



European Police College

**Project Group on a
European Approach to
Police Science
(PGEAPS)**

PERSPECTIVES OF POLICE SCIENCE IN EUROPE

Final Report

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Preface

By János Fehérváry¹

Basic idea

Criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, pedagogues, philosophers and academics from different fields of science have produced a great number of scientific reports on surveys and projects concerning practical and theoretical topics of police, policing and police training after World War II in Europe. They had some direct or indirect influence on political (economic, legal, organisational) decisions and the development of conditions for policing and police training in some countries or regions. However, overall, the profit of the scientific efforts for police in practice and policing seems to be capable of improvement. It was only possible to bridge the gap between theory (science, academic research) and police practice in some countries and in some fields of police/policing.

There was and is no institution in Europe where

- the great number of scientific findings concerning police, policing and police training/education are collected systematically;
- comparative studies are initiated or done;
- systematic presentations of findings for police forces, police training institutes and universities take place in order to make use of them;
- efforts for bridging existing gaps between theory and police practice are made.

After an unsuccessful Spanish initiative to establish such a “European Police Research Institute” in 2002², it is expected by the Council that the European Police College (CEPOL) takes over this function. Therefore CEPOL shall become the official European organisation not only for cooperation in the field of training matters for senior police officers. Because CEPOL’s training/learning activities should always be based on research findings and good practice, CEPOL shall take over tasks of European cooperation and coordination in the field of police science and research also.

CEPOL’s initiatives in the field of police research and science

CEPOL was established by Council Decision (2000/820/JHA from 22 December 2000) on 1 January 2001 to operate as a network of Member States’

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² Doc. 5133/02 ENFOPOL 4 from 29 January 2002 and Doc. 9320/02 REV1 from 5 June 2002

national training institutes providing training, research and learning services to senior police officers and law enforcement officials, who are involved in activities to combat cross-border and international crime.

The practical implementation of this political decision happened in four phases. In each of these phases important steps were done to fulfil CEPOL's aims and objectives by activities in the field of police research and science.

In the first CEPOL-phase under Swedish, Belgian and Spanish Presidency, the structure and working conditions for the organisations were decided. Five committees were established for the support of the Governing Board. One of them was the "Research and Science Committee". It took over CEPOL's tasks in the area of police research and science. Members of the committee were Austria, Ireland, Spain and Sweden. The committee held its first meeting in autumn 2001 in Templemore, chaired by Ulf Göransson. There, the first ideas for CEPOL's activities in this field were discussed and collected, and the committee decided to propose the Governing Board of CEPOL to:³

- send out a questionnaire about ongoing research- and science projects within the Police Colleges in the Member State, in the Candidate Countries, in Norway and Iceland;
- send out a questionnaire about ongoing research- and science projects at universities and other institutions or in cooperation with external institutions in the field of police science;
(the objectives with the two questionnaires were: to be informed, to avoid duplications and to exchange experiences)
- make an inventory of ongoing projects within the EU in the field of police science, for example, initiatives taken by PCWG (Police Cooperation Working Group), CATS (Article 36 Committee) etc;
- publish the results of the questionnaires and inventory in a booklet;
- begin a cooperation with:
 - the Network for Crime Control and
 - the Network of Crime Prevention;
- begin a cooperation with Europol and Interpol;
- begin a cooperation with the "Bratislava-Warnsfeld-Group" and work to be a co-partner in the preparation and planning of the Research- and Science Conference in February 2002;
- support the project European Police Knowledge Network, based on Learning Technology - Internet, E-mail, Distance Learning;
- collect (in a database) and publish details of research undertaken, state of the art policing and good practice in policing and police training;

³ Minutes of the first meeting of the Research and Science Committee on 27 august 2001 in Templemore / Ireland

- begin to cooperate with the Management of Learning Committee:
 - about implementation of new knowledge
 - about education of teachers and trainers in police science
 - about standards for police research and science
 - and propose exchange programmes for teachers and trainers
 - and develop a curriculum for designing a CEPOL certificate in police science
- encourage, propose and support comparative research in policing and police training;
- let two–three colleges form a small number of working groups bringing together policing experience and relevant external expertise;
- form an expert group for guide-lining the development, the implementation and the evaluation of police science;
- once a year organise a research and science conference with participants from police colleges, universities, other institutions etc; and
- use the phrase “good practice” instead of “best practice”.

This programme was the basis for all implementation measures which were undertaken in subsequent years, and during the next phases of CEPOL’s way to a European agency. It was the crucial cornerstone for the further discussion process within CEPOL to connect the research and science programme with training activities. New ideas and proposals for new projects in this field of activity always take the original programme into consideration.

In the second CEPOL-phase the provisional CEPOL Secretariat was established in Denmark. Austria took over the chair of the Research and Science Committee because Ulf Göransson was elected as CEPOL’s provisional “Administrative Director” by the Governing Board. During this phase the implementation began of some of those activities which were initiated in the first phase, and important new initiatives were undertaken (e.g. development of the eDoc Research and Science Database). In this phase the staff situation in the Secretariat was weak so that the committee could not find support by a staff member of the Secretariat. Available working capacities of the few committee members for CEPOL activities were very limited, but all of them were engaged and confident that CEPOL will profit from these activities.

The third CEPOL-phase began with the Council Decision from 12-13 December 2003 concerning the permanent seat of the CEPOL-Secretariat in Bramshill, UK. In this phase a contract between CEPOL and the Max-Planck-Institute was signed and a research adviser was delegated from this research institute to the CEPOL Secretariat.

After the enlargement of the European Union a new structure of the committees was necessary, because all Member States were to get the chance to participate in one of the committees. The new structure was coming into effect on 1 January 2005. In the course of the reorganisation the “Management of Learning Committee” and the “Research and Science Committee” were merged to the “Training and Research Committee”. Austria took over the chair of this committee. A “Training and Research Coordinator” was taken under contract at the Secretariat for the support of this committee and its activities.

CEPOL was re-established by Council Decision (2005/681/JHA) from 20 September 2005 as a formal EU Agency. Therefore it operates under the EU Staff Regulations and the Framework Financial Regulation. The fourth CEPOL-phase began on 1 January 2006 when the new Council Decision took effect. Following the rotation system, Spain took over the chair of the Training and Research Committee. The official recruitment process for temporary members of the Secretariat could begin. It is hoped that a fully-staffed Secretariat will be able to give professional support to the committee in future.

Starting Point for the Project “European approach to police science”

CEPOL’s mandate in the area of research and science is stated in Article 5 of the Council Decision (CD) from 20 September 2005⁴:

“The aim of CEPOL shall be to help train the senior police officers of the Member States by optimising cooperation between CEPOL’s various components. It shall support and develop a European approach to the main problems facing Member States in the fight against crime, crime prevention, and the maintenance of law and order and public security, in particular the cross-border dimensions of those problems.”

This definition of CEPOL’s main aim shows that the Council expects that CEPOL will make an important contribution to the fundamental objectives of the European Union to offer its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice. CEPOL shall contribute by means of police training and by insights of police science and research to the European integration process which is firmly rooted in a shared commitment to freedom based on human rights, democratic institutions and the rule of law. These common values and

⁴ Council Decision 2005/681/JHA of 20 September 2005 establishing the European Police College (CEPOL) and repealing Decision 2000/820/JHA.

The wording in Article 5 is nearly identical to the text of Article 6.2 of the Council Decision of 22 December 2000 establishing a European Police College (CEPOL) – 2000/820/JHA: Official Journal L336/1 from 30.12.2000

common understanding of policing in Europe – especially of policing transnational, international and border-crossing crime – have proved necessary for international police cooperation and for securing peace and developing prosperity in the European Union.

The development and organisation of training activities for senior police officers based on research findings and knowledge is the core business and first priority of CEPOL.

In order to achieve the aim and objectives and in order to fulfil the core business, CEPOL may, in particular, undertake the following action besides others in accordance with the CD Article 7 (d):

- disseminate best practice and research findings.

Therefore CEPOL has to support and develop a European approach for the main problems that particularly face the Member States in the area of the fight against crime, the crime prevention and the maintenance of the public order and security at a cross-border dimension.

Research-findings concerning these main problems that have to be collected and distributed by CEPOL, are based on different national or regional basic approaches. This fact leads to the principle question: How can CEPOL support and develop a European approach for these main problems of policing based on research-findings when there is no common approach to police science in Europe?

This principle question must not be misinterpreted, because a common European approach to police science is not the only precondition for a European approach to solve the main problems of policing in Europe. There are several other requirements for a European approach of policing cross-border and international police problems (e.g. common values, common understanding of criminal offences, common philosophy of preventing and combating crime, common language).

In order to find out basic elements of police science and research in Europe – and their differences – first steps were undertaken by CEPOL with

- the establishment of “eDoc-Research and Science Database” for the systematic collection of research findings and research projects⁵;
- a systematic survey “Police Science and Research in the European Union”⁶;

⁵ The “CEPOL-eDoc Research and Science Database” is in operation under <http://edoc.cepola.net>

⁶ CEPOL-Report “Police Science and Research in the European Union”, Vienna 2005; URL: <http://www.cepola.org/KIM/plaatjes/pictemp184391.pdf>

- annual “Police Science and Research Conferences”⁷.

On the basis of the outcome and insights of these first activities a special course for trainers on the topic “Information on Research & Science”⁸ was organised. It was considered as a supporting step towards the integration of police science and research into police training and particularly into CEPOL’s training measures.

These activities⁹ gave us better information about the current situation¹⁰ of police research and science in Europe and especially at the police colleges in the Member States. The first projects gave evidence for an increase of academic knowledge and skills within – more or less – all police forces and police training units in the Member States. During the last five decades this evolution has led to expanding fields of police-related research, national and international conferences, police science societies and many other efforts. Police training is more and more a mixture of experience, traditional patterns of professional behaviour and academic values and contents. And it was seen that the third pillar of the EU – the international cooperation in justice and police matters – leads to more professional and academic management standards and needs for the police forces and police training.

However all the findings of these first activities do not help to solve the above mentioned principle question, how CEPOL could support and develop a European approach for the main problems of policing based on research-findings when there is no common approach to police science in Europe.

This insight was the reason for an intensive discussion in the Research and Science Committee. More fundamental questions were raised which could not be answered within the few committee meetings where several activities had to be discussed, and not just the principle question. There was also a similar question from some voting members in the Governing Board to the committee: “What is the committee doing to achieve the main aim of CEPOL and for a common understanding of police science and police research in Europe?”

⁷ János Fehérváry, Gerhard Hanak, Veronika Hofinger, Günter Stummvoll (Ed.): Theory and Practice of Police Research in Europe. Contributions and Presentations from CEPOL Police Research & Science Conferences 2003 – 2005. Vienna 2006; URL: <http://www.cepola.org/KIM/plaatjes/pictemp185052.pdf>

⁸ The first course “Information on Research & Science for trainers” took place from 3 to 5 May 2006 in Vilnius; another course will be organised in Cyprus in 2007.

⁹ In 2003 and 2004 these activities were undertaken particularly by the Research and Science Committee and since the beginning of 2005 by the Training and Research Committee.

¹⁰ See: CEPOL Report “Police Science and Research in the European Union”, Vienna 2005, page 5

This question and the following discussion in the committee were starting points for the establishment of a temporary project group where a concentration on principle questions is possible. The main remit of the project group – composed of six experts for police research from different European countries representing different European regions – is to check whether there are common elements in the different approaches in Europe and whether it makes sense, or whether it is possible, to develop a European approach to police science. It should be the background and basis for a European approach for dealing with the main problems of police and policing in Europe.

The establishment of the “Project Group for developing a proposal for a European Approach to Police Science” was decided by the Governing Board in its meeting on 24 November 2004. The basis for the decision was a written proposal from the committee with a description of the remit for the project group, the working conditions, the profile of the experts and the further procedure.

The project group was asked to find answers to the following set of questions:

- Is there a common European understanding of police, of policing, of police philosophy and the role of the police in the society? If yes, how can it be defined? If not, are there, nevertheless, common elements?
- Is there a common European understanding and definition of police science? How can the interplay between police science and police-related research be described?
- Can common key questions be identified? Are those questions, which cannot be “solved” immediately, essential for policing and must they be discussed continuously?
- Is there a European way to assemble thoughts and contributions from policing, law and social sciences?
- Is there a way for better integration of police science and police practice? Is this question still-up-to date or is there another way forward? It no longer makes sense to distinguish between “theory” and “practice”. Instead we see on the police management level practical problems to solve in a theoretical- and scientific-based way.
- How can results of a European police science be implemented into training and courses for Senior Police Officers?
- How can the interplay – in the past and in the future – be described between the police training and the academic world?
- What does “professionalism” mean in the field of police management (knowledge, skills, ethics, methods)?
- What common main research fields, from a comparative point of view, can be identified?

- What are the main values, methodologies and standards of European Police Science in the future?

Expectations

It cannot be neglected that Europe, due to its cultural, social, historical, economic and political differences and, due to its geographical dimensions, is not a homogeneous area. Police and the basic understanding of police science is always and everywhere a matter of culture and the political situation. Therefore the consideration of local or national and regional approaches on police science is required. Even when the development of a European approach to police science is the prime focus of the project group, the identification of national and regional divergences has to be taken into account.

It has to be pointed out that it will not be possible to develop a European approach to police science respecting all national and regional characteristics and details within two years. Only an initial systematic description of topics and questions will be possible in the project group within this time frame. An intensive and long term continuation of the first step on the way to a European approach will be necessary. Many other scientists, researchers, academics, practitioners and experts from different fields of knowledge, different institutions and from different countries should be invited to a broad discussion. The project group will provide necessary preliminary and preparatory examinations for answering some basic questions and for the further more detailed discussion of open issues.

It was clear from the beginning of the project that it will be not possible to develop an acceptable European approach on police science by only six police researchers just sitting behind their desks and meeting only a few times. For such an intention, it requires much more. An extensive and profound debate and discussions of principle questions with colleagues from different research fields, and with police practitioners, will have to follow the first steps in the project group.

It is redundant to mention that the final answers found to the above mentioned set of questions cannot be seen as a task for the project group. On the contrary; it was expected that many more questions will arise during the discussion process because of the complexity of police science and the principle question.

CEPOL expects from the project group

- an overview of the existing approaches to police science in Europe

- a systematic presentation and adaptation of the subject for a further discussion process
- proposals concerning the structure and direction of further discussions and the further development of a European approach to police science
- a proposal list of possibilities on how to deal with open questions
- initiatives for new activities in order to solve open questions.

Furthermore it is expected that former CEPOL's activities in the field of police science and research – such as the survey on police science and research in Europe or the research and science conferences – will be useful for the project.

Time frame

The duration of the project was limited to two years (2005 and 2006) and the number of meetings to four per year. The reason for the time limitation was not only the restricted budget situation of CEPOL, it was also the uncertainty of whether the selected method to solve the open questions is the right one. Therefore the establishment of the project group was seen as a serious attempt to initiate the long-term process for the development of a European approach on police science.

It was set out from the beginning of the project that the Governing Board should assess the results and outcome of the discussions in the project group after the two years and should then decide how to continue with the procedure.

Vision

Police science has the principle task to analyse, scrutinize and review usual or traditional, and sometimes well-proven, practices, routines or patterns on the basis of theoretical perspectives and scientific methods. The intention of police science is to guarantee or accelerate progress in policing, police training and police organisation. Criticism on police practices may be the effect of this intention, and criticism may implicate uncertainty or rejection on the part of a great number of politicians or police officers because they may see it as a threat for their positions. They expect from police, science proposals for solving practical problems and guidance or instructions for their daily work. When police science is seen as science which has to follow only the interest of politicians in charge of police and law enforcement, or of police officers (applied research), the development of a European approach on police science will hardly be possible, because politicians and police officers are mostly dependent on their political, national and professional (economic) interests.

The ongoing “Bologna Process” in the field of academic education and training, which more and more EU Member States have been following also within their police training systems, can be considered as a particular challenge for the further development of police science and research in Europe. Up to now primarily political, economic and traditional ideas were relevant for the organisation and design of police training (e.g. duration, methods, contents, evaluation). Important decisions on police training were only occasionally based on research findings or scientific insights. Following the standards of the Bologna Declaration the influence of police research and science on the police training will increase – and as a result of this process, the influence on policing as such.

Based on this ongoing process and tendency an increasing demand for research findings in the field of police training and policing will be expected. Politicians and decision makers within the ministries are expected to understand and follow this trend and to realize that police research needs sufficient resources (budget, experts, support) for their projects and programmes.

The general tendency to more research-based policing in Europe, and in particular the Bologna Process, give rise to the best hope that politicians and police officers in all Member States will continue to favour police science and support CEPOL’s initiative to develop (to find) a European approach to police science.

A police science which follows an interdisciplinary and European approach will form a strong link between theory and practice, doctrine/teachings/training and research.

The long term process, which has been initiated by the project group, should lead to a European perspective of police science and research. This European perspective should become a driving force for the development of CEPOL training courses and seminars on a European dimension.

The publication of the final report of the “CEPOL Project Group European Approach to Police Science” shall be a starting point for an intensive further discussion of this topic in a much broader dimension and will include internal and external experts from different research disciplines and all European countries. It may support new initiatives for common and comparative projects, programmes, conferences and other activities bringing researchers, research institutes and trainers, training institutions and operational services closer together.

Many thanks to the six members of the project group and authors of the report for their pioneering work towards a European approach to police science. Thanks to Detlef Nogala for his scientific advice and to Elisabeth Zinschitz for much more than just administrative support.

Introduction

In spring 2005 six police science experts from different countries (Germany, The Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Spain, United Kingdom) met at the Austrian Police Academy in Traiskirchen for the first two-day meeting of a new working group. We were nominated by the national Police Academies of the EU member states and selected by CEPOL. Some of us were working with the Police Academies, others with universities. None of us called himself “police scientist”. We came from backgrounds in law, social anthropology, psychology, political science, sociology and criminology, and we had our own individual research experiences, publications, national and international networks. But in spite of different academic sources and backgrounds, all of us had been engaged over the years in the fields of police training and education and in police research. CEPOL had invited us to work out some basic principles and outlines of a future European Police Science approach. They expected us to lay the groundwork for a scientific foundation of police training and education and asked us to keep an eye on practical needs of policing.

This task soon turned out to be an intensive intellectual challenge. Our different experiences and backgrounds led to an atmosphere of open discussions with an open end. Most of us did not know each other personally, and the first step to get closer was to agree on the key questions. We started our discussion by identifying some of them: the definition of police science, the integration of science into police practice, training and education and, last but not least, the basic values, methodologies and standards of European police science in the future.

Soon we had to realise that putting the key questions into a research programme would be an overwhelming challenge. It seemed clear that trying to deal with all of the questions would not lead to satisfying answers but, nevertheless, we started to discuss and to clarify the historical and organisational environments of police, policing and Police Science. Some of us argued that Police Science cannot be discussed without the impact of the American discussions in the twentieth century. Others said there was indeed a European discussion of its own that needs to be reconstructed.

As a matter of fact, since the 1960s, studies on police and policing have expanded rapidly. Caused by ethnic conflicts and the student rebellion 1964-5 the old American crime-fighter model of policing got into trouble and was reviewed and analysed. A lot of field surveys and case studies on the reality of police action followed the riots. Studies of Banton (1964), Skolnick (1967),

Wilson (1968) and others, made it more clear that some Police action in practice did not fit into the rule-of-law system and moral standards of the democratic society. Moreover, these authors belonged to the founders of modern empirical criminology and Police Science in the USA and Europe.

These discussions were influenced not only by scientific but by political reasons. During the sixties and seventies a critical point of view on the police was a dominating aspect of the debate. The police were facing much criticism from lawyers, social scientists and citizens' movements. As a result, police studies became part of criminology, social sciences and law, university faculties offered studies, and magazines were founded as well as scientific associations.

The police studies had, and have, different target groups. Most of them were addressed to university students and academic communities, some to the public within political action, and others to the police. They followed their self- understanding as practitioners who were not familiar with academic rules and procedures but rather with the law and professional police standards gained by the experience of generations of police officers. Knowledge of policing was not, according to the police doctrine, a result of scientific reflection but of police practice and long term experience. During the sixties and seventies the police in the Western world considered the expanding police studies, more or less, as attacks from outside on the its professional self-concept.

Tensions and mistrust between the police and critical police researchers continued for a long time. The police felt attacked by the academics, and some of the police studies were, indeed, an accusation of the police. Two different social worlds met that have different professional values and styles of behaviour: The academics were thinking, asking, reading, writing and taking much time for the studies. They criticized, hesitated and discussed, while the police officers' professional style is to act, to give or to carry out orders, often under time pressure.

In the meantime, the situation has changed, although the academic and the police worlds remain separate entities, and scepticism on both sides still exists. Step-by-step the police in Europe adopted modern professional standards of serving the people, of explaining to the public what they do and why they do it. Democratic developments and principles of modern management methods made the police more open for criticism from outside and even from inside the police organisation. The police discovered the purpose of scientific studies for police management and their useful impact

for police practice. So tensions between the police culture and the academics were reduced, and police authorities started to establish their own research departments, or cooperation, with independent researchers outside the police. This picture is not only a result of a police learning process; moreover, it is a result of social and political impacts of a more complex society, which needs a modern police force.

Changing World: Police Science in a complex society

The implementation of academic knowledge into the police over several decades is in line with similar developments in other professions. Asking for reasons, we would not find any answers in dimensions of police inability or the misuse of power by the police as was discussed during the sixties in the USA. Today the complexity of society and the demanding tasks of the police in a changing world lead to the increasing request for scientific methods, police research and police science. European-focused, comparative research on causes of crime, crime prevention and countermeasures is on the way (Entorf/Spengler 2002). Let us take a look at some important challenges of economy and society.

Globalisation and migration are leading to social and ethnic conflicts in urban areas, where the police have to find solutions in cooperation with other local agencies. Public insecurity and fear in parts of the cities spark a longing for improving neighbourhoods, social cohesion and urban safety policies, covered by the police in cooperation with local agencies and initiatives (van der Vijver/Terpstra 2004). During the nineties, the Commission of the European Communities already stressed the need for a European approach to co-production of urban safety (Marcus/Vourc'h 1993). These urban conflicts are part of yet another conflict: Increasing social inequality in western societies. This includes new forms of anti-social behaviour, political action and even modern forms of crime. The target groups of the police, those who are on the darker side of life, have become a different, broken group, which is more difficult to reach and to talk to. The new urban underclasses, which police have to face, are no more in the tradition of the former working classes, but more a new, difficult social building. Policing a multi-ethnic society with many problems in the labour market needs skills of police officers that are grounded in the academic fields: communication, cooperation, networking in the community, strategic ways of thinking and operating. Thus, the police profession has become more complex, demanding better training, and especially, better research.

Western societies are moving from the industry to the service meritocracy. Employment turns increasingly from the old industries to various service

sectors. There is no longer a nearly closed working class with working class traditions of thinking and behaviour; nowadays there is a service class, which is partly middle class; and others, within the bad job sector, have settled around the new urban under-class. The service society is splitting the employees into well trained, flexible job-owners with high incomes and less trained job-owners or unemployed with low incomes. Policing the community today – this is taking into account, that social structures and social control are rapidly changing. Out-moded patterns of police behaviour need to change as well and to adopt the new styles of behaviour. The expanding new, and partly violent, youth cultures in urban areas are a modern expression of the new social structures.

Other developments of western societies have influenced the debates strongly. The “silent revolution” of values in the western world since the sixties made the society more sensible for what police do, more sensible for human rights and more sensible for the authorities’ use of power. Thus, the relationships between the police and the people changed. The police were no longer seen as an authority whose orders citizens have to follow, but a state agency that has to explain and to justify what it is doing. As a consequence for the police philosophy, citizens in some European countries are considered to be customers today.

In the face of these recent developments, police research and Police Science seems to be an instrument for both sides - for society to be informed about what is going on in the fields of policing, and for the police to do their job in a proper way. Research findings, scientific backgrounds, ways of thinking and analysing become invaluable for modern policing and the way the police are communicating with society. Thus, an old idea of August Vollmer, founder of the American Society of Criminology in 1941, is put on the table again: in an article published in 1930 in “The American Journal of Police Science” he is calling for “The Scientific Policeman” (Vollmer 1930).

Police training including research findings

It can be said, that police training on basic levels as well as on advanced, and even in the life-long learning perspective in the EU today is, more or less, composed of professional standards including research findings and academics as teachers and trainers. There is no longer a training guideline that says police officers learn from police officers what police officers learnt from police officers. They are cooperating with lawyers and social scientists to the benefit of best training. Thus, police training has become more open to society although traditions of police culture from the past keep partly alive, which mistrusts or rejects any professional influence from outside the police.

This development is caused by internal reforms of police agencies and developments of society, and the Bologna process will force it in the future.

Nevertheless, some of us would insist that police training and police education are different approaches for different target groups. They include beginners, the basic levels, the advanced levels, and non-police officers as a new target group such as lawyers, social workers, community employees etc. Training and education efforts of the present and the future must include knowledge, competencies and skills that are based on experience and scientific knowledge. Non-police officers will bring in their skills and combine them with the traditional knowledge of the police. Following the Bologna process and its implications on the European systems of higher education, there will be an increasing number of mixed groups of learning: police officers who train at the Police Academies together with other police officers, will only be part of the training. Other parts will include lessons at universities or other institutes, working together with non-police officers. Police science will support the police officers' training as well as the curriculum of non-police officers.

Discussions on Police Science

The end of communism in Eastern Europe since 1990 and the transformation of Eastern European societies, together with the expansion of the EU and the impact of globalisation have increasingly drawn attention to the international aspects of police, policing, police training, police studies and Police Science. The short history of CEPOL and the expansion of the EU's third pillar, including Europol, Eurojust, the Schengen Treaty and the Task Force of Police Chiefs, are an expression of growing cross-border approaches of policing in Europe. There is obviously a need for more cooperation, international networking and developing something called Police Science.

For the end of 2006, the third edition of the Encyclopaedia of Police Science is announced, edited by Jack R. Greene, professor of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University (Boston/Mass). On more than 1600 pages, 380 entries deal with the theoretical and practical aspects of law enforcement. Added issues are police accountability and the culture of police (Greene 2006), amongst others.

The European discussion is far away from an encyclopaedia like this. Police Science is not an established discipline. Not yet. But beginnings can be seen in Europe. At Bochum University there is a professorship in Criminology and

Police Science, including a master study in Criminology and Police Science¹¹. The German University of the Police in Muenster, founded in 2006, is in charge of developing Police Science¹². An annual Police Science conference has been held there since 2003. The Norwegian Police University College started a master study in Police Science in 2006. Journals like The American Journal of Police Science or International Journal of Police Science & Management and The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science offer information and discussion on Police Science. The Japanese National Research Institute of Police Science offers training and research in a far spectrum of police-related issues.

Some European Police Academies have referred to Police Science. The Austrian Journal “Zeitschrift für Polizeiwissenschaft und polizeiliche Praxis” is carrying the term Police Science in the title. The former president of the Dutch Police Academy claimed for more attention for Police Science within police training and education (IJzerman 2002). CEPOL started holding annual conferences on Police Science and research, from 2000 in Liptovsky Jan, Czech Republic.

Police Science or Police studies?

Stating an increase of police studies all over Europe is well accepted. Police research is a normal business at some Police Academies, universities and research institutions. When we were talking about Police Science in the countries we come from, all of us agreed on this. At the same time, we stressed, that Police Science in our respective countries is in its early stages.

On the other hand, one of us is holding a professorship of Police Science (Tore Bjørge), and a few others can be identified in Europe. Some starting points can be seen as mentioned before. A CEPOL survey on the status of Police Science in Europe shows there is much interest in problems of Police Science in the national Police Academies. It examined the police research infrastructure in 26 European countries including Norway and arrives at some interesting findings: The study found that police research is regarded as of high, or relatively high, interest in nine countries outside the police, in eight countries within the Police Academies, and in five countries within the Police organisation (Hanak/Hofinger 2006).

Nevertheless, following discussions about the status of Police Science, doubts remained on the name Some preferred ‘Police Studies’, to keep in line with

¹¹ See www.ThomasFeltes.de

¹² See www.dhpol.de

police researches and discussions, and because they were afraid to become separated and isolated. Others insisted on the term 'Police Science' to keep in line with the starting points mentioned above. Following a process, the term "Police Science" was agreed for the time being, but will need further discussion in the future. Long-term discussions were dedicated to another fundamental question: is Police Science a science of its own, or is it a discipline? It seems to be neither a science of its own nor a discipline: using methods of other disciplines like social sciences as a guideline, it was deduced that it cannot be a science of its own. Including research interests and objectives from several fields, Police Science is more than a discipline.

Independence of science: research for the police, or about the police?

Another fundamental discussion was returning from time to time: what about the independence of Police Science so closely to the police professionals? Much research has been carried out since the seventies to enable police forces to improve on their knowledge and skills. Some other research aimed at the society to give more information, results and issues about the police. The discussion about possibilities of independent research activities is an old one and not limited to Police Science. Some researchers insist on collecting viewpoints outside the police because of the distance needed to carry out research in an independent way, whilst others point out that research within the police is much closer to the facts and can influence police work immediately. We could not escape that old dispute, and applied it to our own individual position within the police organisation and also outside the organisation.

Undoubtedly, the credibility of Police Science is connected to the researcher's independence. His/her research interests, methods, arguments and interpretations of data have to follow scientific rules only. On the other hand, the police, of course, have a practical point of view on the purpose of research. They are expecting help for solving practical problems. Research interests, however, developed in the field of Police Science, will not always fit into the interests of the police agencies.

Some questions arose in this context: is a critical point of view possible when doing research from inside the police, as a member of the police organisation, and working for police purposes? Moreover, isn't such a researcher or a police research institute much influenced by the expectations of the police? Isn't one of the central criteria for the independence of police research the location of research at universities or research institutes outside the police? A heated debate took place around these questions, dealing with scientific independence in general and directed to Police Science. A practical solution

occurred at the end of the discussions: it has been said that Police Science should be developed from both sides in cooperation, from researchers inside the police together with academics from universities, to cover different points of view.

The composition of this study

In respect of limited resources, we agreed upon some issues that were considered needing to be dealt with. The opening chapter draws the historical lines of Police and Police studies. It is a relation full of tensions; of common approaches on one hand and mistrust and rejection on the other. Police Science as a process cannot be understood without consideration of police and Science in recent decades. When discussing this issue we had to note, that Police Science cannot be an invention that has to be decided by whom ever. It is involved in patterns of interests from both sides: from the police and from the academics. As police and policing are sensible matters of public and political interest, the police and their training and education systems often are under pressure by politics, and are directed by political decisions. Moreover, within these systems there is no common support for the idea of Police Science, but the history of approaches to Police Science shows clearly that it is on the way.

The next points of interest were the objectives of Police Science. A discipline consists of key questions, research interests, methods and objectives. The chapter on core issues gives a picture on objectives, and it makes clear that there are many overlaps to other disciplines like criminology. But this is not specific, because most academic disciplines have a lot of overlaps. When we talk about Police Science as an “applied science”, we can see that applying means not only to take over methods from other disciplines, but covering topics from several disciplines related to policing.

After a first agreement about the objectives of Police Science, the relationships to other sciences and disciplines had to be clarified. We identified different types of knowledge within policing like experience-based knowledge and police science-driven knowledge. These discussions came up again and again: what is science; what is a discipline; how can relationships and overlaps be described? There was a danger to go too deep into the field of theories of science, science history and methodological questions. Ultimately we found a more pragmatic way of Police Science self-understanding.

During the discussions we recognized, that modern policing is more than what police do. In modern societies many policing-related tasks of controlling crime and disorder are done by the community, by private organisations and

cross-institutional networks. So, how can we deal with Police Science or: what about the science of policing? Indeed, there are many arguments for an expansion of Police Science to a Science of Policing in the future.

Police Science in the future should be established as a discipline in the context of other academic disciplines. But it must not be forgotten that Police Science is connected to police education and training. The next chapter deals with this: what is the contribution of Police Science to police training and education? Some of us distinguish between police training at Police Academies and police education at universities and ask for the tensions between both and the impact and the role of Police Science.

Finally, due to the international approach, we had to consider the European perspective. Of course, all academic disciplines are international and do not have national borders and limitations, but in spite of this we had to face different developments in the EU countries. This was a background for asking for a European perspective, for common interests and values, and for different ones. With regard to this, a comparative point of view is needed and can be an important foundation of a modern Police Science.

The expert group's working procedures

The working conditions, provided by CEPOL, were: eight two-day-meetings in the period of two years (2005 and 2006) and a preparatory meeting for a conference on the results in the following year (2007). Moreover, CEPOL gave good support by the Research Adviser (Detlef Nogala) and the Training and Research coordinator (Elisabeth Zinschitz).

We agreed on the outline of our work, created chapters for discussing and writing, and our meetings consisted of discussing draft papers that members had written. We also agreed that all members would, collectively, be the authors of the whole report, although we had, of course, some different points of view. But we intended to present some thoughts and results as a working group. The collection and presentation of individual papers and contributions would not, so our agreement, fit into the mission of the group. It should be made clear, that the outcome was a result of the group's work and not a compilation of individual efforts.

Although trying to think European, we were representatives of six different countries. How could we ensure to keep all important European aspects of Police Science on board? Twice we invited guest speakers to the meetings, once from the Netherlands (Kees van der Vijver) and once from France

(Christian Mouhana). Some of us had the opportunity of presenting and discussing our ideas at CEPOL conferences in order to get feedback by professional audiences (Vilnius, May 2006; Bramshill, September 2006). The CEPOL Training and Research Committee were reported to continuously on work in progress.

We came to the conclusion that a lot of ongoing discussion within the group, items that needed clarification, and controversial discussion about the meaning of terms, is not due to us as individuals or the dynamics of the group. It is due to the fact that Police Science is a subject of high interest and future perspectives, including many steps to go in the future, an open field that has to be discovered.

Police Science: a working definition

We discussed the meaning and the purpose of Police Science frequently. We agreed upon the fact that there is no established academic discipline called “Police Science” in the EU, and “police studies” seems to be too general and not specific. “Police studies” is topic-driven and less rigid than “Police Science”, which intends reflections on scientific methods. Furthermore, in respect of many changes in policing, police training and the international reorganisation, Police Science seems to be a matter of interest and a challenge both for the academic world and the police.

At the beginning of our discussions we took a look at the theoretical foundations of Police Sciences presented by Porada, Erneker, Holcr and Holomek (2006). They suggest some useful distinctions, for example, between special police sciences, applied police sciences and science used for policing, and they describe clearly the objects of police science within police, policing and professional trainings of staff. But their systematic approach reflects a distinctly Eastern European way: following Porada *et al.*, police sciences are part of “security sciences”, which aim at a wide range of disciplines, such as the theory of diplomacy, military sciences and the theory of economic security. We came to the conclusion that, according to police developments in the last century, Police Science should not be founded in the context of military science.

We agreed upon a working definition: *Police Science is the scientific study of the police as an institution and of policing as a process. As an applied discipline it combines methods and subjects of other neighbouring disciplines within the field of policing. It includes all of what the police do and all aspects from outside that have an*

impact on policing and public order. Currently it is a working term to describe police studies on the way to an accepted and established discipline. Police Science tries to explain facts and acquire knowledge about the reality of policing in order to generalise and to be able to predict possible scenarios.

In order to achieve its goal, Police Science makes use of experience-knowledge of the police, scientific knowledge from various, police-related disciplines and a set of established methods that are common practice in other disciplines. For the establishment of Police Science there are many steps to go in the future: continuity of starting points; promoting activities in the scientific and the police communities; doing academic business like creating research projects, meetings, journals, publications; and looking for support of individuals and institutions. Further establishment of Police Science in the academic world, in the Police Academies and police organisations needs a lot of advertising to gradually increase acceptance. All this will be a long term project to the benefit of both the police and society.

CHAPTER 1

History of Police Science

The semantic shift of Police Science

Introduction

The call for a European police policy is becoming louder and louder. One of the conditions for the development of such a European policy is that the history, the principles, the organisation and the effect of police systems in the various countries involved are being uncovered so that it becomes possible to see on the basis of which elements such a common policy can be established. This kind of comparing and historical research belongs specifically to the tasks of Police Science.

Historical interest, especially in the past ten years, has grown enormously. While specialised histories of the police are at last being written, general histories still give the police scant attention. Indexes of standard histories of countries in Europe show few references to them. Until the late 1960s, most national histories failed to mention the police at all (Bayley 1992, 53).

Historical research has been devoted to the institution of the police and considerable attention has been given to the historical roots and transformations of modern police systems. Among the critical topics of research on police history are the transformation of the police function, especially the relationship between the institution of the police and the political context of national states. But most studies in historical police literature are confined to the developments at the urban and national levels. Scholars, moreover, have often treated issues of the police in relation to patterns of crime and/or as an aspect of formalised legal systems. These developments have hindered the development of the study of international police practices, and have additionally impeded the treatment of the police as a research topic in its own right. (Deflem 2004, 8-9). Comparative work on the police in Europe is still very thin. Noteworthy exceptions are Fijnaut's comprehensive comparative study of national police systems in Europe (*Opdat de macht een toevlucht zij?*¹³. 2 vols, Antwerpen 1979) and Liang's comparative study of European police history (*The rise of modern police*, Cambridge, 1992). Bayley's conclusion that the field of comparative and historical research on the police in Europe is still in its infancy still remains in force (Bayley 1992, 55).

¹³ "May power be a refuge?"

This chapter is not a history of European policing, or of police systems or of police styles or of police models or of police methods or of police co-operation. This chapter is about the history of European Police Science and describes the semantic shift of the term Police Science in Europe from the seventeenth century to the present day.

Hans-Gerd Jaschke and Klaus Neidhardt imply already in the title of their epoch-making article "Moderne Polizeiwissenschaft als Integrationswissenschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Grundlagendiskussion"¹⁴ (In *Polizei & Wissenschaft* 5(2004), no.4, 14-24), that in former times there was a Police Science with that same name, it is true; its content, however, was totally different from our Police Science in the modern sense.

This chapter will explore the many denotations which Police Science has known depending on its time and its place. We start our search in seventeenth century Germany on our pilgrimage within Europe, we arrive at Lombroso's scientific police (police scientifique, polizia scientifica); and after World War II coming from the USA we return to Europe in order to provide the further scientification of Police Science (research-based Police Science) with comments on its present day meaning.

Police Science is very old. In the eighteenth century, Police Science (*Polizeiwissenschaft*) was the Science of Government (or the "science of happiness" as some scholars call it), a very broad concept that encompassed nearly all tasks of government.

"Police included everything". In the second half of the nineteenth century, what remained of the old Police Science was a political (or: jurisprudential) Police Science as a scientific branch, which a few decades later is completed with a criminological Police Science. The latter developed into a fully fledged exact science (forensics), whilst, from the 1960s onward, social science research contributed to the development of Police Science in the modern sense, the current meaning of the term, and as such became the last link in this semantic analysis.

This is a European story. It is impossible, within the limited scope of this chapter, to discuss the developments in all European countries separately; as far as literature was available on comparable subjects, apart from the countries which are looked at individually, references will be made.

