

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INITIAL
TRAINING FOR NEW POLICE RECRUITS IN PROMOTING
APPROPRIATE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR FOR TWENTY
FIRST CENTURY POLICING**

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ABSTRACT

The research sought to examine the extent to which the initial training undertaken by new recruits to the police service in England and Wales has prepared them for their role as police officers by inculcating the attitudes and behaviours considered by the UK police service to be appropriate. The study comprised five elements:

1. Consideration of the notion of appropriate behaviour, the origins of it as being a stated aim of police recruit training and an examination of the evidence to determine whether it is possible to achieve the required outcomes through the medium of classroom-based training.
2. An examination of two cohorts of police recruits, the first in the 1980s and the second in the first decade of the 21st century, to explore the extent to which their initial training shaped their attitudes and behaviour.
3. A review of the teaching methods and curriculum development used to deliver initial training, specifically those aimed at influencing personal attitudes and behaviour.
4. Consideration of the mechanisms used to establish and assess whether new recruits have acquired attitudes and exhibit behaviour appropriate to their role prior to them engaging with the public as fully-fledged police officers.
5. Consideration of the implications for recruiting and training police officers to be able to deal with the demands made of them in a complex, multi-cultural society.

Research methods involved the collection of quantitative and qualitative data, primarily using self-report questionnaires and face-to-face interviews. Data were collected at two points in time in respect of the two cohorts (Cohort A 1985-1987 and Cohort B, 2005-2007): Time 1 was when they attended their first day in –force training event, the induction course in respect of Study A. Time 1 for Study B was

when applicants for the police service attended the assessment centre to undergo a battery of test and exercises to establish whether they were suitable to be appointed as police officers – before they had received any training. Time 2 data were gathered after the officers had completed the police initial recruit training course in respect of both cohorts. The sample for Study B also included applicants who were not accepted into the police force.

The research has identified links between certain key events in history and changes made to the training of newly-appointed police officers. These changes have not necessarily met the aims and objectives set for them by the police service although a major element of the initial recruit training course has been and remains the requirement to equip police officers with the skills necessary to understand and deal appropriately with the diverse needs of complex communities. The analysis of the data has shown that there is no consistent evidence to support the hypothesis that the initial recruit training courses have been able to inculcate the attitudes and behaviours set out in regulations and deemed by the police service as appropriate for police officers. This finding has major implications for the recruiting and training of future police officers at a time when the UK Government is proposing major changes to policing practice and governance.

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Chapter 1 The Research Question

Over the past four decades, the police service of England and Wales has sought to rectify perceived and alleged inappropriate police behaviour (Critchley, 1971; Scarman, 1975, 1981; MacDonald, 1987; Ryan, 1993; Field-Smith, 2002; Flanagan, 2008; O' Connor, 2009; Neyroud, 2010) by amending the training provided for police officers. This thesis examines one aspect of the training programme; the changes made to police initial recruit training (PIRT) to establish whether any evidence exists to suggest that training is able to and does affect the behaviour of police recruits. The research question is simply stated as:

Does the initial training course for police officers inculcate the attitudes and behaviours regulations and the police service deem necessary for them?

The null hypothesis is that the initial training for new police recruits cannot be shown to affect attitudes and behaviour in the ways it is expected to do.

To examine whether or not training of police officers has achieved what it set out to achieve, it is necessary to identify whether the notion of appropriate attitudes and behaviour is based on a specific set of requirements or exists only in an expressed desire but without any criteria to establish what the terms mean to the police service. The thesis will also examine whether the aims set for police training of probationer constables were capable of being achieved. Is it possible, through a course of training, to change attitudes and behaviour? I approached the early part of this research, in the late 1980s, as a serving police officer, responsible for the training of probationer constables within a regional police force. The original research (Study A) was undertaken at a time when the host force was in the process of examining the teaching methods used to train newly-appointed police officers. Data were gathered (Study A) to identify whether attending the initial training course had affected attitudes and behaviour to understand whether changes had occurred to the student officers attitudes prior to returning to the host force and undertaking their first in-force training course, as a reference point for commencing the in-house research programme.

