to use simulation learning. The relationship between simulations and reality is not an exact one. This should not be seen not as a downside of simulations, but as a strength. The surface fidelity of simulations should not in all cases be seen as the ultimate goal, since, for example, for novice learners it may be of more help to be shown what is not present in the simulation but is present in reality, and why something is done in a certain way. In this way, it may be easier to gain the tacit knowledge which

is seen as the most difficult to learn (Bradley, 2011; Hindmarsh et al., 2014; Kinchin and Cabot, 2010.)

Certain principles, implementation models and best practices that should be part of a simulation exercise emerge from the research into simulation learning: clear and defined outcomes and their measurement, repetitive practice, time spent learning and distribution of the training over several days, curriculum integration, variation in scenarios and difficulty level, cognitive interactivity, team training, deliberate practice, mastery learning and feedback, just to mention a few (Cook et al., 2013, McGaghie et al., 2010, Issenberg et al., 2005). Simulation exercises in this research project can be compared with them.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESEARCH

The research will be carried out according to the framework of case study research. Case study research is empirical research studying a phenomenon in its real context to gain a thorough understanding of it. The aim is to describe and make understandable the phenomenon studied — in the case of this research project, simulation learning in the training organisations supervised by the Ministry of the Interior (Yin, 2013).

It is typical of case study research collect several kinds of research data (Yin, 2013). In this research, data is collected using three different methods — observations, interviews and a questionnaire. To answer the first and second research questions, a comprehensive view of the simulation exercises in the training organisations studied must be obtained. In the early phase of the project, it was realised that this kind of information is not available in a concentrated form — instead the information must be gathered from teachers. Study guides and implementation plans do not give enough information about the simulation exercises used. The questionnaire will be used to form a comprehensive view of the simulation exercises and their characteristics. The abovementioned simulation taxonomy will help in classifying different exercises and illustrating their specific features. Information is also collected to obtain a general idea about
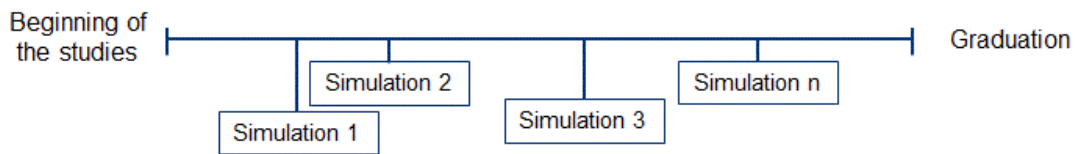
Figure 2. Situation of the simulation exercises in the curricula

the point in the curricula at which the simulation exercises are situated, from the beginning of the studies to graduation in different degree training, according to the following model (Figure 2).

In addition to the mapping of existing simulation exercises, selected and most representative simulation exercises of the training organisations will be compared to the research results about the best practices of simulation learning (e.g. how they are accomplished, what kind of elements of simulation can be identified from them). The exercises are selected based on the discussions with the teaching personnel of the training organisations. The selected exercises should fulfil the criteria of a simulation (i.e. be systematically designed and be comprised of at least some of the structuring elements presented in the simulation setting model) and represent different subjects. In this way, answers are gathered for the third research question.

The data about the exercises is collected by direct observation and interviews. The level of the observation is general, and the aim is to acquire a grasp of the accomplishment of the exercise and study especially the interaction between the learners and teachers during the exercise. The purpose of the interview is primarily to support and supplement the data collected through observations, but also some more general questions concerning simulation learning are presented in the interviews.

DISSEMINATION OF THE RESULTS

The final report will be based on several distinguished articles in the subject area instead of a traditional research report. As an article collection, the research report will probably best serve a broader group of readers. Articles are based on theoretical considerations and data collected during the research.

The future of simulation learning and technology aspects will be analysed. It will also be possible

to include articles from teachers and experts in training organisations, if a willingness to write is expressed.

The transparency of the research process has been taken care of. Research papers and presentations will also be offered for Finnish conferences and research journals. A portal site has been set up for the project, offering information about the project and simulation learning for the personnel working under the organisations of the Ministry of the Interior in Finland. Unfortunately, at the moment there is no public website for the project. Project communication will be mostly in Finnish, but since we do not wish to restrict our research project and its results in Finland, value was seen in, for example, writing this article in an international publication to provide information about the ongoing research project, and we welcome references and experiences from organisations, researchers and teachers interested in simulation learning from other countries as well.

DISCUSSION

At the moment, we already know that some of the simulation exercises are the results of years of development, and practical experiences have guided the development of the exercises. On the other hand, research results have been applied in the development of some exercises. It is not necessarily enough to apply the already existing models without modifying them, since the special requirements of the subject matter and teaching situation must be taken into account.

Restrictions in the teaching resources available in the training organisations place new demands on teaching and the students. The resources allocated for classroom teaching are diminishing, and students are expected to take more responsibility for their own learning. On the other hand, the technical development of our operational environment sets new expectations, especially considering the new

student generations. What are the chances of simulation learning offering solutions for these developmental trends?

It has been seen as important that each of the training organisations see themselves as co-researchers with the Police University College, and are thus able to bring out their own aspirations and needs to be taken into account in the research. In this way, the research project can offer the best possible benefit for all of the training organisations.

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