¹⁴ "A Modern Police Science as an integrated academic discipline: a contribution to the debate on its fundamentals"

In the police world, there is a persistent misapprehension that history is of no importance and belongs to yesterday's papers; in this line of reasoning, police as an organisation consisting of practitioners is only related with present and future. In addition, history belongs to theory, and therefore it is considered to be of no relevance for practice. There are these rare cases where members of the police quote Immanuel Kant: "Das mag in der Theorie richtig sein, taugt aber nicht für die Praxis"¹⁵ (Immanuel Kant *Schriften zur Geschichtsphilosophie*, Berlin, 1793, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol.8, 273-313). Incidentally, for the sake of convenience, Kant's concluding sentence is left out: "Was aus Vernunftgründen für die Theorie gilt, das gilt auch für die Praxis"¹⁶ (313). Every historian and other right-minded people will confirm that there is no present or future without the past; not because historians want to stand their ground against the repression of their discipline, but because this is a scientifically proven fact. For want of historical awareness, the police in Europe have reinvented the wheel repeatedly and have presented it as an absolutely brilliant novelty. That way, "innovations" become dubious terms which are of little substance. In a recently published book by David Weisburd and Anthony A. Braga entitled *Police Innovation. Contrasting perspectives* (Cambridge, 2006), the opening sentence goes as follows:

[...] Over the last three decades policing has gone through a period of significant change and innovation. In what is a relatively short historical time frame the police began to reconsider their fundamental mission, the nature of the core strategies of policing, and the character of their relationships with the communities that they serve.[...](p.1).

Subsequently, the reader has to plod away at hundreds of pages of old wine in new bottles in order to find on page 347 something like a brief historical context of a high open-doors-calibre: "Police history shows that it takes a long time for new models of policing to fully develop" (p.347).

In accordance with what has already been mentioned above, it belongs to the tasks of Police Science to stimulate historical and comparative research and to give it the position it deserves. If we limit ourselves to the history of Police Science itself, the following may be used in evidence that police history is not a pile of yesterday's papers, but instead a useful and modern tool.

Twenty-five years ago Cyrille Fijnaut published an article in a compilation of theoretical essays about the police (*Theoretische opstellen rondom de politie*, Apeldoorn, 1983) in which he gave a rough sketch of a future Police Science. Even if the date suggests antiquity, the content is still of great value for the present and the future in discussions about the position and the content of

¹⁵ "That may be right in theory, but is not fit for practice"

¹⁶ "What on rational grounds is true in theory is also useful in practice"

Police Science. In order to finalise this introduction the core of his plea be presented:

[...] There are good reasons to develop a new police science in Europe, and more explicitly, a police science in which the modern 'American' way of doing research is integrated into the European tradition of police scientific studies. This new police science must in any case be a quintuplicate police science, and its objectives – as in *Polizeiwissenschaft* (police science) in former times – should lie on the one hand in setting up and maintaining adequately organised and functioning police structures in Europe; on the other hand in defining boundaries which the police have to respect while fulfilling its tasks with regard to citizens, social organisations and institutes, and other state bodies. The five different sections of such a police science could be the following:

1. A **political** (governmental) police science which is mainly about the normative definition of tasks and competencies of the police and of its relationships with administrative and legal authorities, and the population.
2. A **social** police science which is mainly focused on the actual and the desirable functioning of the police body in relation to its own goals, but also, and to the same extent, to its relationships with authorities and the population; its own organisation and persons; and general conditions and developments in society.
3. A **technological** police science within which technical and organisational means are developed in order to enable the police body to function in a way it gives evidence of a sense of political responsibility and which seems desirable from the social scientific point of view.
4. A **historical** police science which on the one hand evolves in the direction of current socio-historical research, but which on the other hand branches out in the direction of present day science historical research.
5. A **comparative** police science which is specific to the history and the current organisation of police structures in Europe [...] (Fijnaut 1983, 36-37).

Polizeiwissenschaft (Police Science)

Police activities, like criminal investigation, protection of markets and streets or maintenance of safety and order in general, have always existed, as long as human beings conglomerate in larger societies. On the other hand, specific police authority institutions did not always exist. Today, the term police is identified with a body of officials or officers, some of whom are uniformed, a police *force*, whose rationale is the prevention and detection of crime, or 'keeping the peace'. However, the sense of a body which would administer

legal regulations and codes was first clearly implied only in the course of the eighteenth century. Like the French word *police* (Cremer 1989, 4), the German term *Polizei* referred to a set of governmental activities long before the existence of police forces to carry these out – the latter occurred largely in the nineteenth century. Its original meaning, dating back to the fifteenth century, was coextensive with government or administration itself, although it was used largely in the context of maintaining order and prevention of civil strife. More or less since 1600, different police terms exist simultaneously and relatively independent from each other.

Policey: origins and development

When and in what connection do we first encounter the term *police* (Policey) in German-speaking Europe?

In the German language the term 'Polizei' has a history reaching back five hundred years (Bödeker 1989, 28). Deriving from the Greek *politeia* and adapted as the Latin *politia* the word *Polizei* – also written as *Policey*, *Pollicei*, *Pollizey* – was adopted into the official language of the German Empire and the language of the estates from the Burgundian Chancellories (Segall 1914, 13-22; Maier 1966, 121). From the early sixteenth century, the combination 'police and good order' or 'good police and order' is used in the sources. In the imperial and the territorial police ordinances (*Polizeiordnungen*) of the sixteenth century the word 'police' was used in a very distinct and specific way. Though the spelling of the word was not fixed, its meaning remained invariable: it meant the condition of good order in the public realm and in the common weal (Heidenheimer 1986, 12; Simon 2004, 111-26).

The police was not yet understood as an administrative organisation or as fulfilling a specific public or administrative function. It rather equalled the condition of a regulated living-together in society. Consequently, the police was not an institution imposing order, a custodian of the law: it was, instead, synonymous with the term 'order' (Harnismacher and Semarak 1986, 17; Liskén and Denninger 1992, 3-4). The aim of the police was to establish a well ordered civic or territorial community. 'Good police' (*Gute Polizei*) meant the redressing and correcting of disorder (Wüst 2004, 15-20). As already mentioned, the word *police* was also used to refer the instructions and activities which were considered necessary for the maintenance or reformation of 'good order', thus being identical with *police ordinances* (*Polizeiordnungen*).

In sum, police was both the condition of order in the community *and* the regulations (ordinances) which sought the institution and maintenance of that order. Order remained the paramount focus so that when, in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries, a science of police (*Polizeiwissenschaft*) was formed, it was concerned with the content of that order, and so theorised the specific conditions of its institution and maintenance. This science thus led to an evaluation of the objectives of the *state* and the proper form of *state* activity. But before going to the *Polizeiwissenschaft*, first some remarks about the police ordinances.

*Police ordinances*¹⁷

Police Ordinances regulated a wide variety of activities and circumstances. The pattern set by towns was copied by the territorial rulers. The necessity for regulations in town and country produced a regulation-mania. (Oestreich and Koenigsberger 1982, 157). In these police ordinances 'good order' was related to concerns about morality and comprised primarily the conduct of a virtuous and religious life. Religion, both as a body of beliefs and as a pattern of behaviour, was the primary concern. Good order was thought to exist only if the subjects led a modest, orderly Christian life: as apostasy of religious faith was to be considered to be the root of all social evil and disorder, the list of regulations in the police ordinances frequently commenced with prohibitions concerning blasphemy and cursing (Raef 1983, 167-68). Then followed sections on the upbringing of children, the keeping of domestics, expenditure on weddings and christenings, and the dealings between innkeepers and guests. Next came comprehensive sumptuary regulations, and sections relating to begging and almsgiving, the prevention of usury and monopolies, and conditions for the carrying trade by middle-men. A series of ordinances contained conditions to private law. This concerned in particular the observance of contractual conditions, which of course were a central aspect of orderly social existence. It is clear from this extensive catalogue of matters covered by *police* that virtually all public and private activity might be subject to regulations made by the authorities (Härter 1999; Stolleis 1988, 369-372).

Academic Police Science

In the beginning of the eighteenth century Police Science became part of the cameral sciences. Chairs in cameral sciences were established in the universities, following the lead set by Prussia in 1727, and Police Science became a regular offering (Preu 1983, 55).

The history of cameralism has been comprehensively dealt with by Albion Small (1909) at the beginning of the twentieth century. He uses the term to

¹⁷ For a detailed study on the police ordinances we refer to Marc Raef. *The well-ordered Police State. Social and Institutional change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800*. New Haven, 1983. For the purposes of this chapter we restrict ourselves to the basics needed to understand the range of the *Polizeiwissenschaft*.

refer to a group of authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of whom Von Justi is perhaps the most important, but whose antecedents reach back to the end of the fifteenth century. Small contests the placement of cameralism within the history of economics and describes it as a theory and practice of governmental management. The chief object of cameralism was to discover how best the welfare of the state might be secured by ensuring the revenue that supplies its needs (1909, viii; Simon 2004, 440-55). Cameralism has as its root the Latin word *camera*, literally meaning something with a vaulted roof or arched covering (1909, 18). *Kammer* refers to the chamber where councillors charged with the administration of the revenues of a state met. In the German states the study of police began in training academies for state officials, the so-called *Kameralbeamten*. Even after becoming part of the university curriculum, courses in cameral science remained practice-oriented, for it was an attempt to formulate a *science of praxis* (Von Unruh 1983, 414; Simon 2004, 440-55).

By the middle of the eighteenth century the term “Cameral Science” (*Kameralwissenschaft*) had acquired two senses: a narrow one and a broad one. In the narrow sense, *Kameralwissenschaft* meant public finance that is managing the princely budget. In the broader sense of *Kameralwissenschaften*, when the word was used in the plural, it referred to the field of several sciences that were useful in training administrators. These included *Ökonomie* and *Polizei*, terms that are not precisely translatable. The third science of the cameralist triad, *Polizeiwissenschaft*, meant the systematisation of *Polizei* as a science, the practical science of administration.

The word *Polizei* has taken another meaning in the *Polizeiwissenschaft* than it had before. While *Polizei* in the old meaning was aimed at the institution and maintenance of order, *Polizeiwissenschaft* is now concerned with the *content* of that order. Particularly significant for the concept of *Polizei* to be found in the writings on *Polizeiwissenschaft* are its descriptions of the nature of order and of *Polizei* activity. The questions of how the ruler could attain a condition of order, and what matters were to be treated under the category of *Polizei* assumed therefore a central position (Maier 1966, 184; Knemeyer 1978, 884-86). *Polizeiwissenschaft* led to an evaluation of the objectives of the state, and the proper form of state activity.

Definitional problems had always been part of the *Polizeiwissenschaft*; but simultaneously with the decline of it, some clarity was gained, despite the breadth of material contained in the term *Polizei*. The conceptual breadth of the term, which is characteristic for the Lexica of the time (Bödeker 1989, 28-32), achieved for the first time a specific form in the second half of the eighteenth century, there did emerge during the century an institutional

conception alongside the others. Gradually *Polizei* came to mean a specific institutional authority and its members, police, in the sense of an institution.

This was due to the work of Von Justi (1717-1771) and Von Sonnenfels (1732-1817), professors in Göttingen and Vienna, who promoted the *Polizeiwissenschaft* to an independent science apart from the cameral sciences (Fijnaut 1983, 23; Stolleis 1988, 379-383).

Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi stated that the creation of “the common blissful happiness (*gemeinschaftliche Glückseligkeit*) of ruler and subject” was the purpose of the state; it was the duty of the ruler “to maintain and increase the fortune and assets of the state and make his subjects happy”. Von Justi conceived the relationship between ruler and subjects as one of mutual obligations: the ruler’s responsibility with regard to the promotion of happiness was matched by the subject’s duty to obey. But not only did the state become a means to an end in this theory; the subjects, too, became instrumentalised as a means of the state; it was their duty “to promote with all their powers the welfare of the state”. Von Justi defined *Policey* as the “science to organise the internal constitution of the state in such a way that the welfare of individual families should constantly be in a precise connection with the common good” (*dem allgemeinen Besten*). Police was thought of as an activity aimed at mediating between the happiness of the individual (family) and that of the state.

Joseph von Sonnenfels departed from the tradition of equating police with welfare. For him, police is a science to establish and manage the internal security of the state. Von Sonnenfels’ approach is more restrictive, defining police in terms of preserving security and reserving economic activity for other parts of his system.

Despite such differences between Von Justi and Von Sonnenfels, however, there was agreement at an implicit level, namely on the principle of classification itself. This was that state activities were to be classified primarily according to the object or end to which they were directed. Thus, if the purposes of police were to promote the welfare of the subjects as well as discipline, as with Von Justi, then the discussion of details was organised according to the types of welfare, discipline, and order to be promoted. Similarly, if the purpose of police was to promote internal security, as with Von Sonnenfels, then the discussion proceeded according to types of security as defined by him.

For the purposes of our chapter on the history of Police Science a special aspect of Sonnenfels' discussion of the police deserves attention. Standing in a legal and theoretical tradition which went back to the late fifteenth century, Von Justi conceived police essentially as *cura promovendi salutem publicam* (concerned with the promotion of the public good). But by removing concern for the promotion of public welfare from the field of activity of the police, Sonnenfels defined the task of police as much narrower than the overarching state-objective. Pütter in 1770 (J. St. Pütter *Institutiones Iuris Publici Germanici*, Göttingen, 1770, 321) epitomised the new departure in the thinking about police when he conceived police as *cura avertendi mala futura*. Not the promotion of the public good, but *the concern for averting the ills to come* would increasingly define the task of the police. It was this redefinition of police which shifted the meaning of police as the synonym of good government and public order to a conceptualisation of the police as an organisational force charged with maintaining public order and safety and with preventing and investigating unlawful activities (Preu 1983, 167-92).

In the nineteenth century *Polizeiwissenschaft* was in transition. The definitions still tended to vary: some emphasised the goals of *Polizei* as limited to attaining security for individuals and for the state, while others continued to see it as contributing positively to social welfare. A central contribution to a short revival of *Polizeiwissenschaft* came from Robert Von Mohl in his book *Die Polizeiwissenschaft nach den Grundsätzen des Rechtsstaates* (Police Science According to the Principles of the Legal State), (Tuebingen, 1832-33). His starting point was the legal state (*Rechtsstaat*) and the standards of individual liberty guaranteed by the legal state. Police activities served to remove obstacles to the free development of individuals. Anything which individuals or groups could not do for themselves became a legitimate sphere of police activity; whatever individuals or groups could do independently was beyond the bounds of proper police intervention. (*Polizeiwissenschaft*, I, 10-11, 17, 20). Mohl insisted that the term *Polizei* be reserved for these welfare activities to the exclusion of the security functions.

Definitional problems became the trademark of *Polizeiwissenschaft*. Attempts to integrate administration and police in terms of functions mostly failed.

Also police practice started to interfere with academic theoreticising. One of the advantages of history is the detection of repetitions: like the plans for a *Polizeiwissenschaft* since the 90s of the last century and the first years of the twentyfirst century in Germany were attacked by police practitioners, the same happened in 1845. Gustav Zimmermann, a Hannoverian police commissioner, was full of sarcasm and complaints about academic irrelevancies of the *Polizeiwissenschaft*. He published *Die deutsche Polizei im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (The German Police in the Nineteenth

Century))(Hannover, 2 vols, 1845), in which he claimed that “the present textbooks have everything except what one needs in the service” (pp. 21-22). Zimmermann fully exploited the ambiguities of the term *Polizei*, claiming that the police in practice was an institution devoted to preserving the state by “observation, prevention, repression, and discovery”, rather than by benevolent welfare measures. Any benevolent remnants of the older welfare conception were to be discarded.

The discrepancies between the popular use of the term *Polizei* and the academic content of *Polizeiwissenschaft* increased dramatically, especially after 1848 with the renewing of the “police state”. As a response to this, the formal definition of *Polizei* shifted away from its purpose and towards its functions: *Polizei* was viewed as the activity of commanding and compelling, a definition more in line with popular usage.

In his standard work *Die ältere deutsche Staats- und Verwaltungslehre (Polizeiwissenschaft). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Wissenschaft in Deutschland*. (Neuwied am Rhein, 1966), Hans Maier maintains that “the older Police Science was less occupied with police in the modern sense; it was rather a comprehensive science of the inner order of society” (p. 17). Fijnaut combats that view in his *Theoretische opstellen rondom de politie*¹⁸ (Apeldoorn, 1983). Referring to the works of Von Justi, Von Sonnenfels, Hoeck and Von Mohl, Fijnaut thinks that in “old” *Polizeiwissenschaft* there was quite a lot of space given to the organisation and the effect of the (modern) police force and that those works have had a strong influence on later (political) discussions about police organisations (Fijnaut 1983, 24-28).

So far the events around German *Polizeiwissenschaft*. In the following paragraphs we shall investigate whether other comparable European Police Sciences have been developed. In France, to start with.

French Police Science

According to Maier 1966, outside of the German states no Police Science (*Polizeiwissenschaft*) was really developed, not even in France. In order to investigate this statement in more depth, we continue our historical search by taking a closer look at Police Science in France. We have seen that *Polizeiwissenschaft* encompassed the whole art of government in the sense of regulation, management and maintenance of population. In the twentieth century, this theory was brought to attention anew by Michel Foucault (1926-1984) who submitted the German *Polizeiwissenschaft* to a comparison with the

¹⁸ Theoretical essays about the police.

French science of police. Foucault considers Police Science to be part of what he calls *governmentality*. He argues that the term 'police' is understood in a particular way by the seventeenth- and eighteenth- century authors. That is, 'police' was perceived at the time as a whole set of techniques and strategies by which a government in the framework of the state was able to govern people as individuals, which was significantly useful for the world (Foucault 1982, 155). Foucault locates the texts of the German police scientists, especially those of Von Justi, within the administrative practice known as Cameralism. Von Justi's manual is of particular interest because it so clearly articulates what Foucault describes as the "paradox of police": that is, the police must foster citizen's lives – understood as improved living – in such a way that their development also fosters the state's strength. Thus do police engage in techniques or ways of intervening in the common activities of individuals to enhance their lives so that the state is also strengthened. In addition, Von Justi is one of the first to understand, according to Foucault, the importance of the emerging notion of population (Foucault 1982, 160).

Criminologists have embraced Foucault; police are, considering their nature and profession, in general less emotional; in scientific police literature at the most we encounter reference to Foucault's historical Police Science work (Reiner 1988; Reiner 1991; Sheptycki 1999; Deflem 2002; Ericson and Haggerty 1997) without any of these others giving details. Other authors who are relevant for the police, place his publications and that of his followers (the post-Foucauldians) in the discussions on public/private policing, governance of security and surveillance (David Bayley, Clifford Shearing, Ian Loader, Neil Walker and Sophie Body-Gendrot, to name a few). However, this goes beyond the scope of this chapter.

Governmental rationality

We are accustomed to a certain set of learned ways of thinking about questions of government. These ways of thinking have been largely derived from ideas clustered around the ubiquitous but difficult and somewhat obscure concept of 'the state' (Bayley 1992). In most cases the question of government is identified with the state, i.e. with a sovereign body that claims a monopoly of independent territorial power and of means of violence.

In Foucault's work 'governmentality' marks the emergence of a distinctly new form of thinking about and exercising of power in certain societies (Foucault 1991, 102-104). This form of power is bound up with the discovery of a new reality, the economy, and concerned with a new object, the population. Governmentality emerges in Western European societies in the early modern period when the art of government of the state becomes a distinct activity,

and when the forms of knowledge and techniques of the human and social sciences become integral to it.

Governmentality, as the term was used by Foucault, suggested that, from at least the seventeenth century, rulers, statesmen and politicians came to see their tasks *in terms of* government. A new art of government emerged, the doctrine of *reason of state*.

Foucault is interested in the technologies and techniques of government, developed within the general framework of reason of state (Berges 1988). Reason of state is understood as rational government's ability to increase the state's strength. The doctrine of reason of state integrates an external and an internal component. Externally, it is concerned with maintaining and augmenting the strength of the state in relation to other states. Internally, it is concerned with the augmenting of the elements and forces that constitute the strength of the state. This internal set of techniques and the rationality they embody is called *police*. Foucault examined European doctrines of police. This science of police was articulated in the German-speaking parts of Europe, and also in the Italian states and in France, in the period from about 1650 to 1800. It saw police not as a negative activity concerned with the maintenance of order and the prevention of danger, but as a positive programme based upon knowledge, which could act as the "foundation of the power and happiness of States".

Political and religious authorities now understood their powers and obligations in terms of relatively formalised doctrines of rule which made it both necessary and legitimate for them to exercise a calculated power over the conduct of populations and individuals, *Omnes et Singulatim*, of each and all, being the title of Foucault's lecture about the Police Science in Germany and France.

Omnes et singulatim

What the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors understand by "the police" is very different from what we understand of the term. What they understand by "the police" is not an institution or mechanism functioning within the state but a governmental technology peculiar to the state – domains, techniques, targets where the state intervenes.

Foucault exemplifies this statement with a text of Louis Turquet de Mayerne from his book *Monarchie Aristodemocratique*¹⁹ (1611). In the organisation Turquet proposes, four grand officials rank beside the king. One is in charge

¹⁹ Transl.: "Aristo-democratic Monarchy"

of Justice; another, of the Army; the third, of the Exchequer, that is, the King's taxes and revenues; the fourth is in charge of the *police*. This officer's role had been mainly a moral one. According to Turquet, he was to foster among the people "modesty, charity, loyalty, industriousness, friendly cooperation and honesty". We recognise the traditional idea that the subject's virtue ensures the kingdom's good management (Foucault 1988 [1982], 154).

But, going into the details, the outlook is different. Turquet suggests that there should be boards keeping law and order. There should be two that see to people; the other two see to things. The first board pertaining to people was to see the positive, active productive aspects of life: education, occupations. The second board was to see to the negative aspects of life: the poor requiring help; the unemployed; public health.

Foucault's conclusions on the basis of this text are as follows:

1. The "police" appear as an administration heading the state, together with the judiciary, the army, and the exchequer. In fact, *it embraces everything else*. Turquet says so: "It branches out into all of the people's conditions, everything they do or undertake. Its field comprises justice, finance, and the army" (Foucault 1988[1982], 155).
2. **The police includes everything** – however, from an extremely particular point of view. Men and things are envisioned as to their relationships: men's coexistence on a territory; their relationships as to property; what they produce; what is exchanged on the market. It also considers how they live, the diseases and accidents that can befall them. What the police sees is to live, active, productive man. Turquet employs a remarkable expression: "The police's true object is man" (Foucault 1981[1979], 319; Helene L'Heuillet. La genealogy de la Police. In : *Cultures et Conflits* 48(2002), 109-132).
3. The police are involved with everything providing the city with adornment, form and splendour and ensure the state's vigour. The police's other purpose is to foster working and trading relations between men, as well as to aid and mutual help: the police must ensure "communication" among men, in the broad sense of the word (Foucault 1981[1979], 319).

After Turquet's book, Foucault continues his research with a French systematic compendium of Nicolas Delamare *Traité de la Police*²⁰ (Four volumes, 1705-1738).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this administrator undertook the compilation of the whole kingdom's police regulations and organised an

²⁰ Transl: "Treaty on the Police"

encyclopaedia of police under eleven chapters meaning that the police must see to eleven things within the state:

1) religion; 2) morals; 3) health; 4) supplies; 5) roads, highways, town buildings; 6) public safety; 7) the liberal arts (roughly speaking, arts and science); 8) trade; 9) factories; 10) man servants and labourers; and 11) the poor (Foucault 1980 [1976], 94).

That, for Delamare (1639-1723) and those following, was the administrative practice of France and you will find the same classification in most of the treatises or compendia concerning the police. What was the logic of intervening in religious rites or in small-scale production techniques, in intellectual life or in the road network? Delamare's answer is "that the police must see to everything pertaining to men's *happiness*" and in other places that "the police see to everything regulating *society*" (social relations). And sometimes Delamare says that the police see to *living* (Berges 1988).

Delamare makes the following remarks as to the police's eleven objects:

[...] The police deal with religion, not, of course, from the point of view of dogmatic orthodoxy but from the point of view of the moral quality of life. In seeing to health and supplies, the police deal with the preservation of life. Concerning trade, factories, workers, the poor, and public order, the police deal with the conveniences of life. In seeing to the theatre, literature, and entertainment, their object is life's pleasure. In short, life is the object of the police. The indispensable, the useful, and the superfluous: Those are the three types of things what we need, or what we can use in our lives. That people live, that people do even better than just survive or live: That is exactly what the police have to insure [...] (Cited in Foucault 1988 [1982], 157).

According to Foucault, Delamare's *Treaty on Police* is important for several reasons. Firstly, it attempts to classify needs, which is, of course, an old philosophical tradition, but with the technical project of determining the correlation between the utility scale for individuals and the utility scale for the state. The thesis in Delamare's book is that what is superfluous for individuals can be indispensable for the state, and vice versa. The second important thing is that Delamare makes a political object of human happiness. From the beginning of political philosophy in Western countries everybody knew and said that the happiness of the people had to be the permanent goal of governments, but then happiness was conceived as the result or the effect of a really good government. Now happiness is not only a simple effect. Happiness of individuals is a requirement for the survival and development of the state. It is a condition, it is an instrument, and not simply a consequence. People's happiness becomes an instrument of state strength.

And thirdly, Delamare says that the state has to deal not only with men, or with a lot of men living together, but with society. Society and men as social beings, individuals with all their social relations, are now the true object of the police (Foucault 1988[1982], 158).

Then Foucault starts a comparison of the French textbooks with the German ones, where “police” became a discipline in the academic meaning of the word, especially in Göttingen, a university extremely important for continental Europe, because here the Prussian, Austrian, Russian, Italian and also French civil servants were trained.

The most important testimony about the teaching of Police Science is a kind of manual for the students of the *Polizeiwissenschaft*, written by Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi with the title *Grundsätze der Policey-Wissenschaft* (1756)²¹. In this book, this manual for students, the purpose of the police is still defined, as in Delamare, as taking care of individuals living in society. Nevertheless, the way Von Justi organises his book is somewhat different. He studies first what he calls the “state’s landed property”, that is, its territory. He considers it in two different aspects: how it is inhabited (town versus country), and then who inhabit these territories (the number of people, their growth, health, mortality, immigration). Von Justi then analyses the “goods and chattels”, that is, the commodities, manufactured goods, and their circulation, which involve problems pertaining to cost, credit, and currency. Finally, the last part is devoted to the conduct of individuals: their morals, their occupational capabilities, their honesty, and how they respect the law.

Von Justi’s work is a much more advanced demonstration of how the police problem evolved than Delamare’s introduction to his compendium. For this thesis, four reasons are given.

First, Von Justi defines much more clearly what the central paradox of *police* is. The police, he says, are what enable the state to increase its power and exert its strength to the full. On the other hand, the police have to keep the citizens happy – happiness being understood as survival, life, and improved living. He perfectly defines what the aim is of the modern government, or state rationality, namely, to develop those elements constitutive of individual’s lives in such a way that their development also fosters the strength of the state (Foucault 1981[1979], 322).

The second is that Von Justi draws an important distinction between what he calls police (*die Polizei*) and what he calls politics (*die Politik*). *Die Politik* is basically for him the negative task of the state. It consists in the state’s fighting

²¹ Principles of police science

against its internal and external enemies, using the law against internal enemies and the army against the external ones. Von Justi explains that the police (*Polizei*), on the contrary, have a positive task. Their instruments are neither weapons nor laws, neither defence nor interdiction. The aim of the police is the permanently increasing production of something new, which is supposed to foster the citizens' life *and* the state's strength. The police govern not by the law, but by a specific, a permanent, and positive intervention in the behaviour of individuals. Even if the semantic distinction between *Politik* endorsing negative tasks and *Polizei* insuring positive tasks soon disappeared from political discourse and from the political vocabulary, the problem of a permanent intervention of the state in social processes, even without the form of law, is characteristic for our modern politics and of political problems. The discussion from the end of the eighteenth century until now about liberalism, *Polizeistaat*, *Rechtsstaat*, rule of law, and so on, originates in this problem of the positive and negative tasks of the state, in the possibility that the state may have only negative tasks and not positive ones and may have no power of intervention in the behaviour of people (Foucault 1988[1982], 159-60).

The third reason is the important point in the conception of Von Justi. He insists more than Delamare does on a notion that has been very influential with all the political and administrative personnel of the European countries at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. One of the major concepts of Von Justi's book is that of population, and this notion is not found in any other treatise on police. Von Justi did not invent the notion or the word, but it is worthwhile to note that, under the name of population, Von Justi takes into account what demographers at the same moment were discovering. He sees all the physical or economical elements of the state as constituting an environment on which population depends and which conversely depends on population. Of course, Turquet and Delamare also spoke about the rivers, forests, fields and so on, but essentially as elements capable of producing taxes and incomes. For Von Justi, the population and environment are in perpetual living interrelation, and the state has to manage those living interrelations between those two types of living beings. We can now say that the true object of the police becomes, at the end of the eighteenth century, the population; or, in other words, the state has essentially to take care of men as population. It wields its power over living beings as living beings. Since the population is nothing more than what the state takes care of for its own sake, of course, the state is entitled to slaughter it, if necessary (Foucault 1988[1982], 160).

And lastly, Von Justi's book is not only a compendium of systematically filed regulations. Von Justi claims to draw up a *Polizeiwissenschaft*. His book isn't simply a list of prescriptions: it's also a grid through which the state – that is,

territory, resources, population, towns, and so on – can be observed. Von Justi combines “statistics” (the description of states) with the art of government. *Polizeiwissenschaft* is at once an art of government and a method for the analysis of a population living on a territory (Foucault 1981[1979], 323).

Discipline and Punish - Relevance for Police Science

Foucault’s most influential work is *Discipline and punish* (1977; original title *Surveiller et punir* 1975). In order to give a clear overview of the topics which are treated in this book and which are relevant for Police Science until today we will discuss two topics separately: panoptisation and disciplining.

Panoptisation

One of the disciplinary structures which have been most often drawn upon by theorists using Foucault’s work is the Panopticon, which he discusses in *Discipline and punish*. The Panopticon is an architectural device as described by the eighteenth-century philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) (See for Bentham’s Panopticon: Leman-Langlois *Policing and Society* 13 (2002), 43-58; Gordon 1991, 25-28; Minson 1985, 97-110; Hume 1981, 165-209).

Foucault described the Panopticon as “a mechanism that coerces by means of observation”. Since the publication of Foucault’s *Discipline and punish* criminologists, social theorists and police scientists have speculated about how continuing advancements in surveillance technology will affect policing (see for example Norris 2003; Bannister 1998; Goold, 2004).

In *Reclaiming the Streets. Surveillance, Social Control and the City* (2004), Roy Coleman considers CCTV as more than a crime-prevention tool for the police and explores the rise of camera surveillance as part of a wider socio-spatial ordering process.

Van der Vijver (1998) situates panopticism in the academic school which has been studying insecurity from the perspective of the risk society since the publication of Ulrich Beck’s *The Risk Society* (original German edition 1986; translation 1992). The concept of the risk society refers to the existence of collective insecurity.

In *Policing the Risk Society* (1997), Ericson and Haggerty analyse policing from the concept of the risk society and propose that this concept will greatly change the way policing is perceived. Technology not only supports traditional policing, it also implies a re-conceptualisation of police work.

Discipline

Foucault's work is largely concerned with the relation between social structures and institutions and the individual. Central to his concern with institutions is his analysis of power. In *Discipline and punish* he describes the way that power has been exercised in different eras in Europe (Garland 2001; 1997; 1992; Dean 1994; Smart 1983).

Kees van der Vijver, professor in Police Studies at the University of Twente, discusses in his inaugural lecture *De Tranen van Foucault (Foucault's Tears)*[1998] the measures aimed at enhancing safety. According to him, three processes will come to play a major role in determining future developments in law enforcement. In addition to devolution, these involve disciplining and panopticism. Referring to *Discipline and punish*, he states that order through discipline will become increasingly important. The government's disciplining strategy has entered a new phase, with the citizen placed under an increasingly comprehensive regime of surveillance and enforcement (Van der Vijver 1998, 6-17).

A different form of application of Foucault's *Discipline and punish* for Police Science we can find with Bernard Harcourt in his *Illusion of order. The false promise of Broken Windows policing* (2001).

Harcourt challenges the validity of the 'Broken Windows Theory' and order-maintenance policing according to the criteria Foucault developed.

In 1982 Wilson and Kelling suggested that targeting minor disorder could help reduce more serious crime. Their 'Broken Windows' theory produced what many observers have called a revolution in policing and law enforcement. The problem is that the 'Broken Windows' theory never has been empirically verified and Harcourt asks why this theory is widely accepted if the empirical support is so weak. Conceptually the theory rests on unexamined categories of 'law abiders' and 'disorderly people'. Harcourt suggests that the category of the disorderly may itself be constructed in part through lengthy processes of policing and punitive practices.

The 'Broken Windows' story proves the necessity for research as an essential part of Police Science.

The New Police Science

For those who believe in a cyclic course of history, there still is hope.

Police science as we described it above was a fully-fledged academic discipline, complete with treatises, university faculties, and training faculties.

Nowadays it is returning under a new name: New Police Science. An international group of scholars from several countries (Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, France and the United States) work in various disciplines (history, sociology, criminology, politics, law and police studies) with the common aim of testing the critical and analytic potential today of a long-submerged concept: the police.

The new Police Science examines the power to police as a basic technology of modern government.

There is more than one reason to pay attention to this New Police Science within the framework of this chapter on the history of Police Science.

Sheptycki 1999, as well as Ericson & Haggerty 1997, make mention of Bentham, Colquhoun, Smith and others as exponents of Police Science in Britain. Reiner 1988 states: [...] during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there had flourished on the Continent and in Britain “a science of police” (p.269).

In scientific police literature several references are made to Police Sciences outside Germany and France so we subject this to a closer investigation, because we are looking for the *European* approach to Police Science.

The New Police Science appeals emphatically to developments in the English speaking countries, so studying the British writers will enable us to make a comparison between the use of the concept of police in Police Science and the term as it became increasingly used in the British context.

Besides, the New Police Science holds the view that our current European Police Science has been reduced to the study of crime and law enforcement and has been handed over to criminology. The New Police Science wants to rescue the concept of police from the limited application with criminology and police studies. All the more reason for a closer investigation.

The underlying line of thinking of the New Police Science can be summarised as follows.

There was once a unified concept of police. Policing meant governing the state as a household for the sake of its “public police and economy”. Police science was devoted to the study of police thus understood.

Today the concept of police has fallen apart. On one side lies the police of “police power”, pure and simple, as exemplified by the police officer. On the

other lies the police of “the police power”, as exemplified by the police regulation. Police science survives as police officer science: the study of investigative techniques and “police management”. See, for instance, the “principal objective” of the *International Journal of Police Science & Management* which is:

[...] To facilitate [...] research into the criminal justice system and the practicalities of its day-to-day management of criminal justice organisations including, but not necessarily confined to, the police. Topics such as police operational techniques, crime pattern analysis, crime investigation management, accountability, performance measurement, interagency cooperation and public attitude surveys are welcome [...].

Police science as the study of the police power has disappeared. The police that the police officer protects, and the police power that it personifies, no longer exist. Instead, the police officer has been re-conceptualised as a law enforcement officer, just as Police Science has become a subcategory of the field of criminal justice.

The New Police Science seeks to recover the unified concept as an object of study. It concerns itself with the police power as a general mode of governance, rather than with one of its specific institutional manifestations, the police department, or one of the specific personal components of that institutional manifestation, the police officer (Dubber & Valverde 2006, 1-17).

The concept of police entered American political and legal discourse in the late eighteenth century. But where did the Founding Fathers get the idea of police? The best place to start is Blackstone’s *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, which alongside the Bible rank as a literary and intellectual influence on the history of American institutions. In the fourth and last volume of the *Commentaries* (p.162) published in 1769, Blackstone set out a definition of police (see final paragraph of this chapter: conclusive remarks).

Blackstone’s notion of police might be summed up as follows. The power of police derives from the King’s obligation to maximise the welfare of his household, the realm. The King’s police regulates the public economy of the state, as the father’s discipline does the private economy of the family (*Commentaries*, I, 410[1765]).

As the father, as *pater familias*, is entitled to enforce his authority through disciplinary measures, so is the King as *pater patriae* (Id., 416, 433,440). Any violation of the order of the family, and any challenge to his authority, may be punished by the head of the petty, or of the grand, commonwealth. No more precise definition of offences against the police of the family or of the realm

can be given than of the notion of police itself. Any correction inflicted for such an offence, however, occurs for the benefit of its object *as a member of the household*, and therefore ultimately for the benefit of both the micro and the macro household and its respective heads (Dubber 2005, 47-62).

Until well into the twentieth century, American legislators, courts and commentators would consult Blackstone when it came time to turn their attention to the police power. Blackstone, however, is only the beginning of an inquiry into the roots of the police power. He did not make any claim to originality and his view of police in particular was radically unoriginal (Dubber 2001, 927-28).

By the eighteenth century, as mentioned above, the term police had been around on the Continent for at least four centuries and had blossomed into a Police Science in Germany and France.

What were the other possible sources for the Founding Fathers apart from Blackstone? On Blackstone's side of the Channel, the Scottish Enlightenment also had taken an interest in the concept, as illustrated by Adam Smith's *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms* delivered at Glasgow in the 1750s and early 1760s.

Smith presented an account of the origins of the concept of police. A closer look gives a fairly good sense of common notions of police at the time and Smith here repeats the conventional wisdom that "police" is of French origin, which may explain why, in England, the word police "was still viewed with disfavour after 1760". Moreover, it captures some of the familiar features of police, including its means (prevention and intimidation), its ends (public security, public peace, and intercourse), and its objects (disturbances and villains). Finally, it highlights the conceptual connection between public security and neatness, between keeping the streets safe and clean: Given that Smith regards the *Lectures on Jurisprudence* as a contribution to the debate about the promotion of opulence and the state of prosperity, the centrality of police to these conditions means that the *Lectures* are in some sense a positive contribution to eighteenth century discourse on police.

A fellow Scot, who later made his career in London, personified the comprehensiveness of the police: Patrick Colquhoun (1745-1820).

Colquhoun has long been a key figure in British police studies. Radzinowicz, for example, gives Colquhoun a central role in the volume on police in his *History of English Criminal Law* (Volume 3, 211-251):

[...] "Colquhoun was the first major writer on public order and the machinery of justice to use 'police in a strict sense closely akin to modern usage' " [...] (247).

According to others Colquhoun was a police scientist of continental ambition. Although more recent interest in his work has been among those investigating the nature of 'private' policing (Johnston 1992, 5-6; Jones & Newburn 1998, 3; Johnston & Shearing 2003, 64-65; 81-83), the main reason for the attention given to Colquhoun by writers in mainstream British police studies has long centred on the idea of prevention (among others Reith 1956, 24-27; Emsley 1996, 21-22; Reynolds 1998, 89-97).

The problem is that since the new police is commonly said to have involved the emergency of preventive policing, commentators searching for the origins of the new police only have focused on the preventive principle in Colquhoun's work, while, when discussing prevention, Colquhoun thought of something completely different than how we understand it nowadays (Neocleous 2000, 711-17; Dean 1991, 53-68; Rawlings 1995, 129-49).

For the purpose of this chapter on the history of Police Science, we quote Colquhoun's famous opening paragraph of the later editions of his *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* [...] (6th ed. 1800):

[...] Police in this country may be considered as a *new Science*; the properties of which consist not in the Judicial Powers which lead to *Punishment*, and which belong to Magistrates alone, but in the *Prevention* and *Detection* of Crimes, and in those other Functions which relate to Internal Regulations for the well ordering and comfort of Civil Society [...] (Preface, 1).

Colquhoun sees civil society as something to be ordered, and this is the project of police.

In his other major *Treatise* he wrote that "the art of economising through the medium of a well-regulated Police, with a view to the prevention of crimes, by the introduction of restraints, perfectly congenial to the principles of the British Constitution, may be considered as a new branch of Science in Political Philosophy" (*Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames*, [...]) (ed. 1800,38).

Police Science in Britain?

Having studied these scholars writing about the police, the question comes up whether we can speak of a Police Science in Britain. Mitchell Dean develops in *Constitution of poverty. Toward a genealogy of liberal governance* (1991, chapter 3) a claim that Britain was *like* parts of the Continent, especially Germany and France, developing a science of police in the eighteenth century. Dean follows Foucault, Pasquino and others in this respect.

Others like Mary Poovey disagree with this claim. In her *A history of the modern fact. Problems of knowledge in the sciences of wealth and society* (1998, chapters 4 and 5) she argues that without the kind of absolute monarchy that existed in France and that had been instituted in some of the German territories, the “science of police” (*Polizeiwissenschaft*) could not be pursued by royal decree in Britain. Her conclusion is that the relatively weak constitutional basis for central government in Britain, combined with a persistent resistance to such centralisation, meant that developing anything like a science of police in Britain in the eighteenth century would have been very difficult.

In our opinion it is a more fruitful idea to look for what factors they had in common, to look for similarities and affinities that link the continental Police Science with a British science of police rather than to seek differences based upon politically different systems like, for instance, the lacking of political arithmetic schemes in Britain as a result of liberal governmentality as Poovey argues (Poovey 1998, 147).

From Police Science to Police Power

We do not know exactly what sources the Founding Fathers used for their concept of police and it is not an important question. Because the core idea of police was the same on both sides of the Channel. Police marked the point of convergence between politics and economics as well as it stood for the theory of government as patriarchy.

The modern, enlightened scientific concept of police was adopted from Europe but developed to a distinctly American notion of police, turning Police Science into police power. Recognised as the very foundation of government and even synonymous with government itself, American police power remained true to the common core of all varieties of police, from France to Germany to Scotland to England: its foundation in the householder’s governance of the household. All of the components of American police power can be traced back to that model (Lüdtke 1992; Dubber 2004).

Generations of judges and scholars have suggested that police power is indefinable. Together their definitions cover three essential components of police power: law, regulation, and people’s welfare. Police power was the ability of a state or locality to enact and enforce public laws regulating or even destroying private right, interest, liberty, or property for the common good

(i.e., for the public safety, comfort, welfare, morals, or health) (Barnett 2003; Bufford 1916).

The New Police Science: the book

Recently Markus D. Dubber and Mariana Valverde edited the first book on *The New Police Science. The police power in domestic and international governance* (Stanford University Press, December 2006) in which scholars from several countries and from a range of disciplines test the critical and analytical potential today of the concept of police, sharing the sense that police forces and the legal doctrine of state's "police power" have a greater connection than is usually believed.

The contributions show a large variety of governing activities authorised by the term 'police'.

Within the framework of this chapter on the history of the Old Police Science, Neocleous' contribution in the above-mentioned book is relevant. In chapter one of *The New Police Science*, Mark Neocleous explores the theoretical foundations of police by revealing the broad and varied concept of police that was the subject of the Old Police Science in pre-Enlightenment Europe, and underlays social and institutional reforms not only on the Continent but – less familiarly – in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century London of Patrick Colquhoun and his Thames River Police. While Colquhoun's police reforms today are regarded as the beginning of modern policing – and the creation of police as an institution of 'law enforcement' – Neocleous instead exposes their roots in the police concept of the original police scientists. Countering the common tendency to associate police with the restrictive, if not downright oppressive state action, Neocleous stresses the affirmative aspect of police. In particular, he regards police as having been a means of fabricating order in general, and class order in particular, and having played a central role in the creation of the English working class (pp. 17-42).

For the future of *The New Police Science* much remains to be done. The analytic usefulness of police must be tested on other issues and in other fields. The relationship between the Old and the New Police Science may need to be considered more carefully. (Dubber and Valverde 2006, Introduction, 15).

Conclusive remarks

Polizei or police was a product of the epochal transfer of civil power from church and lord to polity that dominated Europe after the Reformation and it took on a multiplicity of forms by the eighteenth century. They ranged from the Scottish Enlightenment and English mercantilist context of Adam Smith's *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms* (1762-1763) and Colquhoun's

Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis (1796), via the German cameralism of Johann von Justi's *Polizeiwissenschaft* (1756) and Joseph von Sonnenfels *Grundsätze der Policey* (1765-1767) to the French *droit administratif* tradition represented by Nicolas Delamare's *Traité de la Police* (1705-1738) and Emmerich de Vattel's *Droit des gens* (1758).

What they all had in common was a focus on the polity's newfound responsibility for the happiness and welfare of its population. Police was a science and mode of governance where the polity assumed control over, and became implicated in, the basic conduct of social life. Thus William Blackstone defined "public order and economy" as "the due regulation and domestic order of the kingdom; whereby the individuals of the state, like members of a well-governed family, are bound to conform their behaviour to the rules of propriety, good neighbourhood, and good manners; and to be decent, industrious, and inoffensive in their respective stations". Police aspirations also included enriching population and state, increasing agricultural yields, minimising threats to health and safety, promoting communication and commerce, and improving the overall quality of the people's existence. Such sweeping objectives required the intense regulation and public monitoring of economy and society. Indeed the effect of police was a vast proliferation of regulatory intrusions into the remotest corners of public and private activity. That brought Michel Foucault to his assertion "The *police* includes *everything*"; the detailed regulatory lists he showed indicate the depth of inclusiveness. Delamare's initial treatise laid out eleven expansive categories of police regulation and administration: 1) religion; 2) manners and morals; 3) health; 4) provisions; 5) travel (roads and highways); 6) public tranquillity and safety; 7) the sciences and liberal arts; 8) commerce and trade; 9) manufactures and mechanical arts; 10) labour; and 11) the poor.

No aspect of human intercourse remained outside the purview of Police Science.

Within the scope of this chapter we have explored the genesis and development of Police Science in a number of European countries, to be more explicit, Police Science in the sense of a governmental science. Closer investigation will have to show whether also in other European countries a Police Science in this sense has been developed. There are, for example, indications that there was such a Police Science in Italy (Pasquino, 1991a).

For other European countries the most acceptable hypothesis is that Police Science has existed under a different name without a specific mention to police, e.g. as a subject in state law or political sciences or included in the cluster of military sciences. A European common element is, in any case, that

in most countries the police as such have gone through a similar evolution in the period of time we are discussing here (Italy: Napoli 1996; Spain: Scholz; The Netherlands: Fijnaut 2007; Hungary: Szabo 1996), what makes police ordinances to be a European phenomenon (Poland: Malec 1996; Russia: Behrisch 1999; Austria: Pils 2002; Spain: Mantecon 1999; The Netherlands: Berkvens 1996).

In most countries police ordinances are used as a means of social control (In general: Härter 1999; UK: Ingram 1999; France: Brunelle 2004; Italy: Bellabarba 1999; Denmark: Tamm 1996; Scandinavia: Tamm & Johansen 1999), as a means of social discipline (Switzerland: Schott 1996; Sweden: Frohnert 1996; France: Sälter 2002), to regulate commercial differences (France: Brunelle 2004; Austria: Scheutz 2002) or to combat corruption (Italy: Shaw 2004).

At the end of 2007 a monograph by Cees Kwanten will be published shedding some light on the history of Police Sciences in all European countries.

With this summary we finish this part of the chapter on historical Police Science in the sense of governmental science and transfer to the more current and modern meanings of Police Science.

Police Science (in Handbooks)

In our historical search for the semantics of Police Science, we come across the term in a specific context.

We point at Police Science within the framework of education and training for those who “do policing”, “the art of policing for police students”, “the fundamentals of the profession”, “qualifications needed to be a good law enforcement officer”, and “techniques basic to be considered elements of police science”. In short, all fundamental knowledge and basic skills summarised under the collective term Police Science. The topics that are discussed therein and which are listed in the table of contents are approximately the same in all countries:

- Police equipment (firearms, handcuffs, vehicles, uniforms etc.)
- Legal matters of importance to police (general principles in criminal law)
- Criminal investigation (including photography and fingerprints)
- Specific offences
- Traffic
- Control of civil disorder and dangerous situations
- Police organisation (including management and administration)

In all European countries which dispose of bibliographies of police literature, this type of textbook can be found. There is nothing against calling this Police Science as long as we keep in mind that they are study books and that they have to be seen in the context of education and training in police schools and police academies in roughly the first half of the twentieth century. Perhaps the terms “Manuals for Practice” or “Elementary Police Science” deserve preference for that reason.

The real ‘scientific policeman’ in the meaning of August Vollmer (1876-1955) in his article *The Scientific Policeman* (1930) and his book *The Police and Modern Society* (1936), has not been born yet, but at the same time he or she is procreated in the first half of the twentieth century.

Scientific policing (police scientifique, polizia scientifica) had its roots in Europe, and this subject will be the next step in our historical search for the semantics of Police Science.

Scientific Policing – from Lombroso to Criminal Policing

In the introduction to this chapter we have indicated that apart from a governmental Police Science a criminological Police Science has come up and it has developed into a fully-fledged exact science (forensics/criminalistics).

Criminology arose in a number of European countries in the late 1700s and this European classical period was particularly centred on the writings of Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794) in Italy and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) in England. This Classical School of criminology was not involved in the statement of criminological theories of any fundamental or overriding interest in the explanation of crime. Instead, Bentham, Beccaria and others were social critics and reformers, interested in modifying the social-control practices of their own societies; their focus was not the study of the criminal, but the system of justice itself (Garland 2002; Vold & Bernard 1979). The new criminology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century promised an exact and scientific method for the study of crime, a technical means of resolving a genuinely humane hope of preventing the harm of crime and improving the character of offenders (Garland 1985, 110). The “science of criminology” as an independent and objective discipline demarcated a distinctive object of knowledge: “what in fact *is* the criminal?” (Reiner 1988, 138). Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) founded the positive school of criminology, so called because of its alleged empirical method. The Italian physician Lombroso began to study the biological, psychological, and social characteristics of criminals in order to determine the causes of their criminal behaviour. He tried to establish clear differences in physical characteristics between criminals and non-criminals in order to discover the explanations for crime (Lanier & Henry 1998), or to determine the origins and motivations for

criminal behaviour (Gibson 2006). In his view, crime was the product of physical and scientifically measurable variables that were beyond the control of the individual himself. The birth of criminal science during the late nineteenth century was to have profound implications for future criminological research. The criminology in some countries did not evolve from a Lombrosian tradition (e.g. in the UK: Garland 1988), but they all are nevertheless influenced by its scientific imperatives. Although clear-cut links between physical characteristics and criminality have never been confirmed by rigorous scientific research, and although the possibility of linking physical characteristics to criminality still is a source of much debate and controversy, the natural scientific approach was an undisputed fact. And with that also: the scientific police using the results of it in scientific policing (Fijnaut 1983; Gibson 2002; Valier 1998; Cole 2001).

In the past, criminology and the police seemed to belong to two different worlds, but, from a historical point of view, criminology contributed a lot to policing, even if indirectly, and as such in the end it also has contributed to Police Science. In the last decades, criminological research and police research have attained at least one commonality: they are both strongly determined by political agendas (e.g. Clear 1998).

According to Jaschke & Neidhardt 2004, Police Science can be seen as an integrative science based among others on social science like criminology and on specific aspects of natural science disciplines like the natural science means of criminal investigation and forensics (Jaschke & Neidhardt 2004, 18).²²

In our search for the semantics of Police Science we have to distinguish between forensic sciences as such and the use the police are making of it. 'Forensic' can describe a considerable number of scientific disciplines, among them chemistry, toxicology, pathology, biology and so on, each divided into subgroups again. These disciplines, sub-disciplines and specialties from the technical point of view do not belong to Police Science. The use of them and the impact of that use on the work of the police, however, do. A possibility to avoid further terminological confusion consists in bringing criminology and forensic sciences together under a new denominator: crime science. This crime science can then be an integral part of Police Science and indicate the link with policing in a clearer way (Laycock 2005). Babylonian linguistic confusion can then be something of the past like, for instance, in *A Dictionary of Criminology* by Walsh and Poole from 1983: lemma Police Science:

²² The terms criminalistics and forensic science/forensics will be used interchangeably in the text.

[...]Police scientists may be called upon to assess, analyse and compare materials and objects connected, or thought to be connected, with crimes committed [...] (p.168).

Historically, modern forensic science as we practice it today had its foundations in Europe in the 1800s. Examples of early use of scientific knowledge to resolve problems of criminal conduct were afforded most by chemists and medical doctors (Saferstein 2001, 1-9). The police early on quickly embraced finger printing and blood typing as investigative tools to address serious crime. The addition of scientific techniques to the armaments of crime investigation advanced steadily during the twentieth century. While forensics had been on the back stage of policing for many years, a lot of trials involving the use of physical evidence moved forensics to the front stage of the criminal justice process, including policing (Greene 2007, xxiv).

Just as the police work itself using the scientific outcomes has shown to be very sensitive on a political level; criminal profiling and racial profiling lie very close together.

Police Science in the modern sense

So far, we have described Police Science as a science of government, a very broad concept that encompasses nearly all tasks of government.

Up to the 1960s, the prevailing approach in Europe to policing at the time was based on the traditional nineteenth-century idea of the political state. In this traditional approach political matters had the upper hand over organisational and operational issues.

Designative in this context is the transliteration by Reiner in 1989 of this period in the UK. The early and mid 1950s were the high point of political consensus about, and public acceptance of, the police institution in Britain (Reiner 1989, 4-11). Also in France it was said that « la littérature sur la police est une littérature de commissaires de police » (Loubet del Bayle 1999, 56-7).

Social science interest in the police is very much a feature of a later period, starting in the 1960s. In the period of the 1950s, police and science were hardly interested in each other. Police science was exceptional. That attitude began to change in the 1960s.

Before we take a closer look at the developments around Police Science in Europe, we cannot avoid, from the historical point of view, to first pay attention to the cradle of modern Police Science, the United States.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Social sciences and, more specifically, empirical social studies started some fifty years ago in most Western countries, notably the United States. Research of the police in our modern sense started in 1951 in the United States, when William A. Westley finished his study on police violence. It was obvious that police research at that time was not particularly valued, for his study was only published some twenty years later: in 1970 (Sherman 1974, 256). He reached the conclusion that police who consider themselves to be symbols of state authority use violence whenever they consider that this state authority is disrespected or under threat. They want to enforce this respect for state authority (Schneider 2000, 138).

There had been some nascent interest of social scientists in policing as a consequence of research on juvenile delinquency during the 1950s, but from the 1960s onwards, scientists in the USA published widely on policing. The dominant approach consisted of participant observation studies in order to really understand what was going on in the organisation. There were two main aspects that caused this change in mutual interest.

In the first place, in the USA, the police came under severe criticism in the 1960s. The police were blamed by the civil rights movement and the (student) protest movement attacked the dysfunctional behaviour of the police: brutality, harassment, discrimination, the use of violence etc. The police were considered to be a threat to the state of law. Scientific researchers have concentrated on the question how police actually function in practice. The results of this research gave insight into phenomena like professional culture and the selective way the police act (*police discretion*).

In the second place, crime was rising at an alarming rate, and the police were criticised for their inadequate responses to these developments. The President's Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement published in 1967 its famous report *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. One part of the Report (*Task Force Report: The Police*) referred more specifically to the police. The strong increase in criminality that the police were not sufficiently able to respond to was an incentive for the commission to give the advice, amongst other things, for an increase of the efficacy of police by using scientific research to investigate which methods are most effective. This led to research which studied, above all, the efficacy of different methods of surveillance and of criminal investigation (Walker 1994, 21-35).

A single example will be given of the researchers and the research which has been done. In 1966, Jerome H. Skolnick published his famous book *Justice without trial. Law enforcement in democratic society*. It was the first time that a

scientist became involved with the reality of policing and concluded that this reality was not in accordance with the rules of the book. Decisions were made on the basis of informal norms and values that were dominant in the professional culture. The selectivity of the police was defined as illegal. That conclusion was not particularly appreciated by the police, to put it mildly.

James Q. Wilson did one of the first large empirical studies in the USA on the factual functioning of the police comparing eight police forces. His research *Varieties of Police Behavior* (1968) led to a differentiation of three types of working techniques in police forces: a *legalistic-style*, a *service-style* and a *watchman-style*. Wilson suggested that administrative decentralisation of power within existing police agencies could increase police responsiveness to the desires of local communities.

In 1974, George Kelling published *The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment*. This study tried to determine the effectiveness of random preventive patrol. A part of Kansas City was divided into three types of areas. In one type, preventive patrol was stopped altogether; in the second type, there was between two or three times as much preventive patrol, and the third type was used as a control area. After one year, no difference could be detected between the three different areas. Victimization, fear of crime, preventive measures and trust in the police – everything turned out to be the same. This study seriously questioned old assertions in policing. Preventive patrol had for many years been seen as an important tool in preventing crime. Academics and police chiefs all criticised Kelling's study. But subsequent research showed the same results. The efficacy of the police with regard to crime prevention received a lot of attention from the researchers. If the results of American efficacy studies are compared with those done in England or in the Netherlands, the outcomes are quite similar (Chaiken 1975, 1978; Wilson and Boland 1978, 1979; replication and extension of Wilson & Boland: Sampson & Cohen 1988; Chatterton 1987; Fijnaut 1985).

These studies gave insight into the professional culture of the police and its impact on the functioning of the police. They demonstrated the impact of the norms of the informal organisation and about the working ideology of police officers: their value system, beliefs and ideology. Some major results of those studies, just to give a few examples, are the following:

Although the external image of the police is that of a crime-fighting organisation, the first studies showed that crime fighting was only of limited importance in everyday reality of policing. Police work was demythologised as well as the crime control image of the police as it was shown that the police not only had little impact on crime, but that a large proportion of police work was not devoted to crime control (van der Vijver, 2002).

Besides, it showed that popular conceptions of the police were often false. Up to that moment the police were considered to be a strictly hierarchical organisation. Those studies described the discretionary powers of the police: the rank-and-file police officer has considerable freedom to make his or her own decisions. The police were discovered as a front-line organisation. The hierarchy of the police in daily routine is, to a large extent, a fiction.

This kind of research destroyed quite some old assertions. It is obvious that the current debate on the policing in Europe has been influenced without any doubt by this kind of research.

During our search for the different denotations which have been conferred to the term Police Science, in the 1950s and 1960s we come across a particular understanding in the USA which has not found its peer in Europe: Police Science as being equivalent with *police administration*. In 1950, O.W. Wilson published his book *Police Administration*, which has had a profound impact on the development of the study of policing. The book was a product of the principal approach to administration prevalent in the 1940s. Based on the scientific management principles of Frederick Taylor, Wilson's book stressed efficiency, hierarchy, and bureaucratic regularity as the key to police reform. One of the most recognised hallmarks of his book is the 300-item checklist at its conclusion. A check mark in each of the 300 boxes equates to a well-run police agency. So the study of policing was the study of efficient police administration, and this approach came to be called *Police Science* (Hoover 2005, 12).

EUROPE

In the above we have described the USA as the cradle of modern (social-) scientific investigation in the policing area. In the European countries, social scientific research started at a later stage in the course of the seventies and eighties of the last century in particular in the Northern European countries. In the following paragraphs, we shall describe the starting period of the European developments since the 1970s until the 1990s.

France

An analysis of police research in France shows clearly that it has been strongly dependent on the general political situation in this country. As one of the European countries with the highest police density in Europe, scientific interest for the object 'police' represented in police research in the 1960s and 1970s was low both on the side of criminology as of political sciences (Monjardet 1985b; Loubet del Bayle 1981; Journes 1988). To use Brodeur's

words: [...]The police is an institution, which purposefully resists against the effort to gain knowledge about it[...] (Brodeur 1984, 9).

Globally French police research can be divided into three periods:

A) In the period until 1981 the universities start to become more interested, which results in some dissertations being published (Gleizal 1974; Dootjes-Dussuyer 1979; Barberger 1981) and more or less critical descriptions of the police organisation (Des Saussaies 1972; Aubert & Petit 1981). Empirical research fits in with the topic of sociological research on the police in the 1960s in the USA: the selectivity of police intervention. In the years 1979-1981, Souchon did some comparative research on the use of warnings by the police in France, Canada and England (Souchon 1981).

A critical study by Levy for which he collected material in the period of 1979-1981, carrying the title *Les "Flags". Une justice ou une police?*, is based on dossier analysis and participant observation. His findings, as far as it concerns those persons who are arrested most frequently, agree entirely with those of American and English researchers (Levy 1982; 1987). Another similarity with findings abroad is that the police are the masters of criminal investigation, not the public prosecutor²³.

B) With Francois Mitterrand's presidency in 1981 there came a 'Direction de la Formation (for education) de la Police Nationale' which considered education as a vehicle for imposing change within the police. In the context of their efforts for modernisation and professionalisation, the new police chiefs tried to mobilise the entire police staff with the goal to improve the level of education within the police (Hauser & Mansingue 1983). Therefore the 'Direction' made efforts to structure research on the police by implementing an investigation programme on the basis of research assignments (Monet 1985, 388-389).

It can be concluded altogether that the police, after a long period of complete lack of interest in social sciences, showed a relatively sudden and quite distinct demand for research. This 'period of opening up' did not last long, however: the victory of the right parties in the parliamentary elections in 1986 put an end to this.

In this social scientific police research initiated by the state, two domains in particular were treated with preference:

- a) *Police work*: A series of research studies is looking at the conduct of uniformed police and is particularly interested in the daily activities of the police, the scope of discretion, and the hierarchy within the police (among others: Montjardet 1985a)

²³ Some empirical studies with comparable questions like the selection of deviant persons and groups were done by Faugeron (1977) and Zauberman (1982).

- b) *Police Training*: The studies on this subject mainly deal with the lack of coherence between the content of training and the learning experiences in daily police work (among others: Albouy & Loubet del Bayle 1985; Lhuillier 1987).

All in all, the promotion of this field of investigation by the 'Direction de la Formation' could have become a success. The biggest problem, however, obviously was that there was no 'scientific community' with an interest in the police (Levy 1992, 224-225).

C) The dependence of police research on the political situation in France meant that also the new political changes in 1988 announced the beginning of a new period of police research. The French Ministry of Interior – as a consequence of the experiences made in the years between 1982 and 1988 – founded an institution which should promote research on the police and develop relationships between the police and the "scientific community". This institution which was founded in 1989 under the name of *Institut des Hautes Etudes de Sécurité Intérieure* (IHESI) is attached to the 'Direction de la Police Nationale'²⁴ (Loubet del Bayle 1999, 64).

Germany

Police research in (the Federal Republic of) Germany can be divided into two periods until the 1990s: the first goes from the end of the 1960s until the end of the 1970s; the second stretches from the end of the 1970s until the 1990s.

A) Research on the police

Germany has a rich history of literature which in its titles carries the word 'police' or refers to policing issues, but they usually do not refer to systematic empirical research nor do they stem from that.

Just like in the other European countries, in Germany other disciplines paid generally little attention to the police. In criminology, the 'offender' and the 'delinquency' were in the centre of considerations, not the police.

The principle change in criminology with regard to the police occurred at the end of the 1960s, in a period of the student protests and of other changes in the awareness of people. Researchers now diverted their attention away from the 'offender' to the 'authorities', from 'delinquency' to 'deviation', and exactly this change had, by the nature of things so to say, to turn its attention specifically to the police; after all, the police was and is usually the one to have the first contact with (potentially) criminal events (Steffen 2000, 32). There is a short blooming of academic empirical police research: studies done by critical scientists like Feest, Blankenburg and Brusten. At the end of the 1960s, Feest/Blankenburg (1972), by means of participant observation, gained

²⁴ In July 2004, the name was changed into INHES (Institut National des Hautes Etudes de Sécurité).

a strong insight into the patrol duty and the sentry of uniformed police and the criminal investigation department. The results of this classic within empirical police research in Germany can be dumbed down to some central statements:

In spite of the legality principle, the police are not capable of working on all crimes with the same intensity. Therefore police officers were said to have developed selection mechanisms which helped them to predefine a situation (Feest/Blankenburg 1972, 19ff). Whether a deed is prosecuted as a criminal offence or not depends just as much on this pre-definition as the entire conduct towards the citizens (Feest/Blankenburg 1972, 117; Ohlemacher /Boumans/ Buchner/ Soegding 2003, 378).

Based on a survey amongst 90 officers, a further classic, Manfred Brusten (1971) came to the conclusion that members of the lower classes are systematically disadvantaged by the selection mechanisms of the police. A consequence of selective police intervention therefore is the maintenance of the status quo within society. (Brusten 1971, 20-45; Ohlemacher & Boumans 2000, 184).

This critical approach of police research (Pick 1995, 697-704) evokes in the police resistance. According to Reichertz, these social scientists “who know nothing of police” were only interested in the defamation of the police (Reichertz 2003, 415-17; Pick 1995, 698). Or, to use Feltes’ words:

[...] The fact that science for the police was not only terra incognita, but until recently like a red rag to a bull, did not change by any sociological studies on the police in the 1970s and 1980s, it was rather reinforced [...] (Feltes & Punch 2005, 30).

Critical social scientists like Feest, Blankenburg and Brusten were strongly rejected by both practitioners and scientists.

In particular the relationship between researchers and the police became quite problematic after the first series of publications. However, in order to prevent that this historical resume becomes single-edged, we do not agree with Schneider’s vision when he says: [...] While in North America the Marxist approach remained on the fringes, it dominated German police research almost completely [...] (Schneider 2000, 139).

Because, apart from the so called critical police research, even in the 1970s an abundance of important empirical research was already being done in which socio-political ratings took a back seat and descriptions of the forms and consequences of policing made from a neutral stance came to the fore. For quantitative police research, in particular a study should be mentioned which

in the mean time has certainly become a classic, done by Wiebke Steffen. Certainly in the European context this study is worth of mention because it affiliates with findings obtained at an earlier and at a later stage in the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. In her *Analyse polizeilicher Ermittlungstätigkeit aus der Sicht des späteren Strafverfahrens*²⁵ (1976) Steffen explores by means of dossiers, interviews and group discussions which crimes and which offenders successively disappear from the administration of criminal justice and who in the end decides which persons are selected from the entire population of delinquents as suspects and later as convicts.

Her answer to the second question complies with findings in other countries: in opposition to theory, it is actually the police who control criminal investigations, not the Public Prosecutor; there is absolutely no coordination between police and judiciary, but there are no major conflicts.

For police research on the level of communication sociology, the studies done by Schmitz (1977; 1978) and Banscherus (1977) were trend-setting.

The first beginnings of qualitative social research, like for example the research done by Waldmann (1977) for the weighting of punishable acts by the police during preliminary proceedings, and the ethnography by Girtler (1980) on strategies, objectives and structures of police acts, also date back to this period.

B) Research for the police

As we have described above, the short 'anthesis' of critical social scientists like Feest, Blankenburg and Brust has not actually reinforced the general confidence of the police in researchers from outside. However, there was apart from this yet another factor which finally made the police take research matters into their own hands.

Until the beginning of the 1970s, criminological research in the Federal Republic of Germany focused primarily on enhancing knowledge regarding the causes and manifestations of crime. Research was chiefly conducted by universities and private scientific institutes and the obtained results augmented scientific theories and literature. The police reacted to this kind of criminological research with scepticism or, at most, indifference. The primary response to new problems in everyday policing was an increase in personnel or funding. Once the federal and state budget situation no longer allowed unlimited new resources, many police chiefs finally realised that the only appropriate response to the increasingly complex problems they were facing was to elicit the support of practice-oriented research. As a result, in the 1970s

²⁵ Transl: "Analysis of Police Investigation from the Perspective of the Trial at a Later Stage"

and 1980s, research facilities were created within police forces. The objective of this research work was to analyse specific types of crime and to improve policing methods and procedures (Kube & Rebscher 1991, 23; Funk 1990, 107). There were essentially three police agencies that dealt with police research: the *Polizei-Führungsakademie* (police staff college), *Landeskriminalämter* (criminal police offices of the Länder), and the *Bundeskriminalamt* (federal criminal police office) (Steffen 2000, 33-40).

The primary goal of many projects was a more effective fight against crime so that empirical police research has largely become research *of* the criminal investigation department *for* the criminal investigation department (Funk 1990, 118).

Funk (1990) and Kerner (1995) take stock of the status quo of police research in Germany. Both draw the same conclusion that the emphasis of research in the past decades was strongly put on an effective combat of crime (Funk 1990, 109-113; Kerner 1995, 232-253) which is not so strange considering the fact that research is now relocated within the police.

What Funk calls a lack of knowledge (Funk 1990, 113), Kerner elaborates further on the basis of the state of research in France. The core of empirical police research in France comprises four main topics which are also valid for Germany: the interaction between police and citizens, the subculture of the police, decision making by the police and the concrete work of the police. Considering all these topics, the final balance still is a positive one because in these areas research is being done, or at least being initiated (Kerner 1995, 228-232).

United Kingdom

Several efforts have been made to describe the outcomes of the initial years of police research in the modern sense in Britain (Cain 1979; Tomasic (1985); Shapland & Hobbs (1989); Morgan & Smith 1989; Weatheritt 1989).

For the purpose of our chapter we prefer to use the classification of Reiner 1992 and Reiner 2000 because the division into periods which he applies enables us to make a European comparison.

Reiner relates the development of police research to wider political conflicts and controversies surrounding the police. According to Reiner, Police research is linked to police politics, or rather to politicisation of the police, which is a situation that we had found already before in France, even if the British version follows a different development.

After the 1950s that seemed the Golden Age of tranquillity and accord, the first empirical research on policing by a British academic was Michael Banton's *The Policeman in the Community* (1964). Banton did some comparative research on the activities, the working conditions, the professional culture, and so on, of the police in one Scottish and three American police forces.

In the conclusion of his book Banton underlines the relevance of his findings for policy development: the English police are much more isolated from society than one is inclined to believe. Just as the police in the United States, they will struggle with big problems in the area of order maintenance and combat of crime in the coming years. And that is exactly the reason why, in the exercise of their duties, they will have to increasingly rely, in the near future, on the support and collaboration of the population (Banton 1964, vii-xiii; 261-68).

Banton's pioneering sociological study initiated what became the central research strategy of most subsequent British work: detailed participant observation. The research was stimulated primarily by sociological questions rather than by political issues like many of the classic American police studies of the 1960s (e.g. Skolnick 1966; Wilson 1968).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, concern and controversy about policing increased over a variety of issues, notably police powers and the treatment of suspects, the handling of disorder, as well as the flurry of corruption revelations. Reflecting these issues an increasing number of academic researchers began working on the police. Many of the studies focused on issues which were at the forefront of the political controversies involving the police, such as racial discrimination (Lambert 1970) and the increasing autonomy of the police (Cain 1973).

The studies done by Cain and Lambert in fact embroidered on the same theme as the one Banton had highlighted: the relationship of the "coloured population" and the police. In their analysis of the material, Cain and Lambert used the legal and sociological police research which was done in the United States in the mid 1960s. An essential difference between the English and American studies is that Cain and Lambert concentrate much less on the actual execution of the power of decision of the police.

At the end of the 1970s the issue of accountability, in the more evidently political sense of who controls police organisational policy, moved to the forefront, marking a climax in the politicisation of police research. This

structural critical analysis of the political role of the police appeared across the board in all forums of debate.

With regard to social-scientist research, even the police researchers in the Home Office themselves, serious doubts had arisen concerning the police reforms and the use of research. One of the researchers, Kevin Heal, argued that in spite of the impressing reinforcement of the police, registered crime had not dropped. On the contrary, he concluded, this reinforcement had had very negative consequences and threatened to isolate the police from the population, just as it had happened in the United States (Heal 1983, 91-100).

In this period police researchers, for that matter, were very active in the area of legality and in particular the way the police wielded their authority (e.g. Willis 1983). The relations between the police and the population were also high on the police researchers' agenda (e.g. Smith/Small/Gray 1983).

The upsurge of concern about policing in the political arena was undoubtedly one source of the explosion of research on the British police that occurred in the 1980s. It was certainly a boom period for police research. During the 1980s, the state of British police research was completely transformed. Simon Holdaway's (1979) collection of 10 essays represented almost all of the important research of the time in *The British Police*. In 1989, Cathy Bird published a list of all "research projects on policing undertaken in British universities, polytechnics and research institutions at the present time"; this *New Register of Policing Research* of the Police Foundation lists 184 separate projects being carried out in 61 different institutions (Bird 1989).

The quantitative expansion had been accompanied by a qualitative change. All of the researchers in Holdaway's collection were academics; the projects listed in the Police Foundation compilation involve also police officers themselves as researchers (see the variety of sources of police research in Britain: Reiner 2000, 210-213).

By the mid-1980s, a new mood of 'realism' pervaded all sides in the political debate about policing. Research attention began to focus once again on the micro-processes of police work and organisation. An important theme was a tendency to concern itself not so much with the documentation of bad policing as a quest for the good. Police research came increasingly to focus on the search for good practice, rather than the issues of police discretion and deviance. Increasingly, police research was moving in the direction of monitoring and evaluating policing initiatives. In the 1990s, the overriding priority for the police became crime control; in this new intelligence-driven crime control paradigm, policing research figures in an integral way.

Problem-oriented and intelligence-led approaches required an ongoing research capacity within police forces, as well as closer collaboration with policy-oriented researchers outside (Nuttall *et al.* 1998). And again: promoted by politics.

Evaluation

We have tried to provide an impression of how social scientific police research in the United States has affected research in a series of European countries, i.e. France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

In all European countries under investigation in the period 1960s to the 1990s (Belgium, The Netherlands, Scandinavian countries, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Italy, Greece, Luxemburg, Cyprus) differences can be found in the degree of politicisation of police research, or to formulate it more explicitly: of the influence of politics and political priorities on (the possibilities of) police research, resulting in an early or later introduction of these research methods. There were (and still are) differences in the organisation and infrastructure of the institutes which deal with police research (authorities, universities, private institutions, police academies) (Hanak/Hofinger 2006, on the present state of affairs): differences in financing, implementation into practice, participation of police officers as researchers, and research for/on the police.

Apart from these differences there is nevertheless also evidence of similarities. These can mainly be found in the themes, the research topics and the mutual trust/mistrust between police and researchers.

Whether they are determined by direct political events or causes, a number of similar research topics in the end landed on the agendas of practically all European countries (with the exception of Cyprus and Luxembourg). With 'in the end' is meant that a certain topic was investigated at an early stage in one country, and in other countries at a later point. As an example we would like to refer to the topic of the use of violence by the police. In the Netherlands, this topic was subject to research at an early stage (Van der Vijver 1980; Van Reenen 1979), and in Austria and France, much later (Haller & Koenig 1992; Jobard 2002).

Research topics which have become common property and were traceable during the period of 1960-1990 can be classified as follows:

- Selectivity of the conduct of the police
- Use of violence/use of authority
- Discretionary power
- Professional culture
- Efficacy of police work/operating procedures

- Surveillance
- Relations between police and population

Each of these main topics in the course of time has been broken up into subtopics. The efficacy of policing, for example, is a subject, which time after time has been investigated in a different context and therefore also has changed its character. At one time it started with the aim of restraining the explosive growth of delinquency (the 'What works Period'), in later years it became a political toy for the (de)centralisation of the police or a component of accountability.

To finalise this chapter, we would like to emphasise that research is an imperative for Police Science. Amongst the many examples, we are merely presenting one here: Police forces all over the world have accepted and applied the 'Broken Windows' theory without paying attention to the deeper meaning of it. This manner of uncritically applying a useful theory is understandable from the perspective of police practice, but it is unacceptable from the scientific stance. Harcourt's research has given evidence of this deficit. Reading the *University of Chicago Law Review* 73 (2006), in which Harcourt and Ludwig publish a last research report on the 'Broken Windows' theme and the Godfather of this theory, can be sufficient. When asked in January 2004 whether the broken-windows theory had ever been empirically verified, James Q. Wilson reportedly told the *New York Times*: "People have not understood that this was a speculation". The theory was not based on empirical data, Wilson emphasised. "We made an assumption that a deteriorating quality of life caused the crime to go up". As to whether that assumption is right, Wilson states, still in 2004: "I still to this day do not know if improving order will or will not reduce crime". As Wilson noted in a different interview, "God knows what the truth is".

CHAPTER 2

Core Topics and Discourses of Police Science

Police science belongs to a broader field of knowledge, which it partly shares with other academic disciplines, in particular criminology, law and various forensic sciences²⁶, but also political science, sociology, management, psychology and others. Some of the topics of police science may be approached from these neighbouring disciplines as well, although often from a different perspective. For example, police science and criminology may share an interest in the study of particular types of crime, although police science will primarily be interested in how the police are dealing with this type of crime or how it may be prevented, and not so much in the crime or perpetrator as such. However, knowledge about the nature of a problem is usually of great relevance in dealing with it. Furthermore, DNA identification has revolutionised police investigations. How the police are using DNA identification, and what kind of impact it has made on the practice of police work, are core topics of police science, whereas the more technical aspects of DNA identification as such should be considered mainly a concern of forensic chemistry rather than a topic of police science. Within the discipline of law, some fields are central to police science (such as those laws and principles which regulate police practice) whereas other fields are more marginal.

The purpose of this chapter is not to define and delimit the field of “proper topics” of police science, but rather to chart the main recurring and emerging themes and discourses in this field. It is the nature of creative and original research to ask new questions and raise novel issues which no one has addressed before. Neither will this chapter provide a comprehensive review of the existing literature and summarise the main research findings. It will, however, refer to some examples of studies covering the topics in question, preferably covering research from several countries. Hopefully, the chapter may also point out some questions, issues and approaches which have not received sufficient attention from police researchers; avenues which may lead to new insights. It is our ambition to phrase the topics and research questions in such ways that they invite systematic comparative research and European perspectives on topics and questions that have usually been addressed within a narrow national perspective. However, we are not only interested in topics which have already been extensively covered by research but even more so of emerging topics of research, and of topics which are in strong need of being addressed by police researchers.

²⁶ Forensic sciences include disciplines such as criminalistics, forensic psychology, forensic accounting, digital forensics, chemical forensics, etc.

Underlying our discussion is one key question: what is good policing in democratic society? This involves both studies of the police as an institution and of policing as a process.

The chapter is organised under headings of some general topics, with more specific topics discussed under each of these general headings. Many of the specific topics could be addressed from different perspectives under several headings.

The historical origins and developments of the police and policing

Various mechanisms of social control which regulate social behaviour are a defining characteristic of social life, and exist in all human societies. Formal policing is only one set – with many varieties – of such social control. The study of how the police as an institution and public body, and policing as a formal function, have emerged and developed in different societies in different historical periods is definitely one of the core topics of police science (see also chapter 1 on “History of Police Science”). Controlling misbehaviour has traditionally been a responsibility of chiefs, strongmen, princes and kings, aristocrats, warlords, priests and religious offices, and other powerful figures and organisations, but has also been accomplished through informal means such as gossip and various forms of social sanctions. The police as an institution emerged gradually since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as one of the manifestations of the modern nation state (see chapter 1 on “History of Police Science” and chapter 4 on “Police Science and Policing”). Thus, whereas ‘policing’ is a universal phenomenon, the ‘police’ institution is of modern origin (see Reiner, 2000). This emergence of the modern police has been described in a number of countries, e.g. England (Silver, 1967; Styles, 1987); France (Carotts, 1992); Germany (Harnischmacher & Semarak, 1986), and Norway (Neshagen, 1999). In most countries, the police function gradually became separated from military power and the personal interests of the rulers to become founded in law, to uphold justice, and serve the interests of the community as a whole. However, in many countries around the world this process is still far from completed.

One fundamental question is to what extent the modern police force(s) and policing practices in a country are shaped by historical precedents, patterns and contexts in the country itself or, alternatively, to what extent they are shaped by contemporary patterns of policing in other countries. In many central and southern European countries, the policing functions and institutions grew out of a military context, and there is still a strong military element in the form of gendarmeries, e.g. in France, Italy and Spain. In Norway, by contrast, the police grew out of a civilian function, the lensmann, with its origins dating back to the thirteenth century. This civilian tradition has left its mark on the modern Norwegian police, which, for example, still do

not carry guns under normal circumstances. Another highly congruent source of influence was the British model of policing (see Reiner, 2000; Bayley, 1985), which also shaped modern policing in Norway (see Neshagen, 1999). Describing, comparing and analysing the social and political responsibilities of the police in its various historical manifestations provide a basis for reflecting on the role and functions of the police here and now.

Who the police are held accountable to is also a question to address. When comparing the emergence and development of the Metropolitan Police of London with New York Police Department, Wilbur Miller (1975) contrasts the impersonal authority, resting on formal bureaucratic and legal standards, of the British police with the New York policeman's more personal authority resting on closeness to the citizens and their expectations. In France, a rather different historical and political tradition puts its stamp on the relationship between the police and the public.

Following the centralised and Jacobinic paradigm that has guided the French political and administration system for two centuries, politicians and police chiefs have always refused to promote anything that could be construed as collective action in the field of security and crime. Citizens are excluded from all partnerships. The system has historically taken great care of not allowing the emergence of official bodies where citizens would be able to voice their own demand directly (Mouhanna, 2007).

Thus, one of the main missions of the police has been to protect the French state (Monjardet, 1996; Mouhanna, 2007). In other countries, the task of the police has been defined to protect the public. However, this more benevolent interpretation of the police may also be seen as an ideological cover for its more repressive functions of social control (see Reiner, 2000). Some countries are in a transition process from the former type of mandate to the latter (e.g. Slovenia, as described by Dvorsek, 2000). To what extent this difference in mandate and task is reflected in the ways the police carry out their jobs on the ground is a matter of empirical research, preferably by using comparative research designs.

The police institution has been organised in highly different ways.²⁷ In most countries, police forces were initially independent, local – and often municipal – forces. During the twentieth century, a process of nationalisation took place in which these local police forces were integrated into one or more police forces at the state level. This process is not completed everywhere, e.g. in France and the United States, where there are national, federal or state police forces, but each city or municipality may also have its own police force which may have an entirely different organisation, procedures, uniforms and

²⁷ For overviews of police organisations and patterns of policing, see Sullivan and Habermeld (2005); Mawby (1999)

training than in the neighbouring city.²⁸ Other countries have one unified national police force, or several parallel police forces with different tasks and responsibilities, frequently with some overlapping tasks which may cause conflicts over turf. To what extent does the way the police is organised influence the ways the police carry out their tasks?

The level and form of police training and education also varies strongly. This will influence how the police operate and impact police culture in general. Many police forces only require a few weeks of basic training to become a police constable, whereas higher-level police officers usually have college degrees. Other police forces require a three-year college education for all new police officers, as has been the case in Norway since the mid-1990s. Obviously, the competence level of police officers will make a major impact on relations between police officers and police leaders, between the police and the public, and between the police and other professions. It is most likely that many of the generalisations about police culture (e.g. van Maanen and Manning, 1978) apply more to police forces with a low education level among the rank-and-file than to police forces with a generally high level of education. However, this needs to be described and analysed through comparative empirical studies.

All police forces go through periods of reform and organisational change. Sometimes this is a way to deal with police scandals, e.g. due to widespread corruption or other forms of deviance in the force, profound changes in society, or it may be an outcome of a realisation that the present police organisation is not optimal to handle its tasks (Ocqueteau, 2000). The reform process may be driven by several different means, such as changes in laws and regulations, new doctrines, a change of individuals in leadership positions, new divisions of labour, changes in organisational units, or profound political change. In particular, the collapse of the communist regimes of Eastern Europe by the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, and the subsequent emergence of democracy implied a need for total reform of the entire security sector (Mawby, 1999a, 1999b; Holm and Edie, 2000; Dvorakova and Kunc, 2000; Bayley, 2006).

However, police reforms may or may not lead to the intended changes in police practice. Thus, the causes of reform, the means of reform, the outcomes of reform and the interests behind different outcomes should be addressed by police science. Robert Reiner (2000, Ch. 1) shows that orthodox and revisionist approaches to police history may provide very different interpretations and answers to the same set of questions, such as: What was the source of the call

²⁸ *Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement* (Vol.3) by Sullivan and Haberfeld (2005) describes the organisation and history of the police in almost all countries of the world

for a new police? What was wrong with the old police? What were the motives for police reform? Who opposed the new police, and how long did opposition last? What was 'new' about the new police? What was the social impact of the new police? Who gained from the new police, and who controlled it?

Politics and policing

At some levels, policing is a fundamentally political activity, representing the state's monopolisation of legitimate force, a power which is given the task of maintaining law and order in society. Paradoxically, at some times and places, the police have been seen as above politics, as unifying symbols of authority. At other times and places, the police have been intensely politicised and criticised, as symbols of state repression and discrimination (Reiner, 2000). In any case, the police are one of the most visible expressions of state authority. Legitimacy is probably as important as manpower in determining the effectiveness of the police. At the same time, political critique of the police and its conduct is probably one of the main forces behind police reform.

How are the police governed? In most countries, the police are an agency under the Ministry of Interior or the Ministry of Justice, and regulated by specific police laws, regulations and institutions of control. The degree of direct political control over police activities varies. In some countries, the Minister of Interior or Justice will exercise a relatively direct control of police activities, and appoint his/her own national police chief (this is the case in e.g. Slovenia and Germany), whereas in other countries the police are more removed from political interference. The formal institutional and legal basis of the police will therefore have an impact on how the police are run, and may also provide for considerable variations in policing within a single country. The ways and degrees to which the police are under democratic control vary geographically and over time as well. Legal regulations will also restrict and authorise the use of specific methods by the police, e.g. the use of specific forms of weapons and force in certain situations. Whether these restrictions are actually abided by the police is an empirical question. Describing and comparing these legal and institutional foundations of the police between different countries may bring important insights.

However, more informal processes of political influence and pressure will also make an impact. The political debate in political institutions and in the media at the national as well as the local level is likely to influence the agenda and priorities of the police. How and to what extent this happens is certainly an issue for further police research.

The division and overlap of roles between the police, the military and the security services is another topic for police research, and also an interesting area for comparative studies. In some countries, these security forces are

separated completely whereas there is more overlap in roles in other countries. In some southern European countries, paramilitary gendarmeries operate parallel to (and sometimes in competition with) the police, whereas other countries strive to keep a distinctly civilian character of the police. Military forces may in some countries be used for maintaining internal order and security in ways which would be seen as unacceptable in Northern and Western Europe. The internal intelligence (or security) services are separate agencies from the police in countries like Germany and Britain, whereas it is an integral part of the police in e.g. the Scandinavian countries.

Changes in the political climate will often make a great impact on how the police are perceived and how its roles and tasks are defined. Reiner (2000) has shown how the British police went through periods of rise and fall of legitimacy, and was assigned rather different roles by various political regimes. In a comparative perspective, it would be useful to investigate to what extent shifts in government (especially between left and right) make an impact on policing in different European countries, and under what circumstances the impact will be stronger or weaker. Supreme Court decisions may also have an impact on police practices.

One of the main aims of police science is to make the police and policing more transparent, and thereby open the police up to democratic influence and control. The increasing emphasis in Europe on police ethics, human rights, the rule of law and democratic policing should be seen in this light.

The roles and functions of the police

Among the core topics of police research are the various roles and functions of the police. Studies by Banton (1964), Mawby (1990), Bayley (1994) and others have analysed various aspects of these roles. One main finding is that police officers – contrary to the common assumption – on average spend a very small portion of their time handling criminal incidents. Other activities take up far more of police officers' time than fighting crime: patrolling, restoring order, managing conflicts, accidents and crises, providing services and assistance to the public, and waiting for things to happen (Bailey, 1994). Nevertheless, in the public image of the police, crime-fighting is still its most highly profiled police role, whereas service provision has a low-status within the police (see Reiner, 2000, pp. 74-75).

In research on police roles, patrolling officers have been the focus of the largest body of research (e.g. Stol *et al.*, 2006; Granér, 2004; Finstad, 2004; Holmberg, 1999; van Maanen and Manning, 1978). In particular, studies based on participant observation of the police have often been research from the back seats of police cars. Future studies should focus on a wider set of police roles and functions, such as investigators, police managers, police analysts,

police planners, preventive policing, emergency (crack, SWAT) and other specialist units, crisis management, etc.

In particular, considering the high status of the investigative function of policing, there is surprisingly little research on police investigation as such from a police science perspective. There are some studies, though (like Reichertz and Schröer, 2003; Dean, Fahsing and Gottschalk, 2006). Among the questions that need to be addressed are: what are the components of the investigation process; what characterises the investigator's role; how are investigations led; what are the strategies of investigations; why are some investigator groups more successful than others; is there a particular police investigator culture; how and why do police investigations fail, and sometimes lead to convictions of innocents? It should be a main task for police science to help to raise the quality control of police investigations by identifying factors and processes which may lead investigators astray. The main research contributions in this field are from forensic psychology, which is a discipline on its own.

Police science should cover the wide variety of roles the police play as crime fighters (in terms of prevention, control and investigation); as providers of services; as reproducers of order and repressors of disorder and dissent; as peace officers and conflict managers (locally and internationally); as information managers and analysts; as communicators and as crisis managers. Police research tends to focus on only a few of these roles, and far less on other police roles. However, in recent years there have been tendencies towards studies of a greater diversification of police roles.

Strategies and styles of policing

Throughout the post WWII era, several different strategies of policing have been introduced to replace or at least supplement 'conventional' policing strategies. However, some core functions will always have to be taken care of by the police – no matter what is the current fashion of policing, such as maintaining law and order, responding to unwanted events and investigating crimes. However, these and other functions can be emphasised to different extents and be organised in different ways. Several dominant models were originally developed in the USA and exported to Europe with some local adaptation, whereas other models had (at least partly) a distinctive European origin. In some cases, the new models were implemented more as new slogans than as new practices (as often was the case with the rhetoric of 'zero tolerance policing', 'problem-oriented policing', and 'intelligence-led policing').

The 'professional model of policing' was gaining influence in the post WWII period, based on notions of effective bureaucracy and modern organisation theories. A professional police force should be well-trained, technologically

sophisticated, un-corrupted, free from political interference, and under a central administrative command (see Klockars, 1980; Bittner, 1990). In the USA, this new approach was largely a reaction against the politicalisation of the police, accompanied by widespread corruption that had characterised the previous period. A similar situation arose in post-communist Eastern Europe during the 1990s and onwards. Modern management methods were applied to make the police as efficient and productive as possible. The new technological possibilities of high mobility and rapid response through the extensive use of police patrols by car and radio/telephone communication contributed to cultivate a reactive strategy of policing (Borrero Wolf, 1999). Increasing the efficiency of police work through the use of economic cost-benefit models and New Public Management models have been influential in a number of European countries. This thinking can be found in many of the English Home Office publications (e.g. Stockdale, Whitehead and Gresham, 1999). Measuring the effectiveness of the police through various indicators of crime levels, police productivity and outcome became standard procedure in most forces (see Kelling and Moore, 1988).

Criminal investigation increasingly became a core part of modern policing – with the state taking over this responsibility from private justice systems of earlier times. In older systems of justice, the emphasis was usually on compensation or retribution between victim and perpetrator (see Næshagen, 1999). Interestingly, with the recent rise of restorative justice models and the return of the relation between victim and perpetrator, the circle is closed. In some countries, ‘police science’ is mainly associated with the forensic sciences (sometimes called criminalistics) and the investigative function of the police. Forensics may cover a wide range of topics: natural sciences like forensic genetics (DNA matching); fingerprint analysis; ballistics; forensic psychology (e.g. the reliability of eye witnesses, possible biases in interrogation, false confessions, possibilities and limitations of offender profiling, etc.); digital forensics (analysing PCs and mobile phones for traces of illegal activity); economic forensics (‘following the money’, detecting fraud, etc.). An important challenge for research is to aim at improving the quality of investigation both in terms of developing better methods for reducing the number of ‘false negatives’ in investigation (guilty offenders who are not convicted) and, even more important, reducing the risk of ‘false positives’ (innocent persons convicted of crimes they did not commit). Thus, research on what can go wrong in investigations and the internal quality control of police investigations should be main topics of police research.

Community policing (or proximity policing as it is called in some European countries) is one of the ideas of policing mainly developed as a concept and strategy of policing in the USA and then imported to Europe in the 1980s (Skogan, 2004; Balvig and Holmberg, 2004). However, many aspects of

community policing – although without the theoretical and conceptual icing – have been practised at the local level in many European countries long before this became a fashionable buzzword, e.g. in the form of the foot-patrolling policeman, the ‘Bobby’ who knew his community, its inhabitants and its trouble-makers. The highly acclaimed and successful Japanese community police model (the Koban system) was actually inspired by the Berlin police district system from the late nineteenth century (according to Balvig and Holmberg, 2004, pp. 19-20). However, there were also influences from the British and French systems. The basic idea of community policing is to make the police more decentralised and more closely attached to the local community by being based in local police stations, by making the police officers known (as individuals) to, and familiar with, the community and the population, by increasing police visibility, and by involving the community in defining the problems the police should address in cooperation with other agencies and the population. Community policing should also be more preventive and less reactive. A main objective is to increase the experience of safety among the population. The reinvention of community policing may be seen as a reaction against the increasing centralisation of the police and the predominance of reactive policing and patrolling by car, which tended to remove police officers from close interaction with the public. By the 1980s and 1990s, community policing was introduced as the main policing strategy in many European countries. One decade later, however, ‘community policing’ seems to be going out of fashion, partly because it has not always delivered what the most optimistic missionaries promised. Research-based evaluations have contributed to more realistic and modest assessments of what this strategy may accomplish.

In the aftermath of the riots (often called ‘urban violence’) in France during the 1990s and 2000s, one of the factors often cited as a contributing cause is the lack of real community policing in France (see Mouhanna, 2007; Body-Gendrot, 2005). There have actually been two varieties in France more or less resembling the community policing model: the policies of *ilotage* from the late 1970s until the end of the 1990s, followed by the *police de proximité*. According to Christian Mouhanna (2007; personal communication) the *ilotage* model (based on a traditional French way of policing from the nineteenth century as well as the British Bobby tradition) was originally envisioned as a foot-patrolling, proactive and non-confrontational police patrol which always stayed in the same area and developed ties with the local population. Although it was formally adopted, this model of *ilotage* was only rarely implemented by the French police, which preferred to keep its distance to the population and their needs and demands. Nevertheless, this ‘soft’ form of policing was considered a failure, in particular on the background of the ‘urban violence’ of the 1990s. Instead a new and ‘tougher’ model of ‘proximity

policing' was developed, based on local police stations where the public could come to report crimes and file other complaints. According to Mouhanna (2007), "proximity policing mostly resulted in a bureaucratic relationship between the police and the citizen. (...) Rather than adopting a problem-solving strategy, or trying to act as mediators between two parties, (the police officers) gave up common sense in favour of a judicial attitude: every complaint or conflict had to be transformed into a formal case."

There have been several scientific evaluations of implementations of the community policing model in Europe, e.g. in the Netherlands (van der Vijver, 1999; Zoomer and van der Vijver, 2003), Denmark (Balvig and Holmberg, 2004; Holmberg, 2002, 2005) Sweden (Knutsson and Partanen, 1986; BRÅ, 1999, 2000, 2001), and Norway (Lorentzen, 1989; Sæter, 1996). There have also been some comparative studies of proximity policing in Scandinavia (Mork Andersen, 1996; Holmberg, 2005) or community policing in France compared with the USA (Donzelot and Wyvekens, 2002; Mouhanna, 2007). Several of the studies have assessed whether the reforms were implemented according to what was intended (process evaluation) and whether the new form of policing gave the expected results (outcome evaluation), e.g. measured in terms of reduced crime level or increased feelings of safety among the local population. One of the surprising findings of the evaluation of proximity policing in Denmark was that one of the elements the public valued most highly (and sometimes missed) was the ability of the police to respond rapidly to crimes and other emergencies – a function which is not emphasised in the proximity model of policing (Balvig and Holmberg, 2004).

The notion of "problem-oriented policing" (POP) was originally developed by the Herman Goldstein (1979; 1990) as a critique of and alternative to event-oriented, reactive policing. It is often described as the SARA model of policing: Scanning (for recurring problems); Analysing (causes available for intervention); Responding (through targeted interventions); Assessment (of implementation process and outcome). Although first implemented in the USA, the idea soon took hold in a number of European police forces, at least at a doctrinal level. Several ideas of European origin were also gradually integrated into the POP strategy, such as the notion of "situational crime prevention" (Clarke, 1983; 1992). Although there is general agreement that the POP approach is sound and common sense, the actual implementation of the approach has not quite lived up to the expectations. POP turns out to be a more complex task than expected, demanding considerable analytical capacities from the police organisations trying to implement it (Knutsson, 2003). Much of ongoing research efforts are case studies documenting implementations and evaluating outcomes of the POP strategy on various policing problems, such as repeat victimisation (e.g. Pease, 1998; Laycock and Farrell, 2003); unlicensed taxis or "Gypsy Cabs" (Knutsson and Søvik, 2005);

or tackling stolen goods with a market reduction approach (Sutton, Schneider and Hetherington, 2001). The case studies are often structured according to the SARA model.

Whereas problem-oriented policing is crime-specific in its approach, the Broken Windows model (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Kelling and More, 1988) advocates a more general approach – that more serious crimes can be nipped in the bud by focusing policing efforts on signs of disorder and incivility, such as vandalism, begging, and quality of life offences. This model has been adopted by many European police forces, although often confused with “Zero Tolerance Policing” or the “New York Model”, which are not quite the same. “Zero Tolerance” is more a slogan than a real strategy for policing – although it is widely acclaimed in Britain, Sweden, Norway and elsewhere. In reality, zero tolerance of all kinds of offences is not feasible. The police will never have the capacity to follow up everything and will have to make priorities. The New York Model, which rightly or wrongly has been given credit for having reduced crime levels in New York City, has combined elements of the ‘Broken Windows Theory’ and the POP approach with a decentralisation of police resources, and a very direct follow-up of crime developments, policing interventions and outcomes at the local level through the CompStat system. This is a statistical “hot spot” system which keeps local police leaders responsible for problems emerging in their districts.

Broken Windows, Zero Tolerance and the New York Model have been widely discussed and criticised (and sometimes supported) by European criminologists and police researchers. Examples are Knutsson (2000) who is relatively favourable; a very critical Ingrid Sahlin (2000); and Benjamin Bowling (1999) who disputes the claim that zero tolerance and the model of policing brought the decline in murder and other crimes. An underlying issue in all three contributions is whether this American strategy of policing can or should be adapted by European police forces.

Intelligence-led policing shares several characteristics with the strategies above but it also differs along some dimensions (Tilley, 2003). Compared with community-policing and POP, it has a narrower focus on crime-fighting and on criminal justice means and ends. Intelligence-led policing can be defined as the application of criminal intelligence analysis as a rigorous decision-making tool to facilitate crime reduction and prevention through effective policing strategies (Ratcliffe, 2003). Several major police forces have made this intelligence approach a major part of their policing strategy. The National Intelligence Model in the UK has been a major European example. The question is whether this approach has made a difference. Several police researchers have asked critical questions about this. Gill (2000) asks whether investigations have become more directed by intelligence priorities compared

with traditional reactive strategies. What is clearly changing, he states, is the language and rhetoric with which senior police managers have embraced the new techniques and strategies (Gill, 2000: 243). Kleiven (forthcoming, 2007), asking “What is the intelligence in the National Intelligence Model?”, suggests that the National Intelligence Model has under-utilised community intelligence, instead relying too much on traditional sources of intelligence such as police officers and informants. As has also been the case with POP, Cope (2004) notes that a major obstacle for a successful implementation of intelligence-led policing is the current lack of understanding of analysis among police officers, and a poor understanding of policing among analysts (Cope, 2004).

Police organisations and management

Regardless of their origins, their historic development, the level of political pressures they are exposed to, their role in society, their strategies and styles, all police forces are also *organisations*. They have adopted a certain organisational structure, they have their employees, their division of work, and – above all – they have to be properly managed. The employees need to be led and supervised, their relationships managed, and the deviations (in terms of relationships, productivity, quality, goal-attainment etc.) sanctioned, corrected, and managed. Organisational phenomena, such as organisational politics, conflict, power struggles, etc. can also be found in police organisations. All these give rise to a completely new set of research topics, such as defining the vision and mission of police organisations, organisational structure and design, division of work, police management styles and philosophies, organisational communication, power, conflict, productivity and quality, change and development, social responsibility, planning and decision-making, police leadership, motivation, supervision and control, human resource management (recruitment, selection, evaluation, training and education, etc.), discipline and disciplinary actions, etc.

These topics have been given increasing attention in police education and training. Published sources (books, textbooks, articles, etc.), however, are either mainly theoretical in nature or consist of descriptive accounts of various practices in this area. The actual research on these topics is still relatively scarce.

A considerable number of studies focused on the behavioural and attitudinal phenomena among the employees of police organisations, such as stress (Soeiro & Bettencourt, 2003; Kozarić-Kovačić, Grubišić-Ilić, & Ljubin, 1998; Ganster, Pagon, & Duffy, 1996; Pagon, Lobnikar, Cooper, Sparks, & Spector,

1998), deviance (Pagon, Lobnikar, Duffy, & Ganster, 1998), cynicism (Lobnikar & Pagon, 2004), aggressiveness (Moita, 2001), suicidal behaviours (Carmo, n.d.), conflict (Euwema, Kop, & Bakker, 2004), job satisfaction (Areh & Umek, 2002), organisational commitment (Gašič & Pagon, 2004), and other attitudes of police officers, such as attitudes towards refugees (Pagon & Lobnikar, 1999).

Another group of studies dealt with the more 'typical' human resource management topics in police organisations, such as recruitment, selection and training (Meško, 1998), professional socialisation (Franzke, 1998), retirement (Lobnikar, Gorenak, & Prša, 1999), employee personality type (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2000), working conditions (Meggeneder, 1988), the impact of educational levels (Jurina, 1998), capacity management (Cachet, Oskam, & Deursen, 2001), as well as work-family conflict (Pagon, Lobnikar, & Butinar, 2005).

There is a need for more research into various topics in the area of police organisation and management. Topics in this area that are still relatively under-researched are, among others, the impact of different organisational structures and designs, police management styles and philosophies, police leadership, supervision and control, organisational politics, productivity and quality, change and development, social responsibility, as well as planning and decision-making.

Police culture

The style of policing varies enormously from country to country and even within police forces. In some countries the public fear the police more than they fear criminals (and probably for a good reason). The police are widely perceived as corrupt, brutal, repressive, uneducated and untrustworthy. In other countries, the police are the most trusted of all public institutions.²⁹ According to data from the World Values Survey, the public confidence in the police among industrialized states was highest in Norway (89%), Britain (87%) and Canada (79%), while Italian (67%), French (66%), Spanish (64%) and Belgian (62%) citizens expressed lower confidence (Candido, 2002).

Various aspects of the police culture are among the main factors determining the public's confidence in the police. Police culture is a (more or less) shared system of ideas, values and norms about behaviour within the police force or particular segments of the police. As Manning (1989, p. 360) defines it, police (sub-)culture is the "accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that

²⁹ This has, for instance, been the case in Norway, where the police have consistently ranked as number one or two in annual surveys about the public's trust in various institutions.

are situationally-applied and generalised rationalities and beliefs". Police culture is expressed through patterns of police behaviour in contextualised situations, and the ways these patterns are justified or tolerated within the police. However, racist or other problematic values held and expressed by police officers between themselves do not necessarily translate into racial discriminatory behaviour in specific situations (Black, 1971; Sollund, in press).

Among the questions that need to be addressed is: what factors influence the policeman's "working personality" most strongly – their social background, their training and education, or their socialisation into particular roles within the police force?

In most countries, police officers are predominantly from the working class. Formal education at police academies is usually relatively short (from a few weeks up to a year or so). Academic knowledge has a low status within such a police culture. There is a stronger emphasis on on-the-job training and socialisation into the practical knowledge of police work. The social status of police officers in the surrounding community is described as relatively low, and they are often socially isolated (Skolnick, 1994).

In some other countries, by contrast, the police are increasingly seen as a "knowledge profession", with a higher value put on education and academic knowledge. In this context, police officers are holding a higher social status in the society. The description of police culture given by Skolnick and others does not necessarily fit well this new type of highly-educated police officer.

Traditionally, most police cultures have predominately been male-dominated and often characterised by macho values – and some police units especially so (Frantzen, 2005, ch. 16; Høigaard, 2004; Granér, 2004). The increasing proportion of women in the police has made an impact on the ways policing is carried out. However, the proportion of women and their impact have been different from country to country. Studying the deployment of women police officers in Cyprus, Christodoulou (2003) asks why they are not fully integrated into the police culture and given the opportunity to do "real police work". How are women police officers deployed, and to what extent is deployment influenced by sexual stereotypes existing in Cypriot society? What is real police work and what is the role of women in this real police work? How are women police officers seen by their supervisors in terms of deployment and to what extent are women conscious of the male/female divide in their work? Are all the above connected at all with age, education level, or marital status? Her answer is that patriarchal attitudes and values are still dominant in the police, and that some woman police officers succumb to traditional female roles. Other researchers have found that in some forces, police women tend to adopt overly masculine roles of "tough" policing in order to prove that they are "real" police officers (Martin, 1979).

From Norway, Finstad (2003) describes a different social reality where women police officers have joined the police force in considerable numbers (constituting 16 per cent of the police force and 34 per cent of new police students by 2005), and they are doing “real police work”. Finstad asks to what extent women police officers have changed the formerly masculine police role and culture, and how this change is perceived by male and female police officers. Generally, both male and female officers considered the increased number of women in the force as a gain, improving the police culture and police performance in many situations. Finstad also asks what police types are considered proper for a police woman. “Not too feminine, not too masculine, but the ‘sporty’ type” was generally considered to be the ideal, in the eyes of both male and female police officers.

It has been a goal in most countries to recruit from minority ethnic groups into the police in order to reflect the whole community it seeks to serve. However, this goal has not been achieved, although some countries do better than others. Two general questions should be asked: Why is it important to increase recruitment from minority groups into the police? And what are the obstacles to achieving this? Concerning the latter question, several British studies have looked into the career progression of police officers from minority ethnic groups (Holdaway, 1991; Bland, Mundy, Russell and Tuffin, 1999) and the attitudes of people from minority ethnic communities towards a career in the Police Service (Stone and Tuffin, 2000). Studying German police, Franzke (1998) addressed the professional socialisation of minority ethnic police officers, with a particular focus on identity issues. How did they respond to reactions on non-acceptance from other police officers, perceiving them as “foreigners” or even as criminals by virtue of their non-German origin? The restrictive German system of citizenship and notions of “foreigners” is different from the British approach and might offer possibilities for interesting comparative studies of how minorities are integrated into the police. Addressing the question of why it is important to increase recruitment from minority ethnic groups, it is a common view that e.g. Pakistani police officers will be in a better position to investigate crimes committed by members of the Pakistani community, or to collect undercover intelligence. These are probably the wrong reasons. Police officers from minority groups are probably not in the best position to investigate crimes committed by members of their own community due to their multiplex relations with relatives and the possibly of pressure or conflicting loyalties arising from this. The most important motivation for recruiting minority ethnic groups into the police is that it would show that the police force was for their benefit as much as anyone else’s.

What characterises the kinds of people recruited to police work, and how are they shaped by police training and socialisation? There seems to have been

surprisingly little systematic research on the recruitment and selection process within the police. One obvious research design would be to develop longitudinal survey studies of persons applying for police training and to follow those who are admitted, throughout their education (what characterises these people as opposed to those who failed?), and at several stages throughout their careers. Important questions would be asked about social background, education level, motivations for wanting to join the police, values and attitudes, etc. How do their values and attitudes change during the socialisation process they undergo throughout their education and professional career? This would provide useful insights into what kinds of people join the police, about the effects of police education in shaping these people, and how their careers develop. It would also be useful to know more about those police officers who leave the police, either voluntarily or because they are dismissed. Why and how do they quit, and where do they go? And how many will return to the police after having worked in other professions for a while? If such survey studies, using the same instruments, were carried out in different countries with different police education systems, and where the status of the police in society also differs, we would get important comparative data and probably find interesting and useful patterns. Several questions with relevance for police culture could be built into this. We suggest that such an ambitious, comparative and longitudinal survey project on police recruitment, education and careers should be undertaken with support from CEPOL.

Policing diversity: discrimination and discretion

Relations between the police and minority ethnic groups – particularly young males – is often characterised by conflict and hostility. Understanding the preconditions and situational dynamics producing such relations of mutual distrust and suspicion may provide a basis for improving these relations. Some research projects have focused on the structural foundations of this mutual mistrust, e.g. on the “dangerous classes” located in urban slums, which were considered a threat to “respectable society”, but also a threat to the police in particular (Morris, 1994). Other studies focus on the situational circumstances and courses of action which produce and reproduce relations of mutual mistrust and hostility. In a Danish study of street-level conflicts between youths from minority ethnic groups and police officers, two fieldworkers (Ansel-Henry & Jespersen, 2003) observed their encounters from both positions during a period of three months. The main research questions were: Which specific situations and relations provoke and generate the conflict-ridden encounters? Which factors have particular influence on the ways these situations progress and the responses they create? And how can the mutual distrust between the youths and the police be overcome?

A similar on-going research project in Norway (Sollund, 2004) is studying perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of police officers in relation to minority ethnic groups, and perceptions, attitudes and experience of minority ethnic people with the police (Sollund, 2004; 2006). There is a strong research tradition and public debate on these issues in Britain, in particular, giving rise to university courses on "Policing Diversity" (e.g. at the University of Leicester). Some of the research and debate has its background in specific cases and patterns of biased police-work, such as the 1981 Brixton riots (followed by the Scarman Report) and the Stephen Lawrence murder (followed by the Macpherson Report). Both reports expressed strong criticism of the police for incompetent and biased police work, lack of ability to create trust with people from minority ethnic groups, and even institutional racism within the police. But the reports also suggested specific changes of police practice which would improve these deficiencies. Whether biased police conduct is a reflection of racist attitudes and discourses among police officers is a topic of research. Some studies try to assess this by measuring attitudes and values through surveys, others through participant observation (see Holmberg, 1999; Holdaway, 1997; Sollund, in press).

In France, Body-Gendrot (2005) discusses violent clashes between minority youths and the police, often discussed in terms of "urban violence". She asks why this particular form of violence has constantly been brought into socio-political debates whereas other forms of violence are ignored. The author tries to track down the origins of the expression "urban violence"; evaluate the contributions of the authorities in escalating the violence (due to urban planning and the use of space, as well as the behaviour of the police); and attempts to explain why this issue is so inflated in France (the article was published before the riots in France during Autumn 2005). One of the bases of the conflicts between the minority youths and the police were notions of territoriality and dominance. The youths did not accept the rights of the police to patrol and control their area (as well as others representing the authorities, such as bus drivers and mailmen), and the police tried to re-conquer the territories they had lost. The study was based on interviews with youths as well as police. Experiences of police racism, brutality and disrespect were frequent among the youths. Among police officers, there were differences of views among community police officers involved in preventive work, and antiviolence squads that tended to resort more to force and intimidation. On the whole, many of the police officers felt despised by the population they were policing; they also felt fear, either of being hurt by crowds of armed youngsters or to hurt and ignite the neighbourhoods. They also complained about lack of proper training and support from the police leadership.

What are the effects of police values, attitudes and stereotypes on police practice? There has been considerable research on the ways police officers

make use of stereotypes to make distinctions between “the rough” and “the respectable”: between those who should attract police attention because they give rise to problems, and those the police do not need to bother about (e.g. Van Maanen and Manning, 1978: 302-328; Reiner, 2000: 91-95; Holmberg, 1999; Finstad, 2003: 86-127; Sollund, in press; Home Office 2000). This categorisation of people is something police officers learn through on-the-job training, and pick up from the police culture rather than through formal police education. One basic question is how functional or dysfunctional this use of categories is for the efficiency of police work. One may argue that from the police point of view, such stereotypes give them a statistically higher “hit rate” (see Holmberg, 1999), but it may also seduce them to miss criminals who do not fit into the stereotypes. From a human rights point of view, such stereotyping will lead to negative and unwarranted discrimination of a number of minority groups.

The main issue is not that the police have to discriminate between those types of people they will stop and those they do not even consider to stop, but rather on what basis they make these decisions. “Ethnic profiling” has gained more acceptance in some quarters after the 9-11 attacks, but is also meeting strong resistance from minority ethnic groups as well as from human rights activists and some police researchers who claim such stereotyping may reduce the quality of stop-and-search and undermine relations between minorities and the police (see Goldston, 2005; Duvall, 2005; Rostas, 2005; Kleinig, 1996). The tendencies among the police of “rounding up the usual suspects” (Gill, 2000) will not necessarily identify the more relevant suspects. Thus, people who have been arrested or convicted in the past or who have certain characteristics may easily become prime suspects for the police, whereas middle-class perpetrators may easily get away with their crimes without arousing suspicion. Police intelligence trying to assess organised crime tends to focus on stereotypes and well-known street-level criminals rather than white-collar criminals who may be involved in far more serious crimes.

Police accountability, integrity and corruption

Police conduct must be seen in relation to the norms and values of the police profession as well as the norms and values of the society in which the police operate. At the same time, the police are one of the main social institutions whose task it is to uphold the norms of society. The ways in which the police succeed or fail in living up to its own professional and ethical standards and the norms and expectations of the surrounding society will have a great impact on how the population will relate to the police, and at the next turn, on the working conditions of the police. This makes police ethics and police integrity a core topic of police science.

Much of the research in the past concerning police ethics has had its starting point in exposed incidents or patterns of unethical policing, such as police corruption, police violence, discrimination or racism in the police, miscarriages of justice, or false confessions extracted under duress, etc. Examples are several cases of false confessions and convictions in Britain (Williamson, 1994); the flawed Stephen Lawrence investigation (Macpherson, 1999), the Rodney King beating (Skolnick and Fife, 1993), and protecting police informers involved in drug trafficking in the Netherlands (Punch, 1985). Such scandals and subsequent research have often led to a greater ethical consciousness among the police and improved practice (Sherman, 1978). An important edited volume on corruption, integrity and law enforcement (Fijnaut and Hubert, 2001) brings together perspectives and experiences from many countries.

An international survey on police integrity measuring how police officers in different countries evaluate the seriousness of various forms of corrupt police behaviour demonstrates significant variations in accepting corrupt behaviour within the police in different countries (Klockars, Ivkovic and Haberfeld, 2004, pp. 13-17). It would be interesting to see whether such measurements of integrity and corruption within various national police forces co-vary with different levels of trust and confidence in the police (see Candido, 2002). Another useful source for comparison could also be with Transparency International's measurements of corruption in the countries of the world.³⁰

One important topic in this field relates to the question of "policing the police": How are the police held accountable? And how are complaints against the police handled (Marshall, 1978; Corbett, 1991; Maguire & Corbett, 1991; Waters & Brown, 2000; Thomassen, 2002)?

A European Code of Police Ethics³¹ was adopted by the Council of Europe in 2001, outlining some fundamental principles which all European police forces should adopt. Obviously, some national police in Europe will have a longer way to go than others in order to fulfil these standards, e.g. by developing a more transparent and service-oriented police which is close to the public. One important function of the European Code of Police Ethics is that it can be used as political pressure to reform national police organisations (see Pagon, 2002).

There is a considerable literature on police ethics. Some of this literature is directed towards police training/education and police forces, trying to install appropriate values and norms, and make police officers conscious and reflective about their ethical choices and dilemmas (e.g. Granér and Knutsson,

³⁰ Transparency International's annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) and Bribe Payer's Index (BPI) are found at <http://www.transparency.org/>.

³¹ The European Code of Police Ethics is available at http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/police/9_network_conference/07_codepoliceethics.pdf

2000; Wirrer, 2004; Neyroud and Beckley, 2001). Other parts of the literature are mainly directed towards the research community (e.g. Halvorsen, 1996; Kleining, 1996), trying to make scientific progress in the field of police ethics.

Although there have been considerable amounts of research and writings about police ethics, there has been far less systematic focus on the ethics of police research. Many authors devote a section in their reports on ethical problems they encountered during their data collection or in the presentation of their findings. Unfortunately, we miss systematic discussions at a more general level of the ethics of police research. Many of the ethical problems arising in "Doing research on crime and justice" is raised in various chapters in a volume by that title (King and Wincup, 2000) but a more focused approach on police research ethics still has to come.

Obviously, general principles of research ethics as accepted by the international research communities (and with some variations by research communities in different countries) also apply to police research. However, some of the problems and dilemmas encountered by sociologists, anthropologists or psychologists in general may be more acute when doing research on the police and its interaction with various sections of the public. In particular, issues of confidentiality, consent, role mixture (police/researcher) and freedom of research vs. (self)censorship may become acute in police research.

Confidentiality is of particular importance because the police deal with people involved in a great variety of serious crimes, minor offences, incidents of disorder or other highly embarrassing situations. They also deal with people in a variety of roles, as offenders as well as victims, mentally unstable persons, vulnerable children and so on. Whether the researchers use questionnaires, do documentary research by using data bases or police reports, or conduct direct observations of police officers interacting with the public, issues of confidentiality are important. Due to the nature of the subject matter of criminological and police research, indiscretion from researchers may sometimes risk exposing informants to violence or other forms of negative sanctions from criminals or the criminal justice system. However, researchers can usually find ways to handle these problems of confidentiality.

More problematic is the increasingly strict requirement of getting informed consent of persons being objects of research. In studies based on (participant) observation of how the police deal with various types of problems or situations, getting informed and voluntary consent from the persons interacting with the police may be difficult. How such consent can be obtained when the police deal with e.g. drunk and unruly persons outside a pub is one issue. However, observational research in the public space is usually accepted without having to obtain consent from those present. It is far

more problematic if a researcher wants to study how the police deal with e.g. family violence and wants to observe police patrols being called on to intervene in private homes (where such situations after all tend to take place). How can voluntary and informed consent be obtained from those involved in such a situation, and at what stage in the process (for a discussion, see Hoyle, 2000)? It seems like there are different practices in different European countries on whether such research is permitted. In Norway, the Committee of Research and Confidentiality recently banned researchers from making observation-based research of the police in private space, whereas observation of police work in public arenas is still permitted under certain conditions. Sweden and England/Wales have introduced similar restrictive practices (originally the purpose was mainly to prevent journalists from following the police into people's homes), whereas in Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany researchers are still able to get permissions to do participant observation of police patrols entering private homes.³² Since observation is a main method of police science and a large part of police work takes place in private arenas it will have a great and negative impact on the future of police research if important areas of police work become off-limits to researchers. Although other methods may sometimes serve as substitutes, certain aspects of knowledge can only come from direct observation.

Another problematic area in the ethics of police research concerns mixture of roles. Increasingly, police officers are getting involved in police research, e.g. by writing their master's theses or doctoral dissertations. Their practical experience from police work is an important asset in such research. However, it might be highly problematic to use information obtained through their police work (e.g. from interrogation of suspects or witnesses) as data in a research project due to the requirements of voluntary and informed consent. Furthermore, if a police officer in connection with collecting data for a research project obtains self-incriminating information from an interviewee, is the police officer then required to report the crime? Is he/she in a position to promise confidentiality?

Thus, there is a need for more research and discussion about the research ethics of police research at a European level. Police researchers need to become more conscious about ethical dilemmas and problems within their field of research, and ethical standards and guidelines have to be further developed in order to handle some of these problems. Some institutions involved in police research (e.g. the Norwegian Police University College) have established their own advisory boards on police research ethics to advise researchers and students on how to handle ethical problems, and on how and where they need to apply for permissions.

³² According to inquiries to researchers actively involved in observational research in these countries, by Tore Bjørge in 2006.

Evaluating methods of policing and crime prevention

The police have at their disposal a great variety of methods, tools and strategies for different aspects of policing. Some examples have a technological aspect, such as bicycle patrols; the use of CCTV or hidden microphones, giving mobile alarms to victims of family violence; use of wire taps in surveillance of suspected terrorists or criminal groups; water cannons for riot control, etc. Other methods are at the tactical level, such as specific interrogation methods or the use of various forms of situational crime prevention. And some are at the strategic level, such as community policing models or problem-oriented policing, which of course have to be applied to everyday police work.

It is a common task of police researchers to evaluate the effects of such methods of policing. Police officers are frequently eager to have scientific evaluations of what works and what is effective to accomplish their tasks. They would prefer to have researchers supplying them with tools and methods which have proven to be effective. Actually, some “schools” of crime prevention evaluation, in particular those associated with The Campbell Collaboration, hold that it is possible to develop a tool-box of evidence-based methods which are proven to be effective by the most stringent evaluation methods.³³ Some evaluations of policing have followed this experimental design of treatment and control groups (e.g. Weisbud and Green, 1995). However, other social scientists and police researchers (e.g. Pawson and Tilley, 1997) claim that the reality of evaluation research is more complex, and that pure experimental situations are rarely attainable in evaluating crime prevention methods. Moreover, many of those who adhere to the strategy of situational crime prevention will argue that such methods are highly context-dependent and will only work if they are closely adapted to a specific problem in a specific situation. For example, the methods applied effectively to prevent “gypsy cabs” in the small city of Tønsberg in Norway will be completely ineffective to cure the problem of “gypsy cabs” in London (Knutsson and Søvik, 2005).

Although there may be different paradigms of evaluation, there is general agreement that police methods need to be evaluated. In problem-oriented policing, assessment is the final and necessary step in the SARA model (Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment). Usually, an evaluation of a new intervention should contain a process evaluation focusing on how the intervention was implemented, and an impact evaluation which focuses on the outcomes or effects of the intervention (see Pawson and Tilley, 1997;

³³ The “gold standard” of evaluation is adopted from testing of medical treatments, where “evidence-based” treatments should be based on double-blind randomised trials, according to the standards of the Cochrane Collaboration.

Clarke and Eck, 2003). There are also other varieties of these methodological approaches, such as longitudinal studies of e.g. trends in the numbers of police officers and crimes to see whether rises or falls in the number of crimes changes with changes in the number of police officers in the streets, or cross-sectional (comparative) studies between different countries or cities with different numbers of police officers and crimes (see Bayley, 1998: 6-7).

One interesting example of the latter method is a comparative study of the different legal rules and practices regarding police armament in Norway and Sweden (Strype and Knutsson, 2002), and in a later follow-up study, also including Denmark and Finland (Knutsson, 2005). Whereas the police generally carry handguns in Sweden, Denmark and Finland, the Norwegian police are generally unarmed but have access to guns (usually stored in sealed boxes in their cars) after obtaining permission. Thus, there are very different rules of engagement and different levels of training in the use of guns in the four countries. The research questions focused on whether more or less restrictive rules of armament and use of guns corresponded with lower or higher levels of police shootings and threats with guns, and lower or higher levels of casualties among opponents and among the police. The study has provided highly valuable knowledge about policies of police armament and how these policies can be improved to reduce the number of police shootings and casualties.

Unfortunately, policies for policing and crime-fighting are often more determined by slogans and what is politically easy to sell to the public than by scientific evaluation of what works under what circumstances. "Being tough on crime", "zero tolerance" and "more visible police in the streets" are slogans which have been widely adopted as policies even if many evaluations e.g. have failed to find any statistical association between the numbers of police and crimes (Bayley, 1998:7) or between the number of visible police officers in the streets and the public's feelings of safety (Holmberg, 2002, 2005, Balvig and Holmberg, 2004). Nevertheless, it should be an important task of police science to provide competent evaluations of policing methods and provide arguments for why policing policies should be based on solid knowledge rather than slogans.

Policing specific crime types

Research on criminals and specific crime types as such is more the task of criminology than the task of police science. Police science should rather focus on how the police deal with various forms of crime, or what could be promising strategies for policing these crimes. In fact, this approach constitutes a major proportion of the literature on policing. Due to the space

limitations of this chapter, we will not go into details about the magnitude of studies about policing a diversity of crime forms.

There is a need for more international comparative studies of how the police in different countries deal with specific crime types. Although different legal frameworks may to some extent account for why e.g. drug offences are policed more aggressively in some countries than others, there are also likely to be differences in local traditions and perceptions of effectiveness of various approaches. Sometimes comparative studies may conclude that certain practices of policing certain crimes are more effective or beneficial than other approaches. Some police forces have a proactive and preventive approach to e.g. youth crimes and young delinquents whereas other forces are predominantly reactive and incident-oriented. Unfortunately, such comparative studies are rare but they need to be done. A long-term goal of European police science should be to produce a knowledge-base of 'good (or best) practices of policing', covering a variety of crime and order issues.

The future of policing in a post-modern and globalised society

Processes of globalisation, modernisation, social and technological development will make a strong impact on how policing will have to be carried out in the future. People, money, products and ideas cross boundaries at accelerating speeds and volumes. In many realms, national boundaries are no longer relevant. People shift their identities and loyalties away from traditional groups such as family, clan, neighbourhoods or nations in favour of "imagined communities" such as transnational subcultures and other social movements. New technological developments such as the Internet, chat rooms, blogs, and mobile (or even satellite) telephones enable people to communicate instantly across the world and prepare criminal or terrorist plots with people they have never met (see Findlay, 2000; Lia, 2005; Chan *et al.*, 2001; Chan, 2003).

Agencies of policing struggle to keep up with these developments (Bayley, 1994). A number of European and international police and justice organisations have been established during recent decades: Interpol, Europol, Eurojust, the Schengen agreement, the European Police Chiefs' Task Force. There has been some research in this field (e.g. Benyon, 1993; Bigo, 1994; Mathiesen, 2000; Sheptycki, 2002) but far more needs to be done on how old and new forms of international police cooperation impacts the way policing is carried out in Europe.

Police researchers ask how social and technological change and modernization processes influence policing (Ericson, 1994; Ericson and Haggerty, 1997; Garland, 2001; Johnson and Shearing, 2003). One aspect deals

with how new types of information and communication technology is implemented in various types of police units and what effects it has on police cultures and policing practices (Gundhus, 2006). Others focus on technologies of control, such as the use of CCTV and other systems of surveillance (Poyner, 1997; Brown, 1997; Winge, 2001). Important questions in research on CCTV are whether these systems reduce the level of crime and order problems in the areas of surveillance; whether there is a displacement of problems to other areas; whether CCTV helps to clear crimes; and whether there are other positive or negative side effects. Considerations about ethics and privacy have also been hot topics of research and debate.

It is obvious that future technological developments will change the ways policing will be carried out in the future, just like the introduction of cars, mobile radio and telephone communication and computer systems did in the past. It is worth noting that EU's new 7th Framework Programme will allocate 1.4 billion Euros to security research but almost all these funds will be channelled into developing technology for detecting and controlling potential threats: explosives detection devices, surveillance technology, etc.

During the last couple of decades, police officers have played an increasing role in peace-keeping operations. There has been a growing recognition that establishing the rule of law and order is of paramount importance in post-conflict situations and that the police is better suited for this task than military forces. This will usually also require a thorough security sector reform, where establishing a non-partisan police force should be a top priority. Providing police training and establishing professional standards of integrity are integral elements in this endeavour. Many European countries have invested heavily in providing contingents to peace-keeping missions, establishing police academies and other training facilities and providing police advisors (e.g. in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Afghanistan, Iraq and a number of African countries). Some of the lessons learned from these resource investments have been described and analysed by researchers (e.g. Oakley, Dziedzic and Goldberg, 1998; Holm and Eide, 2000; Hansen, 2002; Bayley, 2006). One core question which should be asked (but is surprisingly often not) by Western countries engaging their police forces in peacekeeping missions or police training programs abroad is: What are the criteria of success or failure in these international police engagements? Is it to achieve an effect in the countries where the police engagement takes place, e.g. by improving the quality of the local police forces or reducing organised crime with ramifications to the country giving assistance, in other words by fighting trans-national crime at its source? Or is it, by establishing goodwill and collegial networks, to improve bilateral cooperation between the police in the receiving country and the giving country. Another possible outcome could also be to develop competence and knowledge about e.g. international crime

among the police officers going to the receiving country which could be of use when they return home (Arnesen, 2005). It is also likely that when some smaller countries send considerable police contingents abroad, this is seen as a form of political capital and prestige which can be used politically to promote national interests more generally. Whether these various (and often undefined) goals or interests are actually achieved, remains to be seen.

In most European countries, police forces have increasingly employed personnel with academic research competency, and an increasing number of police officers are also getting academic qualifications for doing data collection, processing and analysis. Some of the new strategies of policing such as Problem-Oriented Policing (POP) or intelligence-led policing are fundamentally based on analysis of data collected and processed by scientific methodology. The police are also increasingly using surveys among the public and users of police services for gaining knowledge about their needs and expectations, and in order to evaluate how the public perceives the police and their activities. These tendencies towards a "scientification" of policing will become even stronger in the future.

Conclusions

Thus, policing is – and will increasingly become – a knowledge-based activity. In the future, police leaders as well as ordinary policemen and policewomen will need even more education and knowledge about policing and the challenges police officers need to handle. Police science provides the research basis for this body of knowledge. Although much research is done, far more needs to be carried out in order to fill this need for knowledge about what the police do and what they can do better.

One of the approaches we need more of is comparative European studies on a variety of policing topics. What is needed is not more "comparative seminars" where representatives from different countries tell their stories about how policing is in their countries. Without comparable data, such exercises are of limited value. A far more ambitious approach is to develop systematic comparative studies based on shared methodological instruments, used to collect and produce truly comparative data. National differences can then be used as variables to test hypotheses, build theory and evaluate practices in policing.

Some ground-breaking studies of this type have already been carried out or are in the process. The study mentioned above of the police use of guns in the Nordic countries (Strype and Knutsson, 2002; Knutsson, 2005) is one good example, identifying weaknesses and strengths of different national policies of police armament. Another example is an ongoing and ambitious project by

Wouter Stohl and his colleagues of “Policing the streets in Europe”, using a common research protocol to study (through fieldwork observation) emergency patrol, community beat patrol, and information use in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, UK, Denmark and Norway. Typical for such comparative studies is that they started by looking at a phenomenon in one or two countries, and later expanding the study into a comparative study of many countries (e.g. Stohl, 1996; Stohl *et al.*, 2004; Klockars, Ivkovic and Haberfeld, 2004). By doing so, questions may be asked more boldly and patterns may become clearer. However, earlier findings and conclusions may also be challenged or modified by more complex and comprehensive data and more comparative cases (see Strype and Knutsson, 2002 vs. Knutsson, 2005). Just like cross-border policing has become increasingly common in Europe as a consequence of these new political developments, cross-border police science is also a growing field in police research.

Police science is a rapidly growing field of research, covering a wide variety of topics, approaches, data sources and methods. This chapter has merely scratched the surface of the many topics police science covers. Many relevant areas have hardly been addressed at all. As stated initially, this overview did not set out to provide a comprehensive review of the existing literature, nor did it intend to define and delimit the field of “proper topics” of police science. It is our hope that this presentation of the variety of topics in police science will inspire to novel approaches and new topics becoming addressed within this rapidly growing and exciting field of research.

CHAPTER 3

Police Science - A Philosophy of Science Approach

The complexity of this chapter gave rise to a variety of criticism, most of which referred to the question whether this chapter should be made more concrete and readable. Nonetheless, writing about a complex concept like police science is always knotty because, firstly, it is not clear enough that this discipline exists and secondly because it belongs to a broader field of knowledge, which to a degree shares with other scientific disciplines. These two circumstances make it difficult to write about a doubted scientific discipline. The purpose of this chapter is not to define and draw up the boundaries of police science. It seems more important to stress that it rather tries to trigger off a discussion on controversial issues such as: the nature of this type of knowledge, its definition, object, subject and methodology of study. And to begin with this discussion, it is necessary to put into context police organisations and police work.

Throughout its history the development of the police as a profession has led to the storing up of a body of knowledge generated by scientific disciplines such as sociology, psychology, pedagogy, economy, anthropology, and biology among others. However, the important contribution of police practice to this knowledge should not be forgotten either.

The body of knowledge is determined by an increasing number of components mainly covered by three axes: a social, an organisational and an individual one, in which a variety of scientific disciplines meet. This complexity raises the question about whether we can speak of Police Science as an independent discipline.

In this chapter, an effort will be made to describe a view of how this body of knowledge has always been and will continue to be created by referring to the two previously mentioned ways of generating Police Science: on the one hand Police Science as related to formal scientific disciplines and on the other as a result of police practice. The first question which needs to be addressed is the concept of Police Science. Firstly, however, the general context and boundaries of policing and police work will be expounded in the following paragraphs. It will become clear that a comprehensive external and internal knowledge (social, organisational and individual aspects) of police organisations is essential to locate the variety of issues that are raised in this area as in any social science. Therefore, we consider it paramount to begin by outlining the general context in which police work must be carried out.

To say that we are standing at political and social crossroads the main characteristic of which is *change* would not be original. Our “*stable*” society has taken steps to adapt to new and changing circumstances.

Organisations, in their eagerness to respond to the social demands that arise from this continuously changing scene, are in a constant state of transformation with the purpose of accommodating their structures and procedures to external demands. Good examples of these continuous changes are those that affect police institutions.

Police organisations in the European context are also constantly trying to modify their working procedures in order to adapt to social and political changes: enlargement of the European Union, border policies, migration flows, police cooperation, new forms of delinquency, etc.

Police services are part of the societies which they serve. Therefore, they have to pay attention to the development of the social context in which they are integrated. The following aspects might be considered as elements that shape police institutions: globalisation, intercommunication and interdependence; change in the way the services are used; development of information and communication technologies, and of scientific advances in general.

This context gives rise to new demands inside the police institutions: accountability, effectiveness, quality of police work; good leadership as a source of permanent improvement; education and training; better use of new technologies and, in general, of good knowledge in order to be able to prevent and respond to crimes and new social demands.

The social demands require the police institution to have an appropriate and accurate knowledge of social trends and of the phenomenon of delinquency, and to make a comprehensive analysis of the internal and external context of the police organisation as well. Moreover, police officers have to fulfil a tall order: they must channel and guide social demands as well as protect and secure citizens and pursue offenders. This mission calls for a difficult balance between power, protection and assistance.

An essential aid for obtaining a balance between citizens’ rights, police faculties and police obligations able to modify attitudes within a police organisation, is appropriate and accurate knowledge of the external and internal context of police institutions. This knowledge must be translated into effective and efficient training and education programmes that allow the

acquisition of abilities and proactive skills on the level of assistance, prevention and reaction, which are essential pillars of police performance.

At this point we can conclude that police work implies a wide range of tasks. Police officers must be educated and trained for these tasks. These responsibilities have a double component: in the first place a social one that includes assistance as well as preventive and reactive aspects and, secondly, a technical one. However, in daily police activities it is sometimes difficult to make a clear differentiation between both components. Therefore, policing is continuously under construction where the purely social aspect is mingled with the technical and operational facets.

Police Science

The inclusion of a term like 'science' when labelling a concept implies a certain methodological, theoretical and epistemological nature that should be examined, possibly due to a not so clear-cut definition. In order to do so, a first step might be to clarify the nature of the field which this science studies, and then specify the limits of this branch of knowledge with regard to other already established scientific disciplines.

Science has contributed to knowledge that is able to explain facts which arise in the real world. But what is the meaning of science or scientific knowledge? What makes it different from other types of knowledge, and how can we distinguish between what is science and what is not?

It is a fact that the scientific community has reached an agreement on which criteria all scientific theory must fulfil. However, in spite of this consensus, a difference is often made between restrictive and lax criteria when it comes to defining what is considered to be scientific. The restrictive ones are applied to those sciences that are able to acquire knowledge as a result of experimentation and strict control, as well as of situation and variables. Lax criteria are used for those sciences which cannot carry out experimental studies according to the restrictive criteria of control.

Theories that are generated after application of both kinds of criteria have in common that they are not true or false in themselves, but that they are characterised by probability or improbability. What make them different from knowledge that is based on common sense are the principles of: repetition, falsifiability and verification, parsimony, the possibility of observing and measuring and, finally, the feasibility of further investigations.

So we can say that science is what scientists do in accordance with a methodological process previously agreed upon by their own community, and that scientific knowledge is the knowledge which is obtained in the process of their investigations. Finally, we can conclude that the difference between what can or cannot be considered as science is determined by the methodological process and not by the object of study.

All these constrictions have provoked some doubts about the suitability of the concept of Police Science, and therefore some researchers prefer to use the term police sciences or police studies. Nevertheless, at the same time this unclear situation has led to some experts taking a stance of unambiguously favouring the term Police Science. Unquestionably, it can be observed that a theoretical issue about Police Science is alive within the realm of police practitioners, researchers and academics who are interested in police and policing.

Is there any univocal concept of Police Science that can be applied to a definite branch of knowledge? If any, by what is it characterised? And, how is it related to other scientific disciplines?

This conceptual tension has inspired some European literature and conferences which aimed at discussing basic theoretical issues. In 2001 in Stockholm, it was agreed that there is a need for an ongoing discussion on the following aspects: the appropriateness of a recognised academic classification of Police Science; co-operation in the area of Police Science at a European level; and the problem of translating Police Science into operational police work.

CEPOL has continued to organise annual conferences with the intention of facilitating debates on objectives, contents, methods and theories concerning the concept of Police Science: Solna (2003), Prague (2004), Loures (2005) and Bramshill (2006). The main topics discussed in those conferences were related to basic and general matters and in particular to the problematic relationship between practice, police training and theory (science). Furthermore, in 2005, CEPOL initiated the creation of a group of experts who were assigned to think and work around the concept of Police Science. Nonetheless, despite the expert contributions, the problem and the doubts around the suitability of the term still continues to exist.

At this point it seems adequate to examine the definition of Police Science as provided by the CEPOL Project Group for a European Approach to Police Science and Research: *"Police science is the scientific study of the police as an*

institution and of policing as a process". This definition incorporates the methodological aspect and the ambit of interest of Police Science.

Thus, according to the offered definition the objects of study of Police Science are '*police as an institution and policing as a process*'. Its wide scope and complexity requires it to be divided into simpler elements which constitute or delimit the areas of investigation in Police Science.

In chapter two on the "Core Topics in Police Science", the description of these areas studied by Police Science makes it become obvious with which complexity and ambiguity we see ourselves confronted with. Upon closer examination, we find some paradoxes: the study objects that are of interest to Police Science are open to many scientific disciplines but simultaneously they can be located at the core of some of them. In addition, they seem to have a general nature and at the same time they can refer to particular situations.

The huge variety of articles published about the topics which belong to Police Science also gives us an idea of which different academic disciplines are involved or interested in police or policing. Moreover, the idea of change can be inferred from the second chapter. Different social realities are mentioned, all of which are connected with certain moments in time and spaces. Police institutions and their subjects and objects of study change in accordance with the mutability of social, individual and organisational events. In this state of flux, the scientific researchers have conjectured about what, why and how some phenomena occur by taking into account particular scenarios, e.g. the unfinished and ongoing process of European integration on the political, economic, legal, cultural and social level; political changes in Eastern European countries; and other international events that determine the foreign policies of various European states.

On the other hand, it does not seem that the variety of objects of study within Police Science differ very much in their specific nature. Rather the opposite, the different situations are related and interconnected but each of them has its own degree of complexity.

The figure below represents the plane of reality that refers to Police Science. This plane consists of diverse situations (PS - Police Situation) which are intertwined with each other in different ways. In the figure below, the relationships are represented by different types of lines in accordance with their degree of connection and it tries to give a sense of complexity.

There are some PSs (Police Situations) scattered in a defined space of reality that refers to police and police work and the lines represent to what extent these situations are affected by other Police Situations.

Example:

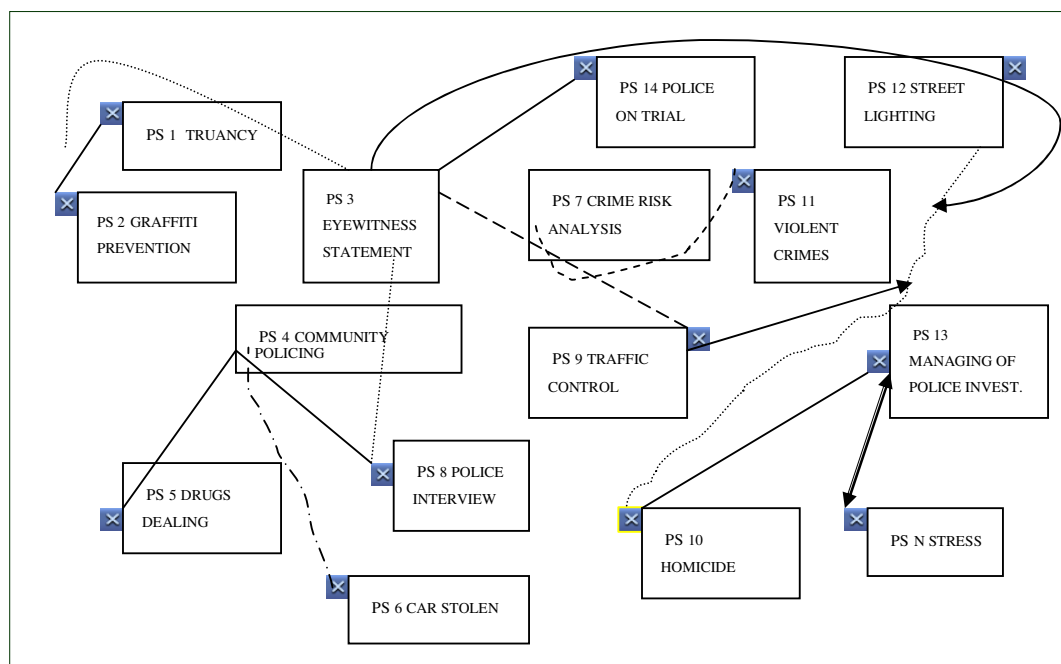
PS 1 (Truancy) can be directly related to PS 2 (Graffiti Prevention) because reducing truancy will result in the reduction of graffiti.

PS 12 (Street Lighting) can be indirectly related to PS 3 (Eyewitness Statement) or to a homicide investigation (PS 10) and directly to PS 9 (Traffic Accident in the Inner City).

PS 4 (Police Patrol) can be directly related to PS 5 (Control of Drugs Dealer on the Street). Increasing the number of police patrol on a zone reduces the number of drugs dealers.

PS 13 (Managing of Police Investigations) can be indirectly related to PS N (Stress in the Police) and directly related to the investigation of a homicide (PS 10).

PS 7 (Crime Risk Analysis) can be directly related to Community Policing - Police Patrol (PS 4) and indirectly related to Violent Crimes (PS 11).



The concrete situations, objects of study of Police Science as a discipline, can be defined by a large number of variables such as: physical context, human actions, conducts or models of behaviour of the actors. At the same time, these situations are determined by the formal or informal structures of the context in which they are developed: by social and political aspects; by factors related to population such as dimension, age, standing, role of the participants, etc; by the frequency and duration of the phenomena; and finally by the interaction between situation-organisation and people. These factors give an idea about the complexity that a police scientist has to face.

This means that the objects of study can be described as vectors characterised by a physical context, particular conducts, time, social and political aspects, as well as by a great diversity of variables, all related to and influenced by each other.

In order to explain this theoretical description, the following concrete example shows how it could be applied: In chapter two, the case of "*control of crowds and situations of street disturbances*" was mentioned as an object of study for Police Science. This situation can be approached in different ways. A sociological approach, for example, would imply the study of a complex number of variables: the town or city and the specific place where the event happens; the conduct provoked, or not, by the demonstrators; their age; the social situation of the environment; and the political moment etc. The analysis and investigation of the situation would involve a deep reflection on these variables. However, the situation is also part of a wider set of circumstances which form part of the objects of study of police science as well. To put it in another way, this concrete situation might be, and in fact is, influenced and shaped by other situations which occur in the same plane of reality and which are objects of study for police science as well. For instance, the situation is also determined by the legal bases of professional conduct, the processes and systems of crisis handling, tolerance aspects, leadership, teamwork, discipline, material resources, available equipment, and therefore by a large number of variables that can be studied from other points of view.

It seems that attention and reflection on the objects of study on the one hand provides us with information about the type of knowledge that Police Science can bring forward and, on the other hand, helps us find out which methodological approach suits it best.

The scientist, when undertaking research, will use a methodology determined by the paradigmatic positions of the scientific discipline that

studies the phenomenon. Clear examples are the investigations carried out following models taken from sociology, psychology, political and legal sciences, economy, anthropology, biology and others.

It is right to say that the same situation, e.g. "control of crowds and situations of street disturbances", can be examined following models of different academic disciplines, as we have already seen previously. Each one of them will put forward specific knowledge to the Corpus of Knowledge which we name Police Science. Each specific discipline will be interested in studying a very particular type of variables.

This means that the Corpus of Knowledge is being constructed and shaped in accordance with the progress of the investigations and the foci of specific scientific disciplines.

Consequently we can state that any investigation related to the areas which Police Science is interested in, can be carried out from a large variety of perspectives. On the one hand, when the investigation is carried out from a single academic perspective – i.e. legal sciences, psychology, sociology, economy, biology – we shall say that the adopted approach is *monoscopic* or, in other words, centred on a single point of view: the one taken by the specific discipline that studies the situation. However, when the circumstances of the object of study are of interest to several academic disciplines and, each of them can be given credit for contributing different types of observations and findings to the Corpus of Knowledge of Police Science, we can infer that the methodological approach has a *holistic* character.

By way of illustration let us consider an example to enlighten these two perspectives. A "line-up procedure" is a very common case in daily police life. This police event can be studied from different points of view: one of these can be a monoscopic one. Imagine that a crime witness is asked to identify a suspect in a line-up. The question to answer here is simple: Was any of these persons present at the time the crime took place? Many scientific disciplines can be used to approach this question: for instance, one of these monoscopic studies can be done from the psychological perspective, to be more precise, on the basis of the Signal Detection Theory, which looks at a situation in which an individual must decide whether or not a certain condition is present. In this case, the witness tries to remember the event. However, some influencing aspects must be taken into account: a vague memory, light conditions, noise, stress, confusion, poor sight, time elapsed after the crime occurred, etc. This event can be explained on the basis of the Signal Detection Theory which says that a decision has to be made between simple alternatives (presence or non-presence of the suspect). To arrive at an understanding of the decision process

in such a situation is quite difficult, because the decision depends on many variables. Despite this difficulty, the situation can be grasped using the mentioned Signal Detection Theory, which is a mathematical model, and in particular its statistical model which allows measuring: firstly, the grade of detectability of the signal (presence or non-presence of the suspect at the time the crime took place), and secondly, the observer strategy in the decision process. This monoscopic approach provides us with a simplified representation of a part of reality using a mathematical model which reduces the ambiguity and increases the potential for predicting the relations between aspects and variables. This model facilitates the investigation of a specific portion of reality and helps to comprehend it.

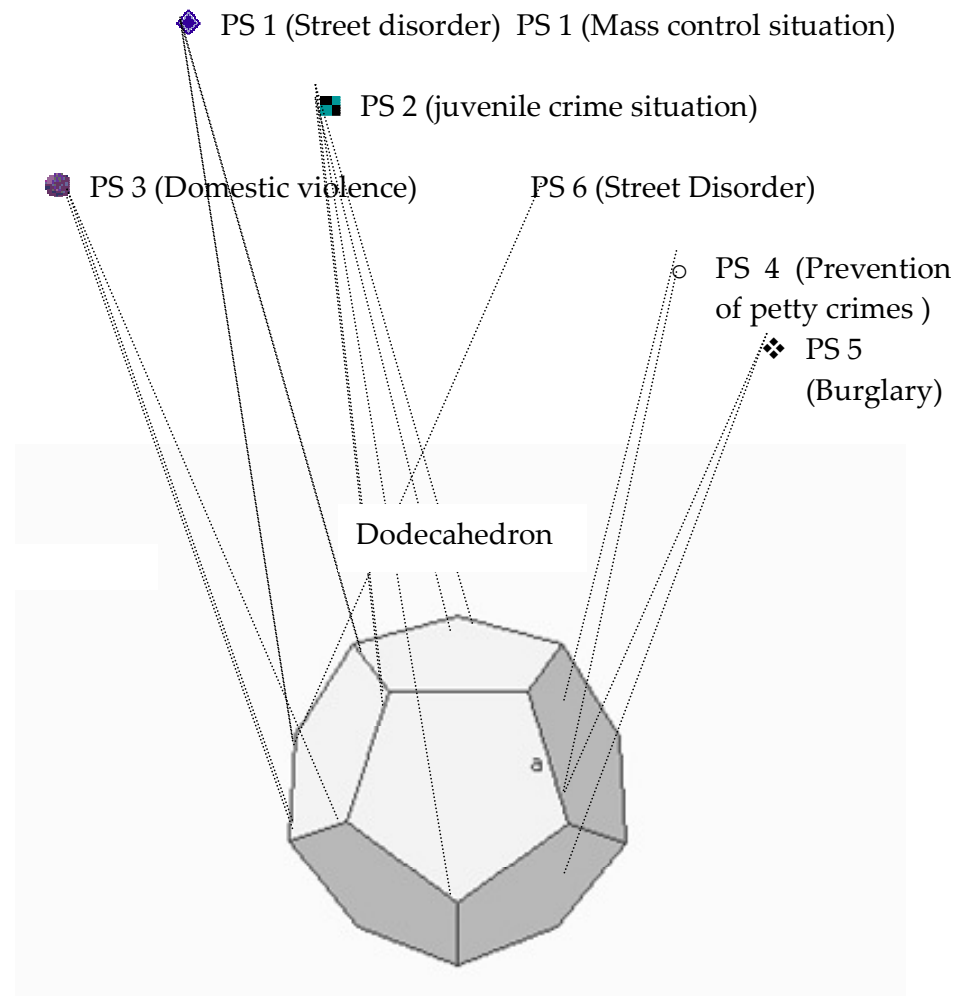
Nonetheless, this case can also be approached from a holistic point of view. Such a model tries to comprehend and explain all aspects involved in it. It has a holistic approach which describes all the facts that occurred, and does not focus only on some of them.

Let us put forward now an example to show a holistic way of looking at a problem. Imagine for a moment that in a densely populated, ethnically diverse and multilingual neighbourhood of a European city, the residents are complaining about a misdemeanour that they consider very serious and against their own interest: truancy and vandalism. This could be a clear example of policing beyond police response (in fact this issue is not of high priority for the police). Apparently, in our example, due to unknown circumstances, the police have been unable to prevent this happening. However, taking into account all the dimensions of the problem, the police and other public (and private) agencies could devise a comprehensive response plan. In this particular case, if they consider just a police response like more patrol, more technical and human resources to tackle the problem it is plausible that they will fail. An unabridged and holistic approach will help them grasping all factors and variables involved in this apparently simplistic situation.

Police Science must aim at searching for a multiplicity of levels and perspectives of study. This methodological attitude should be based on an inquiring attitude which aspires to understand the social events, both institutional and individual, that make up the framework of police reality. The way to get to know this reality is to study the complex network of relations that intermingle and coincide in the particular situation.

An intuitive way of conceiving Police Science as a Corpus of Knowledge that is supported by other disciplines is the concept of a *polyhedron*, a three-dimensional figure formed by several faces, edges and vertices. The figure of

a polyhedron was not chosen gratuitously. The context of facts that is the object of study cannot be reduced to a simple set of flat ideas. Insight, outcomes and wisdom obtained from other areas of knowledge add to this polyhedral figure and settle down on its vertices and edges according to the manifold relationships between the different areas of knowledge. Although in the figure below it appears to have a regular shape, it is arguably better to consider its shape irregular due to the unequal weights and relations between the implied academic disciplines.



This polyhedral concept of science permits us to contemplate the generated knowledge from (and by) the different vertices and axes and allows for a multi-reference approach.

It is on the vertex or edge that the different disciplines are related to each other. This point of view allows interweaving diverse levels of study. The

levels would be determined by the exploration from a single-, multi- or inter-disciplinary perspective.

Besides knowing the methodological approach to the problem or situation, it is important to understand and locate the place that the information, generated from the different points of reference, occupies and to transform it into knowledge of Police Science. The concept of a polyhedron can help in doing this.

This holistic position is not in conflict with the specific requirements of scientific research. Quite the opposite: the holistic stance is to raise questions about the details and nuances that meet in the social events. This systematic way of inquiring gives us the direction and meaning of the relationships between variables or factors.

Bordua and Reiss (1966) considered police organisations to be in permanent transactions with the environment. This systemic concept means that the police affect and influence the external context and, at the same time, is affected and influenced by the environment. For this reason a holistic and unabridged stance is needed to grasp the multidimensionality of reality.

Police Science and Methodology

We have already seen how scientific disciplines have transmitted the outcomes of their investigations to a Corpus of Knowledge called Police Science. The used methodology differs in accordance with the starting paradigm framework. In relation to this, there is nothing more to add: every discipline carries out its investigations according to clearly defined theoretical approaches. However, if we talk about Police Science as being scientific, we shall have to circumscribe which are its methods of working: without a specific methodology we would just be talking about a collection of observations, data or knowledge rendered and delivered from specific theoretical approaches or scientific disciplines.

At this point we should ask which specific framework provides the necessary methodological tools to carry out investigations devoted to Police Science as a scientific body of knowledge.

In his 'Structure of Scientific Revolutions' when describing the route of normal science, Kuhn (1962) states that firm scientific research must have well-defined methodological principles. Moreover, he affirms that paradigms help the scientist to create "*avenues*" of exploration or investigation, to define

problems, to select the analytical method and to define a particular range of interest.

In this sense, it is advisable to explore the way in which scientists or researchers interested in topics of Police Science develop their investigations in order to verify whether their methodological principles agree with the scientific ones.

In general, it can be stated that scientific research distinguishes between qualitative and quantitative methodology. Positivists have always disapproved of the qualitative approach for not being exact or rigorous, whereas from the naturalist perspective, the positivist methodology has been criticised for embracing a rigid position regarding empirical data and observations which can lead to a loss of the sense of reality as a whole.

According to our opinion, both of these scientific approaches delve into the real world with the purpose of explaining facts in order to help in resolving problems. Kuhn considered science as “puzzle-solving” with predetermined solutions, only one of which is acceptable or valid.

Given the complexity of the context in which every police situation occurs, it seems to us that it is difficult to conform it to the concept of puzzle-solving with Police Science. The situations which interest the researchers not only require finding a unique explanatory solution, but they also require a wide range of approaches, diverse and *multi-centred* references, which allow for methodological creativity and in which the researchers can conjoin quantitative as well as qualitative methods in order to grasp the whole reality of the events.

Although, as has been said before, it is necessary to continue gaining and acquiring knowledge from other disciplines, it would be important to develop a particular way of investigating for Police Science, a methodology that fulfils the necessary scientific requirements. Some researchers state that the problem has always been and probably forever will be that Police Science does not have any paradigm and method of its own but borrows them from other fields, even from historical studies and technology. These discussions have been going on since long ago and apparently no solution has been found. Nonetheless, it is really important to be aware of the discussion itself as a seed of a future Police Science as a discipline or an applied science. On the other hand, some experts consider that it is important to be as pragmatic as possible. They put forward the relevant question of which term to use: Police Science or Police Studies. The first term implies a paradigm which is difficult to pinpoint, and the second term reduces the problem to simply some topics.

Some researchers have leaned towards the term 'police studies' under the guise of a pragmatic view.

The context or situation, which is the object and subject of this branch of knowledge that we call Police Science, cannot simply be comprehended in terms of causal relations or classifying social events under the umbrella of specific theories. As it has already been mentioned, the objects of study of Police Science are determined by a crux of social, organisational and individual characteristics that adds complexity to the investigations. For this reason, it is important to develop a method able to grasp this complexity and the aspects involved in these characteristics in order to comprehend the reality as a whole. It also requires a flexible methodology which is able to deal with the observed and worked-out data from different points of view. In many cases, it is not enough to carry out multi- or interdisciplinary investigations explaining simple facts and events but it calls for *representations* of relevant relations between actions, concepts, elements and aspects which take place in the study object or subject.

In this way police scientists must try to apprehend reality using heterogeneous and manifold methods. The compilation of information and observations will be systematised in accordance with different types of language (texts, mathematical-statistical, legal, images, etc...), and this collection of information will provide the possibility of making taxonomies, analogies, analyses and structures.

If science is based on a proper methodology the question remains: Is there a specific way of asking questions and finding answers which can be called Police Science and which links to other sciences, like sociology, economy, psychology, etc? The methodology proposed here is inspired by other social sciences (such as social anthropology), which also have a large and complex social object of investigation. Consequently, the guidelines of Police Science research as a scientific discipline would be defined, first of all, by a *description* of the facts that take place in the studied event. This description would not have to be limited to solely enumerating the variables intervening and characteristic of the event; it should rather explain the information, generated by observation, on the relation processes between the different factors. The information gathered by the description of correlations and interdependence, contributes to giving a meaning to details in the relations between variables (being prone to variation) and elements although this implies complexity due to the large number of elements to take into account. A second step would imply the *deciphering or decoding* of those described facts. This deciphering could, at first sight, seem to be devoid of objectivity. However, the necessary scientific validity of it can be obtained by *intersubjectivity*, that is to say, the

submission of the investigation to the expert opinion of other researchers and putting forward their outcomes to a subsequent public contrast.

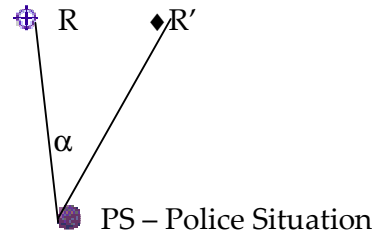
The main purpose of describing and deciphering empirical observations and data must be the *explanation* of events or, in other words, to scrutinise the correlation and interdependence of variables. Finally, and taking into account this comprehensive and anthropological perspective, the police researcher (scientist) *interprets* the events. This interpretation adds knowledge to the Corpus of Knowledge of Police Science.

The word 'interpretation' might suggest a certain subjectivity and lack of rigour or meticulousness in terms of methodology. Yet, this interpretative position leads us to the concept of *Perspectivism* (Giere, Ronald N. *Scientific Perspectivism*, 2006) and is far from being simple relativism; it contributes to emphasise nuances related to the context of the study.

Nonetheless, this methodological position has some risks. The larger the object of study, the higher the risk of not being able to grasp or comprehend the relations of the intertwined elements. This problem does not only arise in social sciences which try to explain complex connections between aspects or elements of events; even in methodological paradigms with much more rigour and firmness in their procedures we can observe errors caused by the same difficulties as encountered in the social sciences: misinterpretations, methodology errors, scale and measure errors and sometimes even cultural or individual interests. However, these reasons should not lead to the rejection of the discipline; on the contrary, they make scientists try to eradicate committed errors. This could also happen in a field of study like Police Science when using flexible or less exact methodology.

These methodological trends, strict and flexible, share a common error: the '*Ecuación Personal*'. This concept was originally formulated by astronomers to talk about the differences between the data taken by two different observers based on their different perceptive capacities. The '*Ecuación Personal*' explains the relativism and perspectivism that lead to different interpretations of the same fact by different investigators (Velasco H y Diaz de Rada, 2004, 106).

The concept of '*Ecuación Personal*' has a strong influence on social sciences. It is needless to say that its effects on the investigation process can bias the outcomes.



$\alpha = R - R'$; the deviance comes from:

1. Misinterpretations
2. Methodology errors
3. Errors in scaling and measuring
4. Cultural or individual interest
5. Ideology and political momentary interest (conscious or unconscious)
6. ...

This equation reflects a particular historical, cultural and social context in which results are produced. The worlds of policing, the needs and views, are very different in the different countries. The elements that define this personal equation are such as social, political and economical aspects within, and outside of, the police as an institution without forgetting the type, the hierarchy, the size, the age and other structural elements of the police organisations.

Science is a human activity (Wartosfky, M.W 1983). Although this is obvious, it is necessary to emphasise it because sometimes science is referred to as something beyond human beings or transcendental: free from the influence of any social, political or individual context. It can be said that this ideal status of sciences does not exist, especially in those which are far from pure mathematical reasoning. And specifically, in the field of policing, we consider that researchers and practitioners in their *constructivist*³⁴ effort, besides their cognitive mechanisms which they use to obtain and elaborate knowledge, count with a social, personal, and professional context that can influence their outcomes.

Although it may seem impossible to resolve this problem within the flexible methodology framework, it should not be ignored. In our opinion, it is

³⁴ Constructivism is a theory of learning based on the idea that knowledge is constructed by the knower based on mental activity

necessary to carry out an introspective analysis in order to reveal which are the parameters of the researcher that motivate the '*Ecuación Personal*'. All these parameters could be included as an explanatory part of reality because, as a matter of fact, they belong to that reality.

Possibly a theoretical approach can be sufficient. Nevertheless, once we have already reached this point, we would like to illustrate the itinerary that it comprises from the starting point of the research to the conclusion, if there is any such end.

All scientific investigations have their origin in a concern about a certain problem, an anomaly or a simple interest in a specific area. At this point, the scientist can take two general starting positions: he or she can either adopt a more or less well delimited definition of the problem; or the scientist can approach the situation with an unspecific attitude. The latter offers various methods, techniques or ways of investigation. The process will indicate the direction and meaning of the study. It is not a lack of systematisation, nor is it a methodological anarchy; it is an open attitude towards a complex situation. James L. Peacock (2001) defined this approach as the use of the "anthropological lens".

Before describing the elements that shape the event of study, the researcher will proceed to gather information by means of different techniques. With the gathered information the scientist will elaborate the data which reflect the extensive details of the subject such as time, place, participating agents, and many other variables grasped by the researcher.

At this point, the exploratory avenue (Kuhn, 1962) has already been created and a start is made with the process of translating the elaborated data. The use of quantitative, basically statistical models and of a qualitative methodology will provide the necessary elements for investigation. From the qualitative method, the investigator will be able to use a wide range of possibilities of study: population census, surveys and questionnaires, social and geographic maps, drawings, documents, graphs, pictures, videos, etc... The data will provide different ways of access to explanation and interpretation.

The explanation consists in accounting for causes, tendencies and regularities that meet in the events (Hempel, G. 1979). The explanatory process in Police Science must offer something more than the enumeration of causes and tendencies. Quite often sciences explain the facts according to the cause-effect model (mechanistic stance). Nonetheless, for Police Science, especially when referring to complex facts, simple explanations based on a single direction of

explanans-explanandum are not enough. Quite the opposite, it seems that very often they respond to a circular process of explanation: *explanans-explanandum-explanans*. By way of illustration, we can consider juvenile delinquency in a slum of a big city. A mechanistic explanation could conclude that the cause of this can be found, for example, in the rate of unemployment in the area. A circular explanation, on the other hand, can determine that the unemployment is a result of the lack of adequate structures to attract private companies to settle in the area. Adding to that, the high degree of offence rates contributes to the fact that companies are not willing to take risks. This means that the explanation can make us aware of the chain of causality and inform us about directions and meaning of causes difficult to determine on their own. With the explanation, all the factors and variables start to make sense as soon as they are seen as a part, or a sample of, an extensive process (Beattie, J.H.M. 1975). Thus, this explanatory process contributes to the clarity, intelligibility and understanding of facts that take shape with the final interpretation by the researcher.

At this point it is good to reconsider the concept of Police Science as it has been discussed so far and start asking some questions: Does it have a methodology of its own? Is it defined by a topic or by several topics? Would application of its outcomes be possible? Could that be done within any group of people anywhere? Certainly these questions remain unanswered. However, some characteristics can be inferred. Firstly, it is possible to affirm that Police Science has a multidimensional and multilevel framework. Secondly, Police Science can be multidisciplinary because it is looking for concepts, methods and techniques from different disciplines like psychology, economy, sociology, biology, etc. Thirdly, it is descriptive and explanatory, and finally, it is multivariable because it takes into account a wide range of variables which are intertwined.

We have tried to bring forward some problems which are based on the constitution of any social scientific discipline, also of this Corpus of Knowledge called Police Science: topics of study, methodology and construction of its concepts and ideas.

For the benefit of the social function of Police Science as an institutional framework of discussion and knowledge production, it needs to be fully endorsed by academic institutions and universities where a critical reflection must be carried out on the nature and limits of the intellectual activity called Police Science or Police Studies, able of conceptualising lines of investigations for the police and on the police.

Police Sciences and Police Practitioners

We have defined the concept of Police Science as a 'scientific study of the police as an institution and of policing as a process'. In addition, we also agreed that Police Science is a Corpus of Knowledge and that police practice has always played an important role in gathering this knowledge.

Both the police practitioner and the scientific police researcher are interested in the explanation of the events they are concerned with. This means that both of them seek to comprehend and unravel the more or less complex web of relationships in which their object of investigation is involved and that they share a common interest in discovering what, why and how certain phenomena/events happen.

At this point it would be convenient to address the following questions: Which are the methodological approaches, consciously chosen or not, that guide the police work. Do they only involve explanations of events or facts or do they only use specific techniques? Do they imply organised common sense that gives an account of or provides for an explication of certain phenomena? Or are these explanations a consequence of both kinds of approach? Practitioners usually ask themselves these questions and the mere fact of reflecting on methodology actually implies a kind of learning or willingness to systematise the model of working.

It is generally known that all, or almost all, police forces have developed techniques to approach, explain, and resolve cases within the scope of their sphere of work areas, whether they are concerned with assistance or help or whether they act in preventive, protective or responsive ways. There is no doubt that all methodology developed for this purpose is influenced by not only theoretical aspects, but social, political and economical aspects also. Additionally, these working models have led to the development of a characteristic terminology that forms part of the working process, and also to different designs of police investigation which guide police practitioners in their daily tasks. The aim of the devised model is to be capable of analysing and explaining phenomena and, eventually, to respond in accordance with some specific patterns of actions: that is, to prevent, to protect and to resolve problems for society.

What characterises the task of the police is the use of flexible and diverse methods enabling us to decipher events. In this methodological context becomes more important the "ecuación personal" already discussed in previous paragraphs where we have made reference to scientific researchers.

In the case of the police practitioner, his or her course of action is often determined by their way of perceiving the reality of the world, by their acquired working habits, through their experience, and through certain perspectives that influence the knowledge on the object of study in a positive or negative way.

It has been mentioned previously that the inquiring attitude of a practitioner is motivated by an interest in what is anomalous, different and problematic in a certain situation. Practitioners should try to identify circumstances and problems that are of concern to communities. This interest can/should/must be taken as the starting point of a whole set of attitudes and processes that will result in useful knowledge or *heuristic* knowledge for future police or scientific investigations.

"Methodology could be defined as the rational, ordered and impartial approach of the scientific activity that establishes the way or process which should be followed to reach a purpose" (Canelo, 2000). The methodology used by the police practitioner tries to be rational, objective and ordered, that is to say, if order is understood as the disposition of a general structure of work. Nevertheless, the approach or process to which order refers can induce an understanding of the process like a road or an avenue in which there is a working model which implies moving forward in line with a predetermined direction and where several steps must be fulfilled. According to what has been stated earlier, an unavoidable characteristic of police methodology is its creativity and flexibility. This means that instead of being concerned with an approach or process (in the sense of moving forward), it can be stated that police activity deals with certain '*moments*' in a work context. The investigator moves in between these '*moments*' with the purpose of understanding, putting into context, considering and appraising significant relations between people and social facts. However, it is a fact that the approach and process model also forms part of certain police tasks.

Within this general outline of action/intervention/conduct characterised by '*moments*', it is important to reflect on the attitude of the police practitioner. We have already mentioned that this attitude is motivated by an interest in what is different and problematic. However, this is not the only motivation. Canelo (2001), basing himself on Sampson (1989), identifies four great attitudinal hubs related to these, what we call, '*moments of curiosity*' that form part of police practice.

The first attitude that Canelo refers to is the *Mental Representation* and he describes it with the question: What is there? Canelo delineates this attitude

with three pairs of dimensions: one being enumerate/describe; another, compare/distinguish, and finally, classify/define.

This first attitude called Mental Representation has to do with the concept that we referred to previously as the researcher's *unspecific approach* to the study object event. It was said that this unspecific approach will give an account of the wide range of the problem painstakingly describing simply everything that has been observed. According to this model, the dimension-pair "classify/define" would not fit into the *description moment*, because classifying and defining imply the transformation of the gathered information into processed data.

The second attitude mentioned by Canelo, the Mental Attitude of Identification, corresponds with the question: What is it? He defines it using a three-dimensional axis: firstly, identification of aspects and points of view; secondly, the search for contradictions and oppositions; and finally, the location of the facts and phenomena in space and time. The researcher tries to pinpoint and translate observations made in a previous moment. At this point, the practitioner transforms the information into analysable data. It is in this *translating or deciphering moment* when we include the above-stated "classify/define" dimension. In such an attitude of identification, practitioners isolate the recurring problems or facts, confirm that these exist and select data for further examination.

Why is it like this? That question corresponds to the third Mental Attitude: the one of Relation. This attitude, according to Canelo, is determined by two axes: the first one refers to the causes and consequences, and the second to the search for laws and theories. This Mental Attitude would correspond to the *explanatory and interpretative moment* in our *theory of the moments*. At this point an effort is made to understand the event, causes and conditions that give rise to the situation as well as the consequences of the problem

Berger and Kellner (1985, 74) assert that, actually, there are no *naked* facts, there are only facts within a defined conceptual frame. This affirmation fits perfectly into our theoretical discourse. However, Berger and Kellner's idea could be paraphrased or modified by saying that naked/simple facts do not exist: there are only facts within a *defined, located and delimited relational frame*. And it is here, before the intertwined fact, when the explanatory and interpretative moment, gains a prominent role in order to unravel the significant relations between the intervening variables.

Canelo points out a fourth attitude: Action. It is defined by questions such as: What should be done? Why should it be done? How should it be done? In

science, the final objective is the search of causes and their explanations. In the case of Police Science, in terms of practitioners, it seems that the explanation is just a way to respond, to start doing something in order to solve problems that in the end will be a contrast to the way the investigations have been carried out. This means to describe strategic responses, interventions or activities with specific goals in order to reduce, eliminate or resolve the problem.

Bunge (1973) assures that a "scientific method is a way to treat intellectual problems, and consequently it can be used in all fields of knowledge". Taking this assertion into account, if we understand by scientific method what we have been explaining so far, without falling into a methodological reductionism that constrains the required flexibility and creativity, we can affirm that in front of us we have a method with scientific characteristics.

The main difference between scientist researchers and police practitioners while examining facts is the intention or aspiration of the investigation. Scientists stress their interest in pure knowledge and they focus on generalisation and theory building. They try to explain and to identify causes and consequences under the guise of making sense of reality. This knowledge is endowed with meaning and significance from the standpoint of scientific disciplines. On the other hand, investigations carried out by police practitioners, although they intend to perceive reality as well, have a direct and immediate oriented goal: to resolve concrete problems. The intention of this applied practical orientation of investigation is to produce immediate police action plans or results. Therefore, it can be stated that whereas scientific research aims at pure knowledge, practitioners are devoted to applied purposes. It is not tantamount to say that scientists are far from this applied concern; on the contrary, their outcomes can affect and transform the nature of social reality within the policing domain.

While reflecting on these issues it is difficult to place this kind of practitioner's knowledge under the umbrella of Police Science. It can not be denied that police practitioners, when looking into facts, use types, methods or techniques of investigation, some of which can be called scientific. Among these types of research we have found the following: exploratory, analytical, inquisitive, comparative, qualitative, quantitative, among others. These systematic methods are used by practitioners in order to collect data or elaborate conclusions.

Ardanuy *et al.* (2004) set out the methodological investigation scheme exercised by police work. The starting point of this scheme is the *Theory* that implies previous knowledge, intuition, personal experience in the field and

other studies (and maybe, also a personal equation). Ardanuy describes a concrete fact: a crime. The way of approaching this will take into account the knowledge about this sort of investigation, delinquents and the experience of the practitioner. All in all it shapes the *Theory*.

Collecting data is the second step in the course of action. This moment will give rise to a *Concept* about the crime to investigate. The concept is a mental representation of the event that will lead us to a hypothesis. Taking this concept into account, and the knowledge and experience of the practitioner, it is possible to look into the intertwined variables and delineate a causal analysis.

These phases lead us to map out the problem in general as well as possible resolutions. Practitioners, at this point, address questions devoted to method, strategy, resources and so on to find a solution to problems: a plan of action.

The plan of action will stimulate the collection of data by means of observation. The data contemplated by practitioners might be divided into the following: firstly, those which already exist, i.e. background, legal or police proceedings and statistics; secondly, practitioners also carry out surveillances, pursuits, tappings etc, that will generate information and intelligence about the case; and finally, practitioners can also infer data from interviews and other police ways of working.

According to Ardanuy, the last phase is the one in which practitioners have to measure and assess all the elements. This stage implies the need to check and confirm the data. Validity is also an aspect of the investigation process to take into consideration. In order to carry out this seminal stage, police officers practise a quantitative (usually statistics) and qualitative processing of data that lead them to classify, categorise, codify and synthesise the data producing a final report.

Can this methodological way of working be considered as part of a scientific discipline? It is undeniable that this model acts in accordance with some level of methodology. Nonetheless, this gives insufficient reason to plea for it to be considered scientific. We appreciate in this case that the nature of the police (and its calling) is at the service of the judicial and penal system. This nature and this calling of the police imply a pressure or a sense of urgency to resolve problems, moving practitioners away from a scientific perspective and focusing on more concrete and practical aspects: a reaction to delinquency, maintenance of order, prevention of offences and support for the citizens.

There may, however, be reasons to advocate this applied erudition as part of a broader Corpus of Knowledge. Firstly, it can be stated that this applied erudition also contributes explicit or silent knowledge to the polyhedron defined as Police Science. Moreover, this applied knowledge, which is elaborated consciously or unconsciously thanks to the system of relationships that permits to organise the experience, uses a model to represent reality, and Police Science is also interested in the applied model and in that actuality.

As we have seen so far, the challenge for police and policing nowadays is to establish equilibrium between security, protection, law enforcement, safety, prevention of offences and assistance to community within the public service framework. This leads us to a concept of police and policing that implies the necessity of taking into consideration a scenario with a wide range of variables and factors. In order to fulfil the public assignment of serving the citizens, the police must work *with* the people. The old police paradigm of maintaining order has been replaced by a new one in which enforcing the law is important but harmony in the community is, at least, as relevant as order and peace.

This line of thinking invites us to reflect about police and policing in a comprehensive way. The police, of course, have to deal with and react against riots, racial peace, serious crime, internal and border security problems, vandalism, juvenile delinquency, drug dealing and so on. Nonetheless, although these common reaction-oriented approaches to solve problems are necessary, it is more important to focus on the root of the problem rather than on the symptoms.

Police Science, as a Corpus of Knowledge, will help police, researchers, universities, and other public and private institutions to address the core problems in order to be able to react in accordance with more suitable measures.

Final Reflection

This chapter presents different approaches about (scientific) knowledge-building in the field of police work and policing. Likewise, some relationships are described between these types of knowledge as scientific disciplines and what practitioners produce.

Many studies and much research about police work and policing have been carried out so far. The majority reflect a methodology of investigation and reveal a wide range of variables intervening in these scenarios of 'police' or of

'policing'. Is there any common approach to learn from these studies and this research? Which perspectives are interested in looking into all of these realities? Can we talk about single scientific disciplines interested in these facts like sociology, biology, psychology, criminology, economics, legal sciences...? Are there any common characteristics among these studies that can be defined as Police Science or Police Studies? Can we affirm that there exists a single discipline called Police Science? All these questions have been addressed in this chapter with the intention of drawing up the boundaries of Police Science.

In this chapter we have identified some cognitive mechanisms used to elaborate lay or scientific theories in order to comprehend, interpret and predict police scenarios. Both lay and scientific knowledge, share the object and subject of study. We have tried to decipher and explain the mechanisms by which police knowledge is being elaborated. We have focused on two main sources. Firstly, the one that stems from scientific disciplines (*monoscopic point of view*), and secondly, the one that refers to practitioners. We have also pointed out the possibility of looking into these police realities from a *holistic* perspective which gives us the opportunity of having a sense of totality. Within this perspective we do not only take into consideration circumstances like, for instance, crimes, outbreaks of disorder, juvenile delinquency and neighbourhood disputes but also factors like the layout of streets, architecture, rate of unemployment, numbers of libraries, and so on, which apparently seem to be far from policing or police work. Police work and policing is very complicated; therefore, we need more than simple facts to grasp this actual complexity. It is also true to say that scientific discipline calls for more than giving account of cases or a description of simple facts. It needs connections and causal mechanisms to explain the whole as well as singularities. As with a billiards table, it is necessary to locate the balls in the space and the possible movements which can affect some other balls no matter where these are situated. In a nutshell, it is important to take a *picture* of the entire scene, and not only of part of it.

Finally, we would like to point out the afore-mentioned concept of Police Science as a Corpus of Knowledge, and its intuitive image as a polyhedron containing outcomes fostered by single disciplines (standardised scientific parameters) and knowledge elaborated by practitioners, which have similarities with scientific knowledge. This Police Science as a Corpus of Knowledge is like a *Complex Eye* capable of delving into a complex scenario that also has social functions such as social harmonisation, the creation of a safer, more secure and more comfortable society and to develop mechanisms to react to specific situations. The main nerve of this *complex eye* must be

universities or researchers taking part in the whole process of endorsing, underpinning and contributing to this Corpus of Knowledge.

Police Science is located at the crux of research, training, education, improvement and innovation. The knowledge that we have been discussing must be transmitted by means of education and training. This transmission of knowledge calls for an involvement of a great number of players in a gradually more internationalised network-driven approach.

CHAPTER 4

From Police Science to the Science of Policing

Introduction

Traditionally, police studies or police science has been concerned with the police, the problems they face, and the ways in which they perform their functions. However, 'policing' is a much broader concept, involving not just the public police but a plethora of different individuals and agencies. A police science that ignores these alternative policing mechanisms provides only a partial view of the discipline. It is, therefore, crucial to make an initial distinction between the police and policing.

By the 'police', we mean the public institution (or institutions) known as 'the police', that are, with varying differences, common to all European societies. The organisational form and functions of these police systems vary considerably (Mawby 1990; *ibid.* 1999). In some countries of continental Europe they attained, at least initially, responsibility for a wide range of public services, including health, fire services, urban planning, and other administrative tasks that the increasingly powerful states felt it necessary to control (Chapman 1971; Fairchild 1988; Fosdick 1999). In others, the role of the public police was more tightly prescribed, and other agencies were made responsible for non-mainstream policing tasks. Thus the police are public bodies responsible for a range of tasks, including, but not limited to, social control through the prevention and detection of crime and disorder. In contrast, 'policing' is a process: a term we might apply to the maintenance of order and security, through the prevention and detection of crime and incivilities and through responding appropriately to victims, that might be carried out by and on behalf of a number of bodies. These agencies might include the police and other public sector bodies, but also the private sector, comprising profit-making and non-profit making organisations (such as NGOs). Referring to Figure 1, for example, box A reflects the norm of public police engaged in the prevention and detection of crime and disorder; box C covers other tasks that might be carried out by the police, such as passport control, victim support, youth work etc.; box B, the crime prevention work of agencies such as private security firms; and box D, the work of other agencies in peripheral police work, including that of specialist victim assistance agencies and emergency accident response services. While this chapter focuses on policing as reflected in box B, it inevitably draws comparisons with boxes A and C.

Figure 1: Agencies involved in policing

	Police	Other
Social control	A	B
Other	C	D

The police/policing balance

Although traditionally policing was provided by a variety of individuals and agencies, the emergence of nation states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries incorporated the development of a strong public sector, within which public police systems became increasingly significant. This process was extended in the mid-twentieth century as governments provided more extensive welfare systems. However, while in the UK and Eastern Bloc countries welfare services were based upon the provision of welfare by the state, in some other European countries like the Netherlands the norm was for the state to delegate its responsibilities for the delivery of services to other agencies, including both the private sector and voluntary bodies (NGOs). Almost exceptionally though, policing was considered too important a responsibility to subcontract out, and European states took on a near monopolistic responsibility for the provision of policing. So David Bayley (1985), in a formative review of cross-national policing, argued that one of the three key features of modern policing was that the police was a public service. That is, there was an assumption that policing was becoming increasingly the business of the state to the exclusion of other providers, and that in extending its influence the public police was also becoming more specialised and more professional.

In 2007 the world of policing looks very different, with a wide range of agents and agencies involved. It has long been recognised that members of the public, especially victims, engage in policing in so far as they report crimes to the authorities and help identify the perpetrators (Mawby 1979). Moreover, the private sector, voluntary agencies like neighbourhood watch, and other government agents such as probation officers, social workers and street wardens, engage in policing by electronically monitoring offenders, drug testing, engaging in child protection work, and patrolling public space. Far from trying to exert a monopoly over policing, the public police in the UK, for example, are encouraged to identify their core tasks and leave (or franchise out) other work to outside agencies (Mawby 2000) and to commit themselves

to partnership work. Indeed, private security agents now outnumber the public police (Bayley and Shearing 2001; Button 2002; Jones and Newburn 2002; de Waard 1999). The case for extending police science to incorporate the multitude of agencies and agents involved in policing is irresistible.

The changing nature of policing in post-modern societies was acknowledged by Bayley and Shearing (2001) in a formative article sponsored by the US Department of Justice that described the 'new structure of policing'. Arguing that the era of government monopolising of policing is now over, they described policing as 'multilateralized':

'Policing is being transformed and restructured in the modern world. This involves much more than reforming the institution regarded as the police, although that is occurring as well. The key to the transformation is that policing, meaning the activity of making societies safe, is no longer carried out exclusively by governments. Indeed, it is an open question as to whether governments are even the primary providers. Gradually, almost imperceptibly, policing has been "multilateralized": a host of non-governmental groups have assumed responsibility for their own protection; and a host of non-governmental agencies have undertaken to provide security services. Policing has entered a new era characterized by a transformation in the governance of security' (ibid. 1).

Bayley and Shearing (2001) distinguished between those engaged in policing (termed 'providers') and those who commissioned that policing (termed 'auspices'). The former included, in addition to the public sector, commercial organisations, non-governmental bodies and individuals. The latter included, in addition to local and national governments, economic interests, residential communities, cultural communities and individuals. However, as Jones and Newburn (2002) have pointed out, Bayley and Shearing tended to focus on North America and to assume that similar processes were occurring elsewhere. But European policing has evolved slightly differently. In the following section, therefore, we aim to build on Bayley and Shearing's (2001) model and spell out, in a slightly different way, those who commission and provide policing in the UK. The next three sections then focus on the commissioner/provider mix and discuss some common examples of plural policing in practice throughout Europe. All of these, it is argued, form an important part of police (or policing) studies.

A mixed economy of policing: the UK example

Prior to the creation of public police, policing was commonly the responsibility of the consumer. Those who felt the need for security either

arranged it for or among themselves or paid others to carry out policing on their behalf. A classic example is that of the Thames River Police, initially formed and financed by the West India Merchants in London's docklands. While the more affluent might have been able to hire security for themselves, it was also common for local communities to band together to provide patrols within their neighbourhood. Associations for the Prosecution of Felons, for example, flourished in England and Wales between the 1740s and 1850s, in some cases organising their own patrols; in other cases hiring in outside 'specialists' (Shubert 1981).

Although local communities and private sector organisations continued to commission policing services, the gradual development of public policing in the UK in the nineteenth century meant that such organised alternatives were dwarfed by the new public police. These were, from the first, administered locally, initially through local government initiatives (Emsley 1983), then through a raft of parliamentary Acts that allowed, and subsequently required, local governments to establish their own police forces. These came under the auspices of the Home Office, which took on the regulation and partial funding of local forces. Amalgamations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century culminated in the 1964 Police Act, with the establishment of 43 constabularies throughout England and Wales. In Scotland, similar amalgamations resulted in eight regional forces (Donnelly and Scott 2005), while the partitioning of Ireland led to the establishment of one national force in the north (Hamilton and Moore 1995; Mulcahy 2005).³⁵

However, this picture somewhat hides the plurality of police organisations within the state system. Thus, police volunteers – Special Constables – predated the state police and were integrated into the newly established forces (Gill and Mawby 1990a), and for somewhat different reasons established a significant presence in Northern Ireland (Hezlet 1972; Mulcahy 2005). Additionally, as in the welfare sector (Titmuss 1976), private agencies continued to exist alongside expanding public services, as both the commissioners and providers of services.

Moreover, while Home Office-overseen police bodies epitomized the public police, other state agencies were delegated to provide additional specialist policing. In late nineteenth century London, for example, the policing of infanticide and cruelty to children was not the responsibility of the police, but initially the responsibility of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and then the Public Control Department of the City Council, before being delegated to an NGO, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

³⁵ Similarly, the Irish Republic was served by one national police force.

(NSPCC). Subsequently other specialist agencies were created to provide dedicated policing services. These included the Customs and Excise service and the British Transport Police. Alongside these, other public services incorporated their own specialist policing arms, including, at a national level, benefits and taxation departments, and as a part of local government administration, environmental health officers (Crawford 2003).

Clearly plural policing was never entirely replaced by a state monopoly, much less a public sector monopoly. However, a number of authors have argued that since the 1990s, corresponding to Thatcherite concern to 'roll back' the influence of the state and restrict public sector growth, plural policing has expanded significantly.

The extent to which policing, along with other public services, has become increasingly multilateralized is illustrated in terms of changes to who commissions and who provides services. The state is still fundamental in commissioning policing services. However, the importance of alternative commissioners has increased. The extension of mass private space, including shopping malls, industrial estates and sporting and other leisure facilities, combined with a reluctance by cash-restricted public services to police such areas, has resulted in private sector organisations increasingly commissioning their own protection (Johnston 1999). At the same time, rising crime rates, public concern over crime and anti-social behaviour, and mounting dissatisfaction with the public police, has led some local communities to independently commission their own security provisions (Noakes 2000).

Similarly, while governments are still responsible for the provision of policing services, these are increasingly provided, not by the public police, but by police ancillaries, other specialist agencies, and public sector agencies for whom policing is a secondary function. In many cases, multi-agency partnerships have been encouraged by central government and provide a forum for the public police to work with other public and private sector agencies. Some such agencies are NGOs which traditionally have a policing remit, but partnership working has drawn other voluntary sector organisations into the policing arena. Most notably though, there has been a pronounced increase in private policing, such that it has outgrown the public police (Jones and Newburn 2006). At the same time, governments have encouraged the police to further involve the public as providers of policing, as volunteers.

Figure 2 provides a matrix to reflect the relationship between those who commission and those who provide policing in the UK in 2007. There are, in theory, nine possible commissioner/public sector provider combinations and

nine other commissioner/other provider combinations. However, in eight cases the boxes have been left blank. It seems unlikely that examples exist where local communities commission state policing services, or where the public provide policing for the private sector. Equally, NGOs are more likely to provide policing services for the state than for the private sector or local communities. Moreover, while the private sector often commissions police officers to fulfil policing roles, it seems less likely that alternative public sector employees are similarly 'bought in' by the private sector.

This equally applies across the rest of Europe. The following three sections, therefore, focus on the remaining ten boxes in Figure 2. Firstly, the role of the private sector and local communities are considered in terms of the policing services they commission from the state, private sector and public. Then, the role of the state is considered: first, in terms of services it commissions from the private sector, voluntary sector and public; secondly, in terms of services it provides itself. In each case, although reference is made to a range of countries, the focus is on Europe and especially the EU.

Figure 2: Relationship between commissioners and providers of policing in the UK

		Commissioners		
		Community	Private sector	Public sector
Providers	Public sector			
	(i) Police officers		Security outside football stadiums	Conventional police
	(ii) Other police employees			CSOs
	(iii) Other public sector employees			Neighbourhood wardens
	Private sector	Purchase of private sector patrols	Patrols on Industrial Estates	Franchising out routine guard duties
	NGOs			Delegated powers to NSPCC
	General public	Vigilantism		Special Constabulary

The private sector and community as commissioners of policing

Private sector organisations frequently operate independently in commissioning policing services, but they may also combine with other businesses, where, for example, common interests and location convenience applies. Thus businesses within a shopping mall or industrial estate may act jointly to commission private security. Businesses may also operate in partnership with the public sector. A European seminar in the Hague in 2002 illustrates the extent of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) in Europe.³⁶

Traditionally, the state has provided a considerable amount of policing for the private sector. Although much of this was free, as C.A.Williams (2005) observes, the practice of the private sector paying for 'additional constables' within public police organisations, an accepted feature of nineteenth century policing in the UK, continued through much of the twentieth century. However, unlike in the United States, it has not been widely acceptable in Europe for businesses to hire off-duty public police officers. Similarly, private sector 'sponsorship' of public police, as in Poland in the early 1990s, can raise the spectre of corruption and partiality (Borger 1994).

In recent years, developments in mass private property have restricted public police access, while financial constraints have led to the withdrawal of some free services, leaving businesses to either take responsibility for policing provision or pay the public police to provide services for which it formerly did not charge. In some cases within the UK, such as in the escorting of wide load vehicles, businesses may choose to either pay for police escorts or provide private escort services. In others, there is a mix. For example, in policing the night-time economy, the public police accept responsibility for maintaining order in public areas but require clubs to provide security within their premises. Similarly, in the United Kingdom the public police require football clubs to pay them to police the public areas around stadiums, but normally expect clubs to provide their own security within grounds (Garland and Rowe 1999). In the Netherlands, public police order maintenance duties around football stadiums is provided free, but clubs also contract or employ private security within stadiums (van Steden and Huberts 2006).

Businesses, in fact, commonly turn to the private sector for additional security. In some cases, private security is provided 'in-house', in others by external specialists, although in some cases here private security may be only a part of a larger mandate.³⁷ In the United Kingdom, contract security has

³⁶ Report of the seminar Public-Private Partnership (PPP) held 16-17 December 2002, The Hague.

³⁷ For example, where firms also run private prisons.

been growing at a faster rate than in-house security in recent years (Button and George 1994), a pattern replicated in the Netherlands where in-house security personnel declined by 35% between 1981 and 1997, at a time when the numbers working for security firms rose by 340% (de Waard 1999). Moreover, as Jones and Newburn (2002) note, there has been a similar decline in employees exerting secondary social control: caretakers, guards, bus conductors etc., a range of occupations acknowledged as influential in crime prevention (Mayhew et al 1979), albeit these are less common in Britain than in many other parts of Europe and North America (van Kesteren, Mayhew and Nieuwbeerta 2001; Mayhew and van Dijk 1997, 52; Zvekcic 1998, 86). In France, in-house security still appears the most likely option (Ocqueteau 2006).

The difficulties of classifying and counting those working in private security are commonly acknowledged (Jones and Newburn 1995; *ibid.* 2006). De Waard (1999), for example, distinguishes between security firms, in-house security, alarm monitoring stations, and high security transport, but excludes private detective agencies (Gill and Hart 1999) and probably those employed in specialist fields, such as club 'door staff' (bouncers) (Hobbs et al 2003) and corporate investigation (J.W.Williams 2005). Nevertheless, both de Waard (1999) and Jones and Newburn (1995; 2006) demonstrate a dramatic increase in both the number of private police and the private/public police ratios in Europe, albeit not on the same scale as in North America.

De Waard (1999) noted that in 1996 there were on average 160 private police personnel per 100,000 population of the EU, far less than the 375 public police personnel.³⁸ However, within the EU there was considerable variation, from Britain and Germany (with 275 and 217 private police per 100,000 population respectively), to Italy (76), Austria (75), Finland (69) ³⁹ and Greece (19). Similarly, while throughout the EU there were 43 private security personnel per 100 public police, this varied from 86 in Britain and 82 in Denmark to 21 in Austria and 5 in Greece. Nevertheless, despite the fact that private police were virtually unknown in Greece before the 1970s, Papanicolaou (2006) describes a dramatic increase since 2000, with 58 private security personnel per 100 public police by 2003! Although private security has become more significant in France (Moreau 1991; Ocqueteau 1998), according to de Waard (1999) in 1996 it fell well below the EU average, with 121 personnel in the private security industry per 100,000 inhabitants, and 31 for every 100 public police. More recently, though, Ocqueteau (2006) notes a 45% increase in the twenty years since 1982.

³⁸ This latter figure includes civilian staff.

³⁹ A rather more significant expansion in private policing in Norway is described by Thomassen and Bjørge (2006).

Elsewhere private security was particularly common in South Africa, the USA and Australia. Variations were stark within former Eastern Bloc countries, with private security appearing to have established a foothold in Russia and Bulgaria, but uncommon in Poland and the Czech Republic (de Waard 1999). However, these figures are problematic, and with regards to Poland, for example, a raft of internal and external commentators (Jasinski 1995; Los 2002; Los and Zybertowicz 2000; Siemaszko 2000) claim that by the end of the millennium private police outnumbered the public police by 2.5 to one.

In such countries, this growth is particularly problematic where private security is managed and staffed by former security personnel from the communist era, leading to allegations of corruption and manipulation, a case made for both Poland (Jasinski 1995; Los 2002; Los and Zybertowicz 2000; Siemaszko 2000) and Russia (Favarel-Garrigues and le Huerou 2004). In these circumstances, regulation and control of the industry is crucial, but de Waard (1999) noted considerable cross-national differences. At the time of his research, regulation was most advanced in Belgium and the Netherlands, but absent from the Irish Republic and most of the United Kingdom.⁴⁰ Restrictions, for example on powers of arrest and firearms, also varied. Since de Waard's paper, however, the situation has changed. In England and Wales, for example, national regulation and licensing was introduced through the 2001 Private Security Act and is regulated by the Security Industry Authority (SIA). Licensing does not, however, apply to in-house security, raising the possibility that some businesses may revert to this (Crawford et al 2005). Among former Soviet Bloc states, regulation appears to have been prioritised in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Muratbegovic 2004) and – to a lesser extent – Slovenia, although in this country a large number of firms appear to have avoided regulation (Zalar 1998).

The business sector is, not surprisingly, most likely to depend on private security services. However, there have, in recent years, been examples of residents of crime-ridden neighbourhoods commissioning private security, resurrecting the example of Societies for the Prosecution of Felons (Shubert 1981). Private security firms are now involved in patrolling residential neighbourhoods in a number of police force areas in Britain. Interestingly though, very little is known about the views of the public. What do people think about private security, and would they be prepared to invest in it? An early survey in Plymouth suggested that most people felt that where patrol levels required raising it was best to rely on the public police or Special Constables (Dale and Mawby 1994). In Slovenia, Mesko (2004) also found

⁴⁰ The exception being Northern Ireland.

lukewarm support among community leaders. However, research by Noakes (2000) in Wales offers a more positive assessment of private patrols. A remaining issue, though, concerns payment by local residents; what happens about those in the area who do not pay for the extra patrols?

A variant on private patrols is the expansion recently in gated communities (Low 2004). Although traditionally associated with the USA and South Africa, particularly in the context of holiday and age-segregated communities, they appear to have been increasing within the EU, especially in the expanding second home and retirement communities catering for the British in Europe and farther afield. There is, however, no research to support more impressionistic evidence.