Probationer training is a critical stage in the development of newly-appointed police officers and the researcher was implementing revisions to the training programme which were the result of a national review of police probationer training and sought to identify whether the fundamental changes that had occurred could be shown to be achieving what they were intended to do.

Is recruit training able to mollify public disquiet with policing - the research focus

Now, more than ever, the role of the police in a democratic society is under scrutiny. Police officers are required to maintain order, detect and arrest offenders and solve crimes as well as be the eyes and ears of the community in which they work. Having served as a police officer for thirty years in operational and specialist posts, I know that it is a demanding and tough job, which is executed in the full view of the public and the media. The attitudes and behaviours of every police officer are open to constant scrutiny as the officers are expected to set an example in society and to behave with integrity at all times, whatever circumstances confront them. This study has examined the ways in which the police service as an organisation, including the departments in the Home Office responsible for policing, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary¹ and the Association of Chief Police Officers² (ACPO), expect that the attitudes and behaviour of police officers will be shaped by the training they receive.

The research undertaken for this thesis sought to address this key issue raised above by investigating whether the initial training course for student officers³ is able to shape their attitudes and behaviours and prepare them for the demands of modern-day policing and, if so, how. It is reasonable to hypothesise that if the recruiting process by which members of the public are selected for appointment to the office of constable is effective, then officers will join the service with most if not all the necessary attitudes and behaviour and build on that foundation during their initial training programme. By contrast, if the recruiting process is ineffective, in that it fails to identify those people who lack the attitudes and behaviours appropriate to the police role, then it is only

1 Home Office appointed personnel who inspect and certify the efficiency of police forces.

2 A body of senior police officers at chief constable level who represent their senior colleagues across a range of policing portfolios related to police practice and procedure.

3 Police recruits are referred to throughout this thesis as 'student officers'

through training, specifically, the Police Initial Recruit Training course (PIRT), that the necessary attitudes and behaviours can be developed before the newly-appointed police officers have to deal with members of the public in the context of operational police duties.

Given the criticism of operational policing at the time research included in this study commenced (Scarman, 1981) it seemed timely to investigate the extent to which people appointed to become police officers held attitudes and behaviours deemed appropriate by the police service to the role of being a police officer. The need to reject unsuitable candidates seeking appointment as police officers was also identified as part of the Stage II Review (MacDonald, 1987) when he identified that an agreed mechanism to achieve that outcome did not exist although some forces had modified their recruiting practices in order to attempt to identify those unsuitable to become police officers due to holding the attitudes and behaviours that were not appropriate to the role particularly 'candidates with authoritarian dispositions' (MacDonald, 1987, p.30). Further, the investigation sought to ascertain whether there was any evidence to suggest that initial training played a critical part in both shaping attitudes and behaviours and correcting those that may be problematic if left unchecked. When the second phase of the research was commenced in 2004, further comments about the efficacy of police training and whether or not police behaviour was influenced as a result were being aired (Field-Smith, 2002).

Public confidence in the way the police operate in the UK is an underpinning requirement that will permit a largely-unarmed police service to work effectively. Should public confidence be eroded due to police officers behaving inappropriately, then the nature of policing may change from one of policing with the consent of the community to one in which policing is imposed on the community without public consent, thereby undermining key principles of democratic society. If the community withdraws its support, trust and forbearance it may prove difficult for the police service to re-acquire them. Any system of policing that does not have the consent of the community would constitute a radical departure from the way in which the police have operated historically and habitually in the UK and serve to challenge society's expectations of the police service, which have remained fairly constant since its inception.

The structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised into six chapters. This first chapter discusses the notion of appropriate attitudes and behaviour. The guidelines that stipulate what is the expected behaviour of someone who accepts the appointment of the office of constable are identified. The chapter continues by examining whether there is any evidence to support the direction of the police initial recruit training programme in trying to inculcate the attitudes and behaviours deemed by the police service to be required of a constable.

Chapter 2 provides a critical review of police training and the changes that have occurred with particular reference to the period after 1970. Chapter 3 examines how it might be possible to test the affectiveness of police recruit training. The chapter provides a discussion of methodology and a critical discussion of the particular methods used. The chapter also details the research locus; the host force and identifies how it compares in key measures with other like police forces. Chapter 4 examines the data gathered from the 1987 cohort (Study A), and presents the findings. Chapter 5 presents the findings emerging from the 2005 cohort (Study B). The final chapter considers the findings in the context of the research questions and identifies the contribution made by the research in determining where the emphasis should lie in the recruiting, appointment and training of police officers in the future. Chapter 6 also includes a commentary on suggested areas for further research.

Defining appropriate behaviour

A major determinant in establishing whether the training of police officers is effective is to establish the criteria by which that judgement of appropriateness will be made. The definitions in this thesis are those used by the police service to determine whether the attitudes and behaviour of police officers are acceptable. Until The Police Regulations, 1920, only ad hoc arrangements existed for identifying and dealing with police misbehaviour. The Regulations followed an enquiry by Lord Desborough into the pay and conditions of police officers and followed two occasions when police officers had gone on strike, withdrawing their labour. Prior to the issuing of the 1920 Regulations, there had been no universal statement of what was acceptable behaviour.

Members who joined the Metropolitan Police Service in 1829, for example, were required to be, ‘... literate and of good character’⁴, although no definition of what amounted to good character was provided for reference.

Identifying a clearer definition of appropriate police behaviour

Following a further review of policing, undertaken by the Royal Commission, 1960, The Police Act, 1964 brought about substantial changes to the way the police service was organised and managed. With the re-organisation of the accountability of the police⁵ and the imposition of the chief constable as the discipline authority to deal with police misbehaviour in all police forces, the Police (Discipline) Regulations, 1965, codified⁶ acceptable behaviour relevant, with minor modifications, at the time this research was undertaken. As Reiner (2000, p. 86) commented, ‘... the laws governing police behaviour... do not even purport to determine practical policing [leaving] considerable leeway for police culture to shape police practice in accordance with situational exigencies’. The appropriate attitudes and behaviour, identified in the research question, are derived directly from the police service and written down in a series of regulations.

Without the determination of the individual to work when not directed to do so, he or she may reject the opportunity to engage in self-generated tasks and utilise the available time differently and inappropriately, as Waddington (1999, p.122) described it when he said, ‘[the] police can relax – [in] what are often known as “tea holes”’. This is a form of deviant police behaviour that has been described, elsewhere, as, ‘easing’ (Cain, 1973, p.37) and can occur in the time available to the police officer from one directed task to the next. Famega (2005), writing about police officers in the USA and Singer (2001), writing about police officers in the UK have each shown that there is uncommitted time available to officers. Time when they could engage in behaviour described by Waddington (1999) and Cain (1973). However, what might be deemed appropriate by one officer might be considered differently by a second. Furnham (1997, p.312) considered: ‘Subordinates, more often than not, appear to do

4 <http://www.met.police.uk/history/records.htm> [accessed 23rd June 2011]

5 The Police Act, 1964 created the tripartite relationship of the police, local authority and the Home Office

6 For list of discipline offences, please see Appendix 2

what they believe they are expected to do'. Bayley (1996, p.146) explained that, '... roles determine behaviourIn policing ... behaviour is dependent on organisational context'.

The notion of real police work and the concept of deviant behaviour

Young (1991, p.66) gave some substance to the idea of situational behaviour (Heider, 1958; Ross *et al*, 1977) when he described how, '...he set out to meet the demands of [his] peers and fulfil the necessary qualifications for assessment as a real polis⁷' in his early police career. Being a 'real polis' required that Young was guided by the activities of the group of police officers with whom he worked to understand how police work was carried out and not by what he had learned at the training school. He was conforming to the situation in which he found himself rather than being compelled on a course of action due to some unchanging, personal traits. Lord Stevens, a former Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and a distinguished former police officer described his first days on the beat in London as follows:

... my new life was a revelation. I was working in an environment entirely different from Hendon [police training centre], with different disciplines and different ways of talking. This was life for real.

(Stevens, 2005, p.27)

Barton (2003, p.350) writing about police occupational culture, explