



European Police College



Theory and Practice of Police Research in Europe

European Police College

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Theory and Practice of Police Research in Europe

Presentations and Contributions
from CEPOL Police Research and Science
Conferences 2003 - 2005

Editors - J. Fehérváry, G. Hanak, V. Hofinger, G. Stummvoll

CEPOL Series No.1



European Police College

**János Fehérváry, Gerhard Hanak,
Veronika Hofinger, Günter Stummvoll (Ed.)**

**Theory and Practice of Police Research in Europe
Contributions and Presentations from
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secretariat@cepol.org
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Editors:

János Fehérváry:

Sicherheitsakademie
Federal Ministry of the Interior
A-1014 Vienna, Herrengasse 7

Gerhard Hanak, Veronika Hofinger, Günter Stummvoll:

Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology in Vienna
A-1070 Vienna, Museumstrasse 5

Copies:

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Johannes Knutsson, Jan Strype

“Police Use of Firearms in Norway and Sweden: The Significance of Gun Availability”

was originally published in the Journal

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Introduction

János Fehérváry, Gerhard Hanak, Veronika Hofinger, Günter Stummvoll

Historical Background

During the international seminar “Science on policing – police science” (“Polizeiliche Handlungslehre – Polizeiwissenschaft”) at the German Police Staff College from May 31st till June 2nd, 1999 the idea came up to organize annual police research conferences on a European level. In the introduction of the report to this conference written by Klaus Neidhardt and Rainer Schulte you can find the following statement: “The planned European Police College could be a great challenge for police science.”

In September 2000 the Police Academy of the Slovak Republic organized the (1. Tagung der dauernden internationalen Konferenz) “First Conference of constantly planned conferences” in Liptovsky Jan. The central topic of this conference was “actual problems in the development of the police sciences and of police practice”. At the end of this conference a resolution was presented, stating that for the development of a European approach of Police Science an ongoing discussion on a European level would be necessary. Therefore an annual conference concerning the “actual development of police science and research and the transfer of research findings to the police practice” should be organized, where the following items were to be discussed:

- 1basic theoretical questions;
- 2influence of research on training;
- 3transfer of the scientific knowledge to police practice;
- 4setting up a platform for specialized publications by using new media;
- 5the establishment of international working groups to specific topics (results should be presented at the annual conferences).

In 2001 in Stockholm a seminar (under the auspices of CEPOL) showed that there is a general agreement for an ongoing debate on three particular issues:

- 1The need for a recognised academic classification of “Police Science”;
- 2The need for increased co-operation in policing science at a European level;
- 3The recognition of the problem of translating police science into operational police work.

In November 2002 the LSOP (Dutch Police Education and Knowledge Centre), in co-operation with CEPOL Research and Science Committee, organised the next conference in Apeldoorn/NL. Central topic of this conference was the question whether contemporary developments in policing justify the establishment of a “European policing science”, as an autonomous but interdisciplinary field of science and applied research. In other words, is there a general theory on policing science embracing both the academic and scientific study of the police, and the use the police makes or could make of science and academic research, to improve operational policing?

The underlying aim of this conference was to build a network of professionals and co-ordinators and develop common standards and understanding in respect of basic concepts and definitions, objectives, contents, methods and theories of police science and continue to work on topical problems related to the development of police science and the transfer of scientific and academic knowledge into police training and operational police work.

During this conference the proposal was made to organise an annual “European Police Research Conference” in the future.

Annual CEPOL Police Research and Science Conferences

The idea regarding an annual “Police Research and Science Conference” was taken up by the former “CEPOL Research and Science Committee”. It was proposed by this committee and decided by the CEPOL Governing Board to include this kind of conferences in the annual programmes of CEPOL.

CEPOL has been organising an annual “CEPOL Police Research and Science Conference” since 2003 – each year in close co-operation with a national police college. The following conferences took place between 2003 and 2005 – each of them with a main theme:

1-3 December 2003 in Solna, together with the Swedish National Police Academy;
“Interplay between Research – Education – Practice”

9–12 November 2004 in Prague, together with the Police Academy of the Czech Republic;
“Development of Police Sciences and Transfer of Knowledge into Police Education, Training and Practice – Interconnections: Science – Training – Practice”

15-17 June 2005 in Loures, together with the Instituto Superior de Policia Judiciária e Ciências Criminais;
“Scientific Research and Assessment of Police Recruiting, Training, Learning and Evaluation Methodologies and Techniques”.

An average of 75 experts from nearly all Member States of the European Union took part in each of the three conferences. They were researchers from police academies or colleges, from universities and research institutions as well as senior police officers engaged in police science, research, training and transfer of scientific knowledge into police practice

The main aims of the conferences for CEPOL were:

1to exchange knowledge and experience between researchers or academics from the different police colleges and police research institutes in Europe and police practitioners from police forces of different European countries;

2to find ideas for an improved co-operation between police training institutions and researchers and trainers in the field of police research;

3to strengthen the mutual relation between police research and training and police practice;

4to help to overcome mutual reservations or to outgrow the prejudice between police researchers and police practitioners;

5to present actual research findings and discuss how to make use of them in police training

and police practice,

6to inform the participants about the activities and future plans of CEPOL in the field of police science and research;

7to discuss ideas how to continue and improve the work of CEPOL in this field next year and in the future.

At present, the relationship between police practice and police research/science is still characterized by certain mutual reservations and distrust – at least in some countries. Police practitioners still fear, that their practical experience could lose the important role for policing by concentrating on scientific and academic aspects in the police work. They think that practical police problems can't be solved by theories. On the other hand, some scientists see a danger in the intention of the police officers and politicians for the scientific liberty and the progress if they may provide only such results which fit in the official police and political strategies.

One of the tasks of CEPOL is the promotion of interconnections and interactions between research – training and practice by collecting and disseminating good practice and research findings. These interactions should support the development of a European approach of policing for handling the main international or transnational police problems. In order to fulfil this task, different efforts must be made by CEPOL together with all police training institutions for senior police officer throughout the European Union, which form the CEPOL network.

After the initial phase of CEPOL and the first three “Police Research and Science Conferences” under the umbrella of CEPOL this kind of conference should become a permanent and essential part in the yearly programme of CEPOL in the future. The annual conference will contribute to an improved mutual understanding and cooperation between police officers in the operational and strategic field, police trainers and researchers / scientists. This will help to improve policing and police cooperation in Europe in general.

The annual “CEPOL Police Research and Science Conference” is one of CEPOL's activities which will help to achieve CEPOL's objectives. It is an important instrument for the network of CEPOL, because it helps that we can learn a lot from each other.

Not all contributions which were presented in the three conferences can be published here. Some of the key-note speakers followed only handwritten notes, and some others used PowerPoint presentations. They had not enough time to deliver their contributions as text scripts. The editors could not get hold of some of the lecturers in order to update or adapt their papers, because they changed their jobs or addresses. And some of the speakers wandered off the main subjects of the conferences too much. The selection of the presented papers for the publication was done carefully by the editors after long discussions and a strict check of all existing conference materials.

Thanks

Great thanks have to be expressed to the three Police Colleges organising the “CEPOL Police Research and Science Conference 2003 – 2005” and to all authors for their contributions to this booklet.

Gerhard Hanak, Veronika Hofinger and Günter Stummvoll (Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology, Vienna) shared the task of “scientific editing”. János Fehérváry forged contacts and maintained correspondence with the authors. Brenda Scott and Sheila Hill (CEPOL-Secretariat, Bramshill) did their best to improve the linguistic quality of some of the articles.

Approaches to Police Science and Research

The booklet contains no less than 14 contributions. All of them are based on or related to presentations that were delivered at one of the above mentioned CEPOL-conferences, and have been recently elaborated for this publication. The collection displays a remarkable scope of police research, considering both the topics and the methodological approaches, and also with regard to geography. Some European countries and regions are rather well represented (Germany, Netherlands, Scandinavia) – and to a certain degree this obviously mirrors the considerable relevance and status of social sciences in these countries and societies in general, and of police science and research in particular. Unfortunately some other countries that also maintain relevant police research are not represented at all (especially: United Kingdom, France, Italy, Poland). All the more that bias ought to be corrected in some subsequent publication

The variety of articles contains both contributions that discuss the basic and general issues and problems of police research, and especially the difficult relation of science and praxis in the field of policing, while others focus on more specific subjects, and on specific problems of police work and police training. In several articles questions of police training and education are addressed explicitly, while in some others this connection remains more implicit but can be easily detected by the reader. The variety of articles also relates to the different academic disciplines that are involved: The article by Iris Sofia Almeida and Cristina Matos Soeiro is developed in the framework of psychological concepts and instruments and adapts these instruments to the population of applicants for police jobs, while most of the others suggest a more general social sciences approach and methodology. And of course the collection of articles cannot be assumed to represent the entire spectrum of police science and research.

We have argued elsewhere (Hanak & Hofinger 2005) that it might be easier and in fact more productive to start from a concept of “police related research” (instead of “police science” or “police research”), since that broader concept permits some initial awareness of and sensitising for the multitude of subjects that might be relevant to police work and police tasks in some way when considered from a certain academic discipline’s point of view – but that obviously cannot or only with some difficulty be identified as police science in a strict sense.

“Police Related Research” obviously comprises an extremely wide range of topics (and of course: techniques of research and data collection): Research on the police force and on organisational matters, also in a historic dimension; research on police training and on assessment/recruiting strategies and policies; research on police work and styles of policing; research on legal matters related to police work and police tasks; research on police ethics and human rights (as a normative and empirical phenomenon); research on public opinion on the police and on police performance; research on crime statistics, crime trends and crime control; on specific types of crimes (for instance street crime, drug related crime, sex offences, economic crime, terrorism); on various aspects of interpersonal and institutional violence; on public order maintenance on the

community, regional, national and transnational level; on fear of crime and its causes; on experiences of victimisation, victims' coping strategies and reporting behaviour; on political protest; on various "social problems" (and of course economic problems) that might affect or actually affect the social order and can be assumed to have some impact on crime and disorder problems; on life styles and living conditions of marginal groups; on specific milieus and settings that are controlled by the police more often than others; on police-community relations; on problems of migration and integration of migrants in times of increased mobility; on relations between the police and other agencies and institutions, including the criminal justice system, but also other branches of the administration, various "movements" and NGOs; on police officers' (satisfaction with) working and living conditions (compared to other groups in society); on police officers' attitudes (considering politics, values, social issues etc.); on crime (and other) prevention strategies and their evaluation; on different paradigms of prevention and their empirical test and evaluation; on social and technological change and its impact on policing and other social control; on psychological and technological aspects of road traffic; on all phenomena that are related to illegal businesses and the respective subcultures; on economic (and other) costs of crime and crime control; research of all kinds that can be utilized in forensic contexts; research on policing as a significant aspect of governance, etc.

Obviously there has been plenty of research on most of these subjects in many European countries but still there are substantial white spots on the map of European police research that would deserve some more attention in the near future, and a lot of work remains to be done for researchers working in and for the police, and for academic scientific institutions engaged in research on policing, criminology, forensics and governance.

There obviously is a need for further integration of European Police Science and Research in several respects. The first aspect relates to the ongoing process of European integration on the political, social, economic, legal and cultural level which is far from being accomplished and will need more efforts, due to the recent (and coming?) enlargement(s) of the European Union. The socio-economic and cultural transformation known as globalisation will not automatically promote and bring about European integration but will also continue to put some pressure on European societies and (welfare) regimes. Among other consequences of globalisation and accelerated modernisation European societies of the early 21st century will certainly experience tendencies of both integration and disintegration, of de-regulation and re-regulation, of increased precariousness in the lives of large groups and strata of the population, and of such precariousness resulting in additional demands or maybe struggles for "security". Therefore, scientists and researchers in general (and police scientists and researchers in particular) will face interesting and demanding tasks in a period of increasing societal complexity that is essentially characterized by the fact that many social, political and economic problems and their symptoms and effects (for instance unemployment and precarious employment, migration, social and cultural exclusion, difficulties in the financing of social security systems, crime control and prevention) are no longer manageable or solvable on the scale and by the agencies of the national state.

Police Science and Research obviously will need further integration in another respect: As long as policing has been a core competence of the national states police forces and police related research activities have developed very much according to the political, legal and cultural

conditions and criteria of relevance in different countries and societies. Consequently, mutual awareness across national (and often: linguistic) boundaries has been quite limited and contingent for a long time, and the status quo obviously allows for plenty of improvement. - Furthermore, police research has become a very elaborated branch of the social sciences in several European countries over the last three or four decades. At the same time police research activities have been rather scarce in some other European countries, have only started recently, or are conducted with a very limited infrastructure and unsatisfactory funding and resources. Integration in this respect means: stimulating research in countries where striking deficits can be observed, promoting the transfer of knowledge wherever and whenever that knowledge is demanded, but also: addressing the puzzling (research) question: Why could some late-modern societies do without substantial research on policing and police related subjects until recently? Networking and transnational cooperation among police scientists and researchers will certainly contribute its share to European integration (and to the solving of practical problems of policing and training) – but will on the other hand certainly increase awareness of diversity, of competing interests and demands, and thereby create new (awareness of) problems and irritations. That is far from unusual: Scientists sometimes manage to solve problems, but at the same time they tend to discover new ones, both practical and theoretical.

In several European countries the “boom” in police research has started in the 1960s or early 1970s (cf. REINER 1985; KERNER 1994), and has comprised both “academic” research (conducted mainly at the universities, focusing on the police as an agency of social control, and as a gatekeeper to the criminal justice system, at that time considered in need of reform in many western welfare states), and a more managerial and “technocratic” research (conducted and/or funded primarily by Ministries of the Interior or branches and departments of the administration, and mainly focusing on police effectiveness and on improving police performance.) At least in some European countries the gap or divide between academic and managerial police research has narrowed since the 1980s or 1990s – but to a certain degree further integration (or more subtly: interaction between the two) seems reasonable, even if these distinct types of research (and the underlying contradictory “*Erkenntnisinteressen*”) should be accepted in their own right rather than “integrated”, at least in some respects: Both types of research are legitimate, serve different purposes and will contribute relevant knowledge on their common subject as long as research is carried out properly, and is subject to reasonable procedures of “quality control”. The notion of “integration” and “interaction” here is not meant to result in “fusion” or “melange” all too quickly but simply suggests increased mutual awareness, both across the national boundaries and across the respective police forces and academic settings.

A final aspect of integration relates to the fact that there seems to be relatively little comparative analysis in police research in recent decades. (A remarkable exception to the rule: the contribution by Knutsson/Strype in this booklet). Many research designs and police related topics that have been researched in some country (or in some countries) ask for replication in other countries, or for comparative analyses and research across European countries. Maybe this booklet can inspire the formulation of research questions and stimulate research activities of that kind, starting from explorative studies and moving towards more focused qualitative in depth analyses of police work and police culture, and of the different social contexts and environments of policing across European countries, regions and communities.

Structure of the Booklet

The booklet contains three sections:

The first section assembles **contributions on the basic conceptual and social foundations of police science & research**, on the **difficult relation of science and practice in the field of police work**. One of the article aims at a sort of stock taking regarding the state and perspectives of police research across European countries – and another contribution describes a new instrument in order to promote exchange on and information on police science and research.

The second section deals with different **aspects of police training and education** and focuses on issues of personality and opinions of job applicants and police students, on the evaluation of police training, and on learning environments at school and at work..

The third section assembles texts on (changing) conditions of policing and on the **relationship and interaction of police and their social surrounding**, on social change and globalisation affecting police work and police culture, on **special tasks of policing** like public order management, dealing with domestic violence, and finally two empirical studies from Scandinavia on “critical” encounters between police and citizens.

1. Conceptual and Social Foundations of Police Science & Research

Viktor Porada and Kv to Holer have given their permission to quote from a recent book they published together with their colleagues Jaroslav Erneker, and Jaroslav Holomek on the "Theory and Methodology of Polices Sciences." Two texts were extracted from this volume and re-arranged: In a first article the authors discuss the scientific subject of police research in general and how it relates to the broader discipline of security studies as well as to the theory and practice of training activities in the police force. They further develop an epistemology of police sciences and present corresponding objectives with regard to concepts of scientific cognition. In a second contribution the social determinants of police sciences are discussed in terms of social dynamics and the essential process of institutionalisation of police research in a trans-national scientific community.

Cees Kwanten reflects on the relationship between police and science, arguing that the police have been a rather closed institution for a long time, and experiencing the outside world as exaggeratedly critical. Over the last decades the relationship has become more flexible, and there have been changes in police culture as well. But even if the situation has improved in some respects scientific research has not led to changed paradigms. Police officers and scientists still focus on completely different aims and talk in different languages, and their worlds have remained fundamentally different.

Gerhard Hanak and Veronika Hofinger summarise the findings of a study conducted on behalf of the CEPOL Science and Research Committee. The project aimed at collecting and analysing information on the police research infrastructure in 26 European countries, thereby providing the basis for the understanding of present conditions and prospects of European police research. The article identifies types and conditions of good practice and obstacles to good practice, with a special focus on the Police Academies' contribution to science and research.

Detlef Nogala's article informs about the CEPOL-eDoc – European Research & Science Database in the context of CEPOL's aims and objectives. The database is meant to serve as a high quality repository of scientific knowledge for course trainers and course participants as well as other stakeholders within the CEPOL-environment. The main objective is to provide a knowledge-pool of research findings relevant to police training and police practice across the European Union member states and other countries. The article also gives some information on technical aspects, access, sources and contents of the database.

2. Aspects of Police Education and Training

Iris Sofia Almeida and Cristina Matos Soeiro analyse the relationship between personality, moral conduct, emotional intelligence and gender. 222 candidates undergoing selection to become law enforcement officers participated in the study conducted in Portugal. The authors report on interrelations between gender and emotional intelligence, perceiving and managing emotions. They conclude that these variables are obviously important with regard to the professional performance of police officers, and for the selection and training of police officers.

Clemens Arzt presents the findings of a survey conducted at the Faculty of Police at a University of Applied Sciences in Berlin. The study examines students' opinions and attitudes towards legal standards and the rule of law. A special focus is on whether the law is understood as a source of or constraint of police action, and on students' attitudes regarding the admissibility of police encroachments upon citizens' rights.

Eduardo Ferreira and João Cabaço summarise the results obtained by a survey of 27 European Police Academies that was supposed to overcome the lack of information on good practice in terms of planning, learning, training and assessment methods. The authors conclude that science and research ought to play a major role in future validations of police learning and training assessment.

Risto Honkonen's article draws upon the findings from five studies dealing with different aspects of the Finish police education system. The author discusses various aspects of police education and police career (especially: the dilemma encountered in the life course of the police officer, becoming a senior officer, learning at school and learning at work) and finally points to an ongoing study on "present and future knowledge of the police command" – and to the difficulties in defining the knowledge that is needed in order to reform practice and to replace obsolete theories in use.

3. The Police and their Social Surrounding

Thomas Feltes discusses the effects of migration and globalisation on contemporary societies and argues that the drastic changes of social life in a multi-ethnic society with a high degree of mobility will result in substantial challenge with regard to police work, police ethics and police training. The article also discusses the issue of migration and xenophobic violence and addresses the necessity to change the organizational environment and the significance of "cop culture" (in contrast to official police culture) for organizational change.

Otto Adang argues that police practice with regard to public order management is often based on outdated theories and tends to neglect the fact public order events are inter-group processes and

interactions between different groups (including the police). The article presents results of several observational studies on public order policing (especially European football championships 2000) and discusses the implications of these studies on police practice and training.

Kostas M. Veis informs about an ongoing research project that aims at evaluating the practical effectiveness of training programs on Domestic Violence, delivered to police officers in Cyprus. Theoretical backgrounds and the research design are described and explained, and the author also gives some figures on the statistical relevance of domestic violence in Cyprus. The ongoing study examines whether specific training programs on the subject lead to better quality of criminal files and to a more effective handling of domestic violence cases by the police.

Johannes Knutsson and Jon Strype present the findings from a comparative study on police use of firearms in Norway and Sweden. The Swedish police force is regularly armed, whereas the Norwegian police are armed under special circumstances, and only by order of a police chief. Data were collected from reports on firearms use to the national police authorities. A central result was that the Swedish police shoot more often than Norwegian police and more police officers and citizens are injured in Sweden. The authors relate these findings to firearms regulations and come to the paradoxical hypothesis that the absence of firearms may act as a protective factor for police officers.ⁱ

Gunnar Thomassen's article starts with some remarks on the history and origins of Norwegian police research and then presents the findings from a study on the handling of complaints against the police in Norway, and on the work of the so called Special Investigatory Boards (SEFO) who investigate all complaints against the police alleging that the police have breached criminal law in carrying out their duties. The article discusses both direct and long term influences of research on the police force and police practice and points to the political context and institutional resistance as the most significant determinants.

Vienna, April 2006

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ⁱ This article is not included in the electronic version of the CEPOL Booklet.

Section I: Conceptual and Social Foundations of
Police Science & Research

Viktor Porada, Jaroslav Erneker, Kv to Holcr, Jaroslav Holomek

Mapping the landscape of security sciences

In light of the ongoing debates about the status (or even substantiation) of police sciences it is vital to presuppose an essay on their theoretical, methodological and societal foundations by at least a brief outline of the genesis of their constitution, gradual development and systematic integration in the set of existing fields of science. Efforts to develop a relatively autonomous police (or police-security) science have been exerted in the past in various degrees of intensity but to date there has been no satisfactory outcome. To put it more precisely, despite voluminous and well-grounded scientific efforts this field has yet to achieve the status of a fully fledged science which would fully satisfy the ever more demanding requirements of the police.

The focus of police sciences, their structure and relationship towards related sciences such as criminal science or legal sciences, are one of the most frequently debated theoretical problems facing police sciences. The selected approach is informed by treating police sciences as part and parcel of a broader concept of security sciences. Holcr and Erneker note that one acts upon the generally accepted (or rather hitherto undefeated) assumption that in view of the mission of the police, a police science would belong to the group of sciences that deal primarily with security phenomena. For the sake of simplicity they could be called security sciences (Erneker & Holcr 1997, p.12). The literature that promotes the concept of security sciences underlines the importance of security in the modern world as well as the complexity of this phenomenon and the research of it. Holcr and Erneker point out that security is a multifactor and multilevel phenomenon the contents, structure and functions of which exceed the boundaries of not only one scientific field but indeed also of entire scientific regions (Erneker & Holcr 1997, p. 12). Pawera for his part notes that the process of creating security is informed by economics, politics, societal and individual cultures, scientific and technological standards, geopolitical and geo-strategic situations as well as public activities (Pawera 1997, p. 121). Security sciences could be approached as sciences focusing on the provision of security to citizens and their state. Security stands out as protection against miscellaneous perils (threatening human lives, health and property, the environment, human rights, territorial integrity of the state, etc.). This approach to security would therefore seem to encompass e.g. military sciences, theories of diplomacy, civil defence, fire prevention, rescue services, etc. A variant structure of security sciences is shown in figure 1.

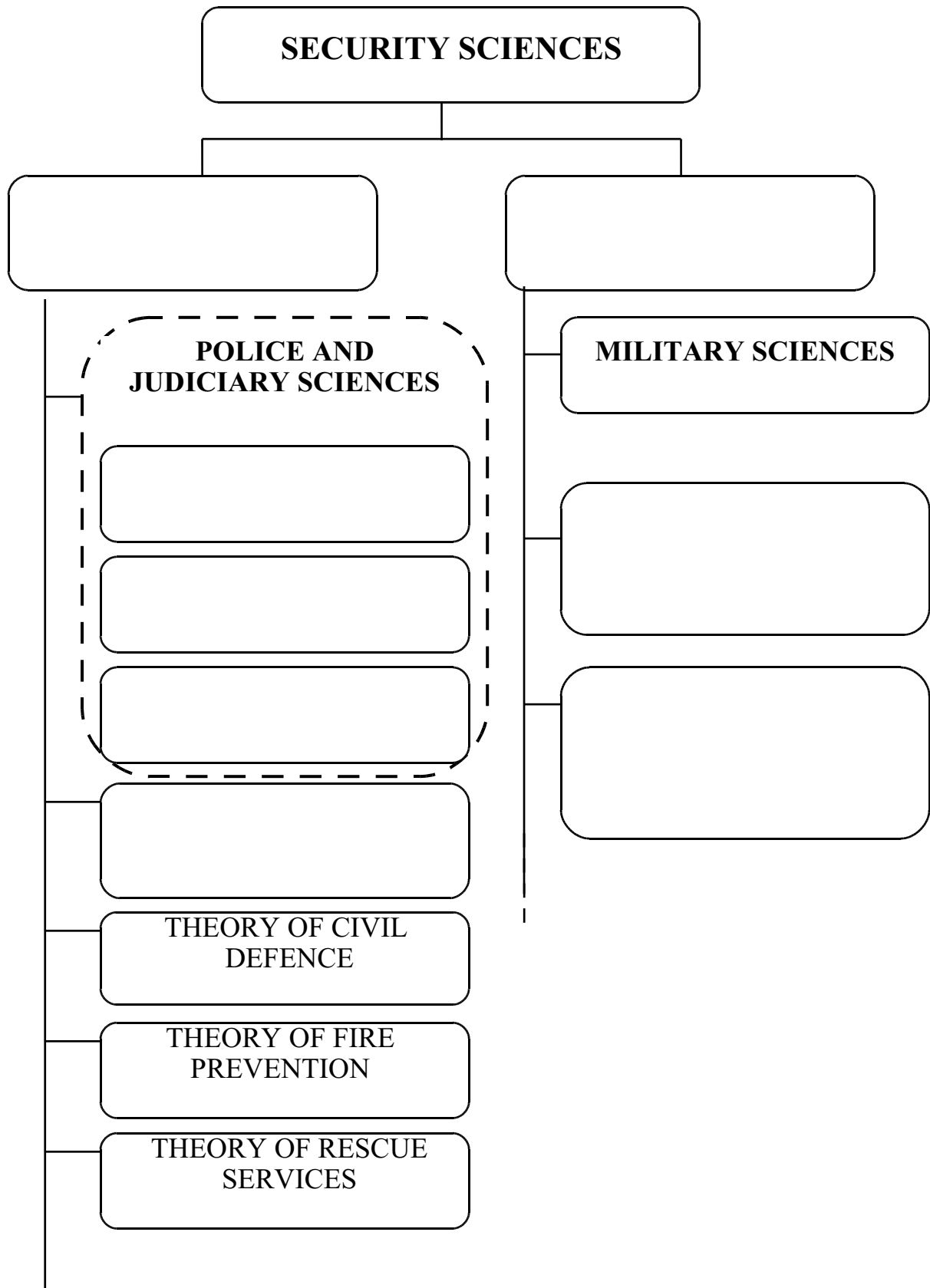
In the security literature, security is usually classed as internal and external. External security is chiefly provided by diplomatic and military means. Internal security is a joint endeavour of

This text was composed using extracts from Porada & Holcr et. al (2004).

various protective institutions including the police, judiciary, fire prevention, civil defence, rescue services, etc. Police represents one of the elements of the national and public security system.

Within the context of internal security sciences it would seem practical to highlight the group of police and judiciary sciences, i.e. those that deal with threats or damage to public law and order, the lives and property of citizens, prevention or detection, identification and clarification as well as prosecution of the offenders and their return to normal life. In institutional terms this comprises above all the police and the judiciary, and in agency terms action to protect public law and order, lives, health and property of the citizens, detecting and clarifying crime, proving crime, judicial verdicts and their execution as well as preventative action. Police sciences shall be understood as an integral part of the broader concept of police and judiciary sciences (see fig. 1).

Figure 1: The structure of security sciences

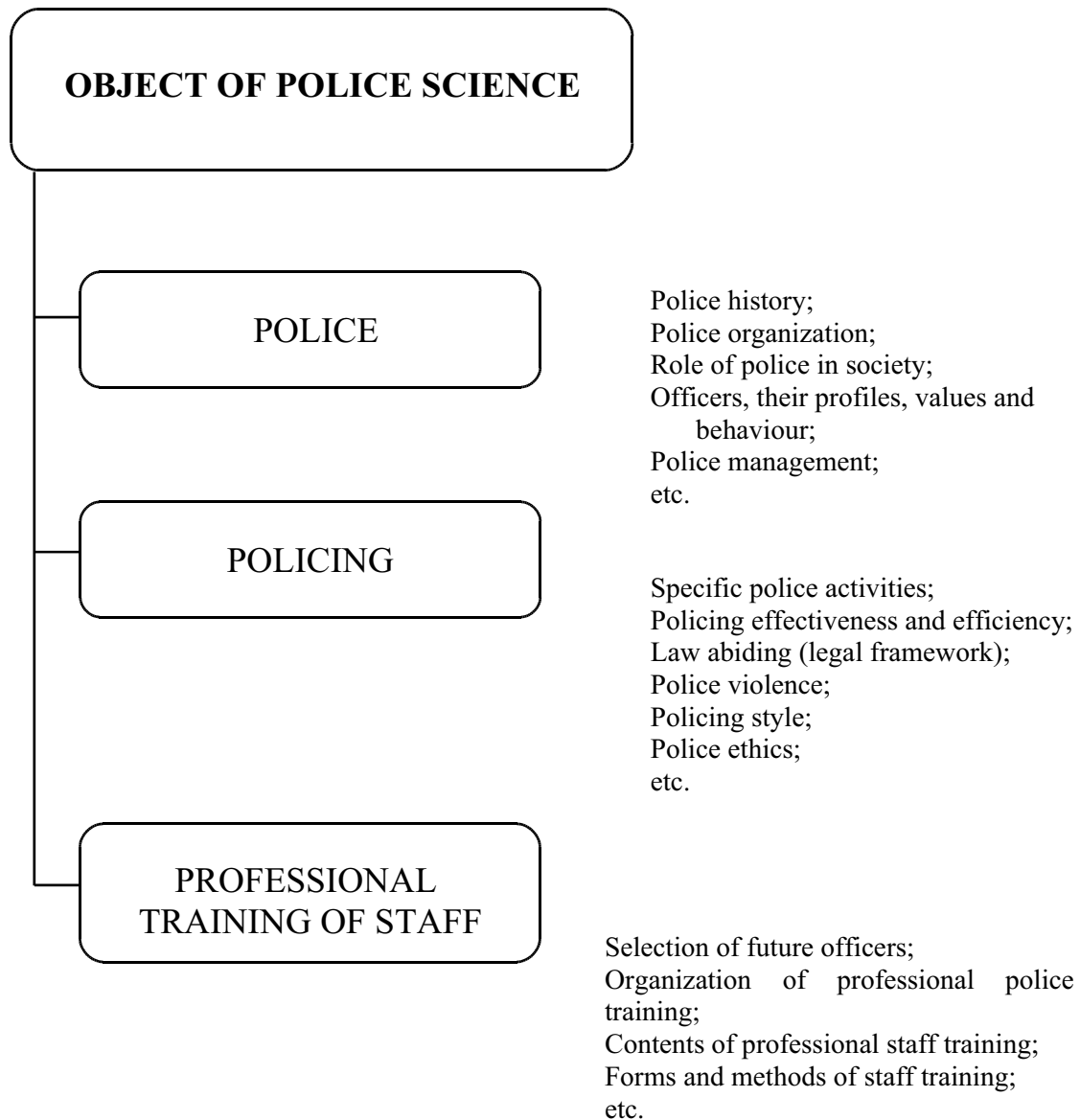


The object of police sciences

To define the object of police sciences, it is crucial to establish what security components go into the focus and what aspects of them are studied by the police sciences. If security is perceived as an existing realistic situation the value of which is always determined by the nature of danger on the one hand and the means of its containment or reversal on the other hand, (Erneker & Holcr 1997, p. 13), then it probably will be necessary to start searching for the object of police sciences within the realm of internal security of the state to be sanctioned by legal and individual enforcement (including the threat of using violent means) in the interest of protecting the citizens' lives, health and assets, human rights and freedom, for instruments geared to public law and order, with humans becoming the subject of threat. Presumably, the police should be the guarantor for those social values. Therefore, Semrád defines the above specific field of security by directly quoting the security functions of the police. The author points out that when thinking about the object of the police science one must above all determine the functions to be fulfilled by the police as an institution. The police force above all fulfils the social function of one of the guarantors of internal and external security, i.e. protecting values and the modalities of asserting these values face to face with external and internal threats. In this sense, the police, together with other components (state attorney, courts of justice, prison service, etc.) are a co-former and implementer of mainly an internal security policy and the enforcement of law and order. (Semrád 1998, p. 25) Within so-defined space lie virtually all attempts to define the police sciences. Summing up the outcomes of the debate, it is possible to define police sciences as an up-and-coming system of scientific findings on policing (police activities), on the conditions, means and methods of its (their) performance, on the police as an institution, its workings, organisation and management as well as the professional training of police officers. This formative-stage system of scientific findings further requires suitable methodologies and methods, specific language, and the presence of a scientific community. (Erneker & Holcr 1997, pp. 9 - 30; Holcr 2000, pp. 173 - 185). This definition is represented in figure 2.

According to Horton and Smith, the monopoly on the legitimate use of force is closely bound up with the twin functions of the police—law enforcement and order maintenance (Horton & Smith 1988, p. 19). Although there are other agencies and services responsible for enforcing specific laws and regulations, e.g. the fire service enforces the fire regulations, the police are the only body with a general responsibility for enforcing the criminal law (Horton & Smith 1988, p. 19).

Figure 2: Objects of police sciences



The police are engaged in miscellaneous activities associated with the fulfilment of their tasks. These are summarily referred to in literature as policing or police work but they are so loosely defined it is not immediately clear whether various authors have one and the same aspect in mind. This approach is useful from the viewpoint of special police training programmes as practising for practice indeed requires to approach policing as the sum of all activities – administrative, economic, managerial, organisational as well as specific to the policing job. A police officer in the field must perform all or many of these activities.

Yet the above-mentioned approach probably would not do in terms of scientific research. Holcr writes that while police sciences as a scientific field yield new, hitherto unknown findings, the

police teaching (as school programmes) secure their acquisition by the training of students to become members of the police (Holcr 2001, p. 20). Hubig for his part underlines that the difference between the police teaching and police science is that the former is not subordinated to the police security science but both of them must be presented in parallel while constantly comparing successful and unsuccessful action on the one hand with a theoretically-oriented search of the root causes of either success or failure (Hubig 2000, p. 51). Similarly to the scientific study of, say, management activities in the world of management theory, we deem it necessary to single out specific policing activities and bring them out for scientific scrutiny. Only such analysis of individual activities will enable scientific synthesis of policing or police work as a system of these individual yet constituent activities.

However, it is good to know that policing need not be done by the police alone. Some policing jobs can be delegated to other security organisations, whether state-owned or private. But this does not disqualify them as the object of police science.

In the literature, police and policing are often attributed in a certain way in an effort to single out this institution and its behaviour. The police are often referred to with the attributes of enforcement, security and non-persecution:

- ∉ the enforcement attribute – evokes the aspect of application of means of enforcement, i.e. restriction of basic rights and liberties by the application of violent (incl. physical) means (actual enforcement or the threat of using it),
- ∉ the security attribute – geared towards the protection of buildings, individuals, their lives, health and possessions, public law and order or the interests of the state including threat prevention,
- ∉ the non-persecution attribute – geared towards the fact that punishment is not what the police are after and that power and enforcement are not the police instruments of prosecution.

It follows from the above that special police sciences a priori ought to develop as sciences on individual police activities and/or as a synthesis of policing. In order to single out police activities for the purpose of scientific research it is evident that they should be approached from the theoretical and epistemological point of view rather than as a matter of practice and education (Holomek & Stacho 2001, p. 5 – 213). However, this is not to say that the police sciences are supposed to investigate policing on a general, theoretical level only. Indeed, a synthesis of thus acquired findings that respect the legal and cultural frameworks and other specifics of the given country, such as in the form of a “national” model, should also be the subject of research in the field of police sciences (Holomek 2001, p. 54 – 60).

System of police-scientific cognition

Debates around the proposed name of this up and coming scientific formation could not do without the confrontation of various rational models each of which has its justification as well as flaws. This polemic was ultimately narrowed to the following models that one encounters today:

- ∉ police-security science,

- ∄ police science (singular),
- ∄ police sciences (plural).

The chief objection against the first model is that if the modern police and their activities are perceived as a “public service” then the term “police-security science” (or sciences) would unduly narrow its (their) contents to the realm of security activities alone and failed to express other, non-security activities carried out by the police now and in future. The “public service” aspect has been a feature of policing even in the absence of binding norms (advisory, informative, preventative, etc.). Hence we do not draw a parallel between the policing strictures and activities performed by the police over and above their duties and obligations.

The chief reservation against the second model is based upon the objectively heterogeneous structure of the police as an institution and also on the unprecedented variety of police activities. Attempts to systematically integrate them in a single object (and subject) within a single field of science have led to insurmountable problems. After all, the object of study determines the nature of methods applied and thus also its methodology (Viceník 2000). The latter would have to be trans-disciplinary and unite all the methods and principles of natural, technical, sociological and other sciences, which would aggravate, rather than alleviate, the solution of problems.

For the reasons stated above (and to be discussed further below) we shall prefer the third model characterised by the plurality of police sciences but systematically integrated within a single scientific form which we have come to call the “system of police-scientific cognition”.