Elsewhere, local communities still seem more likely to rely on self-help than turn to the private sector. This may take a number of forms. One, neighbourhood watch or similar block watch initiatives, is primarily police-led and is covered later. Two others are informal neighbour support and spontaneous vigilantism.

The International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) suggests that worldwide the most common form of crime prevention is asking neighbours to keep an eye on ones property (Zvekic 1998). While this was particularly common in the 'new world' and Asia, it was also mentioned by many householders in Western Europe. Neighbourhood watch has, for example, recently established a foothold in the Netherlands (van Steden and Huberts 2006). Zvekic (1998) also noted that while such examples of reciprocal informal support were less evident in Societies in Transition, marked variations were evident. Comparing burglary victims in cities in England, Poland and Hungary, Wojcik et al (1997) found that cooperative efforts aimed at protecting ones own and ones neighbours' property were most common in England and least so in Hungary, although neighbourhood watch was more common in Hungary than in Poland.

Alternatively, local communities may engage in vigilante action (Johnson 1996). Vigilantism comprises some degree of organised action by private citizens, using force or the threat of force to impose control and restore security. Although more a part of the US tradition, it is also evident in Europe. It is not necessarily undesirable: the Guardian Angels movement in the United States (Pennell, Curtis and Henderson 1986) is a case of benign vigilantism.⁴¹ On the other hand, examples of paramilitary punishment

⁴¹ Although one that has not gained unconditional police approval in the United States (Ostrow and DiBiase 1983). In England, similarly, the government was sufficiently concerned at the prospect of a chapter being established in London to instigate a new recruitment drive for the Special Constabulary.

beatings in Northern Ireland (McEvoy and Mika 2001; Mullin 1999), campaigns in England to expel child-sex offenders from local neighbourhoods, and ethnically and religion targeted actions throughout Europe, indicate the illegal and pathological extreme.

The state as commissioner of policing provided by the private sector, NGOs and the Public.

Introduction

While modern states have retained considerable responsibility for policing, they have increasingly drawn into the policing process 'outsiders': the public, voluntary bodies and the private sector. To a large extent, this reflects open acceptance of the fact that academics have been pronouncing for years (Mawby 1979) that the public police are dependent on citizens' cooperation. Most crime is reported to the police by the public and private sectors, and it is these people who, more often than not, produce the evidence that results in an arrest. Allied to this, an acceptance that social control is much broader and more pervasive than policing has encouraged partnership work involving other public sector agencies, businesses, NGOs and local communities. In England and Wales, for example, the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act led to the establishment of Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) comprising local authorities, the police, health authorities, probation, local business communities and voluntary agencies like Victim Support, that were required to work together to address crime and disorder problems in their area. In the Netherlands, similarly, the concept 'integral safety' acknowledged the need for partnerships between police, private sector and local communities in addressing community safety issues (van Steden and Huberts 2006).

In some cases, this has involved outside agencies in the policing process itself. A good example here from the United Kingdom is the input of state services like probation and NGOs within the drug field to the imposition of Drug Treatment and Testing Orders (DTTOs) (Turnbull 2000). Another is the involvement of the private sector in policing those subject to electronic monitoring (Mair and Nee 1990; Nellis 1991; Walter, Sugg and Moore 2001; Whitfield 1997).⁴² Security cameras, more common in the United Kingdom than elsewhere in Europe, also commonly involve private sector management (Gill and Spriggs 2005).

⁴² For a discussion of tagging elsewhere in Europe, see van der Laan (1999).

Additionally, both public police organisations and other public sector bodies have increasingly turned to the private sector to provide routine guarding and patrol duties. For example, many police headquarters in Britain are now guarded by security firms, while local government bodies have supplemented regular police patrols by commissioning private security patrols, especially in town/city centres. Kossowska (2000) reported similar developments in Poland. In France, Ocqueteau (2006) notes that in 2001 over 17% of the private sector was employed by central and local government, and in both France and Greece (Papanicolaou 2006) the capital's Metro system's policing is subcontracted to the private sector.

Perhaps the best example of state commissioned policing by non-state personnel, however, is the use of volunteers. In this respect, two examples will be considered: volunteer police officers, who are recruited, trained and deployed by the public police and operate on a part-time basis, and neighbourhood watch, that is local groups of private citizens acting as the 'eyes and ears' of the police, that are largely initiated and overseen by the police but maintain a degree of independence and autonomy.

Volunteer police officers

It is tempting to see volunteer police as a feature of decentralized, civilian forces, rather than the more centralized, militaristic police traditions of European countries such as France, Spain and Italy (Mawby 1990). The Honorary Police of the Channel Island of Jersey (Gill and Mawby 1990a; Rutherford 2002; States of Jersey 1996),⁴³ that have operated largely autonomously of the States Police, is a unique example. However, in England and Wales (and Scotland), police volunteers, known as Special Constables, were introduced prior to the establishment of a public police, as a civilian alternative to the military. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the Special Constabulary was used as a back-up to the military in periods of labour unrest (Leon 1987; Mather 1959; Seth 1961). As such it was predominantly manned by politically safe, upper and middle class men. It continued after the establishment of the regular police, as a reserve deployed in times of public disorder: in the early twentieth century these included the police strikes of 1919 and the General Strike of 1926. Similar arrangements were also established in parts of the British Empire, including Hong Kong and Ireland (Gill and Mawby 1990a). It is thus arguable that the introduction of the Special Constabulary minimized the need for a specialist riot police, just as the lack of a state police alternative led to the introduction of the Special

⁴³ An identical summary of the structure of the Honorary Police is available on individual parish websites. See for example www.parish.gov.je/st_lawrence

Constabulary in the first place. In countries like France, in contrast, public protest was seen as more appropriately dealt with by specialist militarized police units in the gendarmerie mobile and latterly CRS (Stead 1983).

In the immediate post-war period, the mandate of the Special Constabulary in England and Wales and Scotland was radically altered: women were recruited for the first time and the Special Constabulary came to be seen – and used – as a form of community policing, a bridge between the regular police and public. Today it is part of the public police comprised of trained volunteers who commit at least four hours each week to police duties.

However, while the post-war target was to recruit at least one special for every two regular officers, the special/regular ratio never reached this and numbers declined steadily. Despite initiatives aimed at boosting recruitment (Gill and Mawby 1990a; Mirrlees-Black and Byron 1994), this downward spiral has continued. Although there was an 8% increase in 2005 (the first since 1992), there is currently only one special for every 10.7 regular officers (Clegg and Kirwan 2006).

Elsewhere in Europe perhaps the most notable involvement of the ‘public’ as police volunteers was in the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries, including Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, where loyal party members were encouraged to join the *druzhiny* (Favarel-Garrigues and le Huerou 2004; Fogel 1994; Mawby 1990; Shelley 1997). Poland, for example, had a National Police Reserve, comprising uniformed but unarmed party activists. However, despite attempts to reconstitute such forms in the 1990s, success has been limited, not least because of their close association with the party and former ‘repressive police’. Elsewhere, as in Norway, Police Reserves may comprise those opting for police work as an alternative to national service (Thomassen and Bjørge 2006).

Neighbourhood watch

Neighbourhood watch schemes were imported to the United Kingdom from the United States in the 1980s. Supported by the police, with area coordinators often paid and based in police stations, individual schemes are coordinated by members of the public in a voluntary capacity. However, unlike in the United States, where block watch and similar initiatives often operate proactively, for example, by patrolling residential neighbourhoods, in Britain schemes have resisted government attempts to involve them in patrols, and limit themselves to providing crime prevention advice and acting as alert citizens, reporting suspicious incidents to the police:

'Neighbourhood Watch works by developing close liaison between households in a neighbourhood and the local police. It aims to help people protect themselves and their properties and to reduce the fear of crime by means of improved home security, greater vigilance, accurate reporting of suspicious incidents to the police and by fostering a community spirit.'⁴⁴

Despite limited evidence that they have any impact on crime rates (Bennett 1990; Laycock and Tilley 1995) or fear of crime (Sims 2001),⁴⁵ neighbourhood watch is enthusiastically endorsed by the public. By 2000, 27% of households in England and Wales described themselves as members of schemes and there were an estimated 155,000 schemes (Sims 2001).

Nevertheless, from the start neighbourhood watch in the United Kingdom has suffered from two additional problems. First, it has developed more readily in middle class, low crime rate, more affluent areas; conversely, inner city areas, public housing estates and high rise developments – areas where crime and anti-social behaviour are most common and need consequently greatest – have found it most difficult to start and sustain neighbourhood watch initiatives (Laycock and Tilley 1995; Sims 2001; Wojcik et al 1997). Correspondingly, participants (Sims 2001) tend to be atypical of the general population. Secondly, the implementation of neighbourhood watch is patchy. This means that what precisely is entailed varies from one scheme to another, confounding evaluation studies, and that schemes may differ from one year to the next, for example by wilting as the initial enthusiasm dies away. Sustaining the momentum is thus difficult, both in low crime areas where schemes see little action and in high rate areas where intra-area conflicts may pressurise members to opt out.

Neighbourhood watch is a feature of British society that has not translated particularly well to continental Europe, although there are indications of similar developments in some former Eastern Bloc societies (Povolitskiy 2002; Wojcik et al 1997; Zvekic 1998). For example, Kossowska (2000) noted a gradual growth in the late 1990s in Poland. However, Mesko (2004) found that police and community leaders ranked citizen patrols as the least likely of 27 crime reduction initiatives proposed in Slovenia, and suggested that there was little recognition that the public had a responsibility for crime prevention. Interestingly, it appears to have expanded rapidly in Spain in recent years, influenced by British second home owners and retirees. Rather differently, in the Netherlands, neighbourhood watch appears to have become established within the Moroccan community (van Steden and Huberts 2006). Another

⁴⁴ See the neighbourhood watch official website at www.crimereduction.gov.uk/neighbourhoodwatch/nwatch09.htm

⁴⁵ In the United States, evaluation is scarcely more optimistic (Rosenbaum 1988).

distinctive example can be found in some Scandinavian countries, where organised groups of volunteers, known as Night Ravens, patrol the streets after dark at weekends to help prevent crime, violence, and alcohol/substance abuse among youths (Thomassen and Bjørgo 2006).

The state as commissioner and provider of policing

Introduction

Although most policing services commissioned by government bodies are provided by the public sector, many are no longer provided by conventional police officers in the sense that the term is commonly understood by the public.

Despite the fact that the police systems of some Continental European countries are highly centralised, few countries have only one national police force. In countries such as Spain and France, local municipal police exist alongside national, more professional and more prestigious forces. This tendency towards local police to supplement and complement the national police was, for example, a feature of the Mitterrand presidency in France, when ideological concerns to decentralize found compatibility with local government willingness to commit local taxes to combat a perceived rise in crime (Journes 1993; Kania 1989).

A rather different development that has become increasingly common in a number of countries, including, within Europe, the Irish Republic, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Slovenia (Stockdale 2002), involves wardens employed by non-police state agencies to provide a policing function. Perhaps most notably, the concept of paid specialist non-police patrols on public transport and in commercial areas was established in the Netherlands in the 1980s (Hauber et al 1996; van Steden and Huberts 2006). In each case, staff were uniformed, came under the control of the police, and had limited powers of arrest. Both initiatives were government-funded, with the expectation that unemployed people would use the training and job experience as a step towards employment in the private security industry. These transport police and city guards deal with minor crimes, such as fare dodging, vandalism and other examples of anti-social behaviour.

Two recent developments in the United Kingdom that parallel these initiatives are Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) and Neighbourhood Wardens. In the former case, these are employees of police authorities. In the latter, they tend to be employed by other government

agencies, initially through central government grants, with the expectation that more permanent funding will come from other local government departments or partnerships. In each case, though, they are predicated on a concern to cut expenditure by deploying less well trained and lower paid staff to carry out less skilled tasks that in the past were the responsibility of police officers.

Police Community Support Officers

In England and Wales, a Home Office (1995) and parallel independent inquiry (Cassels 1994) considered the feasibility of franchising out various non-core police tasks to other agencies (Mawby 2000). While in the short term, this led to greater involvement of the private sector in policing and an enhanced opportunity for the police to charge the private sector, the more radical proposal of Cassels (1994) for a move to two-tier public police bore fruit in the introduction of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) following the Police Reform Act 2002.

PCSOs are uniformed civilians employed by police authorities to deal with lower level crime and anti-social behaviour, engaging with local communities, and offering effective crime prevention advice. They spend a considerably greater proportion of their time on patrol than do regular officers (Cooper et al 2006; Crawford et al 2005). They do not have the power of arrest, but in some police authorities may be designated with the power to detain suspects until a regular officer arrives (Singer 2004). In 2006 there were 6,660 PCSOs in England and Wales, or one per 21.1 police officers, set to rise to 24,000 by 2008 (Clegg and Kirwan 2006). However, this aggregate figure hides considerable variation between areas. Over a third were employed by the London Metropolitan Police, amounting to 15.8 per 100 police officers. PCSOs also tend to be more representative of the public than are conventional police, including more women and members of ethnic minorities (Bibi, Clegg and Pinto 2005; Clegg and Kirwan 2006; Cooper et al 2006).

Neighbourhood Wardens

An alternative development has been the introduction of 'wardens' employed within the public sector but outside the police authority structure (Jacobson and Saville 1999; National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal 2000). These include neighbourhood wardens, street wardens, and street crime wardens. While the emphasis of each group varies slightly, they all provide a uniformed, semi-official presence and aim to improve the quality of life in depressed neighbourhoods. This involves dealing with crime and anti-social behaviour, although wardens have no special powers of arrest. Rather they

provide a local and accessible presence, a focal point for the gathering of information about local concerns, to which they may respond directly or by referring matters on to other agencies, including the police.

The expansion of warden schemes owed much to the Social Exclusion Unit within the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. Schemes were initially funded through the Unit, but most have subsequently achieved sustainable funding, for example from local government (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2004).

Most commonly, schemes embraced both crime prevention and environmental improvement (National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal 2000). Recent evaluations suggest that wardens are effective, particularly in areas where the crime rate is high, anti-social behaviour is rife, and there are poor relationships between local people and the conventional police (Crawford et al 2005). They impact upon fear of crime, crime and anti-social behaviour, quality of life, and the broader quality of local environments (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2004) though building social capital (Crawford et al 2005).

Discussion

In assessing trends in the 'multilateralization' of policing in Europe, a number of questions arise. Some of these apply to process: for example, how do we explain the changing mix in this mixed economy of policing? Others apply to outcomes: for example, is increased 'multilateralization' beneficial, and if so are there examples of good practice that can be drawn from particular countries and applied elsewhere?

In addressing explanations for this restructuring of policing, Bayley and Shearing (1996) suggested six factors: shortcomings of the public police; increases in crime; the nature of economic systems; the character of government; and changes in social structure, ideas and culture. Building on these, five issues appear to be of particular relevance.

First, is public concern that crime and disorder are increasing and that governments have failed in their responsibilities. Here, decline in public confidence in the police, alongside other aspects of the criminal justice system, may lead to a search for alternatives. This is clearly pertinent to the rise of vigilantism in specific cases, and a move towards private security in former Eastern Bloc countries (Los 2002; Mawby 1999). It also lies behind private sector decisions to commission private security providers, where businesses have tended to feel that they receive a poorer service from the police than do

the general public (Redshaw and Mawby 1996). However, while some residential communities may be willing to hire outside security, it is unlikely to have a major impact here, especially where the public remain sceptical of the private sector (Dale and Mawby 1994). On the other hand, initiatives that meet public demands for a greater policing presence on the streets, such as PCSOs and neighbourhood wardens in Britain, clearly address public concerns.

Second, lack of confidence in the public police is magnified by government attempts to curtail public expenditure. Expenditure on the public police is considerable, and although the balance varies between countries it generally accounts for more than half of all expenditure on the criminal justice system in Europe (Witte and Witt 2001). Therefore cutting spending on the police by civilianisation, employment of lower paid support staff, use of volunteers and franchising out services to the (cheaper) private sector, is viewed as an attractive option.

Attempts to commodify policing are not, however, determined solely on economic grounds. They also have a political base. Thatcherite ideology, with its emphasis on downscaling public services and opening up the public sector to private competition, had a significant impact in the United Kingdom, the United States and much (but not all) of Europe. Thus a greater role for the private sector in health, education and housing predated changes in the criminal justice system, where moves to enhance the private sector in policing stand alongside similar initiatives in prison privatisation (Matthews 1989). Allied to this, the Thatcher government's concern to shift the balance from rights to obligations/duty, led to an emphasis upon active citizenship that underpinned a new commitment to voluntarism that was reflected in both welfare and criminal justice, including in the latter case the Special Constabulary and neighbourhood watch but also, most famously, Victim Support (Mawby and Walklate 1994). However, there are considerable variations within Europe in the extent to which governments have espoused the commodification of security: France and Greece, for example, evidence significant resistance to the replacement of public police by private security (Ocqueteau 2006; Papanicolaou 2006).

Another consequence of financial constraints is a diminution of functionaries described by Jones and Newburn (2002) as engaging in secondary social control: park-keeper, bus conductors, caretakers, railway guards etc. Their presence provided a very real deterrence and they offered an often implicit policing function (Mayhew et al 1979). To a certain extent, then, many of the routine forms of new plural policing might represent not an extension of policing but the replacement of one form of policing with another. Certainly,

the introduction of patrols on public transport in the Netherlands reflected a need to replace the policing role once provided by conductors.

Finally, the expansion of mass private property is seen as a crucial determinant of a growth in private policing (Shearing and Stenning 1981). Private landholdings that are accessible to the public are a key feature of modern life. Shopping centres and malls within and out of city centres, out of town industrial and trading parks, and leisure parks catering for mass tourism are key examples of private space that requires policing within, rather than merely perimeter policing:

‘When private entrepreneurs expand facilities to which the public has access...the responsibility of owners to provide security grows, especially in an area of legal liability (Bayley and Shearing 2001, 23).

If this analysis is correct, we may look to different explanations for different shifts in the plural policing mix, and for variations within Europe. Moreover, the fact that one set of players may attempt to influence the mix for particular reasons is no guarantee that others will concur or that change will be effected. The case of the Special Constabulary in Britain (and possibly neighbourhood watch throughout Europe) illustrates this. Thus, it might be argued, in the former case, that the British government has attempted to address increased fear of crime and public concern over a reduced police presence on the streets, without excessively increasing public expenditure, by attempting to recruit more citizen volunteers. However, this has patently not been successful, despite public approval for the voluntary principle, because British citizens show no willingness to become more involved in voluntary policing. A similar impasse can be found elsewhere in Europe.

Given the apparent proliferation of plural policing, it is pertinent to consider why this decline in numbers in the Special Constabulary in Britain has occurred. At least four explanations can be put forward. First, it is generally accepted that the changing nature of the Special Constabulary has less appeal to potential recruits: greater expectations placed on volunteers to carry out regular duties means that many who were registered but inactive specials have been ‘retired’ and others who might have volunteered have been deterred; at the same time, an emphasis upon ‘community policing’ roles has less appeal to those who were attracted by the possibility of action and excitement (Gill and Mawby 1990a). Second, as successive governments have promoted ‘active citizenship’ new opportunities for volunteering in the United Kingdom (both within and outside the criminal justice system) have competed with the Special Constabulary: in the former case, these include probation, victim assistance and court victim/witness programmes,

neighbourhood watch, drug programmes and mediation schemes. While many may be drawn towards a specific organisation (Gill and Mawby 1990b) other potential volunteers may consequently opt for alternative forms of voluntary work. Third, and similarly, the very expansion of plural policing may lead some who might have become police volunteers to become paid ancillaries, such as PCSOs, or neighbourhood wardens. This is particularly likely where, as Gill and Mawby (1990a) found, a significant number of Specials volunteered having failed to be accepted as regular officers. Finally, the disparaging way in which volunteers are treated by regular officers (Gill and Mawby 1990a; Mirrlees-Black and Byron 1994) may discourage some potential recruits and cause others to leave.

These explanations for changes to the policing mix are, however, hypotheses that a policing science addressing comparative issues in a European context might test further. For example:

Given variations in the expansion of mass private property in different countries, how is this related to variations in levels of private policing? How far are differences in the emergence of the private sector as commissioners and/or providers of policing paralleled by differences in the welfare sector? And are these equally reflected in government ideology? Similarly, do variations in voluntarism within policing parallel those in welfare systems and reflect governmental priorities?

An additional dimension for policing science is one based on policy rather than theory. That is, we might look at the policing mix in different European countries and consider how far developments in one country have been more successful than in others. One aspect of this is an evaluation of effectiveness. For example, it seems that neighbourhood wardens have been effective in England and Wales in reducing crime and anti-social behaviour and in improving perceptions of quality of life. Are these findings replicated elsewhere, and if not, why not? In contrast, neighbourhood watch has had minimal effect in Britain – is this 'also the case in other European countries? If so, why, and why does it appear less effective than its NW (neighbourhood wardens) alter ego?

However, policy issues are much broader than merely an evaluation of the extent to which plural policing addresses the crime problem. Fundamental to any analysis of plural policing is the question of whether or not changes to the policing mix are desirable. Thus, while Bayley and Shearing (2001) express little concern – an approach echoed more recently by Crawford et al (2005) – others have been more critical (see for example J.W.Williams 2005). This is not merely concern about variations in the regulation of the private security

sector. It relates to questions at the macro-level about the varying interests of policing commissioners, and at the micro-level about the impact of changes in the mix on the actions and perceptions of key players. In the former case, for example, one might ask how far the priorities of private sector commissioners are compatible with those of the state and the communities it represents, and what might be done to ensure that justice and equity become part of the equation. In the latter case, one might ask how the different commissioners and providers of policing in Europe perceive a shift in the policing mix. Does an expansion in the private sector, for example, affect the performance of the public police? If so, does this vary between nations?

Summary

Although policing is still commonly commissioned by the state, the traditional public police are now responsible for only a minority of policing services in many countries. Much of the remainder is provided by the private sector, other public sector agencies, and other cheaper options within the public police. This has been termed the 'multilateralization' of policing. This chapter distinguishes between those who commission and those who provide policing, and focuses upon a number of common options within the policing mix. It then considers different reasons why the mix has changed. Finally, the policy implications are considered.

In setting the agenda for further analysis of theoretical and policy issues, the importance of comparative analysis within the EU is stressed. Although this chapter has attempted to establish the foundations for such comparisons, it focuses on a limited number of countries and uses largely secondary analysis. The next stage is clearly to extend the discussion by drawing upon further European examples of 'multilateralization', before moving on to address these theoretical and policy concerns with more focused research.

CHAPTER 5

Police Science, Police Education and Police Training

In this chapter, we will describe:

1. The difference between education and training.
2. European systems of police education and training.
3. The contribution of Police Science to police education.
4. The contribution of Police Science to police training.
5. Researching the police education and training as a part of Police Science.

In this context, it is important to understand that Police Science is neither a “property” of the police nor a police monopoly. There are many potential stakeholders in Police Science and, consequently, in police education and training. This is especially true, if we understand police education and training not just as pertaining to the public police, but to a broader definition of *policing*, adopted in this volume.

Therefore, in our efforts to understand the scope and importance of police education/training and the relevant role of Police Science, we must consider various stakeholders or, speaking broadly, various interest groups, such as:

- Police management on different levels of police organisation.
- Management in other public or private organisations, involved in policing.
- Employees of the police and other policing-related organisations.
- People who are affected by the process of policing and can influence it but who are not directly involved with doing the work.
- People who are (or might be) affected by achievement of policing-related objectives.
- Any organisation, governmental entity, or individual that has a stake in or may be impacted by a given approach to policing.
- Local stakeholders, representing a particular segment of society, etc.

All these stakeholders have a direct or indirect interest in the current state of Police Science, as well as in police education and training, as these impact not only how policing is done in a particular society, but also how it is understood, scrutinised, respected, remunerated and supported. For example, it is through police education that the public can indirectly control the way

the police and other policing-related organisations perform their sensitive tasks that impact so many individuals and society as a whole.

The first cornerstone of our approach to delineating the role of Police Science in police education and training is to draw a clear distinction between training and education in general. However, there are highly different normative views within our group on whether training and education should be separated and offered to different target groups at different institutions, or whether it is better that training of policing skills and academic knowledge is integrated within one “package” of police education. These diverging opinions reflect different pedagogical ideologies as well as different traditions of policing and police education/training in different European countries. It should be kept in mind that in some countries, basic police training takes three to six months at a vocational level, whereas in some other countries the basic police education is two to three years at a college level. Some national police forces maintain rather strict distinctions between police constables and higher police officers/leaders, whereas in other countries these “class distinctions” are less marked. Some national police forces are, to a great extent, command-based organisations whereas other police forces are based on the notion of competent police officers making relatively independent decisions based on their knowledge and judgment of the situation. Thus, the discussion below on making distinctions between police training and education may look very different from these diverse perspectives.

The difference between education and training

CEPOL Glossary (2005) defines *Education* as “a process and a series of activities which aim at enabling an individual to assimilate and develop knowledge, skills, values and understanding that are not simply related to a narrow field of activities but allow a broad range of problems to be defined, analysed and solved. Education usually provides more theoretical and conceptual frameworks designed to stimulate analytical and critical abilities.”

Training is defined as “a process of gaining knowledge, skills and attitudes, which are needed to perform specific tasks. Training is a planned and systematic effort to modify or develop knowledge/skill/attitude through learning experience, to achieve effective performance in an activity or range of activities. Its purpose in the work situation is to enable an individual to acquire abilities in order that he or she can perform a given task or job” (*ibid.*).

The case for separating training and education

One pedagogical direction stresses the differences and potential incompatibilities of the processes of training and education.

Kline (1985) describes the experience of the US Air Force which for many years drew a clear distinction between education and training. According to the author, education was organised under Air University; training, under Air Training Command. Then, in 1978, the Air Force consolidated education and training under the same major air command structure. In 1983, USAF leaders decided again to draw a clear distinction between education and training, reintroducing a major air command structure to administer each. In the author's opinion, the decision was a good one, for although there are similarities between education and training, there are some basic differences – differences which should be kept in mind. Here is how the author supports his view:

“Criterion objectives are most appropriate for training. That is, under a given set of conditions, a student will exhibit a specific behaviour to a certain predetermined level or standard. Cognitive objectives written at the appropriate level of learning (knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, or evaluation) are more useful for education. When behavioural or criterion objectives are used in education, they are generally broader than when used in training and relate to the learners' ability to generalise, see relationships, and function effectively in new situations – situations which cannot be completely visualised or defined.

Training is essentially a closed system. The trained individual is easily recognised as knowing the “right answers,” doing things the “approved way,” or arriving at the “school solution.” Under these conditions, the products of each trainee in every situation can be expected to look the same. Education, in contrast, is an open system. Learning is continuous with no cap or ceiling on how well the graduate may be prepared to handle new responsibilities. Right answers and ways of doing things often do not exist in education – only better or worse ones.

Objectives, job requirements, and skill levels are constraints with training... [they] are not constraints with education, since persons are encouraged to develop to their potential.

With training, a task analysis can be done so that the curriculum will include a complete listing of skills and knowledge required for the graduate to demonstrate competence. With education, curriculum planners and instructors must select a sample to teach from a universe of ideas. Furthermore, they must often rely on opinion from acknowledged, credible experts to determine what needs to be taught. Creative, visionary

experts are needed to predict future needs rather than merely reflect current ones. This absence of exactness often results in a lack of consensus on what should be taught. Analyse courses taken by majors in a given field or discipline at different universities, and you will find differences... Differences in curricula and emphasis on individual study are good in education but usually not in training.

These differences between education and training do not suggest that one facet of learning is more important than the other, only that they are different. Obviously, genuine accomplishment (competence, proficiency, good judgment, effectiveness) incorporates both. A person cannot, for example, effectively give a speech, fly an airplane, edit a scholarly journal, or command an Air Force organisation without a wide range of knowledge and skills. Still, these differences have strong implications for those who provide education or training. Failure to acknowledge them will hinder learning and, ultimately, performance. Recognising their relevance in curriculum planning and teaching will improve both education and training in the United States Air Force" (ibid.).

What can be concluded from the above argument is that different modes of thinking and different objectives apply to education and to training. According to this view, a question appears, as we will elaborate later, whether education and training could be provided simultaneously, within a single process, or should they be ordered sequentially.

The above issues are also discussed by Carney (2003). In his view, training differs from education in that it seeks to impart a set of established facts and skills and to obtain a uniform predictable behaviour from the trainees without the necessity of their understanding why they should act in the prescribed manner. To a great extent, such learning is primarily passive and incorporates conditioned reflex action within a time constraint. Education, on the other hand, seeks to have the student learn skills and to understand why actions are taken or not. That means the student must learn to observe, analyse and question, to formulate hypotheses and make conclusions and then to act, live and modify their actions according to these conclusions. Such learning is an active process. The author states that training is built around rote memory, repetition and conditioning reflexes, while education is built on the organisation of knowledge, mastery of the detail and active analysis.

Geller (2000) also dissects the difference between education and training. He believes that we already know the distinction, which he proves by asking: "Do you want your teenager to receive sex education or sex training? Are you satisfied if your teenager receives only "driver education", or do you prefer some "training" with that education?" The author claims that education targets thought processes

directly, and might indirectly influence what people do, while training targets behaviour directly, and might indirectly influence thought processes. As a consequence, education and training call for different teaching styles. In education, we might say something extreme to get a contrary reaction, or ask pointed questions and solicit answers from the audience. We are trying to influence participants' cognitive or thinking processes. In training, we might start by specifying steps needed to accomplish a particular task, but more than this is needed to assure that certain skills or procedures are learned. Participants in a training course should practice the desired behaviour and receive pertinent feedback to support what's right and correct what's wrong. If feedback is given genuinely in a trusting and caring atmosphere, behaviour might not only be directly improved, but one's thinking or attitude associated with the behaviour might be positive.

Welsman (n.d.) takes these issues further by discussing the educational impact of the increasing overlap between education and training. In her view, education focuses on critical thinking, whereas training is concerned with acquiring or enhancing the capacity to do a particular thing. The author believes that the distinction between the two has always been a little blurred. Basic skills such as reading, writing or arithmetic have to be acquired, and indeed the perceived failure of the school system to give students the necessary skills has been a topic of public debate within countries such as Australia. Again, universities have long played a major role in particular types of vocational education. But today, or so many people would argue, the overlap has become so great that education's traditional role in teaching critical thinking is in danger of being lost.

Those who adhere to this view will argue that this last point is especially important in police education. As police education and training often overlap (i.e. they are carried out within a single process), the danger of losing the "critical edge" in police education seems very real, they will argue, at least unless the institution that provides both education and training is aware of this danger and adheres to high academic and intellectual standards in the area of education.

Mullan (2004) also believes that *schooling* is more than *skilling*. According to the author, education and training represent heterogeneous processes. "Education" covers a broad range of learning and levels of knowledge, from basic literacy and numeracy to the highest levels of abstract thought as promoted in some university humanities departments. The term "skills" also covers a multitude of abilities, some specific and technical, others general and generic. But the author believes that it is the differences between education and training that are even more important. Education is about opening

people's minds, and developing thought processes. Training, on the other hand, is about giving people general or specific abilities that are most usefully developed and consolidated through working experience. So, according to the author, whatever the productivity benefits of training and skills, they should not be confused with schools and education. Education does impart what are now called "core skills" – communication, problem solving, making use of information technology, etc. – but it should do this through the teaching of science, math, English and other subjects. That is, through the development of students' minds, rather than as an isolated technical task. The author cautions that treating the educational system as training for work degrades the intellectual content of education.

To summarise, the position presented by various proponents above argues that education and training are indeed different processes, the former aimed more at cognitive objectives (understanding and hypotheses testing) and the latter more at behavioural objectives (uniform predictable behaviours). Furthermore, they are also characterised by different modes of thinking, with training emphasising "the right answer" approach and with education emphasising critical thinking approach. According to this position, overlapping these two processes leads to two potential problems: first, that education's traditional role in teaching critical thinking is in danger of being lost, and second, that this might degrade the intellectual content of education.

The case for integrating training and education

Whereas the position above considers it as a problem to integrate the training of policing skills with academic education and critical thinking, the alternative position considers this integration as a positive and necessary goal of high-quality police education in modern democratic society. From this position, it is argued that modern policing is a knowledge-intensive and thoughtful activity rather than "conditioned reflex action" (cf. Carney 2003, discussed above). The police officers of tomorrow can no longer manage their jobs by only being trained in the skills of how to carry out a series of operations and activities according to a "how-to-do" manual. They need to be able to address a wide range of new and unexpected situations through independent and creative thinking without having to wait for orders from above. They need communicative skills and understanding of social relations and conflicts. They need to cooperate with and command respect from a number of other well-educated professionals. They need to understand social, political and cultural complexities. They need analytical skills in order to make use of modern policing methods. And they need to be reflective and self-critical about their own behaviour, attitudes, methods and approaches in

order to evaluate, improve and gain credibility and trust from citizens and political authorities.

This means that modern police officers need more than a vocational training of skills but rather a college-level education which integrates academic knowledge with training in more technical skills such as arresting techniques, shooting, car-driving and the use of computer systems. Preferably, this level of police education should be a minimal requirement of all police officers and not only for higher-level police leaders. A number of European countries are moving their police education in this direction or have already done so.

For example, the fact that the police is given the monopoly of the legitimate use of force in democratic society means that police officers do not only need to learn the techniques of making arrests or making use of batons, pepper spray and guns. They also need to learn the political, sociological, criminological, psychological, legal and ethical aspects of the use of force in democratic society. Although these academic topics will be covered in other classes than the more technical training lessons on the actual use of force, there are very strong reasons for integrating these educational and technical aspects as closely as possible. Patrolling police officers need to understand the social, political, psychological, communicative, legal and ethical consequences of using force when they consider what to do in a particular situation. This reflective knowledge needs to be well integrated with the skills needed in order to make quick, decisive and considerate decisions in heated situations when there is no time for consulting (academically educated) police leaders.

This integration between theory and practice is in line with how most other professional educations have been developing for a long time, e.g. when it comes to education systems for nurses, medical doctors, social workers, journalists, etc. In these educations, it is an important element that the students work with patients, clients or practical problems at relatively early stages in their studies, and preferably switch between theory and practice.

European systems of police education and training

Let us briefly examine the situation regarding the police education and training in Europe and then apply the above issues to the specificities of police education and training.

Pagon, Virjent-Novak, Djuric, and Lobnikar (1996) conducted a survey of the European systems of police education and training. The survey included seventeen countries. The results indicated that European countries have very different systems of police education and training. In ten countries it was

possible to obtain a high-school level police education (duration of schooling between one and four years). Five countries also had police education leading to an associate degree (two years in duration). In twelve countries it was possible to obtain a three-year higher professional education degree within the system of police education. Bachelor's degree could be obtained in eight out of seventeen surveyed countries, master's degree in five, and doctoral degree in four countries. Basic training for police officers in the surveyed countries took between four months and four years, followed by years various forms of specialised training and management training.

Without going into too many details of the above study, we can conclude that while there are noticeable differences in police education and training among European countries, the dominant characteristic of these systems is the existence of educational institutions within the Police or within the particular Ministries. This system is in a sharp contrast with the American model, where there are no educational institutions as a part of the police organisation.

These findings about a broad variety in police training and educational systems in Europe were largely replicated by Hanak and Hofinger (2005). They surveyed twenty six European countries and found that "some police academies have university status: Czech Republic, Lithuania, Greece, Slovakia and Norway. In these countries the degrees awarded by the academy are fully recognised as academic and accepted by universities. In Finland, Ireland and Latvia students at the police college get academic degrees at the police college as well, while in France and in the United Kingdom academic graduation is only possible through academic partners. Germany and Hungary are planning to change their status. Ten countries (many of them rather small, e.g. Denmark, Estonia, Luxembourg, Malta, Slovenia do not offer academic diplomas or degrees on completion of higher police training. In Italy, Spain and Portugal the different police forces are trained at different colleges and police schools with various regulations concerning academic degrees and acceptance by the academic world" (pp. 23-24). All these academies are also training institutions.

In the light of the previously discussed differences and issues in education and training, those adhering to the position that police training and education should be kept separate see several potential problems with the European model. They do not claim that the problems discussed next actually exist in each European country. What they argue is that the Police and other relevant government bodies need to be aware of these problems and address them appropriately. The following discussion, however, mainly does not apply to police training. It is only normal that police training is conducted primarily within the police organisation, as it provides job-specific knowledge, skills

and abilities, in order to solicit behaviours, considered appropriate by the organisation.

The first question that needs to be addressed within this context is whether it is still appropriate to place policing-related educational institutions under the auspices of the police or other government-regulated bodies and keep the in-service students of policing separated from the non-police students in similar fields of study. This definitely made a lot of sense while the police were perceived exclusively as an instrument of the State, which – in some environments – were even used against the people. Today, in the age of democracy, we consider the police more as a service to the community. Even in those instances where the police still have to act as a coercive instrument of the State, there should be a lot of transparency, responsibility, and accountability involved. So, the arguments for a secluded education for the police are growing thin, some would argue. This discussion does not imply that solutions in those countries where police educational institutions are part of the police are necessarily inappropriate, as long as rationale could be provided for such an arrangement, be it cultural, historical, or economical.

Furthermore, as police education is (or, at least, should be) intricately intertwined with police-related research, one starts to wonder what is the role of the universities in this process. Why is it that the universities study and research all other fields of human endeavours (from prostitution to elections to agriculture practices to communication etc.) but at the same time some people expect the police to study and research themselves? The very reason that the universities came into existence in human history was a desired independency and autonomy from political powers in teaching and research. Without this independency and autonomy, there would be far less critical thinking, less pressure for change, less innovation, and less progress. Therefore, how much independent, critical research and critical thinking in studying the police and policing can one expect from educational institutions which themselves are a part of police organisations? Again, we are not prejudicing the answer, we are just pointing out a potential problem.

Hanak and Hofinger (*op. cit.*) found out that European police academies could be placed in four categories:

1. Academies that value science and research tasks highly, regularly conduct research activities, and are engaged in the dissemination of scientific results and knowledge in many ways. Typically, the Police Academy is one of the main players in the national field of police research, or even holds a monopoly in countries where no other research institutions or units are regularly and systematically engaged

in police-related research. However, a strong emphasis on science and research functions in the Police Academy frequently coincides with the existence of some other relevant research institution(s) in the field of criminology, police science, legal policy research, security research etc.

2. Academies that mainly import the available scientific knowledge on police-related subjects from research institutions and other sources outside the academy, but are not engaged in doing research themselves, since others provide the relevant knowledge that is required to perform police training, advanced training etc.
3. Academies with a formal university status or otherwise integrated in the national system of higher education, and designed to offer training and instruction for a specific profession on an “academic level”, but with rather little or definitely no emphasis on conducting research and on teaching the basics of research methodology. Obviously the students are not expected to do research themselves but to develop skills and competencies required in their future jobs.
4. Academies that mainly or exclusively function as training institutions, with their immediate tasks defined rather narrowly, and with little opportunity (ambition? motivation?) to promote a more scientific and demanding understanding of police training. Skills of policing are understood to require little academic knowledge and training (pp. 24-25).

Next, in some countries, the differences between police education and police training are blurred, as these systems overlap substantially, and are sometimes even carried out by the same institution and/or the same personnel. Those in favour of a separation between police training and education, ask whether we expect too much from the students as they have to constantly switch between different mental orientations of education and training? Don't we expect too much from the instructors as they have to constantly switch between different modes of content delivery, so different in education and in training? Could the training mentality degrade the intellectual content of education? Those in favour of the integration position do not see this as a problem at all, but consider the constant switch between the training of “how” and the education of “why” as a positive goal for a modern police education. Within the pedagogical strategy of “problem-based learning” (PBL), increasingly used within education of such diverse professions as medicine, engineering, journalism and social work, such integration is a central aspect of the learning process. There is no reason why this mode of learning should not also fit police education. After all, solving problems in a wide sense is what policing is all about.

In any case, these are the challenges that individual countries have to address and answer appropriately, as it is necessary for police officers to receive both the education and training, without education losing its critical edge and without training getting too theoretical. A challenge, therefore, is a creative integration of both systems.

We would not, of course, go so far as to dictate to the individual countries what kind of system of police education and training they should adopt nor would we take the right to judge the appropriateness of a particular country's system. What we would like, however, is to point out the need for each country to assure:

- that police educational institutions are as closely connected to universities and other higher-educational institutions and systems as possible, adopting their educational and research standards, as well as standards for hiring and promoting educational personnel (regardless of whether they become a part of the universities, remain within the Police, or belong to both as when police academies become accredited academic colleges within the Bologna system of higher education), enabling them to retain (or achieve) the intellectual content of their education;
- that police educational and research institutions, regardless of their institutional affiliation, enjoy the same level of independence and autonomy in their teaching and research as any other educational/research institution in other domains of education and research, enabling them to retain (or develop) the “critical edge” both in their teaching and research;
- that police educational institutions open themselves to the influence of the various stakeholders, discussed in the beginning of this chapter, allowing them to indirectly impact the way the police perform their tasks.

These guidelines are especially important in the light of the Bologna process, which is changing the European Higher Educational Area. By 2010, according to the Bologna declaration, higher education systems in European countries should be organised in such a way that:

- it is easy to move from one country to the other (within the European Higher Education Area) – for the purpose of further study or employment;
- the attractiveness of European higher education is increased so many people from non-European countries also come to study and/or work in Europe;

- the European Higher Education Area provides Europe with a broad, high quality and advanced knowledge base, and ensures the further development of Europe as a stable, peaceful and tolerant community.

This obviously emphasises the need for harmonisation of the European education systems for the police. Such harmonisation is expected, in turn, to influence the European police training systems as well, as education and training should be somehow integrated. One consequence can already be seen: in an increasing number of European countries, police academies are moving in the direction of becoming accredited academic institutions within the Bologna system of bachelor, master and (possibly somewhere over the horizon) doctoral degrees. In some countries (e.g. Norway), all new police officers will get a bachelor degree at the end of their basic police education whereas in other countries, police students can use their police education as part of a bachelor degree.

The discussion in this part has so far focused exclusively on the public police. If we, however, understand police education and training not just as pertaining to the public police, but to a broader definition of *policing*, adopted in this volume, the issues get even broader.

While the police might adopt a view that education and training of other policing-related organisations (especially of those within the realm of the so called “private policing”) have nothing to do with them, the scientific view should differ. Studying and researching the phenomenon of *policing* should be done in a holistic way; otherwise we are at risk of missing “*the big picture*” and the related answers. So, the “old” issue emerges again – where should we place an educational and research institution that not only studies and researches the police and their work, but other policing-related organisations and their work as well?

Now, as we described the difference between education and training, as well as some related potential problems, let us take a look at the role of Police Science in all these.

The contribution of Police Science to police education

There are three areas of a potential contribution of Police Science to police education: the content (topics of police education), methodology (methods of teaching and research), and intellectual development (critical thinking, problem-solving, etc.).

In terms of the content, Police Science defines the scope and the topics taught in the process of police education. Police Science can actually be understood both as a scientific discipline (at least in the making) and as a field of academic study. Earlier, we presented Kline's (1995) view that "curriculum planners and instructors must select a sample to teach from a universe of ideas... This absence of exactness often results in a lack of consensus on what should be taught. Analyse courses taken by majors in a given field or discipline at different universities, and you will find differences." The more we reach a consensus regarding the core topics of Police Science as a scientific discipline, the more uniform approach we will see in the curricula of different educational institutions in the field of Police Science as an academic study.

Hanak and Hofinger (*op. cit.*) found a large variety in terms of the topics of police-related research in European countries. "Mainstream police research is conducted on crime-related topics, both in a criminological (social control, legal policy) and criminal investigation perspective. A second core topic relates to policing and police work, sometimes with a focus on management and leadership tasks, in other cases stressing the management of public order and community policing. These two standard topics obviously play a prominent part in several countries" (p. 20). In surveying research institutions outside the police, the authors found that there were "both highly specialised research institutions in the field of forensics and criminal investigation techniques, and others with an emphasis on a not-so-narrow social sciences perspective on issues of security policy, legal policy, law enforcement, criminology etc." (p. 30).

In terms of the methods of teaching and research, Police Science provides appropriate methodology. By researching the process of police education – its effectiveness and impact, modes of delivery, participant responses – Police Science provides *know-how* to police education professionals striving to impart the knowledge related to various topics of Police Science and other policing-related topics.

As we said that education should be oriented toward discovery and hypotheses testing, the students involved in police education should be proficient in research methods as well. Police Science as a scientific discipline provides the students with appropriate methods for a systematic inquiry into the appropriate research questions.

Finally, Police Science – with its scientific rigor, an inherently critical approach, a constant questioning and challenging, in-depth analysis, synthesis, and evaluation – stimulates the students' intellectual development. To this end, it emphasises critical thinking, and problem-solving. As Kline

(1995) points out, education should develop a student's ability to generalise, see relationships, and function effectively in new situations, which cannot be completely visualised or defined.

The contribution of Police Science to police training

By researching the police and policing, Police Science provides a research knowledge base for determining both the relevant topics in police training and the skills necessary for performing different tasks at various levels of policing, as well as "good practices" in different areas of policing.

Travis (1995) illustrates this point by using an example of the American National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and of the other organisations conducting research in criminal justice issues. According to the author, their research adds to the body of knowledge in the field, and that body of knowledge can advance the profession and result in better policing.

Describing the situation in Europe, Hanak and Hofinger (*op. cit.*) conclude that "one might – with no more than a pinch of speculation – conclude that in some European countries there is a strong belief that scientific knowledge is indispensable for the provision of security and justice, and is preferably generated in think-tank-like organisations and "laboratories", while in other countries there are some functional equivalents to that "Verwissenschaftlichung" of policy, or the legitimacy of the national security and justice policy that is based on other sorts of knowledge, reason and authority" (p. 31).

We believe that CEPOL – along with the trainers and their community – should play a more active role in the process of incorporating scientific knowledge into police training in accordance with Article 7 (e) of the European Council Decision from December 22 2000, that is to disseminate best practice and research findings. Hanak and Hofinger (*op. cit.*) report that "national partners in the network of CEPOL develop and deliver some seminars and courses without a reference to findings of research and science. In some other activities of CEPOL, research results are used intensively. Sometimes, one can find certain problems of acceptance just of these activities" (p. 3).

We also have to emphasise a need to expand the notion of police training to include the training in other policing-related organisations, not just within a public police. This represents another challenge for Police Science, as it has to build the knowledge base in those areas as well.

Researching police education and training as part of Police Science

Not only does Police Science contribute to police education and training, but police education and training are themselves the topics of Police Science. Police scientists research the existing police education and training systems and approaches, to find out what works in police education and training, what is the effectiveness of different methods and modes of instruction, etc. Therefore, a lot of dilemmas and challenges mentioned in this chapter are yet to be investigated and answered by Police Science.

Also, by broadening our understanding of police training (to include the training in other policing-related organisations), Police Science needs to investigate the relationship between these different forms of training, their effectiveness, and provide a rationale for keeping them either completely separated or joint in some respects.

Freedom of research – impact of research: locating police research inside or outside the police?

An important topic of discussion in Police Science is to what extent police research is or should be independent from the police institutions. Is police research better off when it is located within the police organisation, or at universities and research institutions outside the police? In our context, freedom of research contains several elements: freedom to select research topics and perspectives; freedom of access to relevant data; freedom from pressure to make or avoid certain conclusions; and freedom to publish research findings.

The argument for the former is that research based in police colleges and other institutions within the police and justice sector (e.g. the Research, Development and Statistics directorate of the British Home Office or the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention) may have privileged access to police data and a greater possibility for making an impact with their research findings within the police.

The main argument against is that by being a part of the police or justice system, the freedom of research may be severely restricted. There will be stricter guidelines for selection of research topics and their relevancy for the police. These structural conditions may serve to limit the conditions for critical research, and researchers may feel obliged to tune down perspectives critical of police practices. Self-censorship is probably more prevalent than

direct censorship, but many examples of more direct forms of censorship are known to police scientists.

Conversely, for universities it is a basic value to ensure academic freedom and provide the framework for free and critical research. Being organisationally independent of the police and the justice sector, individual police researchers are more protected from political pressure and censorship of their research and findings. On the other hand, police researchers based at universities may have problems in making an impact with their findings within the police organisation they are detached from. It is likely to be more resistance within the police to research findings coming from universities than finding coming from “their own” researchers, in particular if university researchers have the reputation of being “hostile” to the police. Paradoxically, the “critical” culture at universities may also in some instances and versions serve as a limit to the freedom of research. As Mouhanna (2007) points out:

“It is worth noting that police organisations were not the only ones to blame for the lack of analysis of their action: as far as academia was concerned, working on the police was regarded as a kind of deviance until the beginning of the 1990s. Trying to understand police officers’ work and policing policies was relatively unaccepted among scholars who favoured analyses putting the stress on police forces as an instrument of domination.”

Thus, we could expect police research within the police to score low on freedom of research and high on impact with the police, whereas police research from universities should score high on freedom and low on impact (see Høigård, 2005, pp. 139-144 for an example of this argument). In reality, however, things are more complex and do not necessarily correspond with this general pattern.

Some university-based researchers have succeeded well in getting their research findings and ideas accepted by police leaders, policy-makers and even by rank-and-file police officers. The quality and relevance of their research and their ability to communicate their findings to the police in ways the police understand are important factors. Developing good ties with the police and demonstrating understanding and respect for the work they do may make it possible to get acceptance even for critical perspectives and findings.

Some police researchers at universities also feel that their freedom of research is in reality restricted by the general economic pressure on universities to fund research from external sources. This makes them dependent upon

ministries and police agencies, which have their own priorities and agendas. Thus, the selection of topics as well as the need for building good-will for future research contracts may put severe limits on university researchers' ability to conduct critical research on topics of their own choice.

When it comes to researchers working at institutions within the police and justice sector, there is a great variety in the level of academic freedom and research impact on the police at different institutions and in different countries. There are several factors which may influence the degree of freedom of research as well as on the degree of impact.

Structural political factors are important. In some countries, a new government and a new Minister of Justice/Interior is empowered to dismiss police chiefs and install his own people loyal to him. In other countries, the police and the police chiefs enjoy a greater degree of professional independence from the political authorities, and cannot be sacked at will. These differences will also impact the rest of the police system and are likely to have an influence on the degree of academic independence within the police and at police colleges. More generally, the political culture within the country will also have an impact on the freedom of research. In countries with well-established democratic traditions and police forces whose legitimacy is not fundamentally questioned and with secure control of its territory, the police are likely to be more open to critical police research than the case will be in new democracies with police forces which are tainted by authoritarian practices in the past, corruption and lack of legitimate control. However, the legitimacy of the police is also questioned in many well-established democracies. When governmental institutions like the police feel under threat, they are less likely to take critical research findings in constructive ways – even if these are situations where research could make particularly important contributions to improve the police.

Interestingly, there are also striking differences between different police forces within the same country in this respect. The French police researcher Christian Mouhanna has noted (personal communication, Mouhanna, 2007) that the leadership level of the military Gendarmerie shows more interest in and appreciation of police research as well as an understanding of the importance of critical perspectives than is the case with the French National Police. One main reason is probably that the Gendarmerie is concerned with its image in relation to the population but also that several of the generals of the Gendarmerie have doctoral degrees and a personal experience with research. Thus, there is an academic tradition (although relatively new) within the Gendarmerie which is lacking in the National Police (see also Dieu, 2001).

Another important factor relates to the location of the research institution or individual researchers in relation to the police or justice organisation and in relation to the university system. The closer the research institution/researcher is tied to the operational or policy functions of the police, the more likely there will be restrictions on the freedom of research both in terms of selection of topics and critical perspectives. Conversely, the closer the research institution is attached to the university system outside the police, the greater the freedom of research. Thus, when police colleges become accredited within the university system, the institutions will also have to abide by the academic standards and rules that guide universities, including the high value placed on freedom of research. Thus, if the police or the police college tries to censor critical perspectives or research findings from police college researchers, the institution may risk losing its academic accreditation. In other words, accreditation of police colleges within the university system provides considerable protection to the freedom of research.

In some countries, certain institutions within the police or justice sector are required by law to do research. For example, this is the case with the 2006 founded German Police University at Muenster or the FHVR University of Applied Sciences at Berlin. The German University of Police law even insists on developing Police Science (Jaschke & Neidhardt, 2003). Depending on how this legal framework is formulated, the legal basis may provide for freedom of research but it may also limit research to certain topics and functions.

Finally, the level of quality, relevance and prestige of the research carried out by institutions and individuals within the police will also have a feedback effect on the freedom of research for these institutions and individuals. A research unit within the police with a strong track record for producing research findings that the police themselves find interesting and useful, will also be in a stronger position to present critical and controversial findings than will be a research unit with a reputation of being irrelevant. Correspondingly, if the research unit includes academic “heavyweights” with a strong and positive reputation within the police as well as in the academic world outside, this is likely to make the research unit more resistant to pressure and censorship in cases of controversial research findings. A research unit staffed mainly with young and less established researchers is more vulnerable.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented different views on the relation between police training and police education, and on whether police education and Police Science is better off when it is located within the police organisation or at universities and research institutions outside the police.

Some argue in favour of separating police training and police education, claiming that police research can only develop freely when it is carried out in research institutions independent from the police. Others argue in favour of integrating police training and education, developing police academies into accredited academic institutions within the university system in order to maximise the positive impact of police research and higher education on the police organisation. More and more European countries are moving in the latter direction. The Bologna process provides a general framework for this development, where accreditation is taken care of by national accreditation bodies. Another approach, compatible with the one above, is to develop European-wide common curriculum guidelines for police training and education, endorsed by an appropriate entity, such as the CEPOL. Then it is up to the national police academies and colleges to decide to what extent they will implement this in their training and education, and up to the national accreditation institutions to evaluate whether the police education fulfils the quality criteria set by the Bologna process.

CHAPTER 6

A European Approach to Police Science

“Member states shall promote and encourage research on the police, both by the police themselves and external institutions” (European Code 2001, paragraph 64)

The following, final chapter, does not summarize all issues and ideas, that have been discussed in the other chapters. It tries to give an outlook by discussing some European perspectives. Firstly, we need a clear picture about what is ‘Europe’ and ‘European’ when talking about a ‘European approach’. As Europe and the EU is a complex structure that includes more than 25 member states, ‘policing Europe’ is an important issue for the future. After more general remarks on this we discuss some practical challenges of policing and Police Science. Concerning issues and methods of a European approach to Police Science we come to the conclusion that normative, institutional and in particular comparative perspectives are at the centre of a European Police Science. These can be divided into three categories: general questions; single issues to be compared; and European Police cooperation. Finally, we discuss Police Science as located within police and academic communities, as part of a battlefield of interests, and propose some things to do in the near future.

Differences and common values: towards a European community

Talking about Europe today, we can distinguish between European historical and geographical entity and the European Union as the core of it. The Union was founded by the ideas of the European movement that started after World War II and over decades was influenced by the controversy between ‘unionists’ and ‘federalists’. In practice it means patterns of cooperation between independent states, a process, which was founded after World War II and extended step by step. The Union succeeded in keeping peace in Europe and supporting the ideas of cooperation, democracy and the welfare state. In more than 50 years it has developed a system of institutions, following the principles of national identity, human rights, subsidiarity and inclusiveness to new members. All this is aided by the fact that the member states maintain their distinctive identities. They have historical traditions, democratic systems and political cultures, languages and civil religions of their own. On the other hand, there are a lot of common values that have become central to being European: human rights, democratic belief systems, free movement and migration within the Union, and common traditions in literature, arts and culture. Which is more appropriate: Unification or a federation of

independent states? What are the trends for the future, and which way will the police, police training and Police Science in Europe go?

Political sciences address different models and theories of international relationships, which might help. Following the *one-world-theory*, policing, as other parts of economy and society, would more and more develop into a unified framework of professional standards all over Europe. The long lasting absence of war among European Union countries and of a big threat like a nuclear world war enhances cooperation and free trade of goods, information and ideas on the basis of common political values. Moreover, the process of globalisation forces states and societies to move closer to one another and leads to marked similarities. Common standards and models in economy, administration and management, in customers' interest and behaviour, could lead to a uniform European society. That position reflects the idea of a United States of Europe as Winston Churchill had claimed in his famous Zurich speech from September 1946 (Niess 2001, 64ff.).

But Churchill's vision is far away. Few today speak of a United States of Europe. The idea of a European constitution has failed so far. There is an agreement of European institutions that is not (yet) supported enough by the peoples of Europe. The problem of legitimacy of the EU is continuously part of the EU-history. Maybe another theory is more convincing. Following *the realistic theory of international relationships*, states are keeping their own interests first and only adopt foreign models if they are in the line of their own national interests. States are highly motivated by the desire for political and economic power and hardly ready to delegate sensible parts of state administration like security, justice and police matters to transnational institutions. From that point of view, they never would merge into one unified model of policing or training. In this sense, the harmonising of policing reflects more an appreciation of the need for cross-border policing, than a European police system with international decision-making processes, institutions and laws. Obviously both models are in contradiction to each other. But the reality of policing in the EU is not following either the one-world-theory or the realistic theory. The states indeed maintain sovereignty, but they have delegated some competencies to EU institutions and EU law, even in security and justice matters (Third Pillar). But even this has to be seen in context. Glaessner (2006) pointed out that European initiatives were only accepted by all member states if they were thought to have individual benefits and, conversely, that intergovernmental agreements tend to lose democratic legitimisation.

The European systems of policing remain different. Maybe long-lasting cultural differences are preventing the approximation of police cultures. That

would be in line with new theories of international relationships, which hold cultural aspects responsible for the differences of societies (Huntington). Taking a look at the police systems in the EU, remarkable differences are obvious. There are centralised systems in Southern Europe (Spain, Italy, France), decentralised in the middle (Germany, The Netherlands) and mixed systems in other countries. In some of them military traditions are part of the police, in others they are separated. There are strictly-kept divisions of power between the police and law agencies in countries such as Germany, but mixed forms for example in Denmark. Police philosophies encompass protecting the state-point at one extreme and providing service for the people at the other. It would be easy to list more differences between the EU Police systems. It is not surprising to see such differences of police systems in Europe, given the variety of police systems (Mawby 2005) and alternative policing styles (Findlay/Zvekic 1993) in the world. Overall it can be said that differences did not avoid the spirit and the necessity of international cooperation. In spite of the differences, police forces in the EU maintain an efficient system of cross-border policing on the basis of common professional standards. This is due to practical and professional demands of the police: from the founding of Interpol during the 1920s, which made international crime prosecution more effective, to the Schengen Treaty, which facilitated European border control.

A remarkable agreement on common ethical standards in Europe was achieved in 2001, when the Council of Europe published the European Code of Police Ethics (European Code 2002). Sixty-six articles of the code emphasize the democratic structure and philosophy of the police under the rule of law. The document demands, among others, that police bear in mind human rights, transparency, “efficient measures to ensure the integrity and proper performance of police staff” (Article 20), fighting police corruption, and police training: *“Police personnel shall be able to demonstrate sound judgment, an open attitude, maturity, fairness, communication skills and, where appropriate, leadership and management skills. Moreover, they shall possess a good understanding of social, cultural and community issues”* (Article 23). Article 59 stresses *“The police shall be accountable to the state, the citizens and their representatives. They shall be subject to efficient external control”*. Of course, the declaration does not describe the reality of police action in Europe, but standards of behaviour that should be common, cross-border values. In spite of all national differences of police and policing, there is a common platform of police orientation all over the continent.

A European approach to Police Science keeps in mind the development of the EU, its police systems and the possibilities of modern scientific instruments. Recent surveys have shown that national approaches are on the way in many EU-member states (Fehérváry 2005). They are taking into account that police

work has become more difficult in complex societies within a globalised world. The demanding business of keeping public security and crime fighting is carried out not only by the police but by other public and private agencies. Thus, a European approach has to look out for common practical challenges, for objectives and methods of such an approach.

Safety, policing and Police Science in a given geographical space need a common identity. Is there a European identity of Police Science or is it limited to scientific methods and a researcher's community all over Europe? It is obvious, that social, economic and political developments of the last decades force a European identity more and more. The fact that we confront the same or similar problems and are ready for common solutions is a substantial basis for a European identity. But European citizens do not understand themselves as 'European', nor do police officers even when engaged in civil crisis missions. Getting a European identity – besides the national one – seems to be an ongoing, long-lasting historical process. Even within member states' populations there are tensions between regions, ethnic minorities, movements for independence or own legislation, and the central state. We know from theories of international relationships that pressure from abroad leads to more consciousness of national solidarity and community: maybe the terrorist threat on the EU is such a powerful instrument.

Police, policing and Police Science in Europe: common practical challenges

The increase of organised and cross-border crime follows tendencies of globalisation. Police and law enforcement agencies have given answers to these modern challenges. A large field of European Police cooperation has been established. Cross-border policing at the beginning, including lots of bilateral and multilateral treaties, followed by the institutions of the EU's third pillar, systematic exchanges of experience, and common training for senior police officers within CEPOL are important steps of development. Within the national fields, scientific approaches are becoming established. It is the police itself that demands scientific solutions in forensic affairs as well as in management theories and social sciences. As a matter of fact, practical crime cases, problems of police management and police training today include a huge variety of scientific approaches. Police management action today partly applies scientific knowledge and it is open for recent developments of the academic fields.

Not only operational police work, also the police management in the modern European society is dependent on scientific know-how. Police leadership hangs off analytic and strategic thinking, which can include developing conditions and the subsequent sequences of actions, systematically. There

may be people who can follow these lines instinctively, but this is no solution for management quality of the future. The knowledge and the capacities to act professionally and properly cannot be limited to a single discipline. Therefore Police Science is a spreading connection, an academic and at the same time action-oriented connection, of police-relevant knowledge and experience.

Following Feltes and Punch (2005, 36ff.) modern police work in Europe has to face six central developments: (1) more professionalism, (2) more international relationships, (3) reforms of administration and management, (4) new technologies, (5) more cooperation with community and private agencies and (6) a changing police culture. If so, and all experience in multi-national police meetings confirm this, the challenge for police is to adopt even more scientific ways of solving problems. "Scientific" for the police means here to get closer to academic and research institutions, to take note of change management processes in national branches outside the police and to work with similar developments abroad.

A European approach to Police Science cannot be reduced to one single target group. It is not only the police that have scientific approaches on board. The civil society, intellectuals, the media and the social sciences discovered the police as an important part of the political system keeping the monopoly of legitimate use of power (Max Weber). How do the society, public opinion, the media and politicians get information about the police and about what police officers do when making use of their monopoly? Citizens in the EU have become more self-confident during recent decades: a 'silent revolution' has taken place (Inglehart 1977). They have become more sensitive to any misuse of power by the authorities and they tend to enter a claim for their rights, to demand more explanations for police action and to control what police officers do. Especially the civil movements of the new member states and East Germany who have shown a lot of courage and self-assured action when transforming their old fashioned socialist dictatorships into democracies, advocating more human rights and more citizens' participation. Today Civil Rights movements and other Non-Governmental-Organisations (NGOs) watch the police: mistakes and the abuse of power are discussed in the media and set the police organisation under public pressure. Principles of 'ethical policing' and police accountability are discussed in the literature, following the lines of policing as a profession, performance ethics, participation of the community in policing and demands for more transparency for policing in action (Newburn 2003, Miller 2005). Modern information technologies are reducing time and distance and enable the public, by means of a permanently fast flow of information, to react immediately to any suspect misuse of power by the police.

Thus, the interaction of police, public and private agencies and the self-confident public opinion forces the police to think about what they are doing, why and by what means and for what ends. European policing in the future will have more rights of police operation by the extension of the Third Pillar and cross-border treaties, but it will also come, increasingly, under public pressure of legitimation. Police work has become more complicated because of the cases and the everyday level of work on the one hand and because of the increasing need of legitimation on the other hand. This is why Police Science is a way to improve professional and modern democratic policing, and this is why Police Science benefits both sides: the police and the public.

Issues and methods of a European approach: comparative perspectives

Police Science deals with the knowledge police management needs to do its job and it offers the knowledge for democratic societies which they need to oversee police practice and to take part in the process of policing. Normative, institutional, historical and empirical approaches are key methodological frameworks of Police Science. The main point of a European approach to Police Science will be the comparison of structures, police philosophies, working processes and case studies. The purposes of comparison in the field of policing are:

- to get information about similar items abroad
- to get scientifically based knowledge of the facts of different practices
- to compare own developments with others
- to get more understanding of each other in Europe
- to understand better one's own activities
- to start or enhance international expert's communication.

The comparative approach puts the – often only additional – exchange of information and experience into systematic ways of learning from each other and it is an important step on the way to a European identity that knows what happens, why it happens and what could be alternative ways of doing it.

Police Science is an applied science and it follows the comparative perspectives and methodological standards of other sciences. The methodology includes two ways: seen from top-down, it is near the methodology of social sciences; seen from the reality of policing, it generates methods in the line of the problems. Police Science is no methodological belief system that is applied to problems. On the contrary: first there are problems and research questions; and then, in a second step, a useful methodological approach will be selected and developed.

A European approach is not one of methodology but one of selected subjects of research, combined with research techniques that fit into the subject. The core issues of Police Science in general have been described and discussed in chapter four. Here now, we have to underline the European dimensions. They can be divided into three categories:

- *General basics and key questions of police and policing*

Modern policing is not an autonomous, independent field or profession. It deeply depends on developments of societies, policies and politics and, last but not least, on crime structures. Entorf and Spengler considered six variables to be particularly important in the EU: urbanisation, family disruption, the influence of peer groups, poverty and unemployment, deterrence and wealth (Entorf/Spengler 2002, p. 172). Changing crime structures ask for the development of policing and adopting suitable instruments. So far, changing the ways of policing is a normal business. To ensure best research and knowledge, Police Science in Europe has to discuss continuously some general questions: What are the main tendencies in the development of societies, crime and policing, which are influencing the ways of policing? What is the mission of the police? What is police in action? What is policing? What are European ways of problem-solutions, and where are the differences and obstacles? Facing current activities of national and international Police research, education and training, it can be said, that most of them are involved in single issues, driven by practical demands, but general questions are usually neglected in the police cultures. It might be there is a relation to the research and training culture, which is dominated by practical and empirical domination and a fear of 'theory'. As soon as a researcher within or near police institutions is under suspicion to produce 'theory' instead of 'practical knowledge', he/she is soon out of the game. But a European Police Science needs 'theory', not only in proper methodological aspects but to discuss key questions and to conceptualise the core issues. One of the most important tasks in the future is to cover general aspects of policing: watching, describing, analysing and giving inputs to specific research and training activities. Another is to keep alive and to implement the history of the European movement into research and training activities. This might also be an element of a European identity in the field of research and training activities.

The classical studies in the Anglo-American research tradition (Newburn 2005) could be followed as well as the existing European and national approaches. Drawing attention to a cross-border perspective, the comparative point of view must be faced. Until now there has been a lack of comparative studies in the European countries. A few existing ones deal with single and

very specified issues like comparing the moral values of Slovenian and American criminal justice students, a comparative view of public perceptions of police corruption or the resembling mentality of French and Hungarian prisoners.⁴⁶ Of course history, politics and developments of society have strong impacts on police research. After the breakdown of communist societies in Eastern Europe, comparative studies about policing in Eastern and Western Europe were presented (Mawby 1998). A comparative view on general matters like police systems, police philosophies, police history, styles of policing, police cultures, and so on, is needed and is an important task for future perspectives. On a national level, some new handbooks and general surveys catching relevant issues of policing are published, but not on an international one.⁴⁷ It has to be stated that Police Science has not yet reached the level of neighbouring disciplines, which have long traditions of comparing, for example in political science, where comparing political systems belongs to the core business. Nevertheless, there is a tradition of comparisons in policing outside the EU-system, whose methods, approaches and outcomes should be included in further research (Brodeur, 1995; Deflem 2003).

An example may demonstrate the benefit of comparing core issues. Adens comparative study about police policies in Germany, France and The Netherlands came to remarkable findings. His study shows how necessary and productive a comparison of general matters can be. He identifies huge tendencies of police centralisation, not by the creation of national central agencies but by European institutions of the Third Pillar on the one hand and on the other hand by a long-lasting change of legislation: "Independently from the political system, there is increasing legislation of police work, not in order to establish limits to policing, but to legitimate police organisations' growing sphere of action" (Aden 1998, English abstract p. 425). In consequence, the principle of the rule of law is weakened for the benefit of the executive powers. If this is so, it shows clearly the necessity of an interdisciplinary-based European Police Science, which has instruments to analyse these tendencies as European ones and point out the consequences for policing. Adens study is an example of *how European Police Science could develop: a critical think tank, which is able to discuss the core questions on an elaborated, research-based way, following strictly a comparative way of thinking.*

European Police cooperation is taking place: The Amsterdam Treaty (1997) offers a European space of freedom, security and law; and The Hague

⁴⁶ Found in the CEPOL Edoc database under the thesaurus item "comparative research".

⁴⁷ For Germany see Lange, 2006 and Janning, 2007.

Programme (2004) opens more efficiency to Europol and the exchange of information. In spite of these tendencies of more intensive cooperation there is no comparative map of agencies operating in the field of European policing (until today), which could give answers to questions like: Who are the actors, private and public?; What interests do they cover?; What relationships to each other have to be stated?; What are the impacts on national systems of policing and citizens' rights? This could be a main field of research for a European approach to Police Science.

- *Single issues of European interest to be compared*

Thinking about the purpose of comparative perspectives two more points have to be mentioned, a theoretical one and a practical one. The comparative approach makes police science into an international, Europe-oriented discipline. It is the key for understandings and explanations about what is going on within the European fields of policing. In other words, there is no understanding of these fields without comparative points of view. Another purpose is driven by practical needs. 'Benchmarking' means learning by comparison. In recent years, this concept has been adopted by private companies and in the public services as well. Policing concepts and realities in national frameworks can learn from each other by comparing their systems and outputs. Benchmarking is put into practice in the field of European policing as soon as transnational expert groups meet and discuss. But experiences like CEPOL courses show that there are hardly systematic ways to do it so far. Furthermore, *collecting information in additional ways has to be transformed into systematic ways of getting and disseminating research-based knowledge*. Comparative studies of single issues could help to go the way of an effective benchmarking, even if the term won't be used.

A European Police Science is no isolated, single discipline of its own. Methodologies can be adopted from other disciplines. It is interesting to see, that issues discussed in other disciplines can turn into matters of a European Police Science. Here are some examples:

Drug addiction in the country X can be researched by law, psychology, medicine, sociology or criminology in the country X. So far, we do not need Police Science. If the research question is: what are forms of drug addiction in countries X and Y and what are successful ways to policing drug addiction in both countries, then it is a question of Police Science, because of the policing view and the comparative perspective.

Harassment on the job seems to be a growing problem in modern societies. It includes law, psychology, management and other scientific aspects. So far, it

is not a problem in the line of Police Science, but if you want to find answers on the question of harassment on the job within police agencies in countries X and Y, then again it turns into a typical question of a European Police Science.

We see, that problems of policing can be objective of (national oriented) Police Science. As soon as we have a comparative aspect, the European approach of Police Science seems to be a good perspective. On the other hand, comparative questions without policing problems of course are issues of other sciences and disciplines.

- *European police cooperation*

In recent years, police cooperation in Europe has increased. The Tampere Summit in 1999, deciding the EU to be an area of freedom, security and justice, opened the way to more operational capacities of the police and a corresponding pressure on citizen's rights. Two years later, the impact of the terrorist attack on the USA ("nine eleven") put even more pressure on police cooperation in Europe. Main fields are anti-terrorism, civil crisis management, major events, disasters of a large scale, trafficking of human beings and, last not least, harmonisation of human rights and police ethics. Cooperation itself takes place as well as common efforts of training and education. It is surprising, that these activities are almost confidential outside of public discussion. Cyrille Fijnaut has drawn attention to a central point: in spite of increasing cooperation, the police remain accountable to their national parliaments. According to Fijnaut, if that national legitimisation is softened by European police strategies and policies it easily could get out of democratic legitimisation: "Even if there is no immediate fear for the emergence of a police state, if we lose sight of the inter-governmental nature of police co-operation in Europe, it rapidly becomes unclear to whom police are accountable for their organisation, functioning and activities" (Fijnaut 2002). From a scientific and research-based point of view he calls for more comparative and empirical research on what he calls "the international police mission in Europe".

A Europe-oriented Police Science could offer in agreement with this position empirical researches involved in ongoing institutional cooperation (for example the Third Pillar) as well as cross-border police operations. There seems to be a lack of such researches which could be helpful for researchers in general as well as for police management. It is, for example, not self-evident, that researchers are observers when international police cooperation take place at major events (G-8 meetings, large sports events etc.) and give a report to the organisers and the public. It was, but now is not self-evident, that

increasing police cooperation and training would lead to a European institute of Police Science for an international reflection of ongoing activities and inputs in the process of cooperation.

Things to do – enhancing the acceptance of Police Science

During the process of establishment of a German Police University, the Saxonian sociologist Anton Sterbling (2006) gave a speech in the Münster Police Academy in 2003 that criticised the concept of Police Science(s). He said that Police Sciences do not have any historical, social and cognitive identity so far. It is not enough he went on, to have the best intentions. A single person or a small group cannot achieve the goals without getting access to the academic world in order to reach the first steps of collective acts of acceptance. Concerning the European dimensions, his arguments are even more convincing. It has to be stated that years later some steps are gone: Annual CEPOL research and science conferences, a working group on police science and other activities. Nevertheless, Sterbling's argument still has to be taken into consideration even more: the acceptance in the academic world is one aspect; the acceptance in the police world is another.

Besides developing research questions, methods and issues, problems of acceptance occur in two directions: the scientific community and the police. Police will request solutions for practical problems, hesitating to go too deep into scientific discussions. CEPOL has set starting points within the context of courses for European senior police officers. A (still small) community of interested and well prepared police officers in Europe are attending those courses, open for research and ready to transform the results into national training and education systems. During the next few years, the process of including research will increase, when police training and education systems in Europe will be more influenced by the Bologna declaration, the creation of a unified European field of university standards. In the long run, the field of police training and education in the EU will adopt bachelor- and master studies for police officers. They will weaken the position of single disciplines and put forward issues and police-related contents. Disciplines will merge into neighbourhood ones, others will have to cooperate much more than today. This will be a good opportunity for more acceptance of Police Science, because it could be a factor of integration of police-related disciplines. The Bologna process insists on practical competencies in the centre of education. But it will be based on research results; it will offer research techniques in a field that is not limited to law, social sciences or criminalistics. The need for an umbrella that covers all disciplines in the field seems to be obvious in the future and that could give more interest to the acceptance of Police Science by police officers and trainers.

What about the scientific communities? There are established ones in criminology, political science, sociology and other disciplines on the national and international levels. But there is hardly anything that could be called a scientific community in Police Science. If it was not called 'Police Science' but Police studies or Police related research, would we have a scientific community? The answer must be yes. On national levels there are book series, conferences, and work groups, composed of social scientists, lawyers, police officers and others, that deal with police research, in inter- or trans-disciplinary ways. Moreover, you can hardly find those communities limited to a single discipline. The trend – in the scientific world in general – is to go more in cooperative ways and to include more than one discipline. In front of that picture Police Science is an innovative point of view that has not yet enough acceptance in the worlds of police research. But as offering holistic ways of questioning and research, open to all police-related communities of researchers it could be a long-lasting process, an umbrella, that gives basic questions, ideas and common research values for all police researchers.

Scientific truth and the procedures to get it are not self-evident. Proceedings of Police Science will not take place automatically and by themselves. Science is a social process, it takes place on fields of power under keen competition of institutions, scientists and other pressure groups, protecting their claims and looking for defence measures to keep them alive. Rademacher called it, following Bourdieu, a permanent battlefield in the competition for truth, where specific, group-related values, personal interests, fights for a better status, academic and material rewards are part of the professional life (Rademacher 2003). She suggests a 'Police Science'-term-marketing, advertising for supporters and support groups and research institutes for partners. Building associations (or enhancing existing ones), creating journals, book series and conferences, working continuously and including many interested persons both from the academic and the police world could be steps into the future.

The European approach to Police Science is more than ever a long-term process and it will be a long way to acceptance. But, if that way would not be gone and the established disciplines in the field of policing would stay as they are, there would be some negative impacts: policing Europe would be a field of very specialist competencies without an integrative umbrella that would create common debates among specialists. In the academic world, the representatives of criminology and neighbourhood disciplines would go on fighting for competencies and the first rank in analysing problems of policing. Police training and education would keep on working as a field of

independent mixtures of disciplines. Police Science could be an instrument of integration both on national and international levels in the future.

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European Police College (CEPOL)

CEPOL brings together senior police officers across Europe with the aim to encourage cross-border cooperation in the fight against crime, law and order and public security.

Established as an agency of the European Union in 2005 ([Council Decision 2005/681/JHA of 20 September 2005](#)), the CEPOL Secretariat is based at Bramshill in the United Kingdom. For 2007, CEPOL's annual budget is €7.5m.

CEPOL organises between 80-100 courses and seminars per year. The implementation of the courses takes place at the national police training colleges of the Member States and the activities cover a wide-range of topics.

The CEPOL Secretariat is managed by Director Ulf Göransson, who has been appointed for a four-year period, ending in 2011. The Director is accountable to the [Governing Board](#) which is made up of representatives from the EU member states, usually the Directors from the national training institutes.

The Chair of the Governing Board is representative of the Member State holding the Presidency of the Council of the European Union.

The Governing Board normally meets four times a year and has established four committees:

- The Annual Programme Committee (APC)
- The Budget and Administration Committee (BAC)
- The Training and Research Committee (TRC)
- The Strategy Committee (SC)

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CEPOL's Secretariat has about 25 staff members who carry out the day-to-day work, within two units: the Programme Unit and the Administration Unit. The CEPOL Secretariat has three distinct functions. It is responsible for providing professional support to the CEPOL work programme, supporting the Governing Board and Committees, and carrying out all administrative functions.

The acronym CEPOL is French and stands for Collège européen de police – European Police College in English.

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