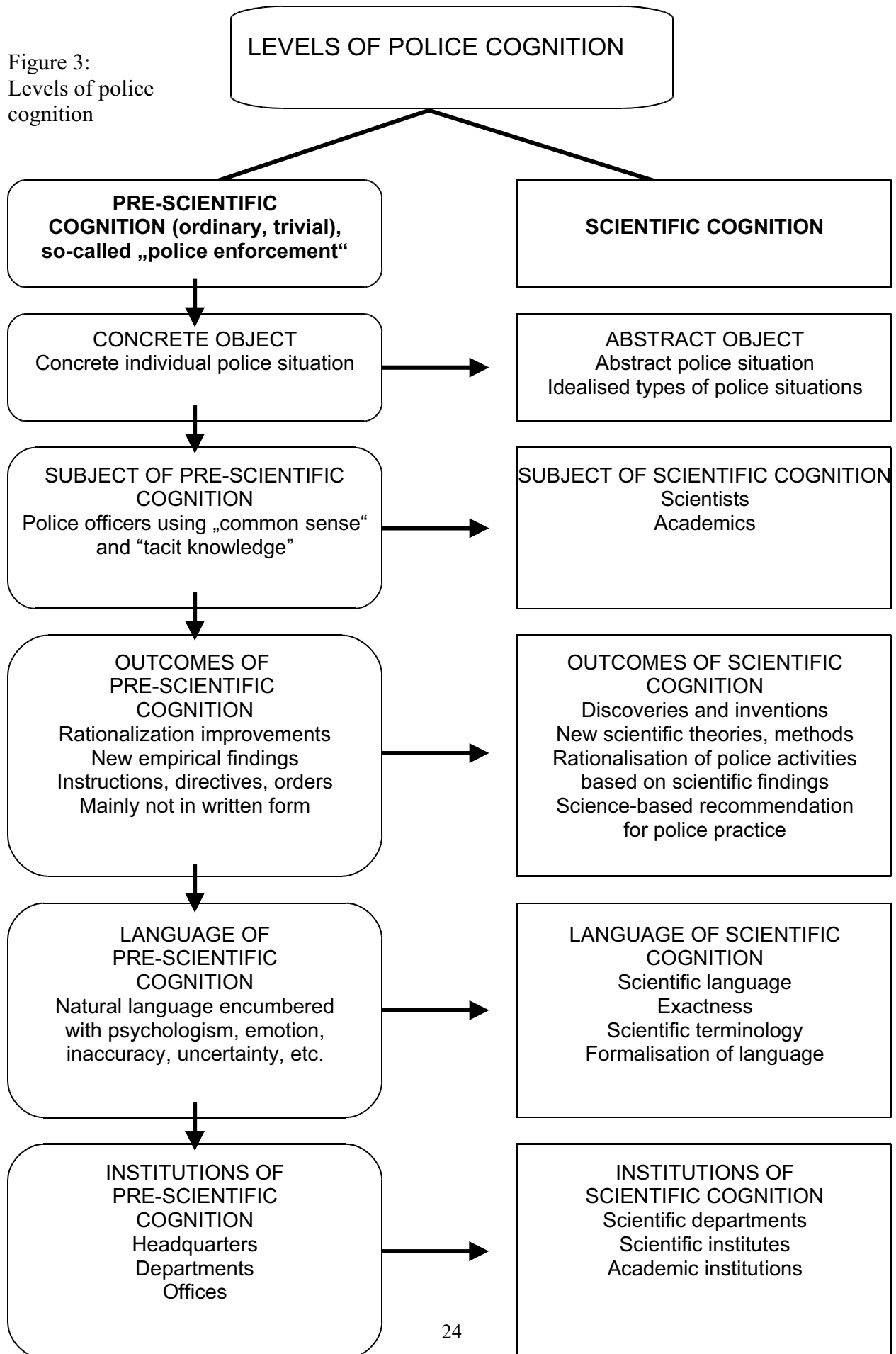
The system of police-scientific cognition is a form of science that integrates police-scientific disciplines and their elements, police-scientific research streams, scientific and practical police institutions, police science communities, communication channels and other phenomena of police science. We shall further investigate the nature, content, structure and functions of this system from the following angles:

- ∄ Genetic considerations (that underscore mainly the process aspects of the origin and development of police scientific cognition).
- ∄ Structural considerations (which underscore its structural elements and their mutual relationships).
- ∄ Functional considerations (that describe the proactive facets of scientific police cognition and its basic components).

Genetic considerations of police cognition

From the genetic viewpoint, police cognition has two levels: pre-scientific and scientific. They differ above all in the choice of object, subject as well as the character of the outcomes of cognition, operating language, and level of institutionalisation (see Fig. 3).

Figure 3:
Levels of police
cognition



The two levels of scientific police cognition are bound to exist together while there will be the tendency to enhance the scientific-cognition level at the expense of the pre-scientific sphere. The enhancement of the scientific sphere of police cognition requires the equal development of:

1. Scientific problems of police sciences
2. Scientific community of police sciences
3. Institutionalisation of police sciences

The scientific problems of police sciences encompass the systematic arrangement of their object, principles, laws and categories but also their system of methodologies, methods and special didactics. In other words this requires the development of the focus and scope of the police sciences through the development of their paradigms.

Scientific community was introduced as a term by Th. Kuhn (1982) and denotes a team of scientists united by a certain paradigm. The scientific community of the police sciences is the author of a commonly shared paradigm, its carrier, verifier and ultimately also the chief arbiter of its duration in time. This particular element of the police sciences takes the following forms:

- ∄ active communication within the scientific community at international conferences and seminars,
- ∄ scientific education,
- ∄ international science and research task teams,
- ∄ academic training of police personnel,
- ∄ improving, re-qualification, innovation and other courses.

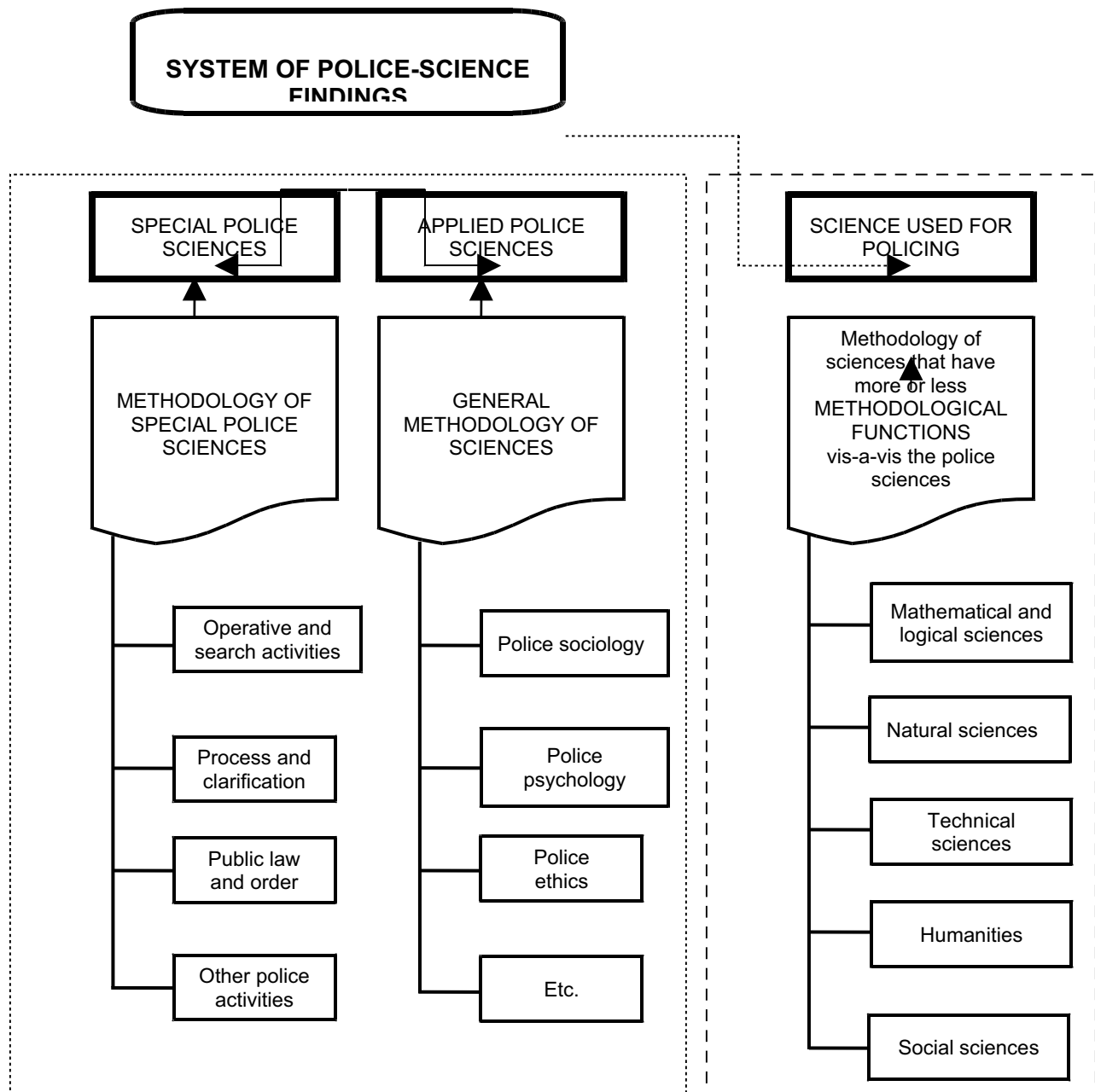
Institutionalisation of the police sciences ensures their functioning and development from both the societal and organisational angle. The following institutions are especially instrumental in the functioning and advancement of the police sciences:

- ∄ educational institutions,
- ∄ scientific and research institutions,
- ∄ scientific societies,
- ∄ publishers and editors of police science books and periodicals,
- ∄ organisers, administrators, coordinators etc.

Structural considerations of police cognition

From the vantage point of structure, the following scientific fields enter into the system of scientific police cognition as shown in figure 4.

Figure 4: Structure of police cognition



The first group consists of special police sciences with special objects and subjects of research. These sciences cannot be sourced by any of the established and generally recognised scientific fields and can only marginally draw empirical findings from other fields of human endeavour. Steinert amply captures their character by saying that this field cannot be simply constructed by piecing together bits and pieces of existing fields (Steinert 1996). The object of research within this group of police sciences involves chiefly the following structural elements: human resources,

police technical systems and resources, types and forms of police activity, training of police officers, police management, etc.

In context it is possible to single out the following elementary research areas and streams of police science:

1. general theory of police sciences the mission of which is to study fundamental, theoretical and special methodological problems facing the police and their activities,
2. theory of teaching (and training) police officers the mission of which is to outline and justify tasks, principles, forms and methods of staff preparation,
3. legal sciences pertaining to policing,
4. special technical systems and means used by the police,
5. theory of organisation and management of police services and policing activities,
6. history of the police, police services and policing.

Although not all the above-mentioned structural elements of the special group of police sciences yet possess precisely outlined objects of research with clear demarcation lines and lack the status of advanced fields of science, they nonetheless yield scientifically valuable artefacts in their capacity of fully fledged streams of scientific police research. Hence they offer correct foundations for the up-and-coming police scientific fields aspiring to relative autonomy within the realm of scientific police cognition.

From the nature of the applied sciences ensues also the character of their methodology. Each and every applied science has its own “non-police” object of study which, however, acquires certain specifics through the solution of police tasks. The applied police sciences comprise: police management, police sociology, police psychology, police ethics, theory of instruction in special police disciplines, police technical system and means, legal sciences in police activities, etc.

Finally the third group of scientific disciplines that participate (albeit indirectly) in the system of scientific police cognition comprises fundamental sciences in the fields of mathematics and logic; natural science, technologies, liberal arts, social sciences, as well as their numerous combinations. This is the breeding ground for applied police sciences. The scientific fields that fall in the third group of course are neither police sciences nor a general and special methodology thereof but they fulfil smaller or more pronounced methodological functions in relation to them.

If we want to take the police sciences as sciences geared towards the research of specific police activities (or rather the “optimisation” of these activities) then we choose a corresponding type of methodology. The object of study determines the character of methods (Viceník 2000, p. 8) that provide adequate tools for this research.

Functional considerations of police cognition

From the viewpoint of functions (and objectives) of scientific research there exist two groups:

- ∄ theoretical sciences (pure or fundamental sciences),

€ practical sciences (also referred to as sciences about projection or technologies).

The difference between theoretical and practical sciences is shown in the following table.

SCIENCES		FINAL GOAL	CRITERION	VALUE	ANSWER TO
THEORETICAL	- pure sciences - fundamental sciences	Explaining facts	Empirical Verifiable	Truth Untruth	Facts Reasons
PRACTICAL	- sciences on projection - technologies of action	Projecting efficient action	Achieving “the best state”	Right Wrong	Ends and means

It follows from the needs of the police and policing practice that the police sciences will be constituted and developed as practical sciences, as sciences about the projection of police activities and as the technologies of these activities. Analogously, Steinert refers to the prospects and research at the Security Academy of the Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior. He discusses an academic subject that would blend doctrine with research. Such teaching subject should be a doctrine (science) about police activities, a scientific field that would proceed from existing findings about the activity of the police and systemise, develop and critically verify these findings (erník, Viceník, Viš ovský 2000).

The basic goal of theoretical sciences is **explanation** while the objective of the practical sciences is **projection**. One sometimes hears about projection sciences in this context. This is one of the characteristic features of singling out practical sciences within the framework of science classification.

Police sciences labelled as practical sciences are in fact sciences about the scientific rules of policing. The central problem of police sciences as practical sciences lies in the optimization of police activities of which scientific rules are an important component. When using the term "scientific" one usually means:

- a) Its **theoretical justification** (i.e. the rule holds true only within the realm from which it was empirically derived. The contents of a rule are a generalisation applicable to a wider context of that same activity. Its functionality alone will not do and it is necessary to sufficiently justify the inevitability of its being functional).

- b) Its **derivation from a scientific law** or principle (i.e. a scientific rule is scientific only if and when its contents correspond to a scientific law or principle).
- c) Its **practical efficiency** (i.e. its use in police practice yields the best results).
- d) Its **coherency** with the other rules of one and the same activity (i.e. the rules are not in mutual contradiction and the contents of one rule must not devalue or weaken the effect of another rule. All this becomes a topical issue provided that there are systematic rules governing various policing activities and corresponding fields of science).

Hence the system of scientific police cognition is relatively comprehensive yet it is at the same time an open, up-and-coming branch of science whose further advancement will require:

- a) More intensive work on creative applications of the methodology of practical sciences as sciences that deal with optimising police activities,.
- b) Extending the range of applied police sciences and enhancing their closer interaction with police practice.
- c) Utilisation of modern sciences (their theories and methodologies) as the general scientific background in developing the scientific problems of the system of scientific police cognition.
- d) Cultivation of the scientific community of police sciences through university education and scientific training of police officers.
- e) Optimising communication links within the trans-national scientific community of police sciences through international seminars, conferences and other theoretical and practical encounters.
- f) Setting up international scientific-research teams to integrate above all the intellectual potentials of the participating countries.
- g) Gradual development of national and then also trans-national police scientific institutions (with the view of constituting European scientific and educational institutions).
- h) Compiling a multilingual encyclopaedia of police sciences which would systematically coordinate the sources of their advancement and at the same time keep track of the research outcomes of the scientific community.

The list of urgent tasks facing the scientific community of police sciences will never be complete. Figure 5 captures the relationship between police sciences, police practice and police training and quotes the types of problems and the ensuing tasks that need or will need to be resolved (see Fig. 5).

Figure 5: Conception of police sciences

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Social Determinants of Police Sciences

Viktor Porada, Jaroslav Erneker, Kv to Holcr, Jaroslav Holomek

The societal nature of the police sciences chiefly emanates from the fact that a scientific activity originates as the result of social requirements, is determined by the development of social practice, happens within a concrete social structure of society and is both a result and outcome of the entire process of global development of humanity.

Of crucial importance to the analysis of the social character of social sciences is the conclusion that these sciences originate, function and develop in concrete macro-structural, meso-structural and micro-structural **social conditions** that determine, form, integrate and disintegrate them. The police sciences acquire their social character namely through these conditions.

The social character of the police sciences is asserted namely through:

a)The social character of the environment as the sum of social resources, institutions and objective conditions as well as extra-scientific institutions and various conditions that generate the need of cognition and significantly impact police and scientific activities in the field of police and security.

b)The social nature of the process of cognition as a form of general social effort.

c)The social character of the assertion of scientific findings as the outcomes of the police sciences. The acceptance of the social factors in constituting police sciences is important inasmuch the pace of the scientific cognitive action will accelerate or slow down according to the intensity of their impact. In this connection we perceive police sciences as not only a scientifically cognitive effort but also a dynamically functioning system with a unique structure, functions and societal implications.

In the light of the above the outputs of these sciences are not the result of an isolated, individual activity but they are social by virtue of their contents, existence and impact on social subjects.

The position of police sciences in transformation processes in society

Similarly to the other scientific disciplines, the development of the police sciences will be influenced and determined by the development of society as a whole as well as by the specifics of internal factors ensuing from the relatively autonomous functioning of scientific cognition. The development of the police sciences depends upon the dynamics of the society as well as on the dynamics of social transformation.

One of the critical and indispensable conditions of embarking on this trajectory is the optimal level of internal and external security. If a society is perceived as a set of basic and mutually overlapping phenomena - personalities, social relationships and culture - it becomes obvious that qualitatively relevant change is a part of the current transformation processes. Within their framework substantive change occurs in the contents and practical implementation of security, its maintenance and development. It shows that in addition to the processes such as innovation, mass consumption, ecology and functional pluralistic democracy one also has to consider the optimal security of the above-mentioned processes and the functions of factors in the game. Without an

efficient solution of internal security there can be no economic prosperity and cultural advancement in an improving environment, no growth and improvement of life standards, no sufficient space for the pursuit of free activities in all walks of life, and no protection of human dignity.

In principle, fundamental socio-political and economic changes in all spheres of society demonstrate the need of constituting police sciences. Changes occur in the structure and functions of science, in security and information measures, and in the relationships between scientific work and the social environment. There is a growing significance of the accumulation, classification and typology of police-security findings that further underscores the need to scientifically react to the above development. The scientific community that constitutes and promotes police sciences should therefore create a single, purposefully structured functional entity that would a priori be geared towards the solution of theoretical and practical problems of the security science.

The process of institutionalisation and the institutional character of police sciences

The process of institutionalising a science is a telltale sign of advancement of a modern society. It is characterized by an orderly arrangement of scientific cognition, the existence of autonomous scientific posts, the emergence of scientific societies, and by purposeful organization and modernization of the system of scientific training. The process of institutionalising a modern science is characterized by the breaking down of regional barriers and assumes the character of intensive international cooperation.

Police sciences are an institutionalised and organized system of retrieval of objective findings. In order to function accordingly and develop their individual elements they require the existence of an institutional base.

Institutional components of the constitution of police sciences:

1. Organizational and legislative sphere

1material and immaterial conditions in support of scientifically-cognitive activities in the police security sphere,

2level of pro-innovative climate that spurs creative approaches,

3efficiency of intellectual efforts,

4adequate mechanisms of management of scientific activities,

5selection and formulation of scientific and research priorities in the process of constitution of police sciences,

6inner regulation of police sciences—scientific communication, quality control of scientific outcomes and products through specialist press, promotion of polemic and scientific discussion,

7efficient functioning of the science and research base and its interaction with scientific research institutions,

8interconnection of basic and applied research with specific organizational structures,

9adequacy of invested means, efficiency of their use and their actual contributions to police practice,

10formal and informal liaison between researchers and users.

2. Capacities and qualifications

1qualifications of scientists and teachers, number of creative workers in science and research, efficient performance of science and research organizations in the field of police science,

2careful selection and sound training of scientific workers, efficient system of stimulation and motivation to encourage model performance,

3choice of scientists for foreign study missions and internships, realistic outcomes of their missions to the advancement of police sciences.

3. Science and information

1furnishing information to the process of constituting police sciences,

2quality of information services, quality of methods of development, distribution and use of information systems,

3use scientific and research findings of foreign police organizations,

4rational intertwining of management process with scientific information outcomes.

The above-mentioned particular problems of institutionalising police sciences clearly demonstrate the exceptional difficulty and specific nature of their constitution as well as of the expected outcomes of these sciences and their impact on the reality of policing and security. The functions of this system are largely conditional on openness, flexibility and variability in time, optimal structure of funding, management and evaluation, and solution of associations between the basic and applied research. Systematic solutions concerning the structure of scientific research base must be intertwined with high qualifications, dynamic personal attitudes and a motivation to carry out scientific activities. Presumably, the advancement of police sciences will acquire a broad social dimension directed towards intensive cooperation. The product is almost exclusively the result of collective coordination and the synergetic effect of specialized police professions.

Formulation of research policies and effective coordination of the scientific and research orientation of the organizations that indulge in and promote police sciences will play an indispensable role.

Characteristics of a scientific community of police sciences

Police sciences may document the broader rationale of their existence by employing their potentials in reacting in theoretical, methodological and practical ways to the course of the police and security situations, studying this course, evaluating but also anticipating these developments. This requires optimal conditions including the existence of a rationally functioning scientific community of police sciences.

A scientific community is a specific social group united by, or rather acting upon a certain paradigm. It has also other characteristic features in that its members rally behind a specific scientific discipline. Typically they share a common type of education and miscellaneous other types of communication and social organization. It makes no sense to talk about a paradigm outside a scientific community. A scientific community is the author, carrier and examiner of a paradigm and its fertility, and ultimately also the chief arbiter of its duration in time (Kuhn 1982, pp. 5-25).

It follows that a scientific community fulfils the role of subject of scientific activity. This ushers in the human, active aspect of science. Police sciences are therefore perceived and studied not only as a system and structure of ready-made findings but also as an activity with social and psychological aspects.

A scientific community is made up of research teams that are either stable or are set up on an ad hoc basis to solve more complex research tasks, and of internal organizational units of research and educational institutions. Research teams function as social groups characterized by the following features:

- a) A group associates scientific workers with the aim of solving a specific scientific problem of policing reality and proposing socio-technical measures. Joint activities lead to mutual interaction manifested by a certain degree of group cohesion. Scientific activity thus frequently embraces joint or collective methods and forms. Complex tasks require interdisciplinary cooperation involving proponents of various fields of science. A group thrives on the division of research labour.
- b) A scientific community is characterized by a specific type of communication and communicative links. We talk about a system of team (group) documentation (a team or group information system). Team documentation differs from personal information systems.
- c) A group has its own motivation structure informed by relations between individual and group objectives. Individual needs are determined by particular research tasks of individual members of the group.
- d) A group (team, department etc.) has an internally defined horizontal and vertical organization determined by positions, standards, seniority and subordination.

A team is a group of productive members who focus on a common goal that is of interest to all members and each of them maximally contributes to its implementation. A team may be a formal or ad hoc (final) group that will disband when its task has been accomplished. It may happen that a team originally set up as a formal task carries on after accomplishing its task as an informal group whose members are united by sufficiently strong informal (common) links. Team work is an optimally coordinated and purposefully synchronized effort characterized by a closely interlinked group activity.

Basic prerequisites of productive teamwork:

- a) Common goals shared (internalised) by all members of the team who also feel personally responsible for their achievement.
- b) A relatively small number of persons involved allows mutual interaction usually in an

immediate verbal fashion.

c) Ability of every member to help outline and fulfil tasks.

d) Social proximity enables to render informal relations and conduct face-to-face informal communication.

e) Team members support each other and stimulate and spur joint action.

Communication within a scientific community

The functions of police sciences are mainly informed by the potentials of their realistic use within the contents and structure of police practice, i.e. by the possibility to realistically enter their realm and acknowledge the links between the practical and cognitive aspects of policing on one hand and their actual needs on the other. However, practical implementation of this task is rather complex in light of the following factors:

1 concrete level of constitution and development of police sciences on the national and international level,

2 level and degree of institutional safeguards of police sciences (material, staffing, funding etc.),

3 efficiency of projecting scientific findings into the professional performance of police officers, mainly police managers,

4 preparedness of the scientific community of police sciences to share usable scientific findings with police practice,

5 preparedness of the subjects of police practice to systematically embrace, apply and use findings made by police sciences,

6 efficiency of transfer of scientific findings into police activities and the degree of elimination of retarding factors and barriers.

The above and other factors mutually interact and support but also inhibit each other. Thus they form a system whose elements are important for the outputs of police sciences and their penetration into the complex network of relationships and activities within the realm of practical policing.

In the transfer of police science findings into policing practice there often arises the problem of their status and practical value. If one excludes the anomalies of absolute overestimation and underestimation (the latter is the more frequent) one often hears that this or that is “very theoretical and incomprehensible” etc. But these problems must be tackled both by the scientific community and the proponents of police practice as the “consumers” of scientific findings.

Police practice cannot expect to be served readily applicable findings on a silver platter. One has to work primarily with the methodological function of the police sciences and creatively search ways and means of transforming thus-accrued findings into one’s own activity.

On the other hand it is necessary to discern that general terminologies and categories can hardly be applied in practice in a direct and immediate way. It is necessary to use a lesser degree of

generalization of theoretical findings and formulate such findings geared towards the nature of research activities which enable their adequate practical application. This makes it possible to solve the discrepancy between a certain necessary theoretical level of the language used, the level of generalization and abstraction, and the varying daily specifics of police situations and activities.

The activity of a scientific community is inseparably linked with communicative actions and processes. From the angle of its target a communication may be oriented either inwards or outwards.

Internal communication aims to influence members of the community and to transfer scientific information so as to change it in order to achieve a synergetic effect in the activity of the scientific community. Group status that anticipates various roles in the process of communication is an important factor of internal communication. Practice shows that in the pursuit of a research task, members of a community (team, department) can play the role of initiators, coordinators and stimulators. In addition there is the role of an informer assigned with the specialist task of furnishing his group with a steady flow of information.

The above-mentioned sphere creates miscellaneous communication networks with varying modalities of information transfers:

- a) strong leader networks where the flow of communication is aimed at a leader who then makes a decision whereupon the information resumes its peripheral status,
- b) star scheme is a more efficient way of solving simple problems as it works with fewer communication channels and units of information,
- c) circular groups are more advantageous in tackling complex research tasks as they provide for an initiative and even share in the solution to all members of the network—something which is not possible in the star scheme,
- d) one-on-one networks are advantageous in that their members need less time to solve a problem, make fewer mistakes and are happier than they would be in networks with a reduced number of channels.

Vertical communication networks express above all organizational and management relationships between the supervisor and his subordinates as this type of communication (its method and contents) more or less reflect the formal organizational structure of the organizing element within which a scientific community is formed (concrete academic department, section, etc.).

Horizontal communication networks express above all partnership and cooperative relations whose participants assume equal professional (organizational) positions and where informal relations (e.g. communication acts between departments etc.) mostly prevail (Erneker 1964, pp. 20-21).

Outward communication is geared towards realms outside scientific community structures. Its basic aim is to pass accrued scientific findings of police practice to individual subjects of the scientific community and broad specialized public. For its implementation both formal and informal communication channels are important.

Formal and informal channels can be described in the following way:

- 1) Formal channels are open to public and have a potential number of users; informal elements are usually limited to a smaller number of users.
- 2) Information spread through the formal channels can be easily saved and retrieved while in the informal channels data is often saved temporarily and is difficult to retrieve.
- 3) Formal channels communicate relatively “old” information in comparison with the current and common contents of the information spread through informal channels.
- 4) Formal channels are influenced above all by users while the flow of informal data is influenced by the initiator of communication.
- 5) All information systems are plagued by considerable redundancies. Formal channels are less redundant than informal channels.
- 6) Formal channels have a low level of interaction while informal channels have a high level of interaction.

Optimally functioning communication channels make it possible to convey real-time information on developmental trends of scientific research in the police sphere and create conditions for the application of scientific findings in police practice.

Translation of scientific cognition into police reality requires coordination and cooperation between the scientific community and police practice which in turn enables the creation of a feedback that yields information about the level of application of scientific findings.

Communicative cooperation with foreign institutions and organizations holds an important place in the communication processes of the scientific community. This cooperation is a sine qua non of dynamic development of police sciences. Its essence lies in the joint solution of research tasks with the aim of producing new findings that can be applied nationally, utilizing the creative potential and synergetic effect of joint research teams and swapping experience in the field of theory and methodology of research activities.

Current integration processes within all-European structures not only create optimal conditions for scientific cooperation but are also imperative for the development of integration processes in the sphere of police sciences. We do not attempt to hide that the above processes in both the theoretical and practical field are still only in their formative stage and a lot of effort must be exerted in order to unify theoretical and methodological approaches, make the notional apparatus more precise as well as to define the focus and structure of police sciences.

The process of effective cooperation has been triggered. All subjects involved must look for optimal forms of cooperation and create suitable conditions including the elimination of barriers that inhibit the efficiency of such cooperation.

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Police and Science

Cees Kwanten

Up to twenty years ago, the police force was seen as a closed institution which often responded defensively to the comments of the outside world. Every comment was considered obstructive because it allegedly focused only on the things that were going wrong in the police world. During the last ten years, there has been a turnabout, which is partly related to changes in police culture. This change for the better is expressed, for example, in a more flexible relationship with the media (press conferences, invitations to TV crews). The relationship with science has also become more flexible.

Up to the mid-1980s, this relationship was characterized by a large degree of separation and a closed character. From the perspective of the police there was a strongly developed “them and us” mentality, in which the outside world was experienced as being threatening and exaggeratedly critical. I find that nowadays scientists are increasingly often invited by the police to provide their view of the problem of criminality. Criminologists, the “enemies” of the past, are asked to have a seat in advisory and supervisory commissions, to take a critical look at investigations and are given access to the most confidential information – at least when they are police investigators – but I will return to this subject later.

I will try to briefly describe this change of attitude.

Up to the 1960s, scientific research in the police field in the Netherlands was scarce and moreover, mainly of a legal nature. On the one hand, it mainly concerned determining and exercising police powers, and on the other hand, the distribution of control in the police system. For anyone who is at all familiar with the history of traditional police science in Europe, this is not surprising. After all, in traditional science political matters had the upper hand over organizational and operational issues. In the early 1970s, there was a clear change in this situation. Legal research was certainly not suppressed, but was complemented with socio-scientific research of many different types: sociological, administrative, psychological, anthropological research, and so on. In the second place, there was an important enlargement of scale in scientific police research. While it was initially mainly individuals who carried out this sort of research, real research groups developed over the years in a number of different forces, in various research institutes and at a number of universities.

How did this evolution happen?

It cannot be understood without looking at the innovations which took place in the scientific research on the police in the United States in the 1960s. The scientific innovations were initiated there by sociologists like Skolnick, Wilson and Bayley. They revealed that in fact the police are very different from what is prescribed in the law books. In police culture, decisions are taken on the basis of informal norms which are dominant in that culture. In his observations, Skolnick qualified this activity of the police as “illegal behaviour”. These are criticisms which the police found difficult to accept. The researchers had broken down taboos and they were not thanked for doing so.

Although the Anglo-American studies were known in the Netherlands, no attention was devoted

to them in the media or in politics. This was related to the prevailing approach to policing at the time, based on the traditional nineteenth-century idea of the political state. The law, which had a central place in this, led to an instrumental view in which policing was seen strictly as law enforcement and acting as support for law enforcement, and in accordance with the directives of the competent authority. The discretionary powers of the police were not acknowledged, or denied.

I have just said that the Anglo-American studies did not meet with much interest in the Netherlands; this lack of “curiosity” was undoubtedly also related to the traditional respect for authority which continued to exist in our Low Countries for a curiously long time. It was only with the movement of democratisation of the 1960s and 1970s and with the new generations of police officers that any attention was devoted to the organization of the police. The police became a political item, and increasingly empirical research on the police also became a focus of interest.

This is a brief history of the situation so far.

My subject here concerns “Police and Science, question mark?”

What’s that question mark all about? Are there still any questions? There certainly are !! The police finally discovered science. Following their initial suspicion and rejection, researchers nowadays can count on an open and friendly response. The police are now making strategic use of scientific research on many different fronts, and over the years they have learned when it is strategically sensible to have scientific research carried out; purely scientific research does not have any direct instrumental value for the police, and only takes place little by little.

We are talking about a relationship between police and science which is very complicated, a relationship of attraction and rejection; on the one hand, there is a symbiosis from time to time, and on the other hand, it is often like an excommunication, sometimes almost like an exorcism.

How is this possible?

I will attempt to clarify this mystery.

Science focuses on change; science is change. With its ideas and theories, science should be ahead of society. In this way, science can make a meaningful contribution to the continuing development of society.

The task of the police focuses on maintaining the status quo. The police are not synonymous with change, despite famous reports and constant reorganizations. The ultimate task of the police is a conservative task: to maintain and protect law and order in society. This does not require large-scale change and alteration. Obviously, the ideas on how the police ought to carry out these tasks do change, but the task as such does not change.

This difference between the police and science has far-reaching consequences.

If both groups have a sufficient understanding of the backgrounds and wishes of the other group, the interaction between police and science can lead to fruitful results.

What do we need to understand these two worlds better? I will briefly outline a number of constant factors which always play a role and will continue to play a role in this relationship.

In the first place, KNOWLEDGE.

In the world of science, everything turns on knowledge; science aims at the description of facts, systematic connections between those facts and an explanation of the facts; in the scientific process knowledge is the nucleus.

In the process of policing, knowledge plays a more limited part. More important are the political compromises; the political arena differs from the arena of scientists; the police operate in a field of force, an area of power in which different norms and interests are much more important, for example, politics, in which knowledge plays a much more limited role. I am not saying that politics and the police are the same, though they do come very close together from time to time.

I will give you a recent Dutch example. In the context of upholding law and order and combating crime in the large cities, the police have asked politics for more effective measures – in other words, for more powers. In itself, this is not unusual, because the police are always asking this, but in this case it concerned the power to search someone for preventive purposes: not someone who was a suspect, but just any arbitrary person, without looking at the individual, and even when there is no suspicion of that person at all. This is a very far-reaching power; it was already possible to search people for weapons, but only if there was some suspicion. The government established a commission of lawyers, and as academics, we strongly discouraged this sort of power.

It would turn our whole system of criminal law upside down. We would find ourselves on a slippery slope, and this is unacceptable. Legal science was supported by other disciplines, such as sociology and psychology, which predicted big problems. As a result of politics the police did get this power anyway. The police were happy, but left science concerned.

The differences between the police and science mean that police officers and scientists do not always understand each other, and that is putting it mildly. Scientific knowledge about certain forms of criminality or about developments in the police system, certainly do not guarantee that a scientist can provide useful advice in specific investigations or situations of public order, as I described above with regard to preventive searches.

There is another thing. In fact, researchers and investigators do not always speak the same language, and this can lead to linguistic confusion reminiscent of the Tower of Babel. They speak languages which are fundamentally different, like the expectations they have of each other. The expectations of the police with regard to the results of scientific research are often too great. They believe that with the help of scientific research they can actually gain an insight into the background of any problems. Therefore, many police officers are disappointed when the results of ‘their’ scientific research become known. The wheels of science – and that also applies for police science – turn very slowly. Police science does not provide the police with the answers to all the questions, and certainly not yesterday, when it should all have been sorted out.

I have characterised the relationship between the police and science as one which attracts and repels. The repelling aspect is invariably related to the scientific publications which are critical of the police. These criticisms are generally considered unjustified by the police; when the results of research become too critical, at least some of the police officers concerned feel that they have been personally addressed and criticized.

In general, the police do not deal well with criticism. In most cases, criticism leads to a defensive response and denials, and subsequently there is little or no further discussion of the subject of the criticism until the following incident. Criticism is still seen as an attack on the police. Certainly when the criticism is expressed in public, and particularly in the media – many people see this as a direct attack on the police, and a direct attack requires a strong defence. Any expert on the police will have come across this response many times. Fortunately, there are also exceptions. Some police chiefs try to introduce the most important recommendations and conclusions of research in their own organization without taking the criticism personally.

Science can provide criticism which is supported. Scientists are trained and taught to formulate and analyse critically. They describe a problem to focus on it in a critical way. Science without criticism is inconceivable. There is no scientific study of an empirical object which does not provide a critical picture of reality. However, in the public view it is particularly negative criticism that is focused on; positive criticism and an affirmation of the work of the police are much less prominent. The effect of the constant negative criticism further erodes the image of the police. This is not only the fault of science, because criticism is not a monopoly of science.

Scientific research on of the police is not sacred. Obviously, police chiefs also have a right to criticise the methods of research and the results. However, the credibility of this criticism is not always very great.

Reference is often made to the Mystery of the police, and researchers do not have access to this mystery. Scientists do not have enough insight into the way in which the police work internally and in relation to their environment as a system – an extraordinarily complex organization. There is a lack of insight into the combination, on the one hand, of a bureaucratic organization, and on the other hand, a front-line organization in which employees usually have to take decisions immediately on the spot, in constantly changing situations. When this great discrepancy between the formal and informal organization and mechanisms which apply in that force field are not recognised, any investigation will founder. Therefore, the conclusion is that no useful recommendations will ever emerge from research that will help the police, because outsiders have never been able to understand the Mystery that is the police. In this thought process it is logical to take the next step, which means that the real stimuli for new visions, for innovation, for a step forward, can never come from scientific studies, but from the police themselves, namely from those who are part of the mystery.

With the statement that science does not produce anything useful for the police, we have arrived in the world of cause and effect. If the results are rejected as being useless, this also serves as an alibi not to implement them, and the diabolical circle is complete.

It is not unusual to be rather dismissive of the extent to which the results of scientific research have an effect in practice. There have been periods (for example, at the end of the 1970s) when researchers were plagued by the “nothing works” syndrome: the sense that nothing that was investigated met the expectations, and nothing was useful or could be used in practice. The result was that there was less research and therefore less attention devoted to research. Many cynics have concluded in recent years that there is little point in carrying out research.

In the last ten years this situation has improved. It is not the case that scientific research has led to

changed paradigms, but it did have an influence on a change of direction and changes in police procedures. However, the prejudice that police science only carries out research for police scientists, and that they only write books for each other, is very persistent.

At the end of this excursion, it is possible to summarise these points by saying that police officers and scientists do not always understand each other. They focus on a completely different aim from each other. They both express themselves loudly and clearly, but they talk only to themselves, and then in different languages. It is not only the languages that differ, but also the expectations they have of each other. Scientists are surprised by the unwillingness of the police to change; police officers are surprised by the capricious nature of science. Scientists are intimidated by the strict hierarchy and complex bureaucracy in which the police function, while police officers do not understand how scientists can create order in the chaos, i.e., the chaos in which scientists live and work.

The worlds are fundamentally different. One world is not better than the other, but they are different, and this insight is essential to be able to assess the value of each, and to know the value of the different functions they each have.

Theory

After the antitheses, it is time for reconciliation.

There are a lot of arguments for the existence of a police science. I will restrict myself to just one argument which one I call *Changes*.

Both police and science have an interesting field of mutual interest; the police work changed, the police profession changed as well. The social and the political pressure on the police have been growing over the past decade. The police are under a severe pressure to improve its effectiveness, to restore its loss of image and to be very careful with the trust of the public. The police needs scientific backup, but it also brings about very interesting problems for scientists.

Police work and crime-fighting have changed decisively in the last decades. Of course, preserving and guaranteeing security and order are still the prime task of the police and the justice system, but aims and methods, and also the division of labour in this field, have changed dramatically in recent years. Police action needs to be seen in its historical and social context. This means that the work, duties and thinking of the police must be constantly modified and adjusted to keep pace with social change. Future developments must also be predicted so that the police can adjust to them in good time. In the next few years, much will depend on how the police cope with increasing expectations regarding internal security on the one hand, and with growing social problems and perhaps increasing crime on the other.

These changes will test the entire law-and-order framework of our society, and there will be and increased contact and conflict between the police and population groups whose behaviour is shaped by their social circumstances and a different cultural background. This will make openness and sensitivity to social trends a prerequisite of good policing, conflict management will increasingly become part of the police's day-by-day role, like Otto Adang , my colleague and chair in public order management at The Police Academy will demonstrate to you today.

The police can meet these changes and future challenges only by transforming itself into an institution with a solid scientific basement. (Thomas Feltes, *Police Science*, Budapest 2001, 3)

Internal security is an important aspect of community life, with a vital bearing on the organization of the individual's life and of the state, in our case of the police.

Let me give you one example from our recent Dutch history.

Just before our last Science and Research Conference in Prague in November last year, the famous and controversial film director Theo van Gogh was murdered in the street, knifed and shot. The perpetrator – officially he should still be called “the suspect” – did not hide the fact that this had been a religious murder. It was not payback time in the criminal world, but a sort of payback time in the religious world.

A shock wave was felt throughout the Netherlands, and also throughout the whole of Europe, because other countries were also afraid of this sort of attack, which was of a completely different character from those we had already experienced on 9/11 and in Madrid.

The shock of this attack in the Netherlands can still be felt, particularly in the big city where I live and where the attack took place. The shock is felt privately in the tram, the metro, in the organization of festivals and weddings, in memorial services, or when guarding politicians and many people in important positions. In short, it can be felt in every fibre of our society. The whole city has turned into one big fortress, with many much stricter security measures, as if some kind of war is going on.

Amsterdam had the image of a very tolerant city in the traditionally tolerant Netherlands. But the question whether this is still the case lies in the field of the science of sociology: there was a Netherlands before Van Gogh and there is a Netherlands after Van Gogh.

Incidentally, a lot of our academic policemen studied sociology. But separate research, possibly the science of psychiatry, might give an answer to the question: why do policemen study sociology? However, that question will have to be answered at a completely different time, and I must stick to my subject.

Of the many problems which arose as a result of this murder, I will address one which still applies today, namely the question of guilt. Not in the sense of “who is the perpetrator”, in other words, the question of guilt in criminal law, but in the sense of prevention. Could this murder have been prevented? And if so, by whom or what?

The political world responded as it usually does in a democratic country: there was no sense of *mea culpa*, and of course the guilt lay with others. As usual, politicians responded by establishing commissions, commissions and more commissions. The political circus put on another show. In this respect, the Netherlands do not react differently from other countries in Europe. But this is not the point I want to clarify, because that belongs to the political science. The politicians have put the blame on the police and the intelligence service. A good example of divide and rule politics.

The result is predictable: reports on the ineffective organization of the intelligence services and reports on the poor organization of the police; the two services became involved in a vulgar squabble because they were manipulated against each other (divide and rule).

The burgomaster of Amsterdam is angry because he has not been given any information in advance; the police are angry because they have been given the blame, the information services are angry because their work is being questioned and so on and so on. The two services have suffered significant damage to their image as a result of this affair.

The police have a Pavlovian response to the problems that arise, namely reorganization. But we all know that at best the reorganization leads to moving or postponing the problem, not to solving it.

The negative reports which appeared on the police and the intelligence service therefore led to another reorganization of the police, but this was entirely superfluous. The whole business of the murder was not an organizational problem, and therefore did not fall under the science of organizational management, or worse still, the pseudo-science of management itself. No, all those lengthy reports could have been left unwritten if the whole complex situation had been reduced to the basic question, which is one of legal science: who has what powers and, therefore, who had the authority to collect information about this attack?

Just as there is a division between Church and State, there is also a division between state security and criminality.

There was no word about this legal matter in the reports. Briefly consulting legal science could have provided the answer to the question of who was responsible for obtaining this information. The question of prevention on the basis of this information is a completely different matter.

The police need science very badly.

As I mentioned before: the role of the police has changed because they also have to pay attention to the feelings of insecurity in society. The opinions of citizens have become very important.

Following the murder of Van Gogh, the sense of insecurity increased and the police were blamed for the fact that the city had become unsafe. Citizens became more suspicious, despite all the big reports, which do not make any difference to their sense of security – they only belong to the world of politics. This is a risk society at its best. Risks have to be removed, security has to be increased, and that is the task of none other than the police (Van Duyne and Kwanten, *Handhaven/Law Enforcement*, The Hague, 2005, 9).

Transfer

The knowledge that is generated by means of police research should be included in police education in a carefully considered way. The police themselves are increasingly able to check the extent to which a given piece of advice has been based on the underlying scientific knowledge, this due to a bettering education over the past years.

Crucial is the transformation of scientific knowledge into knowledge that police officials actually absorb. How do you arrange it so that all the scientific knowledge about the police also ends up in the right place to have an effect on police practice? Writing books and articles is merely one of the more effective ways. But, average police officials only keep up with the trade literature to a limited extent; yet more books and articles will only have a limited influence on their actions.

Producing a wide-ranging and widely applied police knowledge network **can** make an important contribution to this; this is how modern means of communication can be used to achieve transfers of

knowledge. But there are realistic limitations we have to face and I will try to prove this thesis on the basis of Dutch experiences.

Put into practice

I live in the city centre of Amsterdam, the heart of the liberal free world, a free city in a free state. The way citizens handle the legal rules shows a strong resemblance to hooligans on holiday in a South American banana republic. Regulations do not mean to forbid a certain behaviour, Oh no!! Regulations like the traffic light is red are at most a recommendation, an advice to the citizen: maybe it is better to stop for a little while, but a red traffic light commits you to nothing. All the citizens actions are up to him, he is free, self-governing, and autonomous.

As a researcher you sometimes get the craziest and exotic ideas when you ride on your bike through this free state: Is the same true for the police?

The behaviour of the citizens transferred to the police: If the legal rules are also at most an advice, what the police do with the rules is up to the police and to the police only; if this brain wave is correct, then we have a structural problem. Citizens expect in a state of law that the others, **the police**, know the legal rules and behave according to the rules. What about the knowledge of authorities with policemen?

So we started at the Police Academy three years ago with a large-scale research into authorities and discretion in The Netherlands and for that purpose we used a questionnaire divided into five parts, varying from theoretical questions to practical cases. I will give you the results in a very small nutshell: the score was very low. But this result did not give us a terrible shock because it is a European problem and the essence of it is not new. The real problem was the question what to do with these results in practice, how to transfer the knowledge they ought to have to real knowledge in practice. The most common solution is to write a new Handbook, a new Manual on authorities with all the answers in it to the problems policemen had. But our research proved as a side effect the phenomenon of what I describe as **non-textuality**. The police culture is absolutely no reading culture, the police culture is an asking culture, a speech culture; policemen ask colleagues instead of reading books. Let me try to explain this statement. For a lawyer, a legal expert, all the offences and authorities are in the code of law, written down in law books and a lawyer works from these books, the text is the starting point. Policemen behave differently: they make a combination of the facts in practice, the facts they see and create out of these facts an offence, create from the practical facts the penalties of law. The world of the law in the books and the world of the law in action lie in different directions.

In part 1 of the questionnaire we asked 75 theoretical questions about authorities, questions testing the knowledge. A quarter of the respondents had to answer the questions without any possibility to look it up, so they had to know everything by heart. Three quarters of the respondents had the opportunity to look everything up (in books, on the intranet and so on).

Both groups of respondents had exactly the same score. No one consulted a book.

In short, the solution is not to write a new Manual on authorities because no one would read this book. The attribute of non-reading occurs in the Police Genes, some case of biological predestination. But that belongs to the medical and biological science and not to the legal department.

Not a new book, but a legal computer programme for policemen as an assistance system with which they can have legal data and information on a screen within a few seconds. The laptop as a Saviour? No, this system is operational now but it has one small handicap: it shows written text. Experiences with the system show that it is only consulted in practical operational situations, when there is a practical need to know something very quickly to cope with a practical question or situation. Besides not to mention the problem of the legal passwords the policemen have to enter to get an answer to their questions; using only legal passwords to enter the system would create a diabolic circle because the legal term itself is a new textual problem.

Another side effect of our research was helpful in the transfer to practice and education.

Part 5 of our questionnaire exists of five case positions, five practical cases, which had to inform us about the way policemen put their knowledge into practice.

Policemen are proud to be practical people, let us **do** something and we go for it!

The practical questions in our questionnaire however were answered very badly. What could be the problem? A possible cause could be that we deal with people from the practice who need a physical reality as a starting point and who can only afterwards put the story on paper. In a reverse order, from a non-living non-physical story on paper to the vivid reality and from there to the legal description was a bridge too far. We did a test to verify this supposition in a small group of 25 respondents.

We invited professional actors to play the same cases, as written in the questionnaire, in a simulation. When we asked the same questions to the respondents who had watched the cases played in a physical reality by the actors, the score was very high.

Beside the principle of non-textuality, I mentioned before, this principle of what I call **visibility** is important in education and training of policemen and both principles have to play an essential role in transferring knowledge to education and practice.

Our Police Academy started this year 2005 a pilot with videos specially made for instructing basic authorities to students and I hope but I am simultaneously convinced that the evaluation will be very positive. I will show you a selection now on Power Point. Remind that the text you are going to see sometimes is not meant for the students, we removed that in the final version because of the principle of non-textuality: pictures and text are incompatible.

I described policemen as some peculiar kind of human beings outside the Zoo, but this is no criticism on the police; it is only an advice to adjust and to improve the education on the basis of the research we did in the legal department. Make education vivid as practice is. Use both principles in transferring not only legal knowledge into practice. But more research will be needed how to handle with the **causes** of these principles in the longer term and therefore we seriously need a serious police science without clips and videos.

Police Science and Research in the European Union

Gerhard Hanak, Veronika Hofinger

1. Introduction

The following article is based on a study conducted on behalf of the CEPOL Science and Research Committee. The research project aimed at collecting and analysing information on the police research infrastructure in 26 European countries (EU member states plus Norway), and thereby providing a basis for the understanding of present conditions as well as of future prospects of European police research.

The article starts with an attempt to characterize and to compare both the status and the significance of police research in European Countries. What is the importance of police (related) research in the respective countries and what can a high, moderate or low status of this research actually mean? After describing some remarkable features of European police research and its institutional framework, we focus on research carried out at Police Academies and we describe the institutionalisation of research and science tasks and activities at the academies. Furthermore, the article discusses typical topics of police research and then focuses on some promising and adequate institutional patterns of organising police research activities in different (types of) countries. Finally some restraints and limits to research are discussed, as well as circumstances and structures that promote a quality of (applied) science and research that both corresponds to academic standards and at the same time remains relevant in terms of reflecting and guiding the practice of policing and law enforcement policies.

2. Description of the Material and Methods

The study is based on interviews with national training experts for police research and science. A catalogue of questions, developed by the “CEPOL Research and Science Committee”, was used as guidelines for group interviews conducted in Copenhagen in June 2003. The Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology in Vienna was invited to engage in the interpretation and analysis of the material in January 2005. The analysis started from a careful and attentive reading of the material and an attempt to develop a consistent description for each of the countries under investigation. This description was built around the following questions: What is the role/ importance/ substance/ organisation/ structure etc. of police research in the respective countries? From what sort of information can we conclude on the substance and quality of police research? Which institutions/researchers are engaged in that sort of research? Who are the main players in the field? As a result of this first step, country-specific descriptions were created. Secondly, the different institutional levels and domains of police research were examined in particular (Police Academy, other branches of the police organisation, universities, other research institutions). This stage of analysis allows a better understanding of both the quantity and quality of research infrastructure in a given country, and especially: the “division of labour” in police research among various players in the field. Another step was meant to compare the countries, to develop typologies and patterns (similarities, differences, good practice) and to give a synoptic overview of police research in the European Union.

The quality (and transparency) of the material was very different for the 26 countries. While the situation in some countries could be understood, overviewed and classified easily, other descriptions were somewhat deficient, stressed only certain aspects of a country's specific situation, or mainly suggested that the national conditions for a variety of reasons rarely allow for clear-cut and simple answers to some of the questions. To a certain degree the gaps could be filled by means of the internet, visiting homepages of Police Academies, other major research institutions etc.. Some additional and updated information was communicated by János Fehérvári (in March 2005) and by some of the national correspondents.

The study has to be seen as a first step of CEPOL for obtaining an overview of the situation of police science and research in the EU-Member States (and in Norway). But it cannot provide a complete and comprehensive picture – not even of the relevance of police science and research for police training within the European Union. Answers were given and material was provided by training experts. They may be familiar with the training and research situation at their specific colleges – but not all of them are experts with regard to police research and science in their countries. Furthermore, the understanding of police (related) science and research differs. However, this understanding was the basis for the answers of the responding experts. Some included legal topics, forensics and natural sciences in their approach to police research; others focused on the social sciences. There is no common approach to and no common definition of police science and research in Europe. This fact may have influenced the answers and consequently the basic material for the analysis. All in all, the report should be seen as a preliminary survey, and as a starting point for further studies.

3. Status and Significance of Police Research in European Countries

The table below intends to offer a first impression of the status and significance of police related research across European countries that of course requires extensive comments and explanations. As has been said before, the evaluation and classification is largely, and in many cases exclusively, derived from the information that was collected from the national representatives of CEPOL, and – at least in some cases – this information appears incomplete or “biased” in some way. Especially in some larger countries with a highly differentiated police organisation (or with more than one police force) and/or with an apparent lack of communication and coordination between police organisation, police academy and academic research institutions the material remains fragmentary and obviously does not permit a comprehensive and adequate understanding of the national culture of police research and of the specific contributions of various players in the field. This, for instance, applies for countries like Belgium, France, Italy, Poland and Spain, where the quality and relevance of academic police research is difficult to evaluate from the information supplied by the national correspondents. Furthermore, the classifications in the table ought to be approached with some caution, since the categories in use (especially: “low” and “moderate”) may refer to rather different situations or configurations, deserving more detailed comment and explanation, and since the status and relevance of police research in a given country can be rather contradictory and inconsistent, and evaluation of course depends on the weighting of indicators and on criteria of evaluation (for instance, available resources, practical relevance for the police organisation and beyond, participation in networks and cooperation,

degree of institutionalisation, output in terms of reports and publications etc.). To a certain degree the classifications in the table – which show primarily the assessment of the materials by the authors – are meant to serve as a basis for discussion and reworking, and for developing further criteria for evaluation of different national patterns and traditions of police research, and of the specific “division of labour” in police research that is suggested by the material.

Table 1: Status and Significance of Police Research

COUNTRY	Police Academy	Police Organisation	Outside Police
AUT	low/moderate	low	moderate
BEL	low	moderate	moderate (?)
CYP	low	moderate	moderate
CZ	high	relatively high	relatively high
DEN	low	low	moderate
EST	moderate	low	low
FIN	high	low/moderate	high
FRA	moderate	low	high
GER	relatively high	high	high
GR	low	low	low (?)
HUN	relatively high	moderate	high
IRE	relatively high		moderate
ITA	moderate		
LAT	moderate	low	low
LIT	moderate	low	moderate
LUX	low	low	low
MAL	low	low	moderate
NL	high	high (?)	high
NOR	high	low	moderate
POL	high	moderate/low	moderate (?)
POR	relatively high (?)	low	moderate
SLO	low	moderate	relatively high
SK	moderate	low	low
SP	low/moderate*	moderate	?
SW	low	high	high
UK	low	high	high

A “low” status and significance of police research *at the Police Academy level* may mean that

- 1) until recently there has been little demand for police research on the national level, which frequently applies for smaller countries that are characterized by a low level of differentiation in the scientific/academic field;
- 2) police related and criminological research is primarily or exclusively conducted at one or more specialized and quite professional research institutions (in other branches of the police organisation, affiliated to some Ministry or at the universities);
- 3) the Police Academy is understood as a training institution where practical and management skills and competences are taught and acquired without much attention to scientific and academic knowledge and reasoning.

A “moderate” status and significance of police research at the Police Academy, again, may mean different things in different countries, so for instance that

- 1) the interest in (social) sciences and research is a relatively new phenomenon, and attempts to establish research and science functions and units have been started only recently (due to social or political change, or caused by an increased motivation in approaching a more professional standard of policing in the respective country);
- 2) the Police Academy basically functions as a training institution, but some research activities are maintained for purposes of advanced training;
- 3) research activities occur, but are largely confined to the development of courses, curricula, and to evaluation of training and courses, but with no focus on more conventional topics of police research like criminal investigation, crime patterns, police work, public order etc;
- 4) there are occasional research activities or individual researchers at the Police Academy, but no permanent structures and no units are regularly involved in scientific tasks;
- 5) there is a certain “affinity” to science and academic standards, since the Police Academy is integrated into the national system of higher education or definitely holds the status of a university – at the same time there is little information on substantial research activities or responsibilities;
- 6) research is mainly conducted by students/trainees who hold no academic degree and/or receive only limited training in research techniques and methodology;
- 7) research is regularly conducted, but with very limited (human, financial) resources, or besides other tasks and obligations.

Thus, a “moderate” status of police research usually means that there is some police research, but at the same time there are apparent limits and restraints to the quality and relevance of that research, obviously reflecting the fact that police research is more than an occasional or residual phenomenon, but at the same time is not considered very important among the various tasks and responsibilities of the Police Academy.

Considering the *(rest of the) police organisation*, a “moderate” status of police science and research may signify

- 1) certain research activities, but an apparent lack of coordination and/or institutionalisation;
- 2) research is largely concentrated at the Police Academy, but there is occasional “research on demand” in other branches of the police authorities (at police headquarters, in criminal investigation units etc.);
- 3) there are a few research units in the police organisation, working on rather specific subjects, but there is little or no research on the typical mainstream topics of police research.

On the other hand, a “low” level of status of police research in the police organisation may signify that

- 1) generally speaking there is no more than marginal relevance of science and research in the national police organisation;
- 2) research activities are mainly or completely conducted at the Police Academy – and only rarely or not at all in other branches of the police organisation;
- 3) research activities are concentrated in some research institute or department formally independent from the police.

Not too surprisingly, the classifications for the police research domain *outside the police organisation* mean different things in different national contexts:

A “low” level of police research outside the police sometimes indicates a complete lack of police research or no more than marginal activities in the respective country, but in some other cases primarily points to the fact that the police are the dominant players in the field themselves, while academic or other institutions are not or only marginally involved in police related research.

At the same time a “moderate” level of research again may refer to very different constellations and conditions, for instance:

- 1) a lack of institutionalized and regular research, with some individual researchers or smaller research institutes providing occasional research on police related topics;
- 2) a rather fragmented landscape of academic police research at the universities, with research activities largely depending on the personal interests and careers of several researchers;
- 3) there are a few researchers in the field in a (very) small country, which is why the very limited human resources appear largely sufficient;
- 4) police research is limited to a few very special topics, but there is no research on other relevant matters;
- 5) research units and activities exist, but their substance and the relevance of their work is difficult to evaluate from the available information.

In contrast, a “high” status and significance of police research in the various domains can be defined more easily: Usually this classification refers to the existence of medium sized to large research institutions and departments that are regularly or permanently involved in research activities and participation in scientific networks and also store and disseminate the accumulated scientific knowledge on the national – and in some cases also: on the international level. Of course, the size and population of the respective country must be considered when classifying research institutions and activities. Typically, a high status of police research also implies scientific activities that cover a wider range of topics (including reflections on policing, socio-economic contexts of crime and delinquency, public order management etc.), and are not limited to conducting research on just a few specific subjects (like for instance evaluation of police training, criminal investigation etc.). In a few cases the high relevance of police research is confirmed by the fact that apart from the official and specialized research institutions there are a variety of other institutions and individuals that are engaged in specific aspects of police research regularly (university departments, working groups, NGOs, institutions affiliated to the government etc.).

For an interim balance some countries with a remarkably high status and significance of police research can be identified from the available reports: The Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom correspond to high standards. Some other countries like Belgium, France, Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain seem to display somewhat satisfactory amounts, qualities and arrangements of police research, largely in keeping with the demand, and without any striking deficits. For most of the other European countries under investigation the situation obviously is less satisfactory. However, two sub-types of countries and systems ought to be distinguished: Small countries,

where the limited demand for police related research has been typically met by a few individuals or a small research unit, and where (up to now) there seems to be little need for expanding or upgrading the institutional framework and the resources of police research; and on the other hand, medium sized to large countries, where one might expect a more differentiated and more prominent infrastructure of research to exist, and where the present situation as described in the material points to deficits and shortcomings that suggest measures for improvement to be taken.

Remarkable Features of European Police Research and its Institutional Framework

With the exception of Luxembourg all countries under investigation provide and maintain some sort of infrastructure for police research activities. In some countries this infrastructure is based on impressive resources and can be considered quite productive. In some cases there are large and professional research institutes that are specialized in police related research or among other tasks conduct police research regularly, equipped with substantial resources and manpower. (Typically, these institutions are affiliated to the police organisation, the Ministry of the Interior or some other government agency, in other cases their profile is more “academic”.) For some countries police research appears as an activity with a single address, conducted by one dominant player in the respective country. In others police related research occurs in several domains and institutional settings. In several countries the Police Academy is among the main players in the field of police research (Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal) – or there are no other players except for the Police Academy (Estonia, Slovakia). There are countries where the focal points of police research are situated in other branches of the police organisation, or completely outside the police. And finally, there are countries where police research still seems to be a relatively marginal task, in spite of existing infrastructure and organisational framework. Two sub-types can be distinguished, the first one applying to systems where police research has been conducted occasionally and “on demand” (that is: without any permanent structure and resources) (for instance Denmark); and others that largely manage to do without any scientific support of policing and security policy (especially Luxembourg).

4. Police Research at the Police Academies

Institutionalization of Police Research at the Police Academies

Police science and research at the Police Academies can be described and analysed in many ways, examining for instance whether there is a legal basis for science and research tasks, by focusing on the available resources for research tasks, on the specific type of integration into the Academy as a whole, the impact on (advanced) training etc. Some of the central questions of course relate to the circumstances of institutionalisation, to the range of possible interpretations of research and science tasks in different countries, and to the narrower or wider focus of topics that are understood to be legitimate and plausible subjects of police research, or “police academy business”.

The following table (and discussion) will provide information on the existence of specialized departments or units that deal with science and research matters, and will also describe and comment on the specific tasks and contexts. Wherever possible the “comments” column will

include some information on the human resources that are available for science and research activities – and in many cases this human resources indicator permits some understanding of the significance of science and research functions in the respective Police Academy.

Table 2: Research Department at the Police Academy

COUNTRY	RESEARCH DEPARTMENT	COMMENTS
AUT	Yes	Established recently, developing knowledge management – relatively small unit (5 academics), not primarily engaged in conducting research activities
BEL	No	
CYP	No	Small research office located in the Police Headquarters of Nicosia
CZ		Research activities and competences distributed across the Academy with approximately 80 per cent of the staff engaged in research projects; a new department of research and science has been established.
DEN	No	
EST	Yes	The Public Service Academy of Estonia has a special research unit. Police research is also part of the assignments of both institutes of the Police College – Institute of Criminal Investigation and Institute of Police Studies.
FIN	Yes	Research unit with considerable human resources (16 academics, most of them with a social science background)
FRA	No	No research department, but teams who assign projects to researchers; “CAJ” – a unit (at the Police College) of 7 lawyers that provides updated information on penal laws and analysis of their implementation.
GER	No	A Working Group for Police Science prepares concepts and seminars on police science.
GR	No	
HUN	Yes	Department of Research Organising (5 researchers) coordinates and documents research, but is also engaged in conducting research besides other tasks.
IRE	No	A research unit (7 employees) geographically located at the Academy carries out research on behalf of the police organisation and disseminates research findings from other sources.
ITA	Yes	Courses, Research and Studies Service (7 senior police officers) deals with all scientific and research matters (mainly on management techniques, didactic programmes, evaluation)
LAT	Yes	Research department (4 academics) is well integrated into

		the Academy, main topics of research: criminal law, criminalistics, police law
LIT	Yes	Research centre (2 to 4 employees) coordinates and supports research activities within the Law University (two faculties provide police training)
LUX	No	
MAL	No	
NL	Yes	Research Group consists of 12 social scientists with no police background. Main topics of research: Police leadership, crime analysis, public order management, community policing.
NOR	Yes	Research department comprises 13 full time academic researchers – cooperates in national and international networks
POL	No	Research work is mainly performed in 4 specialised organisational units of the Police Academy
POR	Yes	Research Unit (2 academic researchers plus a variable number of university trainees in sociology and psychology) is part of the Social Sciences Department.
SK	Yes	Department of Science and Foreign Relations comprises 6 academic employees; tasks are defined according to the Academy's priorities or assigned by the Ministry of Interior Affairs.
SLO	No	Police College still in the phase of development; one of the aims for the future is to establish a research unit of its own.
SW	No	There is no research department – however, there is a chair of police science and a part time professor conducting research on criminological and police related topics.
	No (Guardia Civil)	The most institutionalised form of research is conducted at the University Institute of Internal Security, based on an agreement between the University and Guardia Civil (three academic researchers)
	Yes (National Police)	10 researchers; occasional co-operations with universities
UK	No	A satellite office (three fulltime researchers) of the Crime and Policing Group (Home Office) is based at the National Centre for Policing Excellence at Bramshill.

Approximately half of the Police Academies possess a specialized unit/department that mainly or exclusively conducts science and research tasks. However, these units greatly vary in terms of human resources and research capacities. A special unit or department for science and research does not necessarily imply a (relatively) high status of police research, especially in cases where resources are scarce and/or the unit is also responsible for other tasks. - In some cases there is no specific research department, since research activities are carried out regularly by several units or

departments (Czech Republic, Poland). In some cases the lack of a research department at the Police Academy does not primarily reflect the low relevance of police research in the respective country but the fact that there are rather professional research institutions and units in other branches of the police organisation or outside of it, and the police academy primarily “imports” scientific knowledge from reliable and competent external sources.

In several countries the national correspondents mention substantial change that has occurred recently, or state that the national system of police training and police research will change in the near future – usually implying that the status and relevance of science and research for police training will possibly increase.

Research Topics of Police Related Research at the Police Academies

Only parts of the material contain satisfactory information on the typical and recent subjects of police research that is conducted and delivered at the Police Academies. For approximately half of the countries research topics are mentioned, which sometimes relate to specific research projects conducted at the Academy or in cooperation with other research institutions, but in most cases rather give some information on typical subjects and the general priorities of research. In 7 out of 26 countries there are no (substantial) research activities at the Police Academy (Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Luxembourg, Malta, Slovenia). In some other countries research is carried out regularly but no information on topics was provided (Germany, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia, Spain).

Altogether, a few core topics of police research at the Police Academies can be identified: 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. In some other countries there is an emphasis on subjects directly connected to (advanced) training, and on the design and evaluation of courses, curricula etc. (especially Greece, Italy). In some other countries – typically characterised by a relatively high status and significance of police research – the emphasis is primarily on issues of policing, prevention, security and social control, and on analysing specific types of crime in their wider socio-economic context (for instance Finland, Netherlands, Ireland, Hungary). Sometimes a more general and reflexive social science approach to problems of policing and law enforcement is suggested, in other cases scientific and research topics reflect a more conventional perspective on crime control and law enforcement issues. Another focus of research is mentioned in the information from the Czech Republic, where theory and practice of forensics and the uses of criminological research for legal policy are examined. (This appears quite remarkable, since the notorious problems and tensions of theoretical and practical knowledge are rarely addressed in the rest of the material.) In the case of Lithuania where the Police College is part of the Law University, the mentioned research topics mostly reflect the current situation of legal and political change and the necessities of adapting the legal structures (including the police authorities) to European standards, and of developing principles for the (re)building of the national administration. Furthermore, issues of police ethics and police officers’ life styles are mentioned as relevant topics to be researched – a remarkable, far from

conventional topic completely absent in the information from the other countries, and possibly pointing to a blind spot or a neglected aspect of current police research.

Police Academies' Attitudes toward Science and Research Tasks

Considering their attitude toward science & research tasks, different types of European Police Academies can be identified and constructed from the material. Obviously these typical attitudes do not primarily reflect the Academy's intentions and programme, but a national pattern of assigning tasks among institutions. The aim here is not to distinguish between "good" and "bad" practice, but to describe empirical types that have developed in specific national contexts and circumstances for some reason. As with all construction of ideal types they are derived from empirical material, but the empirical cases may deviate from the ideal type in some respect. There are

1) Police Academies that value science and research tasks highly, conduct research activities regularly, and are engaged in the dissemination of scientific results and knowledge in many ways (for instance Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal). There are institutionalized patterns of research organisation and coordination and – at least in some cases – remarkable human resources are reserved for research purposes, usually with a considerable level of qualification and competence (especially: Czech Republic, Finland, Netherlands, Norway). In some cases, the available human resources seem less impressive (for instance Portugal, Hungary), but obviously this can be compensated in various ways and by means of cooperation with other institutions. 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) Police Academies that mainly import the available scientific knowledge on police related subjects from research institutions and other sources outside the academy (usually: research units in other branches of the national police authorities, research departments affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior or the Ministry of Justice, other significant research institutions, more or less connected to the academic field or some universities etc.), but are not engaged in doing research themselves, since others provide the relevant knowledge that is required to perform police training, advanced training etc. (Sweden and the United Kingdom are closest to this ideal type). In the case of the UK, research tasks are mainly carried out or coordinated by the Home Office, frequently in cooperation with academic institutions (universities); in the case of Sweden, research and production of knowledge are mainly conducted by research institutions belonging to the police organisation and councils affiliated to the government.

3) Police 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 competences required in their future jobs. (For

instance Greece, Latvia; for some other countries displaying a similar pattern the ideal type requires some modifications.)

4) Police 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. Several examples of this type of Police Academy can be found among the smaller European countries (Cyprus, Denmark, Luxembourg, Malta, Slovenia). In some of these cases there generally is a low level of police research in the respective country (Luxembourg), in others police research is conducted sufficiently in other departments or units in the police organisation (Cyprus, Slovenia), and/or in the academic field (Denmark, Malta, Slovenia).

5. Police Related Research outside Police Academies

There is a department or institute for police research at the Police Academies in about half of the countries under investigation (cf. Table 2). However, in some countries, police research is carried out and institutionalized in other branches and departments of the police organisation. Institutionalized police research in the police organisation – that is not carried out at the Academies – often concerns criminalistics and forensic science, for example at the Swedish “Statens Kriminaltekniska Laboratorium” or the Czech “Institute of Criminalistics”. The Slovenian Unit for Analyses and Research within the Criminal Police Directorate might be another example.

It must be stated that the information on this issue was probably incomplete – some correspondents (from the Academies) probably did not have complete information regarding other units within the police organisation or they did not think of forensic sciences as relevant research in this context. It can thus be presumed that those institutes that were mentioned are rather important players in the field (e.g. the Swedish “Statens Kriminaltekniska Laboratorium” employs 160 researchers with various academic backgrounds), and/or cooperate very closely with the police academy.

Other countries show different constellations: In Cyprus there is a Research and Development Department at the Police Headquarters in Nicosia. At the Spanish Guardia Civil a special cabinet called “Analysis and Prospect Office” carries out criminological and sociological research ordered by the General Direction. Police research in Ireland is mainly conducted by the “Garda Research Unit”, based at the Garda College but formally attached to the Police Headquarters. Furthermore there is the Quality Service Bureau (also based at the Garda College), an Organisation Development Unit conducting short term research projects on strategic and resource management matters at the Police Headquarters, and the Garda National Traffic Bureau, engaged in research on the policing of road traffic and road traffic safety.

As has been mentioned before the situation in Italy is rather complex. There are several police forces with specialised research units in most of them (e.g. Violent Crime Analysis Unit at the Central Directorate of the Criminal Police, a research unit in Cesena (conducting research on road traffic related subjects), and a Science and Research Unit at the Carabinieri Department for

Scientific Investigations).

The German BKA (“Bundeskriminalamt”) maintains two large research institutes: The “Kriminalistisches Institut”, engaged in criminological research and criminalistics, and the “Kriminaltechnisches Institut”, is a large forensic research institute with about 300 employees.

Police Related Research outside the Police Organisation

The national correspondents’ answers also point to several impressive focal points of European police (related) research outside the police organisation, all of them characterized by a permanent infrastructure of research and considerable human resources, some of them rather specialized in certain types of research and analyses (usually: criminal investigation, forensics), others providing more comprehensive approaches to different aspects of criminology, law enforcement, security and social control issues. Substantial institutions of that type exist in several European countries (for instance France, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, UK).

Some of these institutions are closely affiliated to the national police, and therefore generate scientific knowledge that is regularly used at the Police Academies and also informs police practice; in other cases their emphasis is on the support of the national government, and on guiding policy makers in the field of law enforcement and security. Their organisational patterns and integration into the institutional framework are very different: Some of the institutions are part of the Ministry of the Interior or the Home Office (Crime & Policing Group, U.K.), the Ministry of Justice (WODC, Netherlands and the National Research Institute of Legal Policy, Finland), are affiliated to, but formally independent from the Ministry of Justice (IKSP, Czech Republic), depend on the Attorney General (OKRI, Hungary), are organised as academic institutes that receive substantial funding from the state (MPI, Germany) or directly situated at a University (Ruhr Universität Bochum – Chair of Criminology and Police Research, Germany; Faculty of Criminal Justice of the University of Maribor, Slovenia). Other focal points of police related research are the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, financed entirely by the state, the French Institut National des Hautes Etudes de la Sécurité (INHES) depending on the Ministry of Interior and, for research projects on the Ministry of Research, and last but not least the Criminological Research Institute Niedersachsen (KFN) in Germany, an independent, interdisciplinary research institute.

To a certain extent it comes as a surprise that – according to the information provided by the national correspondents - there are no such “dominant” or “central” research institutions in some of the larger European countries, for instance Italy, Poland, Spain, and that also applies to several medium-sized and most of the smaller countries. At the same time some relatively small countries (for instance Finland, Slovenia) maintain research institutes of that type. Thus, the existence of large and professional research institutions that exclusively – or among other competences - specialize in police related research does not merely reflect the size or stage of development of a specific country and its “scientific domain”, but essentially varies with political priorities and decisions – and mainly depends on a regime’s decision to treat issues of criminal policy, law enforcement and policing as deserving permanent scientific expertise, and to provide substantial human and financial resources for establishing and maintaining the respective

structures. 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, and the legitimacy of the national security and justice policy is obviously based on other sorts of (administrative, political) knowledge, reason – and authority.

6. Conclusions and Perspectives

Types of “good practice”

The material suggests that there is no such thing as “best practice” of police research, or put in other words: Even very good and impressive practice can be fairly useless when it does not correspond to the national framework and conditions, and the other way round: Types of practice that appear less satisfactory at first sight may prove largely sufficient or even remarkable solutions when considering the specific conditions and circumstances under which they have (been) developed. Different countries need different quantities and styles of police research, and different kinds of infrastructures can be suitable to deliver the type and amount of research that is demanded.

Considering the specific conditions on the national level, several varieties of “good practice”, i.e. structures and arrangements of police research that seem to work well, can be identified:

(1) A science & research department is (formally or factually) integrated into the Police Academy, well equipped with human resources and infrastructure (i.e. several researchers, at least some of them with academic background, preferably interdisciplinary), well integrated into the rest of the Police Academy and the other relevant branches of the police organisation, occasionally or regularly cooperating with some other national academic research institutions (university departments etc.), also acting as a “knowledge broker” in the field of police related science and research (on the national level and beyond). Resources and competences are sufficient for conducting research and/or participating in research projects and some involvement in police training. The department also maintains contacts with policy makers in the field of law enforcement and possesses a sort of panoramic view of the national research landscape (including universities, individual researchers etc.). This type of organisation is recommendable for middle sized countries, and especially applies to the situation in Finland, Hungary, Norway and the Netherlands. A similar situation can be found in Ireland where the research unit is placed in the police organisation but outside the Academy.

(2) Another productive but very different pattern of police science and research can be derived from the information from Sweden and the United Kingdom (and with some modifications also applies to France and probably Germany), and is primarily characterized by the fact that the Police Academy is not so much involved in scientific and research tasks itself – or in the case of Germany conducts research mainly in cooperation with other research institutes - these are primarily accomplished in a very competent and professional way by some other research institutions and networks, with impressive human resources, not only in terms of quantity, but also qualification, and infrastructure. The Police Academy rather makes use of science and

research results (publications), adapting them for the task of (advanced) training etc. Research findings are directly and routinely fed into the system of policy and decision making. (In these countries engaging in research activities would appear as a futile attempt of competing with systems and individuals that can be supposed to be much more competent and professional, or to interfere with others' business and tasks.) At the same time there is the ambition to draw on scientific expertise when designing and improving training activities, and police work in general.

(3) Another reasonable model can be distilled from the information that was supplied by correspondents from some small European countries where obviously there has been very limited demand for and only very little tradition in police related research in the past, where resources are scarce, and where the national societies are not so much "penetrated" by social sciences as is the case in some western or northern European welfare regimes: The model is based on the interplay of one small research unit at the police organisation (combining statistics, documentation and routine evaluation tasks) or the Police Academy and a university department where a few researchers (exclusively or regularly) engage in research in the field of police research, law enforcement, criminology etc. Exchange between the academic researchers and the police authorities includes the academics' participating in training at the Police Academy as well as their conducting research on police related subjects (going beyond evaluation of crime statistics etc.). The patterns described for Cyprus and Malta come very close to that ideal-type construction.

Some Obstacles to "Good Practice"

The following list is meant to give some impression of significant obstacles to police research that can be derived from the material.

1 "Police science and research" are treated as relatively marginal activities and tasks, which is especially striking in countries and societies that otherwise consider themselves "advanced" welfare states, and "knowledge societies".

2 Science and research activities are limited to a single or only very few topics, for instance for the special purpose of designing and/or evaluating police training, or criminal investigation subjects and techniques etc. At the same time there is little or no research that reflects on police work in general, on criminological issues, security and public order etc.

3 Science and research tasks are not really integrated into the rest of the police organisation, research activities are conducted by "specialists" and have only little or no impact on practical work, on policy and implementation.

4 Science and research activities are understood as a very distinct performance, conducted by and for (police, law enforcement) "insiders", relevant only for a special profession, and not for society in general, occurring without any apparent links and connections to the other branches and the mainstream of the social sciences (especially: sociology, political science, psychology, criminology), and without much attention for extra-legal (especially: socio-economic, cultural) determinants of police work and law enforcement.

5 There is a lack of communication (or interpenetration) between police organisation and the national system of higher education (universities etc.). As a usual consequence, the Police

Academies are not so informed about what is going on at the universities and whether there are any relevant activities in the field of police related research.

6 There is a lack of coordination with regard to police related research on the national level. There are various branches and units of the police organisation, various police forces, research institutions and departments affiliated to the government, independent research institutions, universities and university departments etc. doing their work with only occasional mutual awareness and recognition.

On the other hand, Police Academies that manage to avoid, to circumnavigate or to overcome the listed obstacles and pitfalls, typically tend to engage in high quality research, in terms of academic and methodological standards, but also considering practical relevance.

Plausible Tasks and Activities of Science & Research Units/ Departments at the Police Academy

As can be derived from the material, research departments/units are assigned and/or conduct a wide range of activities, connected to their special task. The information supplied by the experts and national correspondents points to the following tasks and activities:

- 1 Conducting research (according to the Academy's own priorities, or negotiated in some way with representatives of relevant boards/institutions/authorities);
- 2 Coordinating research activities in various branches of the police organisation, Ministry of the Interior etc.;
- 3 Documentation of research and scientific material;
- 4 Knowledge management, providing information;
- 5 Organising scientific events, conferences etc.;
- 6 Forging and maintaining (international) contacts, participating in research networks on the national and international level.;
- 7 Adapting scientific results and reports for (advanced) training purposes;
- 8 Designing training, courses, curricula etc.;
- 9 Evaluating training, courses etc.;
- 10 Developing concepts (of police science and its institutionalisation at the Academy).

Present and Future Tasks in order to Achieve Integration of European Police Research

Last, but not least the material points to a number of present and future tasks, and to prerequisites that would be useful to foster the integration of European police research, and obviously have not been achieved up to now.

(1) The coordination of police research on the national level remains an important task in several countries where there still seems to be little evidence on research activities and projects and where there is a tendency of conducting some police related research in many different

institutional settings – with only little exchange of information. The coordination task of course is also relevant in countries with more than one police force, and with a decentralized field of academic institutions, especially when contact between police and universities is limited and the police (including the Police Academy) for some reason are not so informed about scientific and research activities that are carried out at various university departments and independent research institutes, or institutes affiliated to the Ministry of Justice and the like. The lack of coordination of course could be remedied by building networks and associations on the national level, circulating newsletters, organizing meetings and conferences etc.

(2) Another demanding task, especially in countries where there is a certain tradition of police research and a wide range of institutions involved in that research would consist of collecting (and facilitating access to) all relevant material on police research (or more generally: on empirical knowledge relevant to the police and policing), and to provide the Police Academy, other branches of the police organisation and all the other interested subjects with information. In principal this task can be entrusted to the Police Academy (in case there is some infrastructure of research and documentation), to a research department at the national Ministry of the Interior or to some unit at the police organisation, or eventually to a university department that is regularly involved in police research and cooperates with the national police organisation or the Ministry of the Interior. This sort of unit or department would have to act as a “knowledge broker” on the national level, and of course should contribute to and inform the Police Academy’s training activities.

(3) Participation in and utilization of existing European networks by the national police organisations (and by police researchers) of course will promote integration in the fields of policies, police training and police research. However, especially for some of the smaller European countries where there have been no more than sporadic activities in the field of police research and where there is no satisfactory infrastructure for police research, there should be opportunities to participate in trans-national networks, not only on the European and CEPOL-level, but also on the regional level. For certain kinds of cooperation and for certain tasks the regional sphere obviously seems more adequate and relevant than the European level.

CEPOL-eDoc - European Police Research & Science Database: A new source for police research and police science in Europe

Detlef Nogala

CEPOL

By 2006 a new European agency, financed from the Commissions budget, will have been formally established - CEPOL, the European Police College. At times, when occurrence and control of (certain) crime is ever more often discussed in cross-border terms and dealt within an international political and administrative environment, the idea to bring together efforts in the education and training of high-ranking senior police officers across Europe was ripe for administrative action. Based on the structures and experiences with forerunner organisations like the Association of European Police Academies (AEPD) or the Middle European Police Academy (MEPA), and in a way as a logical process of Europeanization, the European Council agreed at its meeting in Tampere on 15 and 16 October 1999, to establish a network of national police training institutes on the level of European Union member states and reached a formal decision on December 22nd 2000.

Since 2001 CEPOL has been running training courses on European policing as a cooperative network made up of the national training institutes for senior police officers. A Secretariat for providing organisational and administrative support has been established and has been permanently located in Bramshill, UK, since 2004. CEPOL is managed by a Governing Board established of the directors of the national training institutes.

The main objective of the European Police College is to develop a joint approach to the main problems encountered in the fight against crime and crime prevention through training courses and seminars by helping qualified police officers from different EU countries to learn more about each other's national police systems, and about cross-border police cooperation in Europe.

Apart from the national police training institutes of the 25 EU member states, CEPOL cooperates also mainly with corresponding colleges and academies of other countries as considered EU accession countries (like Bulgaria and Romania) or associated as partners in the Schengen process (Norway, Island, Switzerland).

Significance of research & science in European higher police education

In the later part of the twentieth century policing has – to a certain extent - undergone a process of 'scientification'. This is very obvious to be seen in the adoption of new technologies in forensic laboratories and enlargement of IT-capacities in general. A less spectacular, but not less consequential development from the 70ties on, social and human sciences (sociology, psychology, criminology etc.) have found their way into if not the standard curricula of police education in general than at least into higher or advanced police training courses. The growing resort to research findings and scientific approaches within policing can be understood on the practical level as a demand for resources to cope with more demanding and complex assignments for the police – on more general grounds it might be simply seen as making-up leeway with a

universal tendency of advanced societies to transform into “Information- & Knowledge Societies”. Thus more systematic and reflected approaches to entangled crime problems get more attention.

Moreover, during wider processes of Europeanisation and globalisation, policing on operational and strategic levels has ceased to be a primarily local and regional exercise, embedded in and focussed on a national context of regulations, law and governance culture. Thus the element of comparison between national police systems, strategies and tactics becomes more important in the search for best models or ‘good practice’ of policing across countries of the European Union.

In consequence, the significance of research and science for a modern European approach to (higher) police education has been carefully noticed and acknowledged in the establishment of CEPOL. Among the tasks of CEPOL declared under Article 7 of the Council decision it is stipulated, the European Police Academy should

(d) “disseminate best practice and research findings;”

(h) “develop an electronic network to provide back-up for CEPOL in the performance of its duties (...)”.

The Research & Science Committee that had been set up in 2002 as part of CEPOL’s internal working structures realised, that in order to meet CEPOL’s objectives, especially the development of a “European approach”, it would be necessary to cater for a stronger link between available European police research and science on the one hand and (higher) police training on the other. It also found out quickly, that an efficient and flexible tool for gathering and disseminating of research findings and scientific documents across the national police training institutes or national police forces and authorities of the European Union member states would be needed. At this point the initiative to create a “Research & Science Database” for CEPOL was taken.

The Research & Science Committee at that time was aware of the work and reputation of the Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg, Germany, as being widely acknowledged for its comparative projects in criminal law and criminology on an international level and made a contact for counselling in order to benefit from the institute’s experience in the area of establishing international scientific databases.

European Police Research & Science Database for CEPOL

It was clear from the outset that such a database project would be built on the existing infrastructure of the Internet. Lacking a dedicated electronic network that would link police forces and members of the academic public and having to cover a dispersed geographical area like Europe, this was the only viable option to guarantee principle access for all with a legitimate interest. For a number of reasons, including administrative capacity and copyright issues, it was also determined, that the database would be restricted in access.

The main lines for the specifications of such a database are as follows:

1The “Research & Science Database” for CEPOL is meant to serve as a high-quality

repository of scientific knowledge for course trainers and course participants as well as others stakeholders in a science-led approach to tackle crime problems within the CEPOL environment.

2Its main function is to provide easy but safe and secure access to scientific documents and publications as well as to information about unpublished, ongoing or planned relevant empirical research projects within the field of policing and crime fighting in Europe (and elsewhere).

3The main objective is to create and provide a scientific **knowledge-pool** of research findings relevant for police training and police practice across the European Union member states and other countries. In that way, the database would provide a new and unique opportunity to promote a stronger link between the knowledge available from the academic and scientific field on the one hand and police leaders and educators on the other. It could also be seen as a vital part in a cross-European network of police trainers, open-minded high-level police practitioners, police students and researchers and academics in the wider field of policing.

As a European project and targeted to a European audience of police practitioners, trainers, students and academics, the project of a Police Research and Science Database has been confronted with some conventional challenges. Although there is abundant evidence that a lot of valuable scientific and research knowledge about policing and for police practice is available from a variety of sources, often the linkage between those who are looking for material and those who could provide it is unknown or poorly developed. Apart from the occasional mutual ignorance between academic- and police-worlds, there are more traditional barriers that have prevented a more dynamic and pan-European exchange so far:

% Language

For the last 30 or 40 years, the international academic discourse on policing and police has been dominated by scholars and literature coming from and referring to Anglo-American and Anglo-Saxon backgrounds. English has become the key-language in the exchange of scientific knowledge in the field of police and policing. With a few exemptions, research projects and essays published only in the native European language tend to be ignored beyond the inner language border and are missed by a possibly otherwise interested broader audience. Although the English-speaking scientific community has made a major contribution to the progress made in the field of police science and research over the last decades, the production of valuable knowledge here is not exclusive to the English-speaking countries.

&Nationality

Policing in the modern age used to be mainly an exercise organised within the framework of the nation state and mostly executed on the local territorial level. In consequence, police forces and the way of policing took several, distinguished organisational forms within the European framework of national states – all of them generating in a way their own “indigenous” style of policing and national “police-experience”. In case there was police co-operation, this was subsequently a matter between police forces in the form of national entities. Since the process of internationalisation and Europeanisation has accelerated, the police business has become less “national” in the sense, that cross-border and transnational

issues in policing have become more important following new and more mobile crime patterns, but also in an enhanced predisposition to import/export innovative policing techniques and police concepts. However, a portion of additional “translation” work is due, when ideas and methods are tried in a different than the original context.

' Organisational Boundaries

82)With a look at the diversity of organisational models of police forces in the European member states on the one hand and political histories on the other, it is no secret, that in some cases the exchange of scientific projects and research findings within certain member states is not developed to its full potential – if at all. One sort of organisational boundary can be found between academic institutions and police forces, when for example universities sometimes do research on police and policing but develop little effort to share or discuss it with police practitioners and trainers. In reverse, police forces might deny access to their professional field for academic researchers, in order to avoid political disturbances, thereby sometimes preventing valuable insights and potential organisational progress.

Being aware of these challenges, the outstanding aim of the CEPOL-eDoc Database is to overcome these barriers of language, nationality and organisational boundaries as best as possible for the sake of a knowledge-pool, that represents and reflects the full richness and diversity of ideas, concepts, research and science in the area of police and policing existing in all of the EU member states.

Target Groups

Having this framework in mind, there is a variety of ‘target groups’ for the CEPOL-eDoc considered to draw benefits from using and/or feeding the database:

1First of all, the ‘*senior police officers*’, i.e. higher ranking police officers of the EU member states involved in cross-border or transeuropean police matters, on whose training needs the CEPOL course programme is targeted, are considered the ultimate beneficiaries, because his or hers knowledge about up-to-date scientific insights on particular matters is (potentially) enhanced.

2Secondly, the *trainers, lecturers and organisers* of a CEPOL course will have the option to resort to a broader and (by chance) more sophisticated source of course material.

3However, not just CEPOL trainers would benefit from the available material in the database – *trainers and lecturers* at the *national police colleges and academies* can take advantage of it too. And why not include the *students* of national police colleges and academies who are looking into cross-border, trans-european policing issues as part of their studies and examinations?

4As a dedicated Research & Science database, the CEPOL-eDoc system is of course open to the academic community - at universities and research institutes in- and outside police forces, which is actively involved in the production and delivery of knowledge in the field of policing and police by using scientific methodologies.

5Last – but not necessarily least - *police practitioners*, being aware of the practical value of

science and research for solving “their” crime-problems in mid- and long-term perspectives, have to be considered a natural target group for the European Police Research & Science Database.

It should be kept in mind that the CEPOL-eDoc is not meant to replace existing national databases or specialised knowledge pools in the area of police science and research. Instead, it has been created as a tool to bring together and make available those sources of research and science-knowledge that have been more or less hidden so far behind the above mentioned barriers of language, nationality and organisational boundaries.

The Technical Platform

As the database is created to facilitate the dissemination of research findings and scientific projects across a dispersed geographical and organisational territory to a diversified audience as well as in respect to only little financial resources, it was clear from the beginning, that the existing Internet would serve as the best possible technological infrastructure for establishing the required network. Thus the European Police Research & Science Database would be necessarily a Web-application, i.e. the content would be accessible by using standard programmes for ‘surfing’ the Internet.

In view of the potential growth of the content over the years and with respect for current international IT – and database standards, it was decided, that the European Police Research & Science Database would have to be built as a dedicated database-application for gathering, storing, managing and disseminating (potentially) large amounts of bibliographical metadata and full-text of scientific material (documents & project information). Further crucial requirements were

- 1 built-in support for a quality management process for submissions to the database and
- 2 built-in support for user-administration with differentiated levels of access-rights.

As research into the international market for potential solutions had shown at that time, a number of well-known knowledge institutions, especially big universities and scientific societies, had started to develop and to implement systems that would allow them to disseminate their publications (or other knowledge-bits) via a web-based database application. Because CEPOL-eDoc initially had been launched as a “pilot-project”, only Open-source – licence-free - applications were considered “affordable” and fortunately a small number of systems were available under this criterion. One of the options was then the “eDoc”- system, developed and maintained by the Max-Planck-Society to disseminate the research findings of its about eighty specialised research-institutes. As the Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law was one of them and with consideration for reliable and qualified development support, an agreement could be found, that eventually allowed to develop a database-application for CEPOL, built upon the genuine MPG-eDoc, adapted to CEPOL peculiar needs and requirements. As a pleasant side-effect, the use for CEPOL has been free of licence-costs.

The CEPOL-eDoc database application is compliant to all major web-standards and is shielded behind a multi-layer of firewalls against attacks. Access is possible by entering the URL of the

portal for the database (which is <http://edoc.cepol.net>) into a web-browser (Firefox, Opera, Internet Explorer etc.) and by entering username and password – which are granted and administered by the so called National Correspondents for CEPOL-eDoc (more details see below).

Features of CEPOL-eDoc

As the eDoc-system has been designed from the outset to be compliant to modern requirements for the management of large amounts of bibliographical data, a variety of features have been implemented to help the user to find matches and to work with the content of the database.

Once logged-in, a user has several ways to search for content:

1“Quick Search”

offers a Google-like simple search box, where a term or a combination of terms can be entered and would deliver a list of all entries matching the requested search term.

2“Advanced Search”

provides a more sophisticated search tool, to send combined and multi-conditional search-request, enabling pin-point searches according to very detailed criteria (i.e. range of years of publication, only hits for a certain periodical or content from an author in a certain language etc.).

3“Full-text Search”

similar as “Quick Search” but specialised to search quickly in the attached full-text-documents in the database.

Apart from the powerful conventional search engines, the content can be also explored by making use of the “Browsing”-options. By clicking on a particular browsing-button, all content of the database matching the item is displayed for more detailed exploration. Currently the following browsing buttons are implemented:

1By Collection – a list of all collections assigned to the National Police Colleges and Academies of the EU member states is shown. A click on a collection will display entries associated to it.

2By Author – an alphabetically sorted list of all authors in the database is shown. A click on a name will display all entries of a certain author.

3Thesaurus – an alphabetical list of selected major topical descriptors (i.e. “higher-level” keywords) is shown.

4By Language – entries will be shown according to their (original) language of publication.

5By Country – entries will be listed by the (original) country where the content has been published or produced.

6By Country Regard – will list all entries relevant for a particular country or geographical region.

While the database-design allows different ways to access its content – from the ‘quick and simple’ to the ‘sophisticated and precise’, it also supports the user to collect, manage and utilise his or hers ‘findings’. All hits of a search can be collected in a personal “Basket” and from this tool the interesting entries can be printed or stored as data-file for further study or processing.

From an administration point of view, CEPOL-eDoc allows the management of users on different levels: for example, a registered user might be allowed to view the bibliographical info in the database, but not the full-text documents. Another user is granted this right - plus the option to submit entries to a particular collection. Thus CEPOL-eDoc supports the assignment of staged user rights and thereby the creation of differentiated user-groups. The user-password is also centrally administered, but can be changed by each user individually while logged-in.

In view of the potential long-term growth another important feature of the database is the possibility to upload formatted files of entries directly from other digital sources (like collections of national police libraries).

Content of the European Police Research & Science Database

Apart from the technological reliability and the usability-design of a web-based database system, the actual content is the most important issue from the perspective of the users.

Basically, CEPOL-eDoc aims to collect two principle types of ‘knowledge objects’ as contents in the area of police science and police studies:

- 1 (scientific) texts and documentations and
- 2 information on (scientific) research projects and their findings

The first type includes information about all texts and publications in the field of police science and police studies, relevant for CEPOL’s general educational and training mandate. Although this class of knowledge normally covers publications like journal articles, books and reports, also unpublished papers or manuscripts in submission fall under this category. For this type of knowledge, the conventional bibliographical metadata (author(s), year of publication, journal title and issue, publisher etc.) are essential.

The second type relates to research projects in the field of police and policing. This could mean a research project that has been completed and published (or indeed not published (yet), a research project that is ongoing, or even a project that is in preparation or planned. The reasoning behind that is, that ‘science’ is not exclusively, but very often built upon and out of the results of (empirical) research projects. As research projects often operate at the frontier of existing knowledge (and sometimes changing it), a database like CEPOL-eDoc needs to capture this ‘advanced knowledge’ in a particular way. But the focus on empirical and scientific research projects does not only aim on informing the scientific community of police researchers about what is going on, but also to facilitate and strengthen links between those with similar or even identical research interests.

It is important to note, that the European Police Research and Science Database of CEPOL will not carry any kind of operational data or information.

As mentioned earlier, an entry in CEPOL-eDoc requires the title translated into English, as well as an obligatory summary (or abstract) in English. In addition to the basic bibliographical information (something to which most of the existing databases restrict themselves), the European Police Research & Science Database captures details of the scientific nature of an entry

(methodology, research instruments etc.) and provides the possibility to attach a full-text version of a project or a publication, as far as copyright regulations allow this.

The eDoc-Server supports a great number of so called “genres” of data base entries. So far implemented are the following genres:

1Article

for texts published in or submitted to journals or periodicals

2Book

for monographs and edited collections

3Conference-Paper

for papers presented to a conference or published in conference proceedings

4In book

for chapters within an edited collection

5Other

for all documents not fitting into given categories

6Report

for documents published by other than commercial publishers ('grey literature')

7Research-Project

for details of completed, ongoing or planned empirical research projects

8Series

for information about periodicals or journals

9Thesis

for all texts written to earn a degree, a diploma or a Ph.D.

Other genres like 'courseware', 'software' or 'PowerPoint-File' could be added at a later stage.

Sources

To create a scientific knowledge pool of police science and police studies across national, organisational and language boundaries in Europe is a highly ambitious project. Beyond all technical requirements and internal organisation of the database content it starts with the quest for relevant material – and this means for each and every police science and police studies network – whether internationally or nationally focussed. From the international perspective, and judging in view of a large number of books and a handful of specialised police science journals, it is obvious, that a rich body of knowledge as well as a community of researchers and scientists do indeed exist. It has also become clear, that there is expertise and knowledge circles besides the predominant Anglo-American discourse. The challenge here is to identify these different knowledge sources, getting in contact with them and to bring them together on a European level.

The following approaches for getting input into the database have been probed and are considered worthwhile:

1 establishing organisational links to collections of relevant police research and science

material that is already documented (and even filed) on a national level (for example by the library service of a national police college);

2establishing organisational links to internationally known sources like journals or publishers (even subscribing to their digital publication services);

3inviting those who are actually producing the relevant knowledge – researchers and scientists – to actively contribute their projects and findings to the database (by that using the database also as an additional vehicle to publish and promote their own work).

None of this ‘channels’ would be sufficient on its own, to cover at least the major part of what is actually available in Europe and internationally. Only the combination of these efforts would allow to progress in a relevant manner within a reasonable time frame.

Priorities

As mentioned before, the amount of suitable police science and police research material is rather different among the CEPOL Member States (for details, see the CEPOL-report of Hanak/Hofinger 2005). While in some countries documented and published scientific police-knowledge appears to be a scarce commodity, in others a longer tradition in police science and research has yielded a large number of potential entries into the database. One of the frequently asked questions has been: where to start with feeding the database? The (former) Research & Science Committee of CEPOL came up with a priority list for the most pressing research topics. Initially this list comprised four items and was amended at a later stage(*):

1Community Policing

2Public Order (Policing)

3Police Ethics and Corruption

4Trafficking in Human Beings, including Misuse of Women and Children

5Illegal Immigration (*)

6Juvenile Crime (*)

7Police Leadership (*)

8Risk Assessment (*)

It is important to note, that this list does state certain priorities but does in no way exclude other topics to be collected in the database. The recommendation has been given that countries with an abundance of projects and publications should start their entry-work according to the priority-list and would continue with other topics later on. On the other hand, where there are only few publications and few projects in the area of police science and research available, entries into the database should start regardless of the priorities.

Network Approach

The European Police Research and Science Database has a clearly stated purpose within the framework and the tasks of the European Police College: CEPOL-eDoc is meant to serve as a tool to support – and improve – the training of senior police officers on a European level. The creation of the database is built upon the insight, that policing in modern democratic societies has become much more of a 'knowledge-business' than it has been ever before, and that effective and 'smart' police-work could benefit from empirical research and academic studies. Taken seriously, such an approach implies that there might be a certain value of reflective thinking and careful methodological enquiries even for the most pragmatic daily police routines that are worthwhile to be considered throughout periods of training and further education for police forces. A further implication is, that thinking about policing strategies is opened up and inspired by knowledge resulting from academic work inside and outside of police forces, even by those studies and results that are deemed to be critical to certain police practices or police as such.

From a broader perspective it seems that 'policing-knowledge' is not exclusively 'police-knowledge' anymore – police researchers and police scientists are clearly making their efforts to contribute to.

The European Police Research and Science Database is attempting to link all those in Europe, who are considered (or consider themselves) to have a stake in the development of police-research and police-science and who are subscribing to the idea that through the process of enhanced police training and education, policing can be improved in orientation to what has been called 'good practice'. 'Good practice' should not be read just in terms of increased efficiency of policing, but also as a kind of policing that fits with the accomplished values and standards of governance and civilisation in the European project.

However, at this stage CEPOL-eDoc is not a service open for everyone. For a variety of reasons it has been decided that access to the content of the database is restricted to those with a legitimate interest (and competence) in the field of police science and research. The process of granting access rights is organised decentralised among the CEPOL-Member States. Each Member State (i.e. the national police college or academy) has been asked to nominate a so called 'National Correspondent for the CEPOL-eDoc Database'. The 'National Correspondent' is the person who is responsible for accepting users for the database on the country level as well as for making contact to all those who might be able and willing to 'feed' the database from inside and outside the national police force(s).

All nominated National Correspondents can be contacted by E-mail via a website of the database's web-portal. A potential user is then asked to liaise with the National Correspondent and to clarify if access can be granted.

The National Correspondents form a network within the wider network of European police science and research and workshops had been organised to make them familiar with the 'nuts and bolts' of the database-interface as well as with the more general 'knowledge-network'-approach.

Setting up a database like this one is not trivial on the technical level. However, the real challenge is the social part of the networking – to bring together all those who have something to say about

police and policing in modern societies from a scientific and research perspective. As mentioned earlier, some serious hurdles and obstacles have to be tackled in order to build up this network. However, CEPOL-eDoc has the potential to grow into a European 'virtual library' of Police Science and Research, thereby supporting and facilitating the development of dedicated European approach to policing and crime fighting. In potential, its character will be at least well-informed, well-educated and based on a wider and more scientific foundation.

Section II: Aspects of Police Education and Training

Gender Differences in Personality, Emotional Intelligence and Moral Conduct as Performance Predictors of Job Applicants in Police Work

Iris Sofia Almeida, Cristina Matos Soeiro

Abstract

This article analyses the relationship between personality, moral conduct, emotional intelligence and gender. The tools used to identify associations between personality, moral conduct, emotional intelligence and gender differences in law enforcement candidates were: the Defining Issues Test-DIT (Rest, 1986), the Moral Judgment Test- MJT (Lind, 2000), the Mayer Salovey Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test- MSCEIT (Salovey, Mayer, Caruso, 2001), the Emotional Quotient Inventory- EQ-i (Bar-On, 1997) and the NEO-PI-R (Costa & McCrae, 2000). 222 candidates (62% female and 38% male) undergoing selection to become law enforcement officers participated in this study.

A significant difference in gender was found in the following areas of Emotional Intelligence: managing emotions, interpersonal scale and general mood and stress management with women having higher scores than men. Women presented higher values in extraversion and openness to experience. In the MSCEIT significant correlations between experimental emotional intelligence, strategic emotional intelligences, perceiving emotions, managing emotions and the dimensions evaluated by NEO-PI-R neuroticism, extraversion and openness to experience were found. Significant correlations between the areas evaluated by EQ-I: adaptability, inter and intrapersonal scales, general mood, managing stress and the five dimensions evaluated by NEO-PI-R were also found. In conclusion, there was a relationship between personality and moral conduct and an association between openness to experience and index C (evaluated by MJT) and an association between neuroticism and P Score (evaluated by DIT).

Introduction

The performance of police work is associated with gender differences. These performance differences can be identified by organisational indicators such as recruitment, selection and promotional politics in police organisations (Berg & Budnick, 1986; Martin, 1989). These differences are associated with stereotypes based on emotional and physical performance in articulation with organisational contexts where the values have a strong masculine component (Jones, 1987a, 1987b). Identifying gender differences in police work performance is crucial for the selection of new members to these kinds of institutions, especially in psychological evaluation. For succeeding in the psychological evaluation we need psychological tools that evaluate the police work competences without positively or negatively discriminating against men and women. The principal aim of this study is to standardise tools that allow the evaluation of the competences associated with police work, such as personality, emotional intelligence and moral conduct. This study also intends to analyse an association between the variables that are predictors of police work performance and the existence of gender differences for these variables.

Personality, Emotional Intelligence and Moral Conduct

There is extensive literature on studies of linear intelligence/personality interactions. According to Mayer & Salovey (1993) it is possible to relate personality and intelligence. The authors state that personality traits such as extraversion involved tendencies toward behavioural attitudes whereas intelligence involved abilities for behaviour. Dawda & Hart (2000) studied the association between emotions and personality. They expected that subjects who presented higher values in Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-I) would have higher values in positive affectivity scores (evaluated by NEO Five Factor Inventory – Extraversion Scale; Costa & McCrae, 1992) and lower values in negative affectivity scores (evaluated by NEO-FFI Neuroticism Scale and by Beck Depression Inventory, Beck & Steer, 1987, cit in Dawda & Hart, 2000). The investigators concluded that the subjects who had higher values in the emotional intelligence test presented lower values in negative affectivity and higher values in positive affectivity. Austin, Hofer, Deary & Eber (2000) demonstrated in their works a number of associations between intelligence and personality. According to Mayer & Geher (1996), people who are able to identify emotions from thoughts of others are also more likely to be more empathetic, more open (non-defensive) and intellectually smarter. People who are more empathetic and intellectually smarter are better able to identify emotions. Defensive people are less able to identify emotions accurately. Davies, Stankov & Roberts (1998, cit in Bueno & Primi, 2003) developed a study that aims to analyse the relationship between measures of emotional intelligence and the variables related with personality such as neuroticism, extraversion, psychoticism, conscientiousness, socialisation and openness to experience. They concluded that some areas of emotional intelligence, for example emotional adjustment, emotional expression, impulsivity and empathy are related with some personality dimensions like neuroticism, extraversion and psychoticism. A number of tests measuring aspects of emotional intelligence are already known to have moderate to high correlations with personality constructs (Davies, Stankov & Roberts, 1998). According to Salovey, Mayer, Caruso & Lopes (2001), the dimensions using and managing emotions were modestly associated with agreeableness and negatively associated with openness to experience, and the dimensions understanding and managing emotions were modestly associated with conscientiousness.

In order to study the association between personality and moral conduct Dollinger & LaMartina (1998) used the five-factor model to predict moral reasoning. They expected that principled moral reasoning would be related to the big-five dimension of openness to experience, but not to the dimensions of neuroticism, extraversion, agreeableness or conscientiousness. The investigators predicted and confirmed that openness to experience is the big-five dimension that best predicts moral reasoning and subjects that obey orders and never make exceptions, have a closed mind. However, McCrae & Costa (1985, cit in Dollinger & LaMartina, 1998) argue that subjects who have lower values in openness to experience do not always have a closed mind, tend towards conventional thinking and highly value obedience. **Subjects**, who have higher scores in openness to experience, tend to contest the limits of society. The dimension ‘openness to experience’ seems to be the closer trait to intelligence and to predispose people to a higher level of moral reasoning. Rest (1986) stated that individuals who have developed a higher moral judgment are the ones who like learning, seeking new challenges and are reflexive. According to Hogan (1973) some traits of personality are associated with moral conduct and that allows the

understanding of how individual differences influence the moral conduct. For Wright (1971, cit in Hogan, 1973) the moral conduct consists in the actions practiced by individuals in respect to the rules applied in a social context. Five dimensions can explain moral conduct; moral knowledge, socialisation, empathy, autonomy and moral judgment. These dimensions can explain moral behaviour and define essential parameters in character development, personality and emotional intelligence.

As a result of the contact with police officers Musgrave & Stephenson (1983) have concluded that many of the problems associated with law enforcement can be understood in terms of moral stage development. Based on personal experiences and observations, the authors developed the hypothesis that the majority of individuals would be in Kohlberg's stage four of moral development. The authors studied two populations of police officers and concluded that individuals who chose law enforcement careers tended to be positioned on stage four of moral development. The respect for authority is the more important component of this stage of moral development.

Personality, Emotional Intelligence, Moral Conduct and Gender

In police context women are associated with some specialised tasks such as criminal investigation, operational and leadership work (Berg & Budnick, 1986; Martin, 1989). These stereotypes are associated with physical and emotional weaknesses that represent the perception of different social roles performed by men and women, viewed within the organisational context where the values have a strong masculine component, such as physical power, courageousness and masculinity (Jones, 1987a, 1987b). Some investigations studied gender differences in police performance and identified that women introduced a crucial human factor in police work, as police violence decreased and the efficiency of teamwork increased (Davis, 1984).

Of the major demographic variables, gender is the one topic that has historically studied been relating to personality variables (Feingold, 1994). Lynn & Martin (1997), studied the differences between men and women in neuroticism, extraversion and psychoticism dimensions and found that women have higher scores in the neuroticism dimension and men have higher values in the extraversion and psychoticism dimensions. Marusic (1998), studied gender differences on personality dimensions and found significant differences in some dimensions evaluated by NEO-PI-R (Costa & McCrae, 1992, 2000), with women presenting higher scores in neuroticism, openness to experience and agreeableness dimensions. Mastor (2003) also studied the personality traits and gender in selection and found differences between men and women in the neuroticism dimension where women presented higher values than men. In four meta-analyses, conducted to examine gender differences in personality, males were found to be more assertive and had slightly higher self-esteem than females. Females were higher than males in extraversion, anxiety, trust and especially thoughtfulness (Feingold, 1994).

Hargie, Saunders & Dickson (1993, cit in Petrides & Furnham, 2001) studied gender differences in emotional intelligence and found that women have higher emotional intelligence. Dulewitz & Hoggs (1998, cit in Petrides & Furnham, 2000) found that women are more perceptive and empathetic than men. According to Mayer, Caruso & Salovey (2000) women showed higher scores than men in some emotional intelligence areas.

The results of the investigation carried out by Bar-On et al (2000) showed that women have higher values in interpersonal scales and men have higher values in stress management levels. According to Fielding & Fielding (1992, cit in Bar-On et al, 2000) policewomen cope better than men in emotional situations of police work.

Jaffee and Hyde (2000, cit in Skoe et al, 2002) found gender differences in moral conduct with women being more oriented to care and men towards justice. Some investigators think that women grow up more oriented to relationship with the others and men grow up in a more hostile and competitive environment (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987; Noddings, 1984; Zahn-Waxler, Cole & Barrett, 1991, cit in Skoe, et al., 2002). A variety of investigators (Gump, Baker & Roll, 2000) found gender differences in moral conduct, where men were more oriented to justice and women towards care. Brownfield (1986) investigated the effects of gender differences and circumstances relating to the moral reasoning of adults. He found that gender was a relevant variable in which men scored higher than women on the hypothetical dilemmas. White (1999) studied the effect of gender in moral development and found significant differences, with women presenting higher values in global results of Defining Issues Test (DIT). Although the study of gender differences in moral conduct is controversial, some investigators argue that there are no gender differences. Rest (1979, cit in Sprinthall & Collins, 1994) studied gender differences in high school and college students and found no significant differences. Braebeck (1982, cit in Sprinthall & Collins, 1994) and Walker (1984, cit in Sprinthall & Collins, 1994) made two different investigations and concluded that there are no significant differences in these variables.

Method

Participants

222 candidates (62% female and 38% male) undergoing selection to become law enforcement officers participated in this study. Their ages being between 23 and 30 years.

Measures

The tools used to identify associations between personality, moral conduct, emotional intelligence and gender differences in law enforcement candidates were: the Defining Issues Test-DIT (Rest, 1986), the Moral Judgment Test- MJT (Lind, 2000), the Mayer Salovey Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test- MSCEIT (Salovey, Mayer, Caruso, 2001), the Emotional Quotient Inventory- EQ-i (Bar-On, 1997) and the NEO-PI-R (Costa & McCrae, 2000).

The DIT consists of six short stories, which deal with moral dilemmas. The protocol is presented to the subject with the following general instructions: (1) that the aim of the questionnaire is to understand how people think about social problems; (2) that there are no “right” answers; and (3) that their task is to read the story and then rate 12 issues as to their importance to the story and then choose the four most important issues. The results produce a stage score and a “principled” score (P-Score), reflecting the level of importance that is assigned on the statements that involve principled moral reasoning by the respondent.

The MJT was used to measure moral judgment competency and consists of two scenarios involving the actions of hypothetical characters on which the participant can either agree or

disagree on a six-point Likert format. The participants are then given a series of “moral viewpoints” about the hypothetical characters’ actions and are prompted to evaluate the level to which they agreed with the statements on an eight-point Likert scale ranging from -4 (completely unacceptable) to +4 (completely acceptable). Scores range from zero to 100, with higher scores indicating a higher level of moral judgment competency. The results also produce a stage score.

The MSCEIT self-report employs a variety of interesting and creative tasks to measure a person’s capacity for reasoning with emotional information. Because this is an ability-based measure it is very difficult to “fake” a good performance. The MSCEIT self-report features a four-branch model of emotional intelligence: managing emotions (assessed using the emotional management task and the social management task); understanding emotions (assessed using the blends task and the changes task); using emotions (assessed using the sensations and the facilitation task) and perceiving emotions (assessed using the faces task and the pictures task).

The EQ-I is a 133-item self-report inventory. Items are declarative statements phrased in the first-person singular. Respondents are asked to indicate the degree to which the statement accurately describes them on a 5-point scale (1=not true of me; 5=true of me). Items are summed to yield a total score which reflects overall emotional intelligence; scores on 5 higher-order composite dimensions (intrapersonal emotional quotient, interpersonal emotional quotient, adaptability, stress management and general mood) and scores on 15 lower-order component scales.

The NEO-PI-R consists of 240 items on which respondents are asked to indicate their relative agreement on five-point scales ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. This personality inventory was specifically designed to measure personality according to the five-factor model. It is a concise measure of the five major domains of personality, neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness, and their respective facets that facilitates a comprehensive and detailed assessment of normal adult personality.

Hypotheses

To standardise tools that allow evaluating the competences associated with police work, the hypotheses of this study are:

1. There is an association between Personality and Emotional Intelligence;
2. There is an association between Personality and Moral Conduct;
3. The majority of individuals are positioned in Kohlberg’s stage 4 of moral development;
4. There are significant differences between men and women in Personality, Emotional Intelligence and Moral Conduct.

Results

To study the relation between personality, emotional intelligence and moral conduct, we used regression analysis.

Table 1: Association between Personality, Emotional Intelligence and Moral Conduct

Model	Dependent Variable	Predictors	Adjusted R Square	F	Sig	B
1		Stress Management	.263	79.909	.000	-.516
2		General Mood	.276	43.051	.000	-.140
3		Interpersonal EQ	.296	31.975	.000	-.193
1		Facilitating Thought	.054	13.638	.000	.242
1		P-Score	.024	6.332	.013	.167
1		General Mood	.213	60.675	.000	.465
2		Adaptability	.258	39.368	.000	-.265
3		Interpersonal EQ	.276	29.092	.000	.184
4		Managing Emotions	.287	23.244	.000	.120
1		Interpersonal EQ	.051	12.938	.000	.236
2		C-Index	.082	10.883	.000	.188
3		Managing Emotions	.103	9.421	.000	.156
1		Interpersonal EQ	.069	17.328	.000	.270
2		Stress Management	.088	11.664	.000	.156
3		Intrapersonal EQ	.128	11.802	.000	-.298
1		Adaptability	.118	30.530	.000	.349
2		General Mood	.129	17.431	.000	-.150

Table 1 presents the associations between personality, emotional intelligence and moral conduct. We found an association between the personality dimension neuroticism and some areas of emotional intelligence. These included stress management, general mood, interpersonal emotional quotient, facilitating thought and the P-Score that evaluated moral judgment competence. The relationship between neuroticism and stress management, general mood and interpersonal emotional quotient are significant and negative. The relationship between neuroticism and facilitating thought are significant and positive. There is an association between the personality dimension extraversion and some areas of emotional intelligence, such as general mood, adaptability and interpersonal emotional quotient and management emotions. In all we find a significant and positive relation, except in adaptability. The dimension extraversion is not associated with moral conduct. For the dimension openness to experience we found a significant association with the interpersonal emotional quotient, the management of the emotions and the C-Index, all showing a significant and positive correlation. There is an association between the personality dimension agreeableness and some areas of emotional intelligence, like the interpersonal emotional quotient, stress management and the intrapersonal emotional quotient. We can find a significant and positive relationship in all except the intrapersonal emotional quotient. This dimension is not associated with moral conduct. There is an association between the personality dimension conscientiousness and two areas of emotional intelligence, adaptability and general mood. We found a significant and positive correlation in adaptability and a significant and negative correlation in general mood.

Table 2: Means and standard deviation of moral conduct dimensions

		P-Index	DIT Stage	C-Index	MJT Stage
N	Valid	222	222	222	222
Mean		44,05	4,86	25,77342	3,85
Std. Deviation		10,971	1,394	16,024182	1,419

Table 2 presents the means and standard deviation of moral conduct dimensions. We found that the majority of individuals are positioned in Kohlberg's stage 4 of moral development and have a higher moral judgment competence.

Table 3: Emotional Intelligence, Personality, Moral Conduct and Gender

Instruments	Scales/Dimensions	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig.
		Female	102.0224	14.76735		
		Male	95.8274	13.74973		
		Female	99.5310	17.08587		
		Male	105.2107	13.58002		
		Female	100.0009	15.29922		
		Male	95.7791	14.20381		
		Female	102.5083	14.36249		
		Male	95.9572	15.20480		
		Female	86.82	16.178		
		Male	71.24	22.145		
		Female	78.07	16.692		
		Male	66.80	20.294		
		Female	3.69	1.468		
		Male	4.09	1.306		

Table 3 presents differences between male and female subjects regarding emotional intelligence, personality and moral conduct. We found gender differences in some areas of emotional intelligence, such as interpersonal intelligence, stress management, general mood and managing emotions. Women have good social skills, enjoy life and are more capable of managing their emotions. Men are calmer and more capable of working well under pressure.

We found gender differences in the personality domains extraversion and openness to experience. Women are more extraverted and open to experience than men.

We found gender differences in the stage of moral development evaluated by MJT, women being more oriented towards care and men are more oriented towards justice.

Discussion

From the analysis and interpretation of the results we confirmed the existence of an association between personality and emotional intelligence. The personality dimension neuroticism is negatively correlated with stress management, general mood and interpersonal emotional quotient positively correlated with facilitating thought. People who are emotionally stable and manage

well stressful situations are able to withstand stress without losing control; are positive and optimistic; have good social skills and are sometimes able to use their emotions to creatively solve problems. The personality dimension extraversion is positively correlated with general mood, interpersonal emotional quotient and managing emotions but negatively correlated with adaptability. People who are sociable and outgoing extraverts are positive, hopeful, optimistic, know how to enjoy life, are responsible, have good social skills, manage to integrate emotions into thought and allow thought to include emotions. Sometimes they are not flexible or effective in understanding problematic situations. The personality dimension openness to experience is positively correlated with interpersonal emotional quotient and managing emotions. People who are creative and open-minded are responsible and have good social skills and involve the participation of emotions in thought and allow thought to include emotions. The personality dimension agreeableness is positively correlated with interpersonal emotional quotient and stress management and negatively correlated with intrapersonal emotional quotient. People who are compassionate, cooperative and have good social skills are able to withstand stress without losing control but sometimes have difficulties in expressing their feelings. The personality dimension conscientiousness is positively correlated with adaptability but negatively correlated with general mood. People who are conscientious, self-disciplined and well organised can generally find good ways of dealing with everyday difficulties but sometimes have difficulties to be positive and optimistic. According to Davies et al. (1998, cit in Bueno & Primi, 2003), some areas of emotional intelligence are correlated with some personality dimensions such as neuroticism and extraversion. According to Salovey, Mayer, Caruso & Lopes (2001), the dimensions using and managing emotions are positively associated with agreeableness and negatively associated with openness to experience. The dimensions understanding and managing emotions were positively associated with conscientiousness. In our study we did not confirm this association; we found only positive correlations between managing emotions, extraversion and openness to experience.

We confirmed the existence of an association between personality and moral conduct. According to Dollinger & LaMartina (1998) openness to experience is the best predictor of moral reasoning. In this study we confirmed this idea. Individuals who are open to experience and have a proactive tendency are more consistent with their moral principles and have a higher moral competence. We also found a positive correlation between the personality dimension neuroticism and P-Score. Individuals with strong emotional reactions reflected the level of importance placed on the statements that involved principled moral reasoning.

We confirmed the hypothesis that the majority of individuals are positioned in Kohlberg's stage 4 of moral development (Musgrave & Stephenson, 1983). Individuals who choose law enforcement careers tend to think on this stage, because it is important to maintain law and order and obey rules.

We confirmed the existence of gender differences in the personality domains extraversion and openness to experience. Women are more extraverted and open to experience than men, are more emotional and show more empathy. Some investigators argued that there are gender differences in neuroticism but we did not find differences in this domain (Lynn & Martin, 1997; Marusic, 1998; Mastor, 2003; Feingold, 1994). This is probably because the sample was from a selection context, where some individuals were chosen according to certain characteristics in this domain.

We confirmed the existence of gender differences in some areas of emotional intelligence, such as interpersonal intelligence quotient, stress management, general mood and emotion management. Women have good social skills, enjoy life and manage their emotions better. Men are calmer and work well under pressure (Bar-On et al, 2000; Davies et al, 1998, cit in Bueno & Primi, 2003). We confirmed the existence of gender differences in MJT stage of moral development, as men are positioned in the fourth stage and women in the third and fourth stage with women being more oriented to care and men more oriented towards justice (Jaffee & Hyde, cit in Skoe et al, 2002; Gump, Baker & Roll, 2000). We did not confirm the existence of gender differences in the other variables that evaluated moral conduct (Rest, 1979, Braebeck, 1982, Walker, 1984, cit in Sprinthall & Collins, 1994).

The conclusions of this study show us the importance of these variables in the professional performance of police officers. The concepts of emotional intelligence and moral conduct could be the starting point for the definition of the selection context and for police officer training providing they are associated with other specific competences. It is important to note equally that this kind of investigation contributes to a clear definition of the studied concepts and clarifies their relationship with personality. It is important to make further investigations to understand these associations.

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Rule of Law and Education of Police Officers

Clemens Arztⁱⁱ

This article presents the findings of a survey conducted within the Faculty of Police at the University of Applied Sciences in Legal and Administrative Affairs, Berlin (*FHVR*). It examines students' opinions and attitudes regarding the importance of every-day police practice in the rule of law and of the importance of basic rights of those being approached by the police. A closer look will be taken on the importance which these students attached to the limitations of legal admissibility of police encroachments upon citizens' rights and whether they deemed these limitations surmountable by legal means.

I. The Rule of Law

According to Article 20 III German Constitution (*Grundgesetz*) the “legislation is subject to the constitutional order; the executive and the judiciary are bound by law and justice.”ⁱⁱⁱ Law in this context means the entirety of legal rules. That is, both Federal and State (*Land*) constitutions and statutes and the European Convention on Human Rights etc. Art. 20 III German Constitution subjects police action under the strict principle of the rule of law (*Gesetzmaessigkeit der Verwaltung*). Since the police are part of the executive power of government they are subject to the supremacy of the laws. The rule of law also determines the “proviso” of the law. This entails the necessity of legal authorization if and when the freedom of a person is encroached upon. Encroachment means every constraint on the constitutionally and legally protected rights of citizens.

II. The Law: Source of or Constraint on Police Action?

From a legal point of view the police, without exception, have to adhere to the constitution and other laws and must not deviate from its content. On the other side, scholars of police science in Germany sometimes view German police, apparently in contrast to other (European^{iv}) police forces, as particularly legalistic (legalistisch). It is believed that there is a strictly legalistic conditioning of police action, which could perhaps, be considered a specific characteristic of German police. Whilst this notion is not fully defined, it appears to be understood that an especially high emphasis is placed on legal rules regulating police action. The law is viewed as both a source of policing and a constraint on policing; because statutory provisions usually grant some discretion to the police.^v

To the contrary, others expect police officers not to act in a legalistic fashion, but instead to be

ⁱⁱ The author is professor of public law at the University of Applied Sciences (FHVR) Berlin, where he teaches classes on police law and the law of assembly. Email: c.arzt@fhvr-berlin.de. Many thanks to *Mitja Mueller* who helped with the translation.

ⁱⁱⁱ Translation by the author

^{iv} However, American scholars too consider the police to be a rule-bound institution, cf. *Skogan, Wesley G./Meares, Tracey L.*, Lawful Policing, The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 593, 2004, p. 66.

^v *Winter, Martin*, Politikum Polizei, Muenster 1998, p. 58.

guided by concepts such as truth, justice and responsibility.^{vi} According to police ethicists, an adequate balance needs to be struck between the adherence to the rule of law and the legitimacy of police action. In order for police officers not to abuse his/her office, he/she should have a set of personal, consolidated, sophisticated and constitutional values, which should be seen with special reference to the importance of human dignity in the Constitution.^{vii} Moreover, it is said, police officers are subject to conflicting and contradictory standards. One example of this is the enforcement of democratically based laws that violate one's own concept of justice. On the other hand, it is assumed that government is not best served by conveniently obedient police officers who accept, values and norms without reflecting, but much rather those who make discrete decisions on a high moral level.^{viii}

The actions of police officers are sometimes viewed to take place in a triangle of legal norms, unofficial norms or action patterns of colleagues and personal values.^{ix} Supposedly, police actions are influenced and orientated primarily by concepts of justice (*Gerechtigkeit*), whereas chief activity in general is considered to be more concerned with the lawfulness of procedures. It is argued that most police officers follow their own ideas about justice, which are more or less orientated by the law. One author goes on to suggest that training, tradition, and police culture, all stress that police actions conform to the principles of both legality and legitimacy.^x According to this author, when in doubt, "sub-culturally preformed concepts of justice" dominate action. Accordingly, "formal law", which apparently means statutory law, is at best applied retrospectively to the actions.^{xi} Police subcultures are viewed as a formative element of conduct and self-perception.^{xii} Others propose that, from a police officer's point of view, theory and practice are two separate things.^{xiii} They know, it is said, that the conduct is not perfectly acceptable and proper, but at the end of the day it is success that counts and not the compliance with constitutional principles.^{xiv}

In the context of criminal proceedings, it is suggested that police officers enjoy the discretion of identifying an act as an offence.^{xv} Regarding the legal judgment of the preconditions for an encroachment upon (basic) rights, many authors agree that police officers have a comprehensive power to define these legal preconditions.^{xvi} Police ethicists therefore argue, especially in the light of this power, to define illegal acts, which are often exercised unchecked in favour of the individual police officer in accordance with concepts of truth and justice.^{xvii} Others believe it is difficult to convey universal standards and dismiss the law as a central element in limiting police

^{vi} *Arens, Engelbert, Recht, Macht und Verantwortung, Die Polizei* 1968, p. 199.

^{vii} *Franke, Siegfried, Polizeiethik, Stuttgart et al.* 2004, p. 80.

^{viii} *Brockes, Walter, Kann man Werte lehren?*, in: *Dulisch, Frank/Schmahl, H-L. (ed.), Wertewandel und Wertevermittlung, Bruehl* 1996, p. 200 et seq.

^{ix} *Franke* (note 6), p. 80.

^x *Behr, Rafael, Cop Culture – Der Alltag des Gewaltmonopols, Opladen* 2000, p. 221.

^{xi} *Behr* (note 9), p. 190.

^{xii} *Berendes, Udo, Zwischen Gewaltgebrauch und Gewaltmissbrauch - Anmerkungen eines polizeilichen Dienststellenleiters*, in: *Die Polizei als Organisation mit Gewaltlizenz, Herrnkind, Martin/Scheer, S. (ed.), Muenster* 2003, p. 177.

^{xiii} *Christe-Zeyse, Jochen, Polizei und Theorie, Die Polizei* 2005, p. 135 et seq.

^{xiv} *Chan, Janet B.L., Fair Cop: Learning the Art of Policing; Toronto et al.* 2003, p. 155 et seq.

^{xv} *Behr* (note 9), p. 190, see also *Skogan/Meares* (note 3), p. 67.

^{xvi} See, e.g., *Franke* (note 6), p. 59.

^{xvii} *Ibid.*

action. According to this opinion concepts of justice of street cops are of a higher practical importance than legal rules. Action patterns are learned on the street and constitute a real-life contrast to the theoretical knowledge taught at police educational institutions.^{xviii}

In police science literature it is a matter of controversy to what extent legal requirements arising from the rule of law have a decisive impact on every-day police action. In the past only the issue of misconduct of police officers has been discussed relatively comprehensively with penal and disciplinary consequences being the focus of attention. Police encroachment and excessive violence have been addressed as have “police scandals” and institutionalised remedy mechanisms. Not without justification shedding light into the darkness of deviations from the norms on the part of the police is viewed as one of the most difficult research fields in social research.^{xix} This is partly, but not exclusively, due of the cloudy data in this field.

III. Focus of Research

The survey in hand took a different approach than other research carried out in recent years. The aim of this survey was to investigate attitudes of (prospective) police officers towards the law. Therefore we looked at attitudes before any misconduct occurred, rather than evaluate certain behaviour retrospectively.^{xx} If a police officer considers it acceptable to depart in theory from the law in force, he/she may be more susceptible to do so in reality than others who stated that when in doubt, a) precedence ought to be given to basic rights, b) that they will inform themselves as to what precisely the legal limitations are, or c) that they would adhere to these limitations even if and when they obstruct police action.

Thus, the focus was on fundamental attitudes of (prospective) police officers towards legality and legitimacy of police action. When their training is completed, they should have a precise idea what the constitutional and statutory limitations on policing are. Since legal limitations can constitute obstacles to police action, it is interesting to learn whether these limitations are accepted without reservations or whether strategies to circumvent them are deemed sensible and legitimate. In other words, does the end justify the means as long as you are on the “right side” (i.e. the government) or is this notion a mortal sin in terms of the rule of law? Do students accept or reject the idea of a State, in which “the good” (police) are permitted to do anything to combat “the bad” (criminal offenders)? At a first glance, these are questions concerning attitudes, but they may very well affect police practice. This is especially true since a certain degree of “slacking off” with regards to legal standards is widely expected, true to the motto that “at university, prospective police officers learn how it ought to be done, and in practice (...) they learn how ‘we’ do it.”^{xxi}

Of course, an investigation of attitudes towards the law has inherent problems. It is typically concluded in the literature that, in official surveys which engage their superiors, police officers

^{xviii} Behr (note 9), p. 186 et seq.

^{xix} Haselow, Reinhard, Die Umsetzung von Normen in der Organisationswirklichkeit, in: Die Polizei der Gesellschaft, Lange, Hans-Juergen (ed.), Opladen 2003, p. 231

^{xx} Cf., e.g., Gould, Jon B. / Mastrofski, Stephen D., Suspect Searches: Assessing Police Behavior under the U.S. Constitution, Criminology and Public Policy 2004, Vol. 3, p. 315.

^{xxi} Liebl, Karlhans, Aus- und Fortbildung der Polizei und die Problematik der Gewaltlizenz; in: Die Polizei als Organisation mit Gewaltlizenz, Herrnkind, Martin / Scheer, S. (Hg.) Muenster 2003, p. 216.

will tend to give “legalistic” answers. That is, rather than revealing their own views, they will argue a view which follows more closely to legal rules because they expect to run into trouble with their superiors or the wider public.^{xxii} For this survey, this assumption may be less significant since respondents were interviewed not while exercising their duties with the police, but in the context of their university training. The lecturer conducting the survey had been known to a large portion of the respondents for at least two semesters. This allowed for a certain atmosphere of trust which may preclude “strategic” answers. In contrast to observations in the every-day exercise of duties,^{xxiii} we consciously avoided retrospective legal evaluation of actual police action; this is because the focus of this research was on attitudes not on policing on the beat.

IV. The Respondents

In March 2005 students in their sixth semester at our university were questioned shortly before their graduation.^{xxiv} Most of the respondents were so called career officers (Laufbahnbewerber) who started serving with the police only upon their enrolment at university. Police officers, who had already worked on the beat for a couple of years before they became students at the faculty (Aufstiegsbeamte), were also part of the sample, accounting for about one-fifth of all respondents (hereinafter serving police officers).

Overall, the sample consisted of 138 students. 117 students responded to the questionnaire, making the participation rate was 85%. Two major groups were distinguished, one of which was further divided into 2 subgroups: a) 46 students were studying to become detectives (CID officers). None of them had served as a police officer before.^{xxv} b) 69 students were either career police officers^{xxvi} or had already worked on the beat for some years (serving police officers); the latter group comprised 20 or 21 students.^{xxvii} Of 111 respondents,^{xxviii} 93 had 13-year high school diploma or equivalent. 8 students out of this group already held a degree from either a university, or a university of applied sciences.

^{xxii} Geierhos, Wolfgang et al., *Polizei gestern, heute und morgen, Aufgaben und Ausbildung*, Rothenburg 2002,

cited in: Liebl, Karlhans. (ed.): *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Polizei*, Rothenburg 2004, p. 83.

^{xxiii} Cf. Gould/Mastrofski 2004; Skogan/Meares 2004, S. 71 f.

^{xxiv} The educational program to attain the rank of “*inspector*” (*Kommissar*) in the uniformed police force (*Schutzpolizei*) or with the department of criminal investigations (*Kriminalpolizei*) takes 6 semesters of which 2 semesters are rather vocational training outside the university. After graduation, *inspectors* will work on the beat, thus being part of rank and file of the police force.

^{xxv} For this reason students in this group were referred to as “prospective” *detectives*. There is no lower rank than inspector in the criminal investigations department.

^{xxvi} When I refer to *police officers* (*Schutzpolizei*) in the following this applies only to those not working as a detective. This group comprises *career police officers* and *serving police officers*.

^{xxvii} 2 Students did not declare to which group they belong.

^{xxviii} If the group of respondents was smaller than the whole cohort I will refer to the first-mentioned group.

V. Findings of the Survey

1. Basic Rights

111 of 114 students who answered the question approved of the statement that basic rights are important in terms of civil liberties. When asked whether basic rights *sometimes* obstruct effective police work, 77 out of 116 students (73%) responded affirmatively. Only 8 of 104 respondents (8%) felt that basic rights *always* obstructed effective policing. These had all previously stated that basic rights sometimes obstructed policing.

Since the legal means of police have to be limited by these basic rights, it is of course plausible that basic rights should be viewed as sometimes obstructing effective police action. To recognize this as a “natural” area of conflict is an important part of police training. However, the assumption that basic rights *always* obstructed effective police work caused great concern. It can be inferred from this that basic rights are viewed as a general hindrance of police action and might thus be restricted in order to allow for effective police work.

In light of the special importance of basic rights in determining whether or not a certain means (e.g. automatic number plate reading) is admissible or not, it was also asked whether the respondents felt basic rights were *over emphasized* in police training. About one-eighth of 105 students (13%) responding to this question stated that they believed this to be the case. On the other hand it is curious that of 8 respondents who believed basic rights always obstruct successful policing only 1 stated that they are over emphasized in police training. This may suggest that basic rights are not generally rejected, but that the others were arguing from a point of view that is strongly influenced by police interests.

2. Rule of Law

At the outset, respondents were asked to determine the statutory location of this principle. Surprisingly only 12 students (11%) knew that the rule of law is an entrenched constitutional principle (Art. 20 III GG). Furthermore it was asked to what extent this principle applied to the police. Of the 109 students who answered the question, 89% considered it to apply to the police as well. 5 students held that the principle was applicable rather to the executive at large. 7 students believed the rule of law applies especially to the police.

3. Limitations on the Means of Policing

When asked whether it was sensible for the police to generally fully exploit the admissible means in policing, half of the respondents (50%) answered affirmatively. 10% were of the opinion that the police should make use only of those measures that have been approved and upheld by the courts. 41% believed that, when in doubt, precedent should be given to basic rights.

It is interesting to examine more closely the *serving police officers'* responses to this question because they already have some experience in the field of policing. 55% of this group responded that they would give precedence to basic rights when in doubt while only 39 % of the *career police officers* chose this option.

Furthermore it was asked how possible *doubts* regarding the legal admissibility of a given means were dealt with. Roughly one-third of the respondents (36%) felt that the police should make *full use* of all measures offered by police and criminal procedure law. More than half (60%) considered an *interpretation which is in conformity with the constitution* to be the best option. 4% said a specific means should not be used if there were *doubts regarding its legality*. Overall, around two-thirds would opt for basic rights when in doubt while one-third would carry out an encroachment even if doubts regarding its legality persisted.

In contrast to the previous question, which offered only answering options whether the police should fully exploit the *admissible* means, the answering options to the next question made possible a *violation* of the law because the statutes are not always in line with constitutional limits. This is the case for example when a given statutory provision is constitutionally held by the courts under certain preconditions (*verfassungskonforme Auslegung*) that have to be taken into account before taking action by the police. Especially in the last 10 years or so, quite a few of the newly introduced statutory provisions in police law and criminal procedure law providing for “modern” means of prevention of crime (*Vorfeldmassnahmen*) were upheld under constitutional scrutiny only under said conditions of “restricted applicability”. This obviously sometimes makes it very difficult for the police to deduce from the written law what is constitutionally admissible and what is not.

I have to point to the fact however, that of those respondents who would, *when in doubt, make full use of all means*, one-fourth stated they would (a) give precedence to basic rights when carrying out such encroachments or (b) make use of only those measures which have been approved and upheld by the courts. It is not possible to elucidate this apparent contradiction here. The fact remains that (excluding the above-mentioned group) one-fourth expressed their opinion in favour of a full use of all measures (seemingly) offered by the statutes, even if this might result in a violation of basic rights. However, it cannot be excluded that the problem their answer raised was not recognized by the respondents.

As a follow-up on the two previous questions, the students were asked what they would do if doubts persisted regarding the admissibility of a specific planned (that is, not spontaneous and less urgent) measure. Around one-third (35%) would consult the legal literature and search for precedents; the majority (56%) would seek clarification in discussions with colleagues; the rest (9%) would simply refrain from conducting the planned encroachment. It is surprising, taking into account their educational background, that the eight respondents with a university degree were less inclined to consult the literature than the whole of the group, with only one of them opting for this answer. However, among the group of prospective *detectives* (to which five of eight degree holders belonged), there was a greater willingness to conduct research (31%) than among the *career police officers* students (23%). Of the *serving police officers*, 55% would conduct research, as opposed to only 22% who would discuss the matter with their colleagues. This leads to the initial conclusion that the group of *serving police officers* seem to have little trust in their colleagues’ (legal) expertise, whereas *career officers* in general and degree-holders in particular seem to evade the ‘research approach’, which constitutes a part of their training at the *FHVR*. They preferred relying on their colleagues’ opinion and advice, thereby showing a pretty high degree of uncertainty about the effectiveness of research.

4. Accepting Limitations

The next question was concerned with whether the students felt that the *statutory means of policing were sufficient*. The question was answered by all students, and the vast majority (86%) considered them to be all right overall. Only one student considered them *too friendly to police* but 14% said that policing was *obstructed by existing laws to an unnecessarily great extent*. The latter answer was given exclusively by *career police officers*, and *detectives*. All *serving police officers* felt that the statutory means of policing were sufficient; this is a surprising outcome, considering the revolving request of many politicians about the (never ending) necessity of new legal means to combat crime.

Of the eight respondents who had previously argued that basic rights generally obstructed effective police work, five, notwithstanding their previous answers, opined that the existing statutes in police law and criminal procedure law^{xxix} were all right overall. Only three of them felt that the limitations imposed by these laws obstructed successful policing to an unnecessarily great extent. Thus, the extremely sceptical attitude towards basic rights is not clearly reflected in the opinions regarding existing warrants. This finding certainly gives some relief.

Next, it was asked how the respondents would behave if, in their opinion, an *existing statutory provision obstructed effective police work to an unnecessarily great extent*. More than one-third (36%) would *still adhere to the limitations*, whereas half of the respondents (50%) would *evaluate how “far” they could go without violating statutory limitations*. 17 of 115 respondents (15%) would *not accept such limitations* if this was *necessitated in a particular case*. With a view to the latter answer, this finding is of great concern. The answer that almost half of the respondents opted for “evaluate how “far” they could go” might imply not giving precedence to the basic rights of the affected person because there might be a contradiction between statutory wording and constitutional limitations.^{xxx} This answer was therefore in marked contrast to the first option, which would plainly accept those limitations, and which was chosen by only one third of the students. Upon close examination, the decision to either accept or further evaluate the limitations does not necessarily yield different results. However, those who would come close to the limitations explicitly revealed their willingness to actively construe the limitations in their own interests. However, this is objectionable only if basic rights are in fact violated.

Again, it is interesting to compare the different groups of respondents. *Serving police officers* had a slightly smaller inclination than the average (15%) to go beyond legal limitations. Prospective *detectives* were markedly less inclined to do so (7%), whereas more than 22% of *career police officers* responded to be ready to go beyond legal limitations.^{xxxi} This may reveal a certain crime-fighter-mentality.^{xxxii}

A surprising finding comes to light when comparing these answering patterns to that of the previous question in which statutory means of policing in general were to be judged. However,

^{xxix} Allgemeines Sicherheits- und Ordnungsgesetz Berlin (ASOG) and the Federal Criminal Procedure Code (StPO).

^{xxx} See above at 3.

^{xxxi} See also *Skogan/Meares* (note 22), p. 71 et seq.

^{xxxii} Cf. *Geck, Werner*, Streifen- und Bezirksdienst, in: *Handbuch fuer Fuehrungskraefte der Polizei*, Kniesel, M. et al. (ed.), Luebeck 1996, p. 258 et seq., confronting crime fighters and peace officers; see also *Walker, Samuel*, *The Police in America*, 3. Auflage, Boston et al. 1999, p. 4 et seq.

the majority of those who responded to be ready to go beyond statutory limitations consider existing statutory means generally all right. To go beyond the legal limitations seems to be considered on each individual case (which is what was asked for) rather than in general. This does not automatically follow a general readiness to ignore existing laws which would, of course, have been an even more problematic finding. The view that existing statutory provisions obstruct successful policing to an unnecessarily great extent does not apparently automatically mean that the relevant persons will, when in doubt, actually go beyond statutory limitations. On the other hand, some deem the limitations principally appropriate, but are willing to consider breaching the law if this appears necessary in a certain case. From a legal perspective, and with reference to Art. 20 III GG, this is utterly unacceptable.

Responses did not always seem to be without contradictions. For instance, it makes little sense to advocate the priority of basic rights when the limitations of a statutory provision are in doubt and at the same time express a readiness to exceed such limitations in individual cases. Nevertheless, 6 of 113 students voiced such views. On the other hand, it is possible to assume that they would in principle choose to prioritize basic rights and still proceed contrary to that principle if it appears absolutely necessary to them. When comparing the answers to different questions, one notices that of those who consider basic rights as a general hindrance to successful police work, only one respondent said he would go beyond legal limitations of a given statutory provision if he felt this was absolutely necessary. Again, it becomes apparent that viewing basic rights as generally obstructing effective policing does not automatically mean that the holder of such a view is convinced that legal limitations can be infringed.

In conclusion it can be said that a substantial number of respondents have not really “internalised” the rule of law but are ready to breach the law if this appears to be dictated by circumstances.

5. Tasks and Goals of Policing

When asked what they considered to be the *most important task of the police*, 6 in 111 (5%) named the *protection of the government* and slightly more than half (53%) the *protection of the law*. Around one-third answered that primarily basic rights and civil liberties had to be protected and 10% considered the *conflict-management* to be the most important task of the police.

Serving police officers and *career police officers* regard the resolution of conflicts as more important than prospective *detectives* (12% among serving police officers and career officers, but only 7% among prospective *detectives*). *Serving police officers* (55%) placed a much greater emphasis on the protection of basic rights and civil liberties than *career police officers* (29%). Correspondingly, only 30% of the *serving police officers* considered the protection of the law to be the most important task, compared to 51% of the *career police officers*. The answers of *career police officers* and prospective *detectives* were not markedly different. However, prospective *detectives* were more inclined towards the protection of the law than *serving police officers* and *career police officers*.

6. Justice

The students were asked to designate the more important goal of policing: the protection of the

law or the establishment of justice. 113 students responded. Slightly less than two-thirds (62%) considered the protection of the law more important, compared with 38% who said the establishment of justice was more important.

It is interesting to compare the assessments of career police officers, serving police officers and prospective detectives. Almost half of the prospective detectives (47%) opted for the establishment of justice as the more important goal, but less than one-third of career police officers (31%) did so. If one adds to the career police officers the serving police officers, only 27.3% of the whole group of police officers felt justice was more important than protecting the law. Among the serving police officers alone, no more than 17% put justice above the law as a goal of police work. Unfortunately, the reasons for these strongly diverging answers cannot be explored in this study.

Of those who thought justice is the more important goal of policing not even one in ten (9 %) was of the opinion that this goal is actually achieved by means of policing. Of those who attached greater importance to protecting the law, slightly more than every second respondent (54%) was of the opinion that this works in practice.

Another question stressed the point that law and justice can be two different matters in policing. It was asked whether, in the students' opinion, a strict adherence to the law by the police would result in more or less justice. Of 116 who answered the question almost three-quarters (74%), replied that this could only be assessed on a case-to-case basis. One in five (20%) believed a strict adherence to the law would result in less justice, while only seven respondents (6%) considered the opposite to be true. The majority obviously believe that justice cannot simply be measured according to obedience to (abstract) legal rules, but that the individual circumstances of a given case or situation needs to be taken into account.

7. Errors and Obstacles in Policing

Furthermore, the students were asked what they considered to be the most important *cause of legal errors* in policing. 13% attributed this to a *lack of respect for legal limitations* in certain instances. Roughly one third (31% named *stress* as the most important cause. 52% ascribed legal errors mainly to *inadvertent, faulty interpretations* of legal limitations. Only 4% named *flawed orders* from superiors as the main cause.

None of the *serving police officers* attributed possible misinterpretations of the law to orders from superiors, which is remarkable since contrary to the *career police officers*, this group had several years of experience in working with superiors. Perhaps, none of them wished to place the blame on somebody else and thus exculpate her-/himself. The portion of those who name inadvertent misinterpretations as the main cause is significantly larger among *serving police officers* (75%) than in the entire sample (52%).

What did the respondents think was the *most important obstacle* in the day-to-day routine of *policing*? Of only 108 students who answered, 20% named *the law* as the greatest obstacle. While 30% opted for the answering option *internal rules*, half (50%) of the respondents indicated that they considered a *lack of equipment* to be the primary obstacle. This means there are two equal

groups naming either (internal or external) rules or lack of equipment as the most important obstacles to effective policing. Interestingly, those who had already worked on the beat for a number of years, i.e. *serving police officers*, thought to a lesser extent (40%) than the whole group that a lack of equipment was the major obstacle.

8. Peer Groups

In view of the allegedly formative effect of *cop culture*, which is discussed in the literature and considered to have a more significant impact on the behaviour of the police than the law,^{xxxiii} it was asked what determined police action the most. 116 students answered the question. Of these, 41% viewed the law and only 9% the behaviour and standards of their colleagues as the most important factor. The others (51%) considered both to be equally important.

Again, it helps to take a closer look at the answering patterns of the different groups. The group of *serving police officers* was clearly more than inclined to view the law as the most important determinant than the group of *career police officers* and prospective *detectives* (60% compared to 36%). Correspondingly, significantly fewer *serving police officers* (35%) considered the law and the behaviour of their colleagues and superiors to be equally important when compared with the prospective *detectives* and the *career police officers* (55%). The latter group's tendency to rather follow their peers may have something to do with the relatively small amount of experience of the *career police officers* and prospective *detectives*. This apparently causes a greater need for "orientation" by following more experienced colleagues. As they gain more experience, these initial uncertainties seem to vanish and are apparently replaced by a greater readiness to independently assess a given situations or case. It should also be stressed that a predominant peer-group-orientation obviously is not very popular; instead, a balance between "group norms" and legal rules is preferred.

VI. Conclusion

It has been shown that legal limitations on police action are viewed somewhat sceptically. However, this led only a small number of respondents to reveal a readiness to (overtly) breach the law. It has also been demonstrated that many respondents are willing to interpret very broadly those statutory limitations which they deem too restrictive, and thus act to the detriment of the affected persons and their basic rights. Furthermore, the answers to several questions reveal that a non-negligible portion of the respondents think it sensible to actively go beyond what is admissible by statutory law. In view of the constitutional principles of the rule of law, which requires strict obedience by the police without exception, this is unacceptable. It should be contemplated how such attitudes can be overcome during education of (prospective) police officers and detectives.

The respondents are well aware that a measure of legal misinterpretations seems to be common in every-day police work; however, these misinterpretations are considered to be inadvertent by

^{xxxiii}

Behr (note 9), p. 189 et seq.

most of them.

Police officers with some years of experience on the beat (*serving police officers*) who were studying at the university during this research tended to be more sensitive about their means of legal limitations than those who started their career (*career police officers* and *detectives*) as a student in the university program. Whether the former group really is more sympathetic to basic rights of those people they approach when it comes to real life on the beat was not in the focus of this study.

Police Learning and Training Assessment Practices in Portugal and in the European Union – a Survey

Eduardo Ferriera, João Cabaço

Abstract

This paper summarises the results obtained by a quantitative survey of 27 European Police Academies. The need for this survey arose from the lack of up-to-date information on good practice in terms of planning, learning, training and assessment methods and techniques, when speaking of specialised learning or training courses carried out by CEPOL members. That is, learning or training programmes or courses which provide scientific or technical police competences to senior or middle rank police officers.

The results that will be presented and discussed in this paper were obtained from a non-representative sample of European police academies. As a consequence, they only permit an impressionist overview and, with some optimism, the possibility to gather and set a few common guidelines in order to improve the current standard. They do not aim at providing a competence system of reference but hopefully they can help to find answers to some simple questions about common practices in the field of police learning or training needs diagnostic assessment, formative assessment, global assessment and reaction assessment.

Considering the obtained results, this paper also tries to set a few future research guidelines that may help to understand why police science and research methodologies or results are still a minor issue as far as police learning, training and work are concerned.

Methodological notes

Assessment is a systematic method of obtaining evidence in order to draw inferences about the knowledge, competences, values or other characteristics of people for a specific purpose. It is also a systematic method of obtaining evidence in order to draw inferences about the benefits of police learning and training.

It should be noted that citizens in general and other police stakeholders are highly interested in the assessment, because they want to ascertain if a police officer is a) trustworthy and b) efficient. Above all they want to know if the police organization as a whole can be trusted.

The results to be presented and discussed were obtained from a non-representative sample of 27 European police academies which deliver specialised learning or training programmes or courses. That is, programmes or courses which provide scientific or technical police knowledge or competences to senior or middle rank police officers.

Data was gathered through a questionnaire sent to the major police academies of the 25 European Union Member States.

Learning or training needs assessment

Needs assessment is used to determine the knowledge and the competences of a group and to assist with gap analysis and courseware development. Gap analysis determines the variance between what police officers know and what they are required to know in order to be able to fulfil a specific function or task.

Surveys (interviews or questionnaires), field observation and tests are the most common tools used in needs assessment.

The collected data suggests that most of the surveyed police academies use learning or training needs assessment. In almost half of the surveyed police academies teachers or trainers seem to be responsible for this type of assessment and for the definition of the corresponding objectives and curricula. There is no available data on the methodologies and techniques which are usually used for the learning or training needs assessment, but it seems that learning or training in police science and research is not a major concern in needs assessment.

In Portuguese police academies needs assessment is usually carried out through non-confidential questionnaires or group interviews.

Needs assessment surveys usually scrutinize knowledge or competency gaps in law, investigation techniques, and computer software or crime prevention. It usually turns out that these areas cover the most important needs, concerning police learning and training.

Diagnostic assessment

Diagnostic assessment is primarily used to identify the needs and prior knowledge of police officers for the purpose of directing them to the most appropriate learning or training experiences.

Surveys (interviews or questionnaires) and tests are the most common tools used in diagnostic assessment.

Collected data shows that diagnostic assessment is used in most of the surveyed European police academies. The importance of diagnostic assessment derives from the fact that in 89% of the police academies' students are selected by the police organisations to which they belong, not by the academies themselves.

The most important aspect is the fact that diagnostic surveys or tests, when used, usually do not consider knowledge and competences in police science and research methodologies and techniques. They rather focus on law, investigation methods or techniques, computer knowledge or general socio-cultural knowledge.

Formative assessment

Formative assessment is used to provide practice for search and retrieval from memory for a police candidate or officer and to provide prescriptive feedback.

Quiz tests or personal research projects are the most common tools used in formative assessment.

Formative assessment seems to be a common practice in most of the surveyed police academies. However, formative assessment seems to rely more on quiz tests than on scientific or research

projects, with few exceptions.

Summative assessment

Summative assessment is used to give a definite quantitative grade or to make a judgment about the police candidate or police officer's achievement. If the judgement verifies that they have met an established standard indicative of special or unique expertise, the judgement may confer a "certification".

Exams (written, multiple choice, individual) are the most common tools used in summative assessment. In scientific research, essays are also sometimes used.

Summative assessment in European police academies

The collected data shows that most of the surveyed police academies 81 % use individual practical performances and 78% individual written exams to assess the knowledge and competences of their students. Although this practice is consistent with professional learning or training, only 52% of the surveyed academies rely on individual essays. 30% referred other processes – usually oral examinations or multiple-choice questionnaires.

Contrary to expectations, summative assessment does not seem to contemplate or specially reward scientific research knowledge or competencies in most of the academies which were surveyed.

Level one reaction assessment

Reaction assessment is used to evaluate the satisfaction level with a learning, training or assessment experience.

The so-called "level one reaction assessment" measures the immediate reaction of participants after the learning or training experience. Frequent questions are: Did you like the course? Did the course meet your expectations? Were the teachers or trainers competent? Was the material relevant to the course work? How should the learning or training experience be improved?

This type of information is usually gathered via surveys or personal or group interviews.

Collected data shows that most surveyed police academies use "level one reaction assessment", either through confidential questionnaires (85% of the academies use them), group interviews (41%), individual interviews (33%), non-confidential questionnaires (18,5%) or other methods (18,5%) – usually variants of written questionnaires.

What we could not definitely assert is whether or not students require more time and opportunities for scientific research during the learning or training experiences. In most cases it seems that they just require more time for operational training, not for scientific research.

Level two reaction assessment

Level two reaction assessment measures whether or not a police candidate or officer achieved the learning or training objectives. If the learning or training experience exceeded the participant's expectations but knowledge transfer and competence were not achieved, the validity of the course or a "certification" is usually called into question.

Information is gathered via written exams or essays, either by the police academy or by an independent assessment authority.

Collected data shows that in spite of the widely used assessment of individual performance, a large number of the surveyed police academies (63%) just award presence certificates to the participants of specialised learning or training courses. A regular certificate is awarded by 67% of the academies and 7% of them award another type of certificate. Most of the surveyed police academies (59%) do not grant a nationally recognised certificate, that is, a certificate that grants credits needed for a university diploma.

Level three reaction assessment

Level three, or follow up, reaction assessment measures whether learners or trainees were able to apply their new knowledge and competences to their job. Level three assessment tries to evaluate to what extent recent learners or trainees are using the new competences on the job or to what extent their behaviour was changed. It also tries to evaluate what other issues prevent them from being successful on the job after a proper learning or training programme or course.

Information is usually gathered via surveys and personal or group interviews, in some cases also by independent authorities.

Collected data shows that most surveyed police academies develop level three reaction assessment, the follow-up questionnaires being the preferred method (44%). 30% of the academies use follow-up interviews or follow-up observations, and 26% use other methods – usually assessments carried out by external authorities.

This is an area where police science and research could play a major role, especially concerning the identification and analysis of organisational constraints to the use of new knowledge and competences, but information about on-going research projects is very rare.

Level four reaction assessment

Level four reaction assessment measures effective organisational results. A learning or training programme or course may have been a success, the learners or trainees may have learned everything there was to be learned, they may have applied everything to their job, but the expected results sometimes do not appear.

Level four measurement can identify whether learning or training was in fact the issue, or if job aids, incentives or punitive actions for good or bad behaviour, respectively, would have been more appropriate.

Information is usually gathered via indicators like increased production or improved quality, decreased costs, reduced frequency of accidents, increased stakeholders satisfaction, etc. Level four reaction assessment is normally carried out by the police academies client organisations.

There is almost no information about level four reaction assessment in European police organisations. If this lack of information means that this type of assessment is virtually absent from European police organisations, this is certainly an area in which police science and research could play a major role.

Level five reaction assessment

Level five reaction assessment measures the return on investment (ROI), that is, the actual financial benefit to a police organisation against the learning or training investment.

Information is usually gathered via indicators like reduced costs in human resources and in the acquisition or maintenance of technical equipment.

As far as we know, level five reaction assessment has not been developed in any European police organisation.

A final remark

Systematic and multi-level police learning and training assessment practices are relatively rare in most of the surveyed police academies. Even if we consider that our data does not provide a realistic picture of all European police academies, it still remains a fact that science and research ought to play a major role in future validations of police learning and training assessment. It also seems, although we have no “hard evidence” on that issue, that in some countries police science and research should play a major role in police learning or training programmes or courses.

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The Roles of Formal Education and Work Based Learning in the Process of Becoming a Senior Police Officer

Risto Honkonen

This article is based on five studies. They are focused on the structures and practices of the Finnish police education system, from the perspective of the presumed learner.

These studies (all published in Finnish) are: 'Becoming a Police Officer' (Honkonen & Raivola 1991), 'A Policeman and the Hunt for a Credit' (Honkonen 1999), 'Work-based Learning as a Part of Basic Police Training' (Honkonen 2000), 'Learning to Become a Senior Officer' (Honkonen 2001), and 'Present and Future Knowledge of the Police Command' (Taiha-Vepsäläinen 2003).

The article is in four parts:

1. Life Course of a Police Officer: the Tarzan Dilemma
2. Becoming a Senior Officer
3. Learning at School and Learning at Work
4. Contradicting Types of Mastery in the Work of the Command

1. Life Course of a Police Officer: the Tarzan Dilemma

In my biographical study 'A Policeman and the Hunt for a Credit' (Honkonen 1999), I examined education as part of the life course of the Finnish policeman. On contact with the police culture, it became apparent that being a police officer is a very gendered matter. Demographically, I was already aware of male dominance in the police world, but I only realised the importance of masculinity in the life course of policemen after working at a police station while collecting data. To use Crank's (1998, 179) expression, I could say that masculinity is a cultural descriptor of the police organisation.

At the early stage, the observation was obscure, and I understood the masculinity of the police as some kind of an opposite to the civil world and femininity. It soon, however, became evident that it was not that simple. In the world of the police, one can identify various masculinities and these are related to my ultimate interest, police education. For education opens and closes gates to social status, power and better income, it also opens and closes gates to various masculinities. The various masculinities are in a hierarchical and hegemonic relation with each other (Connell 1996).

At an early stage, a policeman has to decide what kind of attitude he will have towards the career that, in principle, is available to him in the police organisation. Basically, he will have to choose whether to pursue formal power, better status and a better salary by progressing the career ladder of the organisation, or to be satisfied with the position as a constable. But this career decision is not simply a matter of the position the person will achieve in the organisation. It is also a matter of ways of being a man; what kind of masculinity a male constable wants and is able to realise. The basic questions of police masculinity are crystallised in this choice.

The questions are the same as those crystallised in the mythical character of Tarzan. Here, I refer to the original Tarzan books, not the Hollywood movies in which – as all who have read Tarzan books know – Tarzan’s multidimensionality and contradictions were almost totally destroyed. The Tarzan of the books is an intelligent and moral person. The Tarzan of the movies, however, is mainly a growling bunch of muscles. To draw on Paula Havaste’s (1998) study ‘Tarzan and the Mystery of the White Man’, Tarzan is an intelligent and highly moral aristocrat, a lord. At the same time, though, he is a typical hero of adventure books: muscular, even pointedly physical, energetic, active, and a resolute male hero whose whole body expresses his power. (Havaste 1998, 50-51.) This is the contradiction between aristocratic and physical masculinity that I name *the Tarzan dilemma*.

Policemen meet the same problem. Their body should realise the ideal of traditional physical masculinity. However, at the same time, they are expected, and they themselves expect, to gain promotion by the help of brains, morals, and education to the aristocracy of the police organisation. In practice, however, the worlds of the traditional physical masculinity of the constables and that of the police aristocracy, the senior officers, are far from each other. Moreover, there is a limited number of positions available in the latter – in Finland about 10 % of the posts – and they are accessible only to those who are able to realise the demands of learnedness and cultivated behaviour.

Physical Masculinity of the Constables

There are many officers who do not try to reach the high ranks, but are satisfied with their position as a constable or a sergeant. For only a small number of officers can realise such goals and too great career ambition early can lead to a later disappointment and an unhappy life.

As in society, the dual status of men can be seen in the police organisation. Men usually occupy the elite positions and an ideal career in police administration tends to suit certain kinds of men. Yet all men are not able or willing to live the narrative in which mutual competition and achievement are central features. To put one’s career above everything in life can be rewarding, but the data shows it to be a high risk strategy. The place in the sun and the place in the gutter are reserved for men (Jokinen 1999). Furthermore, continuous competition and compulsion to achieve are the central features of modern masculinity. Man’s weakness is his inability to confess his losses and his own powerlessness in the face of failure (Lehtonen 1995, 43).

In the stories written by officers, happy policemen are the ones who are *not* ambitious. There are descriptions how these officers have their family, children and housing at the core of their lives and have no ambitious career expectations. Among thirty stories that told about a happy life as a police officer, only one included a clear upward career path to the inspector level. These stories show that the achievement and competition-laden life story model is not the only positive alternative for an officer. They also show that a person can focus on his family and/or hobbies and so avoid taking the risk of failure in the education and career competition.

When writing their stories officers of various ranks reflected on the modern career-oriented masculinity and questioned its power to make people happy. In doing this, they constructed an alternative masculinity built on, for example, family and leisure-oriented talk. According to another study, many male officers, even more so than female officers, felt that their small

children are obstacles to further education and promotion in their careers (Nuutinen et al. 1999, 55). In my empathy-based stories, respondents also acknowledged the risk of failure and recognised the rejection of career competition as an antidote to it. Correspondingly, in many stories of unsuccessful life courses, the reason for failure was too high a career expectation and inability to reach it.

At the other end of the scale, some constables have a very negative attitude towards education. The most central factor that gives rise to these kinds of attitudes is the disappointment at one's own educational expectations. The gates to the vertical education of the police organisation do not open, and, thus, the gates to higher positions also remain unopened. The result is bitterness and suspicion towards Senior officers as well as a negative attitude towards education. "My turn did not come so I let it be, let it be." At the same time, the person orientates to and identifies with the constable culture for support, consolation, and understanding. His peers also become a cultural reference point in defining his identity. And usually, these peer group relations are pretty strong (Nuutinen et. al. 1999, 27).

At the level of constable, the police culture or 'canteen culture' (McLaughlin 1996, 73-77) is often seen negatively as bearing old-fashioned and cynical attitudes that are transferred to newcomers. Yet for those who have been disappointed with their career expectations, the police culture appears in a positive light. It appears as a resource that enables officers to go on in their life and work, thus avoiding a situation described as the 'misery discourse'. This term refers to the mode of talk that negatively describes a man's life as an unhappy struggle. One where everything goes wrong, and if something goes well, even that does not mean anything because one is not allowed to enjoy life. This is described in Finnish masculinity literature (E.g. Tiihonen 1996, 158; Roos 1994, 25-26), and is also expressed for example in some Mika Kaurismäki movies that tell about Finnish everyday life.

Misery is therefore a potentially strong discourse of Finnish masculinity in both police culture and the wider society. Fortunately, most of the officers that totally reject further education are not cynical, frustrated people that just wait for retirement. Nor is their life miserable in other respects, either. The 'Misery discourse' does not so much *describe* the life of constables, but is a negative cultural model of men and a lurking threat for someone when things do not go as expected. It describes the state of life that we Finnish men are afraid of.

For many constables, police work is just a means of living. Compared with other Finnish workers, constables feel that they have less than average chances to influence and gain knowledge of work related matters. They also feel that they cannot see how successful their work is. (Nuutinen et al. 1999, 20-21.) In addition to disappointment due to over-expectation, their other reasons for not taking part in education is the view that course content is irrelevant to their work and identity as constables.

It has been said that male workers do not take part in education simply because they have reached the values in their life that they aimed at: a sufficient salary, fellowship, and certainty of their job (Hansen 1998). This seems to be true also with many Finnish constables (Nuutinen et al. 1999). The position of a constable reflects in many ways that of the male factory shop floor worker described by Collinson (1992). These workers protected their dignity and had developed their identities by very masculine discursive practices that mean talking about sex, supporting the

family, and rejecting promotion at work. They emphasised their independence, honesty, freedom and autonomy, and the fact that labour has only economic purposes.

The masculinity of uniformed officers is an important factor behind attitudes to education. Besides disappointment at educational and career expectations, the fact that many policemen perceive sitting on the school bench as anti-masculine behaviour also feeds the negative attitude towards education. In the world of detectives, however, education has a somewhat different meaning. For many Finnish constables, becoming a detective is a route to education and higher positions. There is also more education offered to detectives. For practical reasons, it also seems to be easier to match studying with the work of a detective than with the work of a uniformed officer.

From an uniformed officer's perspective, a detective who carries out clerical tasks and has a lot of knowledge on legal details represents a strange behaviour code. Many uniformed officers avoid classrooms and being occupied with books. Certain activities call for masculinity, for example playing aggressive computer games, hockey, or football. Instead, sitting in the classroom asks for non-active, strictly controlled feminine activity. At school, pupils have to learn, above all, patience and tolerance. The term 'hidden curriculum' (Jackson 1968) refers to this phenomenon. Instead of studying what the curriculum says, pupils have to wait: wait for the lesson to start, wait for those who are late, wait for the teacher's instructions, wait for the other students, and wait for the teacher's questions. The central cultural trait of school institution is the passivity of the students. That contradicts the traits of policemen and outdoor police work. For an active person who highly values male outdoor life, the world of schooling appears as a strange place that suppresses his masculinity.

Uniformed officers maintain a male 'anti-school culture' that offers consolation to those who are disappointed with their non-realised educational expectations and support to those who had a reluctant attitude towards schooling to begin with. Education as such does not have a very important status in the constables' values, but if it offers clear chances to advance in one's career, they are, however, interested in taking part in it. Education is talked about and understood mainly as a selection mechanism. Very seldom it is talked about in terms of learning. In the world of detectives, the 'anti-school culture' is not as strong although there are people who have experienced disappointments in their educational expectations too.

Even though the organisational position of a uniformed officer is subordinated, his work includes male freedom. In the field, there is always a chance to "plot", as one of the interviewees said. In this respect, this equals with observations made of metal workers (Kortteinen 1992, 134). The workers told about ways how to "win an unofficial and secret control over their work and to use this control in order to change the exchange relation between them and the employer into a more favourable one". This is a matter of control and supervision of the work. The tension related to this situation is the central structural trait of a factory culture. Doing well in this is understood as a battle of male honour, which is related to the fact that an employee, in principle, always first disagrees what ever the employer suggests.

2. Becoming a Senior Officer

In order to become an inspector in Finland, an officer has to accrue about 360 credits (240 Finnish study weeks). This includes also basic police training. In order to become a police chief, he has to collect 60 credits more (40 Finnish study weeks) at a university. Overlapping his education, he has to gain a sufficient length of work experience.

In the education system of the police organisation there is a common ethos: what is directly applicable is worth studying. Students expect that the education would be clearly vocational.

The ambitious officers are very determined when they apply for the inspector courses and they are also willing to work hard in order to be admitted to the Police College (a higher education institute within the non-university sector) that provides the training. Afterwards, they wonder to themselves why they were ever willing and able to make such huge efforts. The ethos of competition plays a crucial role in their whole life stories. When they were young men, they usually practised competitive sports, and that was the most important thing of that time. Later it is replaced by competition in the education system of the police organisation and police organisation's labour market.

The officers, who progress through the police education route into the position of a senior officer, are very committed to the organisation. They are very satisfied with their vocational choice and do not consider moving to another kind of work. They are excited about their work and remember well the turns of their careers including various workplaces and tasks. They have adopted the career model of the organisation as a story that guides their life course. As in traditional masculinity, life is a performance. A real man does not just go to work, but makes a career, invests in some area of life, forces himself to new achievements, and wholly identifies with his work (Lehtonen 1995). This kind of a man seeks an area where he can try out his masculinity. When necessary, the field of performance can be changed. It is often work, but it can be politics, sports, culture, or women as well.

The Effectiveness of the Education of the Senior Officers

But how does the education of Senior officers, carried out in the Police College of Finland, meet the needs of the inspector's work? In the study 'Learning to Become a Senior Officer - the Effectiveness of Education and Work-based Learning' (Honkonen 2001) the process of becoming a Senior officer was examined in terms of education-based and work-based learning. The effectiveness of education was my approach in considering the education, and my starting point was to consider its effectiveness in relation to work qualifications. The main purpose of the study was to find out how well the competence of the officers graduating from Senior officer education matched the demands of their work.

The results of a questionnaire showed that the competence met the demands of an inspector's work pretty well. At the beginning of their careers as an inspector, many respondents had to study independently in their own time. However, need for this decreased over the months.

Yet still, even though the graduates were evidently competent inspectors, the study did not give an answer as to whether this was, and to what extent this was, due to the education. The students are selected from a large population and thus they are exceptionally talented officers having a

long experience in the various sections of the police organisation. It was evident that they had learnt a lot of the knowledge needed to perform the rank of an inspector quite informally and prior to the formal education of the Senior officer courses.

The graduates, however, considered their education useful from the point of view of inspector's work. Afterwards the managerial matters related to human resources and leadership were seen as the most important content of the education, while during the education the officers said they believed that law was the most important subject matter.

Long and varied experience in the police organisation was often emphasised as the most important requirement for the rank of an inspector. The former experiences also influence the expectations towards education of senior officers. In basic police education, the transmission of knowledge is crucial, while in the education of senior officers it is not seen as being so important. Instead, the officers value their own activity and chances to reflect the matters concerning policing. The graduates of the senior officer education saw that education has a clearly innovative function - not only a knowledge transmission function. They also took the view that education gave them tools with which to critically analyse and reform police work and its organisation.

After the senior officer course, the graduates had quickly found an inspector's post. They were also satisfied with their work. The education met very well the needs especially in matters related to management and administration, law, communication and knowledge management. In police matters, however, the education was not able to give the students much relevant new mastery. The only clear deficiency related to education was the lack of economic matters, but even this did not seem to be a very serious problem.

The subjects considered that the length of education is sufficient. A relevant question concerning education - in any phase of the structure - is how long an education is needed. The critics say that continuously lengthening study times are related to empty beliefs in the ability of education to meet the needs of increasing demands of work life. One can also ask, does the trust in education reflect the disbelief in people's ability to learn informally in everyday life? It is self evident that to some extent formal education is needed, but "more of the same" thinking is probably coming to an end in the field of Finnish police education.

Thus, we must carefully distinguish what should be taught in a formal education setting and why it is necessary to do so, against what should be learnt in practical training and later on in the work place. The study times cannot expand forever. Faith in education no longer has the same enchantment it had before. Schooling is losing its monopoly over the possession and delivery of new knowledge. The education system works according to its own logic and this logic itself - not the demands of the society it serves - lengthen the study times. According to its logic, there is always something to learn and it is better to learn more than less. Furthermore, there is no natural limit to learning. (Huotari 1997.)

3. Learning at School and Learning at Work

Learning at school is decontextualised. That is, it takes place in isolation from the context where the knowledge is supposed to be used. The natural effect of this is the transfer problem: how can we guarantee that what is taught at school should be transferable into the context of practice that

always differs from the school context.

In a Dutch study (see Vaherva 1999, 93) it was noticed that the transfer of formal education is at best 30 percent. The rest remains unlearned or it cannot be applied in practice so that the practical activity changes. Moreover, the success in formal education does not always forecast success at work (Brown et al. 1989, 34). Whereas, learning at the workplace is contextual or authentic. This means that the existing cultural practices are learned in the same context where they are used. Thus, there is no such thing as the transfer problem.

It is also said that when things are learned at work, there is no need for the evaluation of the knowledge so learned. The work process itself, with its products and quality assurances, supposedly works as the evaluation mechanism of the learning process. This, however, may not be the case. Maybe we have to start to develop methods to evaluate or assess the amount and quality of learning that takes place at the workplaces too. Learning at work is often more social or communal than learning at school. At school one must learn how to be and work alone in a group. Whereas learning at the workplace very often takes place as a by-product of doing something else, for example solving a problem with a group of people. In the workplace individuals learn with other people and thus they develop in the same direction.

Learning at the workplace may, in fact, be conservative by nature. In formal education, stepping back and gaining new, inspiring, knowledge can make it possible to critically reflect the existing practices and thus make necessary reforms and innovations. Transformation processes often require formal education, too.

Resnick (1987) has found the following differences between formal education and activities outside of schooling:

At school individual cognition is stressed. Outside formal education mental processes mainly take place with other people.

1. At school thinking is preferred. Outside formal education people rely strongly on physical and cognitive tools.

2. At school the action is oriented towards symbols. Outside formal education people deal with physical objects.

3. At school general and comprehensive skills are studied. Outside formal education people develop their situation specific competence.

School knowledge is not “worse” than knowledge that is learned in practical settings. But it is different in nature. Many recent studies show, however, that the best learning takes place in relation to practical activity. The nature and context of this activity determine what will be learned.

Problem solving and learning are closely related (Billett 1998, 257). Routine problem solving strengthens the existing structures. Yet novel, or non-routine, problem solving changes the knowledge and while doing so expands a person’s potential.

Today it is largely understood that learning is central in human behaviour and that life as such offers tremendous chances to learn. The most significant learning experiences seem to take place outside the school context. All learning opportunities do not, however, lead to learning. Whether

this happens is determined by a person's orientation towards the event, the context of learning, and the learning environment. In a good learning environment (Honkonen 2000):

- 1the learner diversely observes his or her environment,
- 2the learner diversely collects experience by acting in various tasks,
- 3the learner has a chance to question the existing presumptions and existing modes of action,
- 4the learner and the instructor negotiate the meanings and objectives so that the interpretations of the instructor are not self evidently accepted to be the correct ones,
- 5the learner analyses and reflects his or her experiences and evaluates the results of his or her actions,
- 6the learner has a chance to grow as an independent decision maker.

The forms of informal learning set a strong challenge to the large industry of formal adult education. A large proportion of formal education is evidently not at all relevant from the point of view of work life. There is a constant need to examine the effectiveness of education, but interest in the effectiveness of formal schooling is not enough when we are interested in the learning of a certain occupation.

A central question related to work based learning is, how to create organisations and workplaces that give learning opportunities for individuals as well as for organisations and communities. It has been said (Vaherva 1998, 171) that a paradigm shift has taken place in adult education for working life. Thus far the interest has been in formal education and its effectiveness. According to the new paradigm, the core of learning is the work itself and the role of formal education is to support work based learning. Naturally, there will always be need for formal education too. The question is, what is primary, and what is secondary, source of learning: work itself or the formal education.

What is the nature of the work of an inspector?

The central character of the work of an inspector is its knowledge intensity. Receiving knowledge, processing knowledge, decision making on the grounds of received knowledge, and communication of the knowledge onwards, are an essential part of the work process. In practice, the data system and telephone are the most important tools. Also, direct contacts with subordinates, citizens, and colleagues are of crucial importance to the inspector's role.

The work often takes place within chaos. Often the inspector does not have much chance to influence the contents or rhythm of his or her working shift, since police incidents occur unpredictably. The lack of resources in relation to the number of incidents to be dealt with is evident. There is subsequently not much time for reflection and developing the work process or organisation.

The degree of division of labour and nature of it depend on the size of the police department and organisation. In a small department an inspector, in practice, is in charge of everything since the inspectors deputise each other and also the police chief. Moreover, they often directly supervise the constables, too. Thus the work is comprehensive from its nature. At the same time it makes

the work incoherent and difficult to master. In bigger departments, there is more division of labour and the job descriptions of the inspectors are more precise.

In interviews, the new inspectors said that their work – except the tasks related to leadership – was not, actually, very difficult. In the early stage, one must study a lot of new things, but for example really difficult legal problems seldom exist. The work is also autonomous when it comes to organisational control. However, there are always so many immediate matters to deal with, that it is very difficult to organise one's time to proactively plan police operations and develop the organisation in the longer term.

How do inspectors learn in their workplaces?

The research on learning proves that what is learnt cannot be isolated from how it is learnt and how it will be used. However, knowing and doing should not be so sharply isolated as sometimes had been done.

The work-based learning after getting a degree has many forms:

- 1) Personal observations and independent studying** are crucial in the work based learning. In the early stage a lot of leisure time is taken for self-directed studying. In this phase, the statute book (lakikirja) is an important source of knowledge. After some months this is no longer necessary. Among the personal observations, one's own mistakes are especially educative.
- 2) Interaction with other people** is also an important way to learn. The learning in contact with other people is often incidental. This means that the goal of interaction is not learning but something else. New things are learned as a by-product. Also asking for advice from other people, especially from other inspectors, is an important way to find out matters and learn new knowledge.
- 3) Reflective planning and critical evaluation of one's work** was a central source of learning for some inspectors. At best this kind of activity creates new understanding and new action practices. These were mainly related to management and organisation of work.
- 4) Advising other people and quality assurance** were not among the learning practices of novice inspectors. This is mentioned, because this kind of activity is notably one possible mode of work based learning found in others studies.

4. Contradicting Types of Mastery in the Work of the Command

In an ongoing study 'Present and future knowledge of the police command' the competence requirements of the senior police officers are studied using the Delphi method. Traditionally this method has been in use when the development of technology is investigated. However, it has recently been used quite often in the anticipation of educational needs, too. The idea of the method is to collect data from experts by interviews, discussions, or questionnaire surveys. After this, the researcher sums up the answers and delivers the results to the same experts for reappraisal. Quite often also a third round is carried out in the same way. The experts can change their opinions between the rounds. Nowadays the consensus between the experts is not an aim of the process as it used to be formerly. It has been said that aiming at a consensus is unnatural and can lead on losing information.

The experts of the panel of the first round were selected discretionally. Position in the police command, large experience in policing, and interest in developing police organisation were the required criteria. The size of the group was 48 persons. Out of them 36 (75%) answered to the questions. This was rather a good proportion since the answering took much more time and work than a traditional questionnaire form. (Taiha-Vepsäläinen 2003)

In their answers, requirements concerning leadership were emphasised. Also the substance of basic professional knowledge was considered important. The experts took the view that the scope

of professional knowledge needed is a large one and high level of its mastery is necessary. In the future though, the working capacity and well being of the senior officers themselves are becoming critical issues. Reducing resources and increasing demands for, on and of policing are setting pressures on the physical and mental capacity of the senior officers. (Taiha-Vepsäläinen 2003.)

The present and future qualification requirements are not, however, unambiguous matters. Instead, the data shows that defining the future knowledge that is needed is a contradictory task. In the following dichotomy the most striking opposing opinions of the experts are expressed.

Contradicting Types of Mastery in the Work of Police Command

Experiential Mastery	Theoretical Mastery
Inherent traits and experience are of crucial importance	Good formal education is of crucial importance
Training should not be theoretical, but emphasis should be in existing work practices	Knowledge becomes obsolete very fast and thus it is not important to teach detailed practical knowledge, but larger theories
Detailed sector knowledge is needed	General knowledge is needed
Basically the work remains the same	There is constant need to learn more and more and thus abilities to find, create and use new knowledge are needed

Beyond the Old Contradictions?

As a summary, a small remark can be made. Kurt Lewin has said that there is nothing as practical as a good theory. Maybe the often felt contradiction between school and work or between theory and practice is artificial?

Maybe we should understand that practice is full of theory and new theoretical ideas and perspectives can make the practice better. More to the point, theory can never replace practice, but new theories are needed for reforming and innovating practice and replacing the obsolete theories in use.

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Section III: The Police and their Social Surrounding

Immigration, Integration and Insecurity – the Role of Police Ethics and Police Training

Thomas Feltes

Migration and Globalisation in Europe

Migration and globalisation have great influence on the lives of people in Europe, and will have even more influence within the next years. For the open societies in Europe which already have to tackle with migration processes, these developments will entail further drastic changes: living together in a multi-ethnic society with a high degree of mobility.

Post-modern society and its institutions are organized along the **principles of fear, risk assessment and the provision of security**. This focus on security in return creates fear and the need for protection. Post-modern institutions are driven by the production and distribution of knowledge regarding risk assessment and security provision. It is important to realize, that police play an important role in this game, but it is also important to realize that there are other players who need to be included in a **concept of mutual security provision**.

The demand for help from or intervention by the police has risen and is still rising. The increasing demand for police services is due to the decreasing readiness and/or capability of citizens to settle conflicts by means of peaceful communication. Victims are less equipped to and capable of helping themselves. More and more frequently official authorities are called in to clear and settle conflicts. This is one of the reasons why it is absolutely necessary to support police training activities in countries in transition and to cooperate with these police forces.

Although presenting major concern, **multicultural conflicts** can be viewed as part of a **systematic transformation of social control and policing** within a unified Europe. We must prepare the rising generations and our police forces in all countries for this new situation in Europe, by fostering understanding of the causes underlying these processes of migration, eradicating irrational fears and judgements, encouraging a keener perception of the positive effects of migration, building a capacity for tolerance in relations with others.

Migration brings people of different races, cultures and languages into closer contact with each other, making enormous demands on their tolerance. In many European countries, increasing numbers of immigrants are moving to cities that already harbour the majority of that country's population along with most of its problems, or to rural areas, where the people are not used to living together and next door to foreigners or “aliens”.

Although the issue of multicultural conflicts seems to be a major concern, it is just part of a transformation of the whole system of social control and policing within a unifying Europe. Although states may be enhancing their capacity to control 'unwanted' migration, whether on an individual basis or through cooperation with other states, the marketization of illegal migration by organized traffickers increased the capacities of the 'unwanted' to migrate.

According to the authorities, illegal immigration combined with human trafficking belongs to the top threats and dangers in Europe to be monitored and repelled by security forces. Therefore

police work has to be related to these new “threat-scenarios”, but we also have to challenge the question whether immigration itself is a “top threat”, or whether special aspects of migration or phenomena frequently linked to immigration. It seems to be important to differentiate between the problem and the causes of migration and immigration, the problem of asylum, and the problems of insecurity, coming along with increasing numbers of migrating people and the increasing cultural and economical gap within Europe and its neighbouring states.

The sociological and historical background in a given country is very important if we talk about migration and immigration. Some countries like Germany have been experiencing economic problems. Overburdened social and public services, increasing unemployment, the discussion whether to change the social security system, and declining individual financial budgets are challenging the population. There are widening class divisions (the rich are getting richer), more broken families, more juveniles (and especially children) living below the poverty line and growing anger among the disadvantaged. It seems that this anger results in xenophobia and aversion against anyone who is or who looks like a foreigner.

In all empirical studies we conducted during the last years, we found **a common aspect causing public fear: strangers**. If you ask people about the reason for their fear of crime or feelings of insecurity, “strangers” are mentioned by more than three out of four people interviewed, followed by “darkness” or “dark places” (like public garages, train stations etc.) and “incivilities”. The places that people find frightening are train stations and other public places where strangers (especially juveniles) congregate, behaving disorderly.

Migration and Xenophobic Violence

Right-wing extremist violence has increased dramatically in most of our countries. Such activities can create feelings of fear, not only in foreigners but also in the majority of the population. In general, foreigners and native citizens are united by a strong faith that the state and local police will guarantee their security. On an even more general level, multicultural conflicts are seen as issues of internal security and therefore as a major challenge to social control and, eventually, policing. What we have observed in Germany, as well as in other European countries, is the emergence of **new inter-ethnic conflicts** and the rise of xenophobic nationalist movements, which reach far beyond the right-wing political margin into the centre of society as a whole. The development and expansion of xenophobic attitudes and violence cannot be traced back solely to personality deficits and socialisation problems of individual perpetrators or to social, economic and cultural crises of the society as a whole. What we have to take into account in order to understand and explain what is happening is the manner in which immigration and integration of foreigners are currently organised in some European countries, and how politicians comment on the problems of immigration. In Germany, all political parties, except for the “Green Party” stated during the last years, that **too many foreigners** are coming to Germany, and that Germany is not an immigration country – quite contrary to the fact that in reality Germany is a country with a high rate of immigration and that Germany needs this immigration due to the age structure of its population. Furthermore, most of the immigrants are coming from European countries and not from Africa or Asia. Slogans like “Das Boot ist voll” (“The boat is overcrowded”; used by the Federal Minister of the Interior, a member of the Social-Democrats, in

2000) gave certain political signals to the people and made the right-wing extremists believe there might be widespread support for their actions.

Police, Human Rights and Migration

Human rights organizations have criticized violations of human rights of refugees and migrants by police and security forces in nearly every European country. In Germany, a documentation of a human rights organization reported a total of 89 dead and 114 injured migrants at the eastern border between 1993 and 2000. Amnesty International has already launched two reports on violence by police in Germany, and a third one will follow.

Some countries have established special courses on “Police and Human Rights”, and the Council of Europe has initiated a **“Police and Human Rights Program”** with a lot of material, brochures, and posters provided. Human Rights standards are available, as are some dozens of international instruments and Council of Europe documents on that topic. The brochure “Police Work in a Democratic Society”, published in 2000 by the Council of Europe Police and Human Rights Program in English, French and German, is also a step in the right direction. The “Rotterdam Charter (Policing for a multi-ethnic society”, drawn up at a conference in Rotterdam in May/June 1996), and the 10 Basic Human Rights Standards for Law Enforcement Officials” by Amnesty International are good examples of such papers and recommendations.

Unfortunately, only few European countries make use of these materials, and even fewer include them into their police training curricula. We are still missing the sense for being part of an already Unified Europe. It is not possible to build up new walls – neither concrete ones, nor ones in terms of economy, social aspects or religion. But it is in fact much easier to vote for recommendations, than to act and fulfil what they demand for in the everyday business, especially in the everyday business of police forces.

Since some years, we realize a trend to establish **guidelines, ethical standards and Codes of Ethic** all over Europe during the last decade. The fact that nowadays nearly every police force has its own “Code of Ethics” might be a result of the discussions on police integrity and police accountability, which started during the last years. But one might question whether there is really a need for such a special “Police Ethics”. The basic ethical and moral aspects of a society, their constitution and their laws should be the ethical background of policing. If one accepts this, we might not need a special Code of Ethics for the police. But what really would be useful are organizations like the **police ombudsman** (for instance in England and Northern Ireland) or special administrations like **IGAI** (Inspector General for Internal Affairs) in Portugal, who take care of citizens’ complaints and sometimes of complaints from the side of police officers themselves.

On the other side, we must also realize that police forces are more and more losing their **old hierarchical structures**, and with this structure a clear and easy understandable organization of accountability. One of the negative side effects of reorganizing and restructuring the police might be, that people who were not used to think and to work independently and to take over responsibility by themselves for what they are doing, will need some time to cope with the new democratic structures. They also need a clear vision what their aims are and whom they are

working for.

Generally speaking, there seem to be **two major approaches to guide police discretion**, to improve accountability and to strengthen integrity. The first advocates **rule-tightening** as a means of controlling police actions, while the second believes in **changing the informal culture of police organizations**. In an evaluation of the British law reform in the 80s, McConville et al. question the utility of law reform as a method of changing police practice, since the **occupational subculture** of the police appears resistant to change. To change police practice, an attack upon police occupational culture would be necessary. This is to be achieved by redefining the police mandate and instituting new forms of accountability.

Rob Reiner notes the uneven impact of law reform on police practice and concludes that legal regulations alone is of limited effectiveness for changing police practice: **“The key changes must be in the informal culture of the police, their practical rules”**. It is not the law or an administrative regulation, which influences the activity of a legal organization, but the informal culture of the institution respectively their members. If we compare different regions or areas, the way institutions act or react is definitely influenced by what we may call **“the local institutional culture”**. The habits are strongly affected by the informal norms, attitudes, expectations, practices and procedures of the local systems and protagonists.

Furthermore, the subjective elements of the local police community affect the level of concern with the existing use or misuse of power, the usual way complaints are handled and so on. It is rather obvious that ongoing systems and their actors develop **stable patterns of behaviour**. It is not easy to change those patterns just by imposing a new law or implementing some new administrative strategies. The local institutional culture, in which a shared set of values exists, might be upset by a new set of official rules given by legislation or advice, resulting in an even worse situation. New rules may contradict existing values of the local culture and may be viewed as placing an unwelcome burden on the practitioners with the result of **ignoring or “undermining”** the official rules or new norms.

The existence of such a local police culture is a highly plausible explanation for many of the reported failures of past police reform efforts. One could say that the irony is that the more the legal process squeezes the police to ensure propriety and accountability, the more the police are tempted to circumvent or undermine procedural restraints. It is the police agencies' culture and the support by supervisors, seniors, and superiors that encourage police officers to resist or tolerate certain types of misconduct. And therefore it is this culture, which encourages or discourages police integrity.

Police themselves must establish effective borders against abuse of power and unlawful acts by peers. Activities to improve integrity and to strengthen self-control within the police force must start with management training for those who are heading police forces. What I call a **“healthy Police organization”** might be reached with healthy, respectful and accountable supervisors. **Leadership** is an essential element in embracing accountability.

Empowerment and enlightenment of those who are engaged in front line policing and in assuring police integrity is our task. But also to avoid vacuums in accountability and to accept, that accountability is a core institutional value, which should be secured by senior officers.

Police Training

Police today are more highly trained than ever before, and the quality of the training has probably never been higher. This is true for most of the Western European states. Although the positive relationship between training and practice seems to be evident, this effect is not studied very much. The benefits of the training for institutions are generally more assumed, and serve as an important legitimating function for headquarters, rather than empirically demonstrated. Empirical studies have focused on officers' attitudes rather than their actual behaviour. A study by Mastrofski and Ritti (1996) showed that the impact of training depends on organization-level considerations. Training has a significant positive effect in agencies that provide a **supportive environment**, but fails to have an effect in agencies that otherwise are indifferent or hostile to the intentions the officers are trained for.

The effect of the training therefore depends on

- a) the opportunities afforded by the institution to apply it,
- b) on supervisors, who encourage the trained person and their intention, and
- c) on its relevance to the prospects of career advancement.

The supervisor philosophy "Go out there and don't get into trouble" or "Go out and behave properly" is not a good one to encourage highly trained officers - it is not a good one anyway. Because of the changing nature of society and its members, a police reform and a new understanding of police work is necessary.

Highly educated officers and better trained personnel do not per se guarantee better cooperation and communication, but training and education is a sine qua non factor on the way to improve the quality of police contacts. As highly educated police officers could become frustrated in their jobs, grow cynical and look for formal or informal ways out, changes must occur not only in the recruitment, selection and training programs, but in the **organizational environment** as well. Otherwise, new personnel will have little chance of surviving in the organization. The pressures for conformity are so strong that a new officer will either be forced into the police subculture, with the values and orientation of the larger group replacing his own, or his life will be made so unpleasant he will decide to resign.

A consciousness of the importance and the value of the individual's contribution to the overall reliability and the products, the institution (or company) "police" is delivering, is necessary: The attitude and behaviour of each individual agent is crucial for the image of the whole agency. One negative incident can annihilate all positive experiences a 'customer' had before. The employees are at the core of any service-oriented institution. They produce the products, perform, communicate with customers, and may **spoil the image** of the corporation.

Police training has to be suited to a modern police force that is evolving constantly along with the society it serves. This is not an easy task and one that requires continuous in-service training to keep up to date with developments inside and outside the police. Within the training programmes, **communication and conflict solution** abilities will assume an importance equal to that of legal, social and police sciences.

The **exchange of information and curricula** between police training institutions all over the world might support the transition processes in different police forces. The exchange of students and teachers is both necessary and useful.

In today's fast-paced world it is necessary for police executives to cope with the changes that confront them daily. The police must develop strategies to plan, direct and control change, and to build the **necessity of change** into their own philosophy. Problem oriented policing and community policing are terms reflecting the change in the philosophy of policing during the last years. Although this change might appear too slow for some outside observers, for the internal system of the police it is a tremendous challenge, because the main structures of leadership, the structure and the form of the entire organization have to be changed. This includes attitudinal, organizational, and sub-cultural changes.

Students should learn to distinguish between the individual culture of the members of the institution, established over time between peers, and the "official" culture of the institution. Since **"Cop Culture" and "Police Culture"** are not necessarily the same, changes in "Police Culture" (like Community Policing) are useless if "Cop Culture" stays the same or even contradicts the community oriented C.P.-Culture.

Since the complexity of the workload is not only increasing, but also changing with time, **police training must be constantly on the move**. Contents and targets have to be changed and adopted to new circumstances. The police have to cope with an increase in volume, gravity and complexity, aggravated by the expanding international dimension requiring new resources, connections and information exchange. The development of new technologies and a greater mobility due to the abolition of borders affords access to larger markets for criminal organisations, with easier escape routes and the availability of effective communication systems. Furthermore, the unstable economic and social situation, economic crunch, massive unemployment and further migration waves from third world countries may cause massive problems for the police in the near future.

Police training in most European countries is different from other training systems because of the **"closed circuit" system** of police training: Training is organized from the beginning until the end in and by internal police training institutions under the responsibility and supervision of the state ministries of the interior. In order to broaden police officers' minds a new strategy of more external training in "open" institutions seems to be necessary. Until this is possible it is necessary to include as many people, topics and methods as possible from outside into the police training system.

New philosophies in policing like Community Policing do not solve these problems per se. But a community oriented strategy broadens the definition of an agency's function. There are many tasks police might fulfil which are not yet discussed or accepted by both troops and management. Police already tackle concerns about local crime and disorder problems, but they also have to discuss the problems of a multicultural society amongst themselves and with the public. In partnership with other agencies, not alone, police are responsible for maintaining peace, order and security in the community. The police can, to a large extent, serve as "detectors" of problems due to their daily contact with many parts of the population.

However, police officers very often have the feeling that their work is currently not very effective or efficient, but highly wasteful and **bureaucratic**. To quote Loveday (1999): “A combination of extended hierarchies, organizational culture and the lack of effective management had resulted in the police service taking on all the fine **characteristics of a beached whale**”. This feeling is often shared by politicians, resulting in mistrust and a steady call for more and closer regulation of the police. This mistrust is not based on the concern that the police might abuse their powers; it is mainly based on lack of knowledge about what they do.

Police are very often placed in a position of having to defend themselves and to arrange intellectual retreat areas. But somebody who has to defend himself, no matter what he or she has done, is not able to act positively, proactively and in a future-oriented way. Communication and conflict resolution abilities are as important as the knowledge of different cultures and cultural peculiarities.

And furthermore: A Fool with a Tool is still a Fool. Training which provides just tools without delivering the philosophy and understanding of one’s own role as a police officer as an integral part of the community is not only useless, but extremely dangerous for society.

International cooperation in police training is obviously necessary to provide mutual understanding and mutual support in the everyday business of the police. A European standard for police training (requirements, curricula) has to be discussed, and a functioning infrastructure for communication and cooperation has to be established. On the European level, police matters must be seen as equally important to economical matters, and cooperative initiatives on fighting crime and xenophobia must be permanently on the agenda of European institutions.

Public Order Management: Theory, Practice and Education

Otto M.J. Adang

Abstract

Different police forces differ with regard to the intervention methods they use to maintain law and order during large-scale events that pose a risk to public order, such as high-risk football matches and political demonstrations. Traditionally, the emphasis in police training and deployment is on riot control tactics and the use of non-lethal weapons from batons and chemicals to water cannon and rubber bullets. As far as public order policing is concerned, there is a huge gap between scientific research and police practice. Most studies on the maintenance of public order occur after the event has taken place. They often disregard the police perspective and ignore the fact that public order events are intergroup processes and a consequence of developing interactions. On the other hand, police practice is still mainly based on outdated theories, where behaviour is explained entirely in terms of processes internal to the crowd itself. In this paper the results of several observational studies into public order policing are presented which challenge traditionally held views. These studies can serve as an example how theory, field research, police practice and police training can be fruitfully intertwined to deliver results that are meaningful both scientifically and practically.

Introduction: research into public order policing

Different police forces differ in the way they maintain public order and the intervention methods they use: the approach is sometimes more preventive and proactive, on other occasions more repressive and reactive, a distinction that is often phrased in terms of either 'soft' or 'hard' policing (della Porta & Reiter, 1998 give an overview for the policing of protest). These differences in policing styles are based on practical police experience rather than on the results of systematic research into public order policing and its effects. As far as police training and tactics are based on research, they are usually based on outdated and discredited theories. At the same time, a lot of studies in public order policing have limited practical relevance. They are either highly theoretical or methodologically limited in several ways. Most studies on the maintenance of public order occur after the event has taken place and field research is very rare. In addition, as Stott & Reicher (1998a, 1998b) indicate, existing studies often disregard the police perspective and ignore the fact that public order events are intergroup processes and as such a consequence of developing interactions. At present, there is therefore limited systematic knowledge as regards the effects of different policing styles on the occurrence or escalation of public disorder.

Adang (1990, 1991) concluded on the basis of systematic ethological observations of 225 riot situations in the Netherlands that, contrary to popular belief and traditional crowd theories, people in crowds do not form a homogenous mass with individuals all more or less behaving in the same way (see also McPhail, 1991). There is also no evidence that people in crowds have a higher probability of using violence than in everyday circumstances or that people in crowds show a higher tendency to perform so-called emotional or irrational behaviour. Traditional crowd

theory explains behaviour entirely in terms of processes internal to the crowd itself and assumes that the pathology of a few agitators induces an acute pathology in crowd members (Stott & Reicher, 1998a). The results of Adang (1990, 1991) pointed to the importance of intergroup processes and suggested that it is possible and in fact advantageous to police crowds (both football crowds and other types of crowds) with a friendly but firm approach, based on communication and negotiation on the one hand (in this sense the approach could be called ‘soft’) and early intervention against transgressions on the other hand (in this sense the approach could be called ‘hard’).

Euro 2000

In June 2000, the European football championships (Euro 2000) were held in the Netherlands and Belgium, neighbouring countries with different types of police organisations and different police cultures. On the basis of practical experiences and previous research (Adang, 1998) a “Police behavioural profile Euro 2000” was drawn up to bring about an equal influence on the behaviour of visitors, to bring clarity and to promote a positive image of the authorities and the police services. The behavioural profile stressed that the primary approach should be preventive and proactive. At the core of this profile was the idea that a friendly but firm approach would be most suitable. Friendly in the sense that fans were to be treated as guests, firm in the sense that clear behavioural limits were to be maintained. This would involve the use of small surveillance units in regular uniform, who were to be easily approachable and were expected to actively contact fans. Decentralised intervention units (with their specific tools such as riot police vehicles, dogs, water carts) were kept out of visibility for as long as possible. According to the behavioural profile, the ideal Euro 2000 police officer would meet a number of criteria, such as contributing to a festive course of events by his actions, recognising potentially violent situations and not being afraid to intervene severely yet justly and in time.

During Euro 2000 data on the interaction between police and the public were collected in several ways (Adang & Cuvelier, 2001). An international monitoring team consisting of four experienced police officers visited all eight host cities at least once. Data were also gathered from foreign police officers (spotters) taking part in the police operations. In each of the eight host cities, an observation team of at least four observers (both students and police officers) conducted systematic and structured observations on match days, attended briefings and held ad hoc interviews with police officers, stewards and fans. The emphasis of observations outside the stadium in host cities was put on the interaction between the police and the public. Observations were recorded instantly on a portable audio recorder.

Analysis of the data indicated that tactical concepts actually used did not consistently conform to the basic concept in all of the eight host cities. Two different policing styles could be distinguished, which I will call: high profile public order policing with a relatively large police presence (three cities) and low profile public order policing with fewer numbers of visible police (the other five cities). Cities that adopted the “low profile” approach had on average 10 visible police officers per 100 fans in the streets (at locations where fans gathered in large numbers). That is still a considerable number of officers, compared to every day policing practices and to the norm for the number of stewards inside a stadium (1 steward for every 100 fans).

Nevertheless, a clear difference existed between the two policing styles. The difference was clear both from the systematic observations of the observation teams per host city and from the qualitative observations of foreign spotters (who were active in more than one host city each) and the international monitoring team (which visited each of the eight host cities and was in the best position to make comparisons). The difference was also noted by the fans (Long 2000).

Police conduct in cities with low profile policing was more in line with the “behavioural profile”. The largest differences were visible for the following items: police officers in “low profile” cities were more easily approachable by fans, contributed more to the festive nature of the event, showed more respect for different cultures and nationalities, fulfilled a more preventive role, treated visitors more as guests and switched more flexibly between different approaches when necessary. Both in cities with high and low profile policing, police officers acted impartially and without prejudice and, remarkably enough, there was no significant difference between the strictness with which police officers acted in cities with high and low-profile policing (indicating that low profile policing is not equal to “soft” policing or not adhering to tolerance limits).

Characteristic of the “low profile” approach were a substantial, but limited number of police officers in daily uniform, patrolling in pairs or small groups, interacting with fans. These interactions were friendly, but transgressions by fans were responded to quickly. A report by the English Football Supporters Association contains the following statement about the “low profile” approach: “The policing was excellent, and fans enjoyed a warm welcome from the authorities. The police were calm, polite, efficient and friendly. There was a large police presence in each town, but this was never intimidating or threatening in any way. The police were on the streets in large numbers, in normal police clothing and on foot. They made an effort to talk to fans, often laughing and joking, and their presence helped to reassure fans” (Long, 2000).

In the low profile approach, police deployment seemed to be based more on intelligence and on information provided by spotters’ teams. In the “high profile” approach more than three times as many officers were visible in the streets. These officers were more often dressed in riot gear and accompanied by their riot vehicles; they formed larger groups, which made it less easy to approach them. It is important to note that the distinction made here is more subtle than the distinction between ‘tolerant’ and ‘repressive’ (della Porta & Reiter, 1998) or paramilitary versus non-paramilitary styles of public order maintenance (Jefferson, 1994). In both “high profile” and “low profile” approaches, a clear command and control structure was in place and use could be made of intervention units with riot gear.

As clear as the distinction between high and low profile policing was, it was not absolute. Both in cities with a high and in cities with a low profile approach, elements of the other approach could be discerned regularly. In all host cities, police officers acted without prejudice and impartially. Both in cities with a high and in cities with a low profile approach, a lot of initiatives were taken to welcome fans, to inform them, to direct them to the city centres and stadiums. Fan co-ordinators, fan-embassies, city stewards, entertainment all contributed to a hospitality approach and police behaviour complemented this. There were no differences in the “strictness” with which officers acted in high and low profile cities. However, in the “low profile” approach there was a tendency for officers to define their actions more individually than in “high profile” cities, which could be disadvantageous. The international monitoring team also issued a warning:

although the low-key, communicative, service-oriented approach works very well, it might be difficult to change if the situation calls for it.

Contrary to the expectations of many, there were only a limited number of mostly minor and short incidents in the host cities during Euro 2000. In light of this and the overall festive and safe nature of the event, police deployment and behaviour might be said to have had the expected effect. For the systematic observations, it was noted at 15-minute intervals whether or not an incident had occurred since the previous sample observation. This turned out to be the case for 10% of all samples ($N = 658$), with roughly one-third of the incidents being small, one-third medium and one-third involving at least 10 individuals. Remarkably, the large numbers of police present in the “high profile” cities did not correlate with a smaller number of incidents in those cities. One would expect more incidents around “increased risk” matches, it was not as simple as that: relatively speaking, incidents were most frequent in “high profile” cities on days without increased risk! (Chi-square test, $P < .001$). A closer inspection of the data revealed that this figure could be attributed to incidents in just one of the three “high profile” cities. Qualitative observations suggest that in this city (as opposed to others) collective police action in the form of stopping fans or removing them was frequently taken prior to (rather than as a response to) incidents.

Thus, there was no simple correlation between the approach or profile adopted and the number of incidents. However, it was clear from the data that a larger number of officers does not necessarily lead to fewer incidents. If they do not respond to transgressions or are not present at risk-locations, the influence of a large number of officers may be limited. In view of the number of officers deployed (especially in the “high profile” cities) it was amazing that on several occasions, no officers at all were present on certain locations in spite of the presence of potential troublemakers there. On the other hand, a “high profile” approach in itself does not cause or provoke incidents. Only if a “high profile” approach is accompanied by more aggressive policing methods may the likelihood of violent incidents occurring be raised. This seemed to be the case in one of the host cities. This was also the only city in which a command and control structure was in use that differed from the ones used in the other cities and in which the bi-national risk analyses were not used.

Before Euro 2000, the police behavioural profile met with criticism from some officers. In their view, the behavioural profile stated the obvious and simply described daily officer behaviour. To them, the emphasis on the behavioural profile was an insult: it implied that they had to be told how to do their job properly, because the way they used to do it was supposedly wrong. The fact that, generally speaking, police behaviour was often along the lines of the behavioural profile indicates that, for many officers, this profile probably did not deviate dramatically from what they did daily. However, the results of this study indicate that neither in “low profile” nor in “high profile” cities, officer behaviour corresponded exactly to the behavioural profile. Not surprisingly, this indicates that, for a change in attitude to occur, more is needed than a one-day training. Applying the police behavioural profile involves more than every officer wearing the same uniform correctly. In addition, defining a behavioural profile may be regarded as an example of clear leadership: by adopting and promoting a behavioural profile commanding officers give a clear indication how they want their officers to behave.

Of course, police behaviour is only one of many relevant factors influencing the development and escalation of public order incidents. Another important factor influencing public order and safety surrounding football matches is the motivations of individuals that become involved (Adang, 1998). In this respect, for most countries, fans following the national team usually pose less of a threat to public order than fans following club teams. This in itself limits the number of potential troublemakers coming to an event such as Euro 2000. Further help came from the fact that the national teams with the most violent following were out of the tournament after the first round. In addition, through the international police co-operation effort, many potential troublemakers did not make it to the Netherlands or Belgium at all, because they were persuaded to stay at home or because they were stopped at the border. These circumstances made a friendly but firm hospitality-oriented approach more feasible.

Generally speaking, the conclusion can be drawn that the police deployment contributed to the safe and festive nature of the event. The official evaluation commissioned by the Dutch government arrived at the same conclusion (COT, 2000). There were only a limited number of mostly minor and short incidents in the host cities. There was a clear distinction between two types of police deployment: "high profile policing" with large numbers of police, partly in riot gear and relatively more "low profile policing", which was more in line with the "behavioural profile developed before the start of the tournament. Based on the data gathered, several elements of "good practice" could be distinguished. These include the following:

- 1development of a clear behavioural profile;
- 2communication and training to implement the behavioural profile;
- 3continued attention for the behavioural profile during briefings and debriefings, also in the period leading up to the event;
- 4actively contacting fans (obtaining information, building a relationship);
- 5making police presence strongly dependent on information gathering and risk analysis;
- 6police officers patrolling in pairs or small groups;
- 7police officers being clearly visible, standing out in the crowd;
- 8clearly communicating tolerance limits and acting on them;
- 9short and clear command lines.

A working group on football disorder (2001) in the United Kingdom recently concluded in a report submitted to Parliament that the "low profile" type of policing provides a model that should be encouraged throughout Europe. The working group stated that the imaginative and focused policing tactics used have been universally praised, not least by the fans themselves. The UK working group on football disorder also recommended that further research be commissioned into the impact of policing and other public safety tactics on supporter behaviour.

It is important to emphasise that the "friendly but firm" policing style is not a 'laissez-faire' approach: it involves officers actively responding at an early stage to relatively minor infractions of the preset tolerance limits. The results show that it is possible to maintain public order effectively (and efficiently, considering the fact that less officers are needed) in this way without

creating a siege situation and without disrupting the activities of people (in this case, fans) concerned. A key element in the “friendly but firm” approach is the presence of police officers in pairs or small groups, who are accessible to and even actively contact fans. Information about intentions may be obtained, information may be exchanged more easily, the anonymity of fans is reduced and a temporary relationship may be built. At the same time, tolerance limits are clearly communicated and acted upon at an early stage, thus reducing the need to resort to tactics of collective confrontation.

In this way the police are better able to differentiate between people involved and the development of an in-group/out-group antagonism between people gathering (in this case visitors and fans) and the police may be avoided. From a psychological perspective Stott & Reicher (e.g. 1998a) indicate that when an initially heterogeneous crowd has come to be treated as a homogeneous whole by the police, this has led crowd members to reconceptualize themselves as members of a common category, thus setting up a cycle of tension and escalating conflict. It is this well-known in-group/ out group mechanism that plays such a large role in the occurrence and escalation of incidents of collective violence (Adang, 1999).

Euro 2004

The results of the Euro 2000 study and of scientific research into crowd dynamics (e.g. Stott & Reicher, 1998 a & b; Reicher et al., 2004) were subsequently utilised by the Portuguese national police PSP in their preparations for the 2004 European football championships held in Portugal (Euro 2004). A strategic approach was adopted that conformed with the "low profile" approach. At the request of the PSP and funded by the Economic Social Research Council (ESRC) an independent study into fan behaviour and public order policing during Euro 2004 was conducted in cooperation between the University of Liverpool and the Police Academy of the Netherlands (Adang & Stott, 2004; Stott & Adang, 2005). The research addressed three specific issues. Firstly, understanding the psychological processes and inter-group dynamics underlying both the presence and absence of 'disorder' in the context of international football. Secondly, evaluating the effectiveness of police strategies and tactics used to prevent crowd disorder. Thirdly, developing the relationship between science and practice in the realm of public order policing by providing an empirically based approach to the safety and security planning of future international football tournaments.

The project combined two methodological approaches of structured observation and ethnography to collect data on police and fans during the event. The structured observation used was similar to the one used for the Euro 2000 study, allowing for direct comparisons to be made. Between June 12 and July 4, a number of data were gathered (in addition to written documentation):

- 1interviews with Portuguese police officers and foreign police officers;
- 2interviews with fans, especially from Germany, England and the Netherlands;
- 3answers by English, German and Dutch fans to a web-based questionnaire;
- 4interviews with members of fan projects and fan embassies;
- 5structured observations in host cities on evenings before and days of matches by trained

observation teams (four teams of four observers each);

6semi-structured observations by international monitoring team and project managers.

Fourteen matches were selected for observation, namely all matches of the English and German teams (analysed as matches with increased risk by Portuguese authorities) and matches of the national teams of the Netherlands and Portugal (analysed as matches without increased risk by Portuguese authorities). The results indicate that:

1. If the police were visibly present the proportion of visible officers was on average 4 officers per 100 fans, both in normal and increased risk situations. This figure is somewhat lower than but comparable to the Euro 2000 visible presence in low profile, normal risk situations (on average 6 officers per 100 fans). There was no distinction between low and high profile policing during Euro 2004, whereas there was a clear distinction during Euro 2000 in this respect. Note should be taken of the fact that in Portugal, extensive use was made of plainclothes police officers, who were deployed wherever fans gathered in large numbers.

2. If the police were present, this was not in the form of full riot police. During Euro 2000 riot police in full riot gear was present in approximately 15% of samples, with a significantly higher riot police presence in high profile situations and whenever risk analyses indicated increased risk. During Euro 2004, there was no significant difference between low and increased risk situations with regard to visibility of riot police. Note should be taken of the fact that observers indicated that riot police units were in fact present in the neighbourhood of locations where fans gathered: however they were positioned in such a way that they were not directly or easily visible to fans.

3. During Euro 2004, there were almost no incidents recorded during the structured observations (just 0,4% of all samples. During Euro 2000, 10% of samples had incidents, with most incidents in normal risk, high profile situations (indicating the counterintuitive effect high profile policing may have: rather than deterring incidents, it may actually provoke them).

Whereas Euro 2000 was considered a success by the organising countries because of the low frequency of incidents and because the much anticipated ‘mother of all hooligan wars’ did not materialise, Euro 2004 was characterised by an almost total absence of incidents. As was the case during Euro 2000 as well, apart from a few (attempted) pitch invasions by individuals, no incidents occurred inside stadiums. Analysis of the data obtained in this independent evaluation allowed to address the important issue of the cause of the low frequency of incidents within Portugal. The fact that especially Germany and the UK prevented known troublemakers from travelling to Portugal certainly was a factor. However, both the observations as interviews with foreign police teams indicated that individuals known as ‘hooligans’ or characterizing themselves as such were in fact present in Portugal. Observations of the rare and limited incidents that did occur as well as potential incidents that had all the ingredients for escalation, but in fact did not escalate, allows to state that, in spite of low visible police presence, most of these incidents were responded to quickly. The absence of major incidents was therefore not just a matter of chance. Quick and targeted low-profile police interventions prevented escalation. In this way, clear behavioural limits were set. Police strategy and tactics contributed to an atmosphere where fans identified as football or Euro 2004 fans first (rather than just as fans of their respective national teams), non-violent behaviour was the norm and fans opposing violence became empowered. As

a consequence, several examples of self-policing among fans could be observed.

This argument is strengthened by incidents that did occur in the Algarve (in Albufeira), where police tactics differed. Initially, behavioural limits were not set and the police response to beginning incidents did not differentiate between troublemakers and bystanders. Here, those willing to use violence were empowered. The conclusion of the research (Adang & Stott, 2004; Stott & Adang, 2005) was that the police strategy and tactics (the low profile approach, where behavioural limits are set friendly and firmly) was successful and contributed to the existence of a common football/‘Euro 2004’ identity among fans and the empowerment of non-violence and self-policing among fans. Of course other factors, such as hospitality and fan behaviour also contributed to this.

The link between theory, practice and education

The experiences of Euro 2000 and Euro 2004 illustrate how theory, practice and education can mutually benefit from one another. Strategy and tactics were informed by available knowledge and this knowledge was also used in preparing officers for the tournament. The experiences related in this chapter also point to the fact that adhering to a strict distinction between fundamental and applied research is futile: the link between practice and research allowed innovative studies to take place that had both considerable theoretical and practical value (see also Reicher et al. 2004). For the future of police education it will prove ever more important to incorporate available knowledge and to involve police researchers in the development of curricula. At the same time, more comparative field research into good practices is needed and more attempts should be made to link research into practical policing issues to theoretical concepts. Wherever possible, research should be done in the field (and researchers should familiarise themselves with police work). It should be recognised that researchers maintain their independence and that police officers are not the right persons to frame research questions.

The Police Academy of the Netherlands has taken the initiative to form so-called "knowledge circles", with the involvement of researchers, police teachers/ trainers, practitioners, developers and participants from outside agencies (such as universities) to initiate and carry out research and other projects that bring together theory, education and practice, among others in the field of public order management.

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Police Domestic Violence Training Programs: Evaluation of the Practical Effectiveness

Veis Kostas M.

Abstract

This ongoing research project aims at evaluating the practical effectiveness of training programs on Domestic Violence delivered to police officers in Cyprus. Police officers' attitude, knowledge and skills, victims' and perpetrators' attitudes, number of cases filed and prosecuted (and final verdict), and quality of content of criminal files are the major variables. Research methodology includes structured questionnaires administered in writing, face to face, or over the phone, analysis of police records, and group discussions.

Introduction

Over the past twenty years the issue of policing domestic violence has gone a long way from being 'rubbish' police work to becoming a priority in countries of the European Union and beyond. During this period, legislations, procedures, directives, manuals and literally anything that related to domestic violence has been reassessed, re-evaluated and restated so as to reflect the state of the art and certainly the state of the European Union.

This is not an argument that "Ithaca", the ideal destination of dealing with domestic violence has yet been reached. Not at all! However, "Troy", the point of departure has long ago been left behind. Nevertheless, all stakeholders over the issue should be very careful so as not to fall into the trap of "Calypso" and remain in the present state of things for ever forgetting that "Calypso's Ogygia" may be much better than "Troy", but it's not "Ithaca"!

In the spirit of continuous advancement on the issue of domestic violence, law enforcement agencies throughout the European Union had to revise and improve their response system in order to align it with changing societal and legal international, national and local matters. Such improvements could certainly not have been accomplished without targeting police officers' knowledge, skills, and attitudes related to domestic violence. In turn, these changes could only occur through a series of police initiatives and primarily training at various levels (basic, advanced, specialized, etc.). Indeed, it is obvious that numerous Police Agencies have invested a lot of resources, and have exerted a lot of effort in providing such education programs for their personnel.

A vast amount of literature exists on police training regarding Domestic Violence. Such information is to be found in journals, books, manuals, the internet. However, information on evaluations of the effectiveness or outcomes of such trainings is not to be found so easily throughout the literature. In addition, the scarce in depth reports on the day after the end of the training are not easily accessed. Out of the obtained reports, one can see a primary focus on the immediate effect on the trained police personnel, and a secondary concern with the indirect effect on the victim. Rarely, if ever, the perpetrator is taken into account in the overall picture. Only a

couple of studies seem to have considered the effect of police training on the entire criminal justice system up to the end point of conviction on or dismissal of charges.

This study attempts to look at the whole picture of police and general criminal system response to domestic violence and all the actors involved from reporting to the police to sentencing by the court, and to evaluate the relative factors as a function of police training. The research question is whether training police officers on the issue of domestic violence makes any difference in the practical field. Theoretically it does make a difference. After all, that is why training is provided to make a difference but does it? And if so, how, to what extent, and in which respect?

The current and recently changed status of the Cyprus Police response in cases of domestic violence is such that it allows cases/complaints of domestic violence to be handled/investigated by police officers who were especially trained on the issue of domestic violence or by police officers who did not receive any such training. This provides a unique opportunity to compare the professional conduct of trained personnel and any effects the training may have on carrying out relevant police duties, with that of untrained personnel.

A world literature review on police domestic violence training curricula indicates that for the most part such trainings contain identical, or at the very least, quite similar modules and topics. At the general level, educational emphasis seems to be placed on awareness and knowledge at basic training level and on knowledge and skills acquisition at enhanced training levels as is the case in British Columbia – Canada (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1998).

At a modular level, it appears that the Centrex (2003) multi departmental approach on police training seems to cover the area of police training in a widely representative way by splitting the issue into seven modules as follows:

1. Understanding domestic violence;
2. Dealing with reports of domestic violence;
3. Investigating domestic violence;
4. Domestic violence and child abuse;
5. Protecting victims and holding offenders accountable;
6. Police leadership and domestic violence;
7. Multi-agency responses to domestic violence.

At a more detailed thematic level, one could highlight the content of the Law enforcement training developed by the New York State Office for the Prevention of Domestic Violence which includes the following subject matters:

1. Dynamics of domestic violence (risks to victims and children);
2. The relevant legislation and the department's policy and procedures;
3. Elements of probable cause and other evidence that provide the foundation for building a criminal case against the perpetrator;

4. Police officers' investigative techniques (interviewing victims, offenders, children, and other witnesses);
5. Policies and procedures of the district attorney/prosecutor regarding domestic violence cases;
6. Community resources available (domestic violence advocates and service providers);
7. Determination of the primary physical aggressor ("red flags" of self-defence);
8. Procedures to follow when the offender or victim is a law enforcement officer; and
9. Civil liability.

In any case, the typical training of specialized staff involved in dealing with cases of domestic violence covers at the very least the resources and laws considered relevant to the topic, the cycle of violence and an explanation on why victims tend to stay in abusive relationships in an attempt to increase both sensitivity and knowledge (Clark, Burt, Schulte, and Maguire, 1996). The training program which is the basic subject matter of this report covers pretty much the emphases, modules, and topics reported above. The following areas are covered:

1. Police procedures
2. Relevant legal matters
3. Interviewing techniques
4. Domestic violence dynamics and cycle
5. Inter-departmental cooperation (other recourses)
6. Focus on child sexual abuse
7. General sensitization

It should be noted that not all domestic violence training programs provided to Cypriot Police Officers are fully identical; however, for the most part, they remain the same in terms both of content as well as in terms of trainers involved. For example, there is a focus on child sexual abuse, something that did not occur in the same program in previous years. This flexibility is deemed necessary to accommodate the following factors:

- I. *Variation in audience:* Programs attended by police station personnel require somewhat different subject coverage compared to trainings targeting criminal investigation department personnel.
- II. *Levels of reporting/occurrence:* Changes in the rate of reporting to the police of specific offences require adaptation to these needs.
- III. *Work Experience:* In service personnel need different information and skill acquisition compared to new recruits attending basic police training.

The overall Police training on the issue of domestic violence in Cyprus is based on a four level approach which advances from basic/awareness training to higher levels of specialization as follows:

- I. *Basic level:* Applies only to new recruits attending basic police training program at Cyprus Police Academy, which is the only police training institution in the country. New recruits attend three four-hour sessions on the subject of domestic violence. Session I covers the legal, procedural, and other formalized or structured aspects of Police response. Sessions II & III refer to general awareness and sensitization, and to providing the new officer with a broader understanding of the issue.. An additional four-hour course on child sexual abuse/exploitation is also provided to cadets. Training on domestic violence and child abuse normally takes place during Phase II of basic police training which means that the recruits are at the stage of completing their three-year (in class and on the job) training and they are about to be certified for duty.
- II. *Advanced level:* It refers to the training in question for the purpose of this study. This course, which lasts for five working days, is normally attended by police officers working either at police stations or in crime investigation departments because these are the basic police services that handle the overwhelming majority of domestic violence and child abuse cases reported to the police in Cyprus.
- III. *Refreshing courses:* At this level, short time training sessions are delivered to update and refresh the knowledge of in service personnel who have previously attended some form of domestic violence police training (e.g. during sergeants' or inspectors' mandatory training programs). This is the only internal type of training that may be organized by any police division and take place at the local rather than central level.
- IV. *Specialized level:* At this level, specialized courses are organized to further train police officers on subject matters of specialized attention. Such examples could be internal courses on child sexual abuse, and external programs on a variety of subjects in the area. Another area of such specialization is training on the technique of conducting video recorded interviews with victims/witnesses of domestic violence.

All internal courses, except those mentioned in the above point III are organized by the Domestic Violence and Child Abuse Office of Department C' (C.I.D.) in cooperation with the Cyprus Police Academy. Regular training staff consists of in service appropriate and qualified personnel such as lawyers, criminologists, psychologists, sociologists and external visiting lecturers such as child or clinical psychologists or child psychiatrists, welfare officers, etc. Occasionally, especially at the specialized level, professionals from other countries are commissioned.

As indicated by the program design, there is a clear focus on cross training, something which gives the police officers information on other agencies such as on Non Governmental Organizations involved in the issue, the Social Services Department, Child Psychiatric Services, and the Prosecuting Office^{xxxiv}. The involvement of such speakers^{xxxv} in a police training is crucial because it secures knowledge on all of the key players involved in domestic violence and their

^{xxxiv} The staff lawyer lecturing during the program served in the prosecuting office for many years. Occasionally, a representative of the Attorney General Office lectures in addition.

respective roles, resulting in better coordination in responding (New York State Office of Prevention of Domestic Violence). At the beginning, during 1996-1999, the Cyprus training program was mostly delivered by visiting lecturers; however, gradually they were replaced by similarly qualified in service staff in order to reduce the side effect of alienating the trainees due to their resistance to input from “outsiders” who, as Clark, Burt, Schulte, and Maguire (1996) put it, “can’t get on a soapbox in a law enforcement setting”. On the controversy over insider-outsider police trainer, Davis (2000), a police veteran involved in Domestic Violence consultations argues that when outside agencies are employed to train police officers, the trainings fail to “reflect the policies, procedures, rules regulations, and goals” of the specific department.

During spring 2004, the advanced training program on domestic violence was incorporated into Phase I of basic police training as a module of specialization on a trial basis. However, the reviews of the two courses that were delivered, did not favour its continuation. The trainers involved in its delivery almost unanimously agreed that the recruits, being at Phase I of basic training (beginning of their training during first months after being recruited), were not mature enough or generally ready to focus on and specialize in such an issue to the extent required by the program. Consequently, there was retrieval in the previous training status. Similar conclusions as to the appropriateness of providing extensive Domestic violence training to new recruits are reported by Clark, Burt, Schulte, and Maguire (1996) who found that the impact of the initial police training on domestic violence fell short because new officers lack the experience to connect to, and they also have to deal with a tremendous amount of information at the Academy. Such seems to be the case in Cyprus as well.

Levels of Domestic Violence in Cyprus

Whether or not the level of Domestic Violence in Cyprus is such that one may speak of a widespread problem, is not easy to answer. The subjective feeling of most people either involved or non involved with domestic violence (the author included) is that there is a widespread problem. However, most of the officially reported and recorded statistical indexes fail to substantiate this feeling. The basic official statistics available in Cyprus on the issue covering the years 1994^{xxxvi}-2005 are presented in Table 1 and in Graph 1.

Table 1 presents the available per year as well as period average statistics of three major organizations concerned with the issue, namely the Police, the Social Services Department, and the Crisis Centre of the Association for the Prevention and Handling of Domestic Violence which operates a telephone victim Help Line known as Line 1440. The first column of Police statistics refers to cases where a victim signed and filed an official complaint with the police, leading to a subsequent official criminal investigation. Column two refers to incidents also reported to the Police, but where the victim refused to give or sign a written statement of complaint, therefore not allowing in the overwhelming majority of incidents the police to further investigate the allegation. Column three is simply the sum of the previous two columns. Regarding the statistics

^{xxxv} Victim, counselling services, medical services, and medical examiner, could be added to the list of visiting lecturers

^{xxxvi} Official statistics date back only to 1994 because during 1994 Domestic Violence was defined as a distinct offence according to Law 47(I)/94.

of the Department of Social Services it should be explained that the first column refers to incidents involving children, but it accounts for more than just victims of domestic violence, whereas the second column counts the total domestic violence cases including cases with children as victims. The two columns of Social Services are therefore not mutually exclusive.

As seen in Table 1 and in Graph 1, the available statistics can be interpreted as indicative of a gradual rise of reported cases of domestic violence between 2000 and 2005 at face value. However, neither the absolute per year or period average numbers, nor the per population indexes can be indicative of a problematic situation in Cyprus. The per 100.000 population^{xxxvii} indexes for the three average numbers would be 78 for total Police incidents, 44 for total Social Services cases, and 89 for Help Line telephone calls. In addition, and probably in contradiction, to these statistics, is the outcome of the only known study of the phenomenon of domestic violence in Cyprus which on the basis of a representative sample reported that 10.8% of the respondents were either during the period of responding or had previously been victimized within their family (Advisory Committee on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence, October 2000).

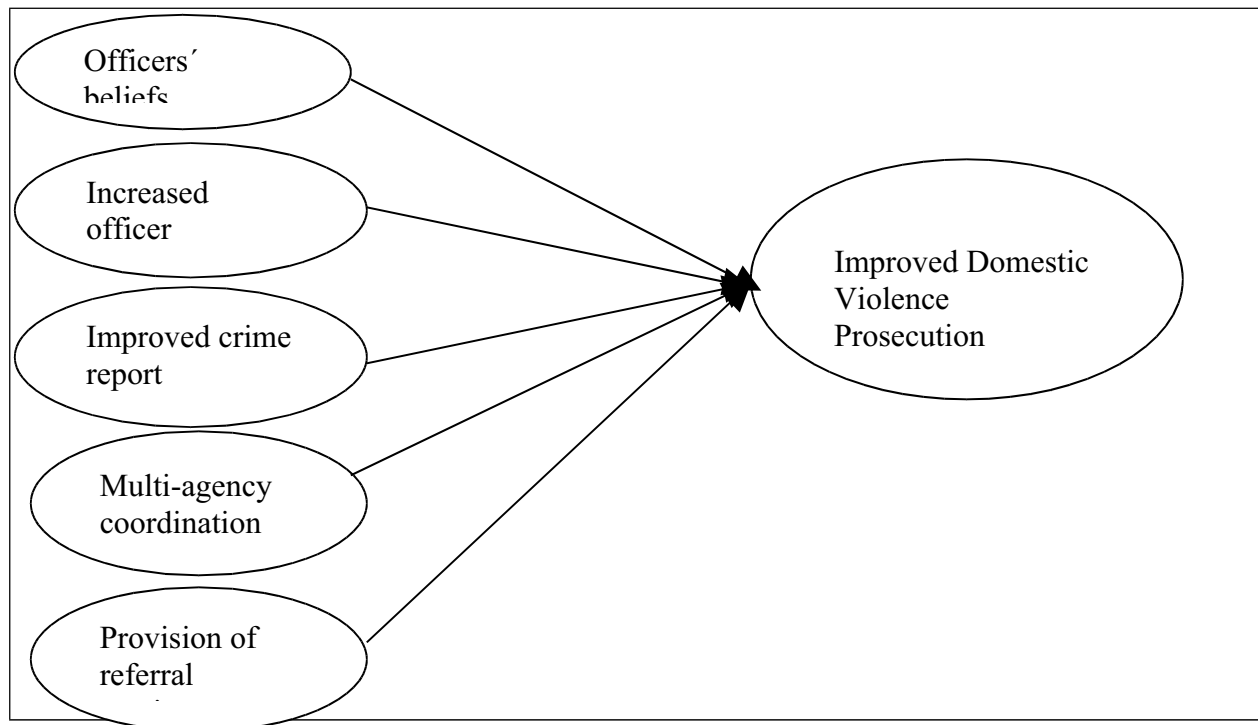
The only statistical index in Cyprus which is in relative terms indicative of a problem in the area of domestic violence is the index of domestic homicides/murders (Veis, 2006). As shown in Table 2, although the absolute numbers even in the scope of population statistics seem to be minimal, the percentage of domestic homicides/murders does not seem to be similarly minimal. On the contrary, the 19% contribution of domestic homicides/murders over the total number of homicides/murders for the period 1980-2005 is indeed considered high enough. The reader might be interested to note that as shown in Table 3, 89% of domestic homicides/murders have been perpetrated by men, whereas only 36% of the victims were men (Veis, 2005). Of interest is the fact that all but one reported cases of spousal or cohabitant murder/homicide for the period 1980-2005 concern a husband killing his wife or a man killing a woman.

Focus on Prosecution

A study of the outcome of prosecution of domestic violence cases has shown that successful prosecution as shown in Figure 1 improved by 24% following interventions towards positive officers' beliefs, increased officers' knowledge, improved police report preparation, multi-agency cooperation and provision of referral services (Kent, Huntley, Wyrick, & Cao, 1997).

^{xxxvii} For calculating per 100.000 population statistics, the official population figure of 2003 (730000) was used although the figures show some fluctuation in the 1994-2005 period.

Figure 1



In a similar study (Smithey, Green, and Giacomazzi, 2000) it was found that domestic violence training did not significantly change police officer attitudes toward traditional gender roles, did not succeed in challenging officer beliefs in inaccurate causes of domestic violence, did not alter officer attitudes toward mandatory arrest or their opinion on the likelihood of prosecution, and did not have any direct effect on the number of convictions. However, the modules and the specific content of the training program which was the basic subject matter of the research do not appear to be included in the report.

Besides interviewing trained police officers for the purpose of evaluating police domestic violence programs, the method of intervening victims was utilized in a number of reported evaluations of domestic violence police training programs. One such study was contacted on behalf of the USA National Institute of Justice (Travis, 1995). This research on the basis of pre- and post- training evaluations found an increase in Police Officer knowledge in training related subject matters, in related to domestic violence positive attitudes of Police Officers, in the number of arrests of offenders, and in better cooperation between Police and other Community Agencies.

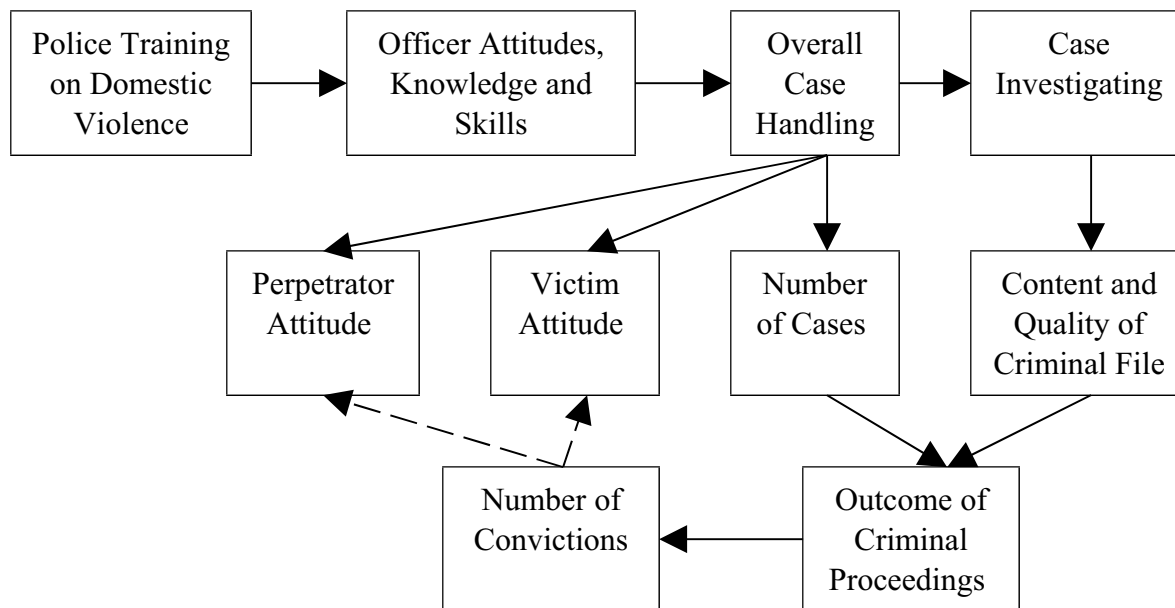
The study by Travis (1995) indicated that victims who were generally satisfied with Police response reported that “officers most often responded in pairs, insisted on seeing the victim when the abuser tried to prevent contact, did not use a mediation approach, and showed interest in the victim’s story.”

Methodology

Logical path model

The logical path model evaluated in this research and its variables, as shown in Figure 2, follow previously mentioned studies and is based on a holistic approach from reporting to the police and even prior to that as is the case of training, up to the possibility of conviction by a court of law.

Figure 2



Police training on domestic violence is a dichotomous variable (Yes or No). The model will be tested in both experimental and control conditions, with the sample drawn from trained officers used as experimental group and the sample drawn from non trained officers used as control group. Data will be drawn from official Police records indicating whether a police officer, in this case the investigator, received the training or not.

Officers' attitudes, knowledge and skills (job satisfaction included) will be assessed using a structured questionnaire which will be administered to both groups of investigators. Attitudes will be assessed with a structured questionnaire administered over the phone.

Overall case handling will be viewed as a function of victim and offender attitude towards over the Police and the way the case was handled, and the overall number of cases investigated by the trained or not trained officer. For piloting purposes victim attitude was assessed by means of a structured questionnaire^{xxxviii}. Victims were contacted by telephone and once informed on the purpose of the call they were asked to consent and if so to reply on the items. Although the caller, who was always a police officer, knew the name of the person called, for confidentiality purposes the replies were registered on a sheet that contained only an identification victim number, so that the researcher would not know the name of each respondent. Information on victims was

^{xxxviii} The questionnaire in its original form is available only in Greek so far. The first three items of the questionnaire are presented in English in the Appendix, so that the reader may get an idea.

obtained from official police records. The items included in the questionnaire, cover the following subjects:

1. Respondent's consent;
2. Does the victim remember who handled his/her case?
3. Did the police show understanding towards the victim?
4. Rating of police response time;
5. Was the victim given information on the issue?
6. Was the victim referred to other agencies involved?
7. Did the police show interest in the victim?
8. Did the victim give and sign a statement?
9. Was the victim encouraged or discouraged to give a statement?
10. Was the Police perceived to be friend or foe?
11. What was the overall officer attitude toward the victim?
12. General rating of the service received;
13. Overall rating of police conduct;.
14. Were the police
 1. Helpful?
 2. Supportive?
 3. Effective?
15. General rating of police involvement in the case (positive or negative);
16. Did the victim apply to other services?
 1. If so, which?
17. Comparison of service received by other agencies with police service;
18. If necessary, would the victim ask the police to help him/her again?
19. Would the victim ask other agencies for help again?

Investigation of each case will be assessed on the basis of the content and the quality of its criminal file. A set of criteria will be established, over which the files will be evaluated. Criteria such as adherence to certain legal and procedural requirements, inclusion of corroborating evidence (statements), decision to file double accusation if minors were present during the incident between adults, quality of the investigator's summary report, inclusion of pieces of evidence, inclusion of photos, actions taken to secure protective measures for the victim, etc. will be included.

Outcome of criminal proceedings will be based on three levels. Firstly, whether or not it was decided that the criminal file contained enough evidence to justify prosecution and to therefore

allow for filing the cases before a Court of Law, secondly whether the case was completed in Court or whether it was suspended, withdrawn, or interrupted, and thirdly whether the Court acquitted or convicted the accused and, in case of conviction: the nature and the extent of the sentence.

Results

Some of the variables included in the model tested in this research were assessed during the piloting stage. The data on which this research was to be relied upon was based on incidents reported to the police in 2003. Therefore, piloting was also based upon 2003 data. The results obtained during piloting are presented here and discussed below. The reader should at this point note that due to reasons explained below in the Discussion section, the project has not yet proceeded beyond piloting. It was decided to reschedule the project to be based on the 2005 police data base, which in the meantime would be further developed to allow easier access to information required for the project.

Incident process/outcome

The final outcome of incidents of domestic violence reported to the Police was investigated on the basis of 144 incidents reported to the Police Stations^{xxxix} of the city of Nicosia during 2003. The incidents included in the sample account for 23% of all relevant incidents reported to Cyprus Police during 2003.

The results are shown in Table 4. The first important finding is that 41% of the domestic violence incidents are not officially investigated any further than the oral complaint and its registration in the relevant police registries. The most usual reasons for this “no process” are the absence of an official victim complaint (written statement), the victim’s refusal to be medically examined, the usual absence of witnesses and corroborating evidence and the general lack of cooperation of the victim. In the remaining 59% of the incidents, the case was investigated and was given a number as a record of criminal investigation. Four percent of the cases which were investigated were finally determined to be non-existent, undetected, of non-police nature, or otherwise disposed. The remaining 96% of the cases were referred to a Criminal Court. Of these 56% were finally completed and adjudicated in Court; the remaining 44% cases were either suspended, or interrupted, or withdrawn following a decision of the Attorney General of the Republic. The latter decision is primarily related to the situation where a non compellable victim-witness refuses to testify in Court against his/her spouse. Out of the cases that were completed in Court, 37% were dropped, or resulted in acquittal, whereas in 63% of the cases the Court came to a verdict of guilty . The preferred sentence was the imposition of fine, with the maximum fine being £1000 CYP, the minimum being £150 CYP, the average £306 CYP, and the modal category of fine being up to £300 and accounting for up to 89% of the cases. Imprisonment ranks second, with the highest sentence being 12 years, the minimum being 15 days, and the modal length being up to four months, accounting for 78% of the cases. An additional 7% of the sentences resulted in executive bond, and finally 3% of the cases resulted in suspended imprisonment.

^{xxxix} Lekavitos, Strovolos, Pele Pafou, Omorfita, and Agios Dometios

Given the small sample size and the lack of information on the investigator's name in most cases, no comparisons between cases investigated by trained vs. non trained police officers were possible

Training evaluation

The advanced police training on domestic violence, which is organized periodically depending on training needs, is always post hoc evaluated by the participants. However, the evaluation is not conducted in a standardized and uniformed way so as to allow for statistical analysis. It is occasionally conducted using a structured questionnaire containing multiple choice questions. On other occasions it is based on open ended questions administered in writing, and occasionally on open group discussions. This variation in methodology is indeed a problem in trying to analyze and compare results from different courses, but it is very helpful in trying to utilize the evaluation in exploring certain issues of specific interest. In any case, such evaluations may only allow for overall conclusions of qualitative rather than quantitative nature, and even so with extreme caution.

Given the above mentioned limitations, one can point out the overall positive evaluation of the training in question as reported by the participants in all formats (writing, oral, open and closed questions). The general feeling as reported by participants is that such trainings contribute to their professional development; however, it is of particular interest to note that comments made in open discussions or in essay style evaluation tend to support the assumption that such training also contributes to the participants' personal and family development. All explorations of this serendipity finding led to the conclusion that the nature of the topic, specific contents of the training, the multi-professional background of the lecturers, and in class discussions on what domestic/child abuse is as well as on anger management/alternatives to aggression tend to be considered by participants as contributing to their personal development.

Another common theme of such training evaluations is the concern with and the constructive criticism of certain police or other agency procedures and of the existing legal framework. This usually relates to the fact that participants are extensively instructed on these matters, and they also have the chance to hear professionals from various disciplines comment on proper/ideal police response as well as on the existing procedures. Experience has shown that during this final evaluation stage of each training, a lot of useful ideas and suggestions concerning legal and procedural matters can be extracted, and they tend to be of great value because they are derived from practitioners who are familiar with the issue.

Another common theme in such evaluations is the concern raised over the participation of non police personnel as lecturers during police trainings on domestic violence. This is in line with the previous discussion on the issue of "outsiders" in police training. In any case, although in response to these comments as well as for better utilization of police resources, some topics over the years were assigned to qualified police personnel and therefore taken away from visiting personnel, the participation of guest lecturers from Non Governmental Organizations, from the Department of Welfare, and from the Child Psychiatric Services was never suspended because their contribution is highly valued. One of the goals of such seminars is to make the police officer aware of the expectations of other involved parties besides the police. What in fact happened is

that visiting psychologists, sociologists, and criminologists previously commissioned by the Police Academy to lecture during the trainings were replaced by such scientists working for the police, when the respective disciplines became available from within. This does not reduce the quality of the lectures and on the contrary it adds the advantage of being specially tailored to appeal to the specific police audience, given that the lecturers have the opportunity to focus only on the specific training.

Victims' attitudes

The questionnaire on victims' attitudes was piloted on the basis of 36 victims who were contacted by phone. Six victims refused to respond, leaving the sample to 30 subjects. Although the results obtained may not be considered as valid due to the small number of subjects, it would be interesting to note that the overall attitude towards the Police tended to be on the positive side, and more importantly it was more positive compared to the attitude towards the Department of Welfare. The Department of Welfare was after the police the second most preferred agency to which the victims applied for help. It was thus decided to further explore this in future application of the revised questionnaire to a bigger sample.

Discussion

Given that all previously mentioned results are the outcome of the piloting stage of the research, it would not be proper to discuss them any further. It would, however, be important to note and discuss some of the problems with the approach and with the process.

The possibility that the sample in this piloting stage as well as in a future research sample is or will be biased may not be excluded. In this research the sample will be drawn from police records, and it therefore relies upon cases of domestic violence reported to the police and from then on appropriately recorded by the police in the relevant registries. It is possible that the data base will not contain all cases reported to the police, and it is definite that not all cases are ever reported to the police. Given this limitation, one can not exclude the possibility that victims who avoid reporting their situation to the police, among other reasons, do so because of a negative attitude towards the police compared to a more positive attitude on behalf of victims who turn to the police for help. It is therefore possible that the victim's attitude registered in this research is to begin with on a more positive side compared to the general population of victims.

Given that in 2003 a domestic violence case reported to a police station could be investigated by either a specially trained or a non trained on the subject police officer, and given the then smaller number of available trained officers, the cases investigated by specially trained officers would be much less than those of non trained officers. This would affect any group comparisons, and this was an important reason for postponing the research for a future year. The fact that from 2005 onwards all cases of domestic violence were to be investigated only by specially trained police officers, together with the substantial increase of the number of available trained officers would ameliorate this problem if it would be decided to draw a sample from the 2005 data base.

An additional problem is that even though a case may be examined by a specially trained police officer, he/she also investigates cases of any other nature and performs all other roles and normal

police duties much like any other officer. It is therefore not a case investigated by an officer exclusively committed to dealing with domestic violence. Yet, it is expected that all other factors being equal, the trained officer will perform better than a non trained officer.

The research model includes the decision to prosecute as one variable. Although again the investigating officer plays an important role in the decision, the primary role lies with the victim's willingness to cooperate with the police and to file or not a writer statement of complaint. Furthermore, the outcome of court procedures is also a function of effective prosecution and not only of the good quality of the police criminal file.

Court procedures tend to be lengthy. In attempting to study the outcome of the sample cases of 2003, information was collected in September 2004. It was then found out that 25% of the cases were still pending in Court. They were all completed in early 2006 when information on the pending cases was collected. Given this, the possibility that victims' attitude is related to the state of their case may not be excluded. For example, a victim whose case is in court may view the police differently than a victim whose case has been adjudicated, and furthermore such a victim may view the police from the perspective of the court decision (favourable or not for the victim).

An additional problem encountered was the difficulty in reaching the victims. Besides the absence of contact details (in this case phone numbers) in some of the records, it was not uncommon to have the reported phone number disconnected or not any more used by the victim. This is partly due to the fact that victims and offenders do not always remain and/or reside together during trials. Any future sample should be big enough to allow for such "casualties".

Finally, the experimental and control groups of police officers (trained vs. not trained) may to some extent be overlapping due to the fact that specially trained officers perform all other police duties, and in addition to this, not specially trained officers have as discussed elsewhere already received basic training on the issue.

It is necessary for this research to take into account these difficulties and problems encountered during the piloting stage and to address and discuss them adequately in future research designs and strategies.

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Appendix

Table 1: Basic Statistical Indexes of Agencies Involved in Domestic Violence

	POLICE			SOCIAL SERVICES		CRISIS CENTER
Year	Official Complaints	Additional Reports	Total Cases	Children	Total Cases	Tel. Calls to 1440
1994	229	---	---	029	073	---
1995	273	---	---	035	084	---
1996	243	---	---	060	122	---
1997	227	---	---	070	152	768
1998	173	---	---	063	150	597
1999	271	---	---	062	179	642
2000	230	067	297	102	284	441
2001	336	176	512	187	436	423
2002	320	216	536	257	598	578
2003	414	204	618	265	667	687
2004	389	103	492	271	766	924
2005	367	573	940			776
Avg.	289	223	566	127	319	648

Table 2: Domestic Murders/Homicides 1980-2005: General Statistics

	Total Homicides/Murders		Domestic Homicides/Murders		
Period	Cases	Per Year	Cases	Per Year	Percentage (%)
1980-2003	202	7,8	39	1,5	19

01 murders per 100.000 population

00,21 domestic murders per 100.000 population

Table 3: Spousal Murders/Homicides 1980-2005: Gender Statistics

	Total Number	Male	Female
Murders/Homicides	38		
Perpetrators	37	33	04
Victims	39	14	25
Spouse/Cohabiting Murder/Homicide	18		
Perpetrators	18	17	01
Victims	18	01	17

Table 4: Outcome of Cases Reported to the Police

Ø	Incidents (Lefkosia-City)	144	
∕	No Criminal Investigation		41%
∕	Criminal Investigation		59%
	• Non existent, Undetected, Non-Police Nature, Otherwise Disposed	04%	
	• Filed in Court	96%	
	• Case Suspended, Interrupted, Withdrawn	44%	
	• Case completed/adjudicated	56%	
Ø	Acquittal, Innocence, Case dropped	37%	
Ø	Guilty verdict	63%	
∕	Fine	62%	
	Maximum=£1000, Minimum=£150, Modal (up to £300)=89%, Average=£306		
∕	Executive bond	07%	
∕	Imprisonment	28%	
	Maximum =12 years, Minimum =15 days Modal (up to 4 months)=78%		
∕	Suspended imprisonment	03%	

Graph 1: Basic Statistical Indexes of Agencies Involved in Domestic Violence



Questionnaire used (page 2)

Questionnaire for Telephone Interview (Piloting stage)

Victim No:..... Date and Time of call:.....

Member Calling:.....

1. Do you remember the police officers who handle your case?
(Officer gender)
2. To what extent did the police show to understand your situation?

Zero	Little		Enough	Fully
1	2	3	4	5

3. How would you rate the Police response time?

Very slow	Slow		Fast	Very fast
1	2	3	4	5

Police Research in Norway:

The Impact on Police Accountability

Gunnar Thomassen

I will first say a few words about the history of police research in Norway – and the background for establishing a research department at the Norwegian Police University College. I will also say a few words about the current status of police research at the institution – plus a little about the future prospects for police research. The rest of my presentation will focus on the potential impact of research on the police in general and police accountability in particular. Here I will present one of my own studies on complaints against the police as a case or example.

First of all it is fair to say that police research or police science is a relatively new discipline in Norway. A quick search of literature prior to 1995 reveals that relatively few studies would fit into the category we call police research even if we use a very broad definition. The few studies produced were also spread out on many different themes and on different academic institutions. In other words, there was no concentrated and systematic study of the police in Norway. The police was - to use a popular metaphor - practically virgin territory in terms of research. And in many ways it still is. Why it is so - I do not know. I must say I find this lack of interest from the academic community quite puzzling and a little disturbing, considering the media attention and the obvious importance of policing in modern democratic societies. However, that is not the theme of this article, so I will lay it to rest here.

The lack of scientifically based knowledge about the police and their activities, and of a police research environment, was clearly an important factor when the research department was formed in 1992. Another important reason was the Academy-reform, in which the police school sought to become an academic institution with a broader education of police officers. While the “old” school offered a two-year basic training program, the new academy offers a three-year program with a stronger emphasis on the social sciences.

The establishing of a research department at the Norwegian Police University College (or the National Police Academy as it was called back then) in 1992 was no doubt a watershed in the history of police-related research in Norway. From being a field of research that was practically ignored, we now had a research department within the police organization with the single purpose of researching the police. Professor Johannes Knutsson, with many years of experience in police research, was brought over from Sweden in 1993 to head and build up the department.

As of December 2003 there are eight researchers working at the department – five permanently and three temporary. The personnel are recruited from various academic disciplines such as sociology, criminology, psychology, history, political science, law and educational science. A considerable amount of scientific knowledge has been accumulated since the establishing of a research department. Many different aspects of policing have been explored, for example crime prevention, police vehicle pursuit, complaints against the police, police corruption/integrity, police shootings, crisis management in the police and so on. Findings from these studies have been published regularly in research reports, and quite a few have been published in international journals.

Now then, what about the future? According to official documents such as the strategic plan for the Norwegian Police University College, police research will continue to play an important role, both for external and internal purposes. Externally - to serve the criminal justice sector with scientific knowledge. Internally - to promote research based education. A master program in police science will also be in place hopefully in August 2006. This will no doubt increase the volume of research in Norway over the next years and recruit more researchers in the field. Overall then we could say that the future of police research in Norway looks quite bright. Some even speak of research as the engine of the academy in the future.

However, beyond this glorious vision, to what extent, if any, does research matter? Have our research really made any difference other than giving the Police Academy an academic facade? Has it helped and will it help improve police practices in the future? My answer to that question is yes. I do believe that research has made valuable contributions and that it will continue to do so in the future. Much of the research may not have any direct impact on policy making or police practice, but it's a fair assumption that the accumulation of knowledge contributes to a more enlightened debate, and in the long run to better decision and policy making. I also believe that police research with its scientific scrutiny is one of many important mechanisms that help keep the police accountable. I read an interview in a university newspaper the other day with a former police chief. Her conclusion was that police research at the academy had made the police a more open and accountable institution. I believe she is right. And I believe that the accumulated effect of research in the end means better policing. In addition to the accumulated effect of research, there are also individual studies that have had a tangible and direct effect on policy making and police practice. One such example is a study on complaints against the police I did a few years ago.

The study focused on the handling of complaints against the police in Norway (Thomassen, 1999; 2002). Of all mechanisms that have been designed to restrain power, avoid misconduct, and keep the police in line and accountable, this is probably the most visible and direct mechanism. Prior to 1988 complaints against the police were investigated internally, either within the police district from which the complaint originated or - in cases of more serious allegation of police brutality - within another police district. Then in 1988, in order to counter criticism and increase public confidence, an external investigative unit called the Special Investigatory Body (SEFO), was established. The new body was organizationally independent of the police and subordinate to the Director General of Public Prosecution (Riksadvokaten). It is interesting to note that one of the things that, at least indirectly, led up to this was a study by Nordhus and Vogt (1981) on police use of force in the city of Bergen. The study, which is one of the first focusing on the police in Norway, was published in the early eighties and started a public debate that, in my view, eventually led to the changes in 1988. I mention this because it illustrates, in my view, what a potentially potent force for change police research can be.

Now then, back to the Special Investigative Bodies. Each body – there are ten regional bodies nationwide - has three members: A chairman with qualifications equal to a Supreme Court Judge, a lawyer with a minimum of two years practicing criminal law, and finally a member with significant experience in police investigation.

The primary mandate of the Special Investigatory Bodies is to investigate all complaints alleging that police have breached criminal law in carrying out their duties. Furthermore they also investigate all cases in which police actions have resulted in a person's death and/or serious bodily injury, irrespective whether or not a complaint has been made. General complaints not in breach of criminal law are handled internally while special committees attached to each police district handle allegations of police acting in breach of discipline. Finally, after concluding their investigation the Special Investigatory Bodies make recommendations about further action to the State Attorney who then makes the final decision.

The study had a broad mandate. One was to provide a statistical profile of the complaints and the complainants. Another was to evaluate the quality of the investigation. Finally, a central aim of the study was to test empirically whether external involvement in the investigation had any effect on the outcome of cases.

In order to fulfil the mandate I collected data from 384 complaints filed in the period of July through December in 1995 and 1996. This represents around two thirds of the estimated number of complaints in the period. Due to different circumstances, such as lack of separate files for complaints against the police and incomplete computer registration at some police districts, it was not possible to obtain all complaints filed. However, the data collected seem to be well representative on several indicators, such as type of complaint, percentage of complaints substantiated, and geographical distribution.

If we look at the official statistics we can see that the annual number of complaints filed against the police has increased significantly since the Special Investigatory Bodies were established in 1988. While it was only 401 complaints filed in 1988 the corresponding number for 1999 was 656. In recent years the number of complaints have remained stable around 6-700.

Table 1 Number of complaints 1988-99¹

Year	Complaints filed
1988	401
1989	383
1990	452
1991	515
1993	609
1994	588
1995	610
1996	687
1997	682
1998	629
1999	656

¹ The SIB was temporary laid off in 1993 due to a conflict concerning economic compensation for the members.

A rather pessimistic interpretation of these data is that it reflects a negative development towards more misconduct, while an optimistic interpretation is that it reflects increased confidence in the Special Investigatory Bodies. However, a more likely explanation is that it reflects an increased

volume of police activities throughout the same period. Both the sheer size of the police force as well as the number of citizen-police encounters has grown throughout this period (Statistics Norway, 1999).

Now, to get an accurate assessment on type of complaints, detailed descriptions were gathered from the 384 cases in my study. Illegal use of physical force was the biggest single category amounting to 21 % of all complaints. Breach on professional secrecy, often reported to have happened in front of family, friends and neighbours, accounted for 9% of all complaints. Traffic-violations amounted to 8 %, while complaints disputing the legality of a search or arrest amounted to 8% and 6% respectively. Lack of or inadequate investigation amounted to almost 8%. Other categories accounting for around 5 % each include no response to public requests, theft/embezzlement, threats and inappropriate/abusive behaviour (Thomassen, 2002).

Now what about the complainants? Several empirical studies from Canada and the US have found that the complainants are predominately male, under thirty years old, unemployed, single, and having at least one prior arrest (Wagner, 1980; Watt, 1991; Johnson, 1998). In general the same pattern is found in Norway. Approximately 70% of all complainants are male, 55% are under the age of 35, while 64% had been fined or charged with a felony or a misdemeanour at least one time prior to the complaint (Thomassen, 1999; 2002). These findings are hardly surprising considering that young males are more likely to enjoy a lifestyle that enhances the risk of encountering the police. Young males are in general more likely to engage in criminal activities and hence being arrested (Statistics Norway, 1999). For example, the typical complainant on excessive use of force or police brutality is a young male, often under influence of alcohol or drugs, resisting arrest.

After the complaint has been filed the Special Investigatory Body reviews the case and decides whether to investigate it further before they make a final recommendation to the State Attorney. Approximately half (48 %) of all the complaints in my study were sent over to the State Attorney without any further investigation. Part of the explanation on why so many complaints go through without any further investigation, may of course be that some of the complaints do not describe any violation of criminal law. The mandate of the Bodies is to investigate criminal offenses only. The Special Investigatory Body will also have the opportunity to compare the written complaint with the accused officers own report, and if these are fairly similar there may be no need for further investigation. Finally, some of these complaints are obviously unfounded and therefore dismissed without further investigation. These factors may provide a partial explanation, but are not likely to explain why the share of non-investigated complaints varies between districts. The share of non-investigated complaints varies from 20% to over 60%. There does seem to be a positive correlation between the share of non-investigated complaints and the number of complaints filed. This suggests that an increased workload leads to a higher threshold for starting a formal investigation. However, the share of non-investigated complaints does not seem to affect the relative share of substantiated complaints.

Time is another factor likely to have an impact on the investigation as well as the general perception. The average time from the complaint was filed until the Special Investigatory Bodies made their final recommendation, was 104 days, while median time was 71 days. Due to different circumstances some complaints will require a long time to get a proper investigation. However,

considering the number of complaints not investigated, the average time do seem unreasonably long. Slow progress is likely to reduce the quality of the investigation and will almost certainly have a negative impact on the attitudes toward the Special Investigative Bodies.

Finally I looked at the outcome of the complaints. The majority of complaints reviewed or investigated by the Special Investigative Bodies was, as you can see, unsubstantiated or dismissed (table 2). Approximately 7 % of complaints included in this analysis lead to a recommendation of some formal action. In a majority of these cases the Special Investigative Bodies recommended a fine. Only 1 % led to an indictment to be tried in court. The state attorneys followed these recommendations in approximately 87 % of all cases.

Table 2 Investigative outcome

Investigative outcome	N	%
No violation of criminal law	95	24,7
No criminal offence proven	141	36,7
Insufficient evidence	45	11,7
Unfounded	75	19,5
Waiver of prosecution ²	3	0,8
Fine	21	5,5
Indictment	4	1
Total	384	100

² When the prosecuting authority terminates the prosecution of a criminal act that has been committed without preferring an indictment. Even though guilt is deemed to be proved, a prosecution may be waved provided that such special circumstances exists that the prosecuting authority on an overall evaluation finds that there are stronger reasons for not prosecuting the act than for prosecuting.

The relatively low rate of substantiated complaints has been a constant source of criticism towards the Special Investigative Bodies. This coupled with the fact that most members either are or have been employed in the police force, has fuelled the assumption that the Special Investigative Bodies are biased in favour of the police. In 56% of cases reviewed in this analysis, every member had a background in law enforcement, while 34 % involved two members, and 9% involved only one member with background in law enforcement. The question of interest here is whether the composition of the Special Investigative Bodies affected the investigation and its outcome.

Comparing substantiation-rates depending on member background do not indicate any such correlation (Table 3).

Table 3 Outcome of the investigation depending on member background

Composition	Substantiated	Dismissed (%)	Total
Three members with background from the police.	7 (15)	93 (200)	100 (215)
Two members with background from the police.	8,1 (11)	91,1 (125)	100 (136)
One member with background from the police.	6,1 (2)	93,9 (31)	100 (33)

Total	7,3 (28)	92,7 (356)	100 (384)
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Substantiation-rates are low, between 6% and 8%, irrespective of composition. However the limited number of cases in the third category (N=33) calls for a cautious interpretation of the data. An alternative measure is whether the leader of the Special Investigatory Body has any past experience in law enforcement. Presumably the leader has a significant impact on the substantiation-rate since being in charge of the investigation. But the same pattern emerges when applying the background of the leader as independent variable. Approximately 7% of the complaints are substantiated irrespective of the background of the leader.

Although the same statistical problem exists here, the findings strengthen the argument that the nature of these cases rather than the background of the members of the Special Investigatory Bodies, are decisive in explaining the low rate of substantiation. First of all, many complaints did not describe any criminal violations and therefore were automatically dismissed without any further investigation. Secondly, the very nature of policing, often confrontational and controversial, makes police officers susceptible to complaints, some of which are obviously unfounded. Thirdly, considering the discretionary nature of policing and the standard of evidence necessary to get a criminal conviction, it is not surprising that many complaints end up being dismissed. Finally the low visibility of many citizen-police encounters provides few eyewitnesses, and with no physical evidence and no witnesses the case is likely to be dismissed. We may also add to this that the complainant often has a criminal record and therefore, in many people's view, has low credibility.

This conclusion is further strengthened by findings in other countries (Loveday, 1988; Maguire & Corbett, 1991; Waters & Brown, 2000; Brereton, 2000; Herzog, 2000). However, this does not in any way imply that external oversight is irrelevant. First, basic legal and democratic principles such as independence and objectivity provide compelling reasons for why there should be external oversight. Secondly, studies from abroad suggest that the general public feel uneasy about the police policing themselves (Maguire & Corbett, 1991; Herzog, 2000; Waters & Brown, 2000). Findings also suggest that the complainants as well as the police in general favour external oversight, albeit for different reason. Thus, we may safely argue the case for preserving and further develop systems of external oversight. Still, removing all members with former or current police experience is likely to impair rather than improve investigation, because these members provide both necessary competence and an "insider-perspective" crucial to the investigation. The challenge therefore seems to be to create a working mixture of professional (police) and external investigation.

The creation of the Special Investigatory Bodies in Norway in the late eighties was an attempt to strike a balance between professional and external investigation. Although it was no doubt an improvement compared to the former system of self-regulation, the study clearly shows that we need to take a closer look at the investigative practice among these bodies. The huge discrepancies are disturbing. Furthermore, steps should be taken to reduce the average time taken from the complaint was filed until the Special Investigatory Bodies make their final recommendation. Unnecessary delays impair investigation and are likely to reduce confidence in these bodies among the police, the complainants and the general public. Previous research has

also shown that time coupled with little or no information during and after the investigation, which seems to be the case in Norway as well, is an important source of dissatisfaction among both the complainants and the police (Maguire & Corbett, 1991; Waters & Brown, 2000; Herzog, 2000). Thus, steps should be taken to improve the policy of information.

Finally, general complaints not in breach of criminal law are handled internally by the Police Commissioner and therefore not subject to any external review. Still, the Special Investigatory Bodies receive a substantial number of complaints in this category. Several of these complaints justly criticize the police but are nevertheless automatically dismissed without any further investigation. One should therefore consider investigating such complaints externally or at least give the complainants proper advice on where to address the complaint. Furthermore, one should also consider a less formal approach to less serious complaints. This is the case in England and Wales where they provide an opportunity for the complainant and the accused officers to meet on a voluntary basis to informally resolve the dispute by offering an apology or an explanation. Research suggests that many complainants primarily seek an apology or an explanation, not a criminal investigation, and that complainants using Informal Resolution tend to be more satisfied than complainants pursuing a criminal investigation (Maguire & Corbett, 1991; Waters & Brown, 2000).

So far the main findings and conclusions from my study can be summarized. Although I made few concrete policy recommendations I still believe the findings and conclusion in the study had an impact on later developments. The Director General of Public Prosecution and the Justice Department also referred explicitly to the findings of this study when they decided to set up a temporary committee in order to evaluate the investigative performance of the Special Investigatory Bodies in September 2000. The mandate of the committee was to recommend measures for improvements within the existing framework. The final recommendations from the committee were also informed by the findings from my study, as well as their own findings that were quite similar (SEFO arbeidsgruppen, 2001). Some of the measures recommended were:

- 1 Routinely interviewing the complainant;
- 2 To set up standards for processing time;
- 3 Routinely informing the complainant and the accused officer on progress and status for the investigation;
- 4 Creating a permanent office in order to improve access for the complainant;
- 5 Give the SIB prosecutorial powers;
- 6 They also discussed the need for a less formal approach to some of the less serious complaints even though that was outside their mandate.

The committee's report was sent out on a public hearing. The general response on this hearing was that it wouldn't be enough to make a few adjustments within the existing framework to alleviate the problems. As a consequence the Justice Department suggested two alternative models for handling complaints which was sent out on a new public hearing. The first model, which the government or the Justice Department seems to prefer, is a centralized model with five regional units. These units will have the same composition of members as the SIB, except for the

Oslo unit which will have five full-time members and act as a coordinator and assist the other units in particularly difficult cases. The second model, which the parliamentary opposition seems to prefer, is one central unit with 20 full-time members. These 20 members will be a mixture of lawyers and former police investigators. A parliamentary majority seem to prefer the latter model, so a new centralized system will presumably be in place some time next year.

I think one of the lessons we can draw after ten years of police research at the Police Academy is that research can make a difference. Some research may have a direct impact on the police while other research projects have a less direct and more long-term influence. The potential impact of research clearly depends on many factors such as the political context and the level of institutional resistance to change in the police. If the politicians and the police favour change it is of course easier getting through. If not, your findings may end up in a drawer, as I am sure some of my colleagues here have experienced. But even such studies will in the long run - I believe – contribute to better policing. So I will conclude here as a true social scientist: We need more research.

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The Authors/Editors

Otto Adang, Police Academy of the Netherlands, Visiting Professor at the School of Psychology, University of Liverpool

Iris Sofia Almeida, Trainee Researcher at the Instituto Superior de Polícia Judiciária e Ciências Criminais (Portugal)

Clemens Arzt, Professor of Public Law at the University of Applied Sciences (FHVR) Berlin

João Cabaço, Professor of Physical Education and Sports at the Instituto Superior de Polícia Judiciária e Ciências Criminais (Portugal)

Jaroslav Erneker, Professor at University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice, Czech Republic, (before: Professor at the Police Academy Slovak Republic)

János Fehérváry, Head of Unit of International Affairs, Sicherheitsakademie, Ministry of the Interior, Austria

Thomas Feltes, Professor, Chair of Criminology, Criminal Justice Policy, and Police Sciences at the Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany

Eduardo Ferreira, Professor of Sociology, Criminology and Police Organizational Behaviour and researcher at the Instituto Superior de Polícia Judiciária e Ciências Criminais (ISPJCC)

Gerhard Hanak, Sociologist, Researcher at the Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology (Vienna)

Veronika Hofinger, Sociologist, Research Assistant at the Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology (Vienna)

Kveto Holc, Head of Research Department at Bratislava University of Law, Slovak Republic (before: Professor at Police Academy of Slovak Republic)

Jaroslav Holomek, Senior Researcher at Bratislava University of Law, Slovak Republic (before: Associate Professor and Vice-Rector at the Police Academy of Slovak Republic)

Risto Honkonen, Senior Researcher at the Police Training College Espoo, Finland

Cees Kwanten, Senior Researcher at the Police Academy of the Netherlands

Detlef Nogala, Research Adviser, CEPOL-Secretariat in Bramshill / UK

Viktor Porada, Professor at Bratislava University of Law, Slovak Republic and at Karlovy Vary College, Czech Republic (before: Professor at the Police Academy of the Czech Republic)

Cristina Matos Soeiro, Assistant Professor and Researcher at the Instituto Superior de Polícia

Judiciária e Ciências Criminais and the Universidade Lusofona de Humanidades e Tecnologias (Portugal)

Günter Stummvoll, Sociologist, Researcher at the Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology (Vienna)

Gunnar Thomassen, Norwegian Police University College, Research Department

Kostas M. Veis, Psychologist, Cyprus Police Headquarters, Domestic Violence and Child Abuse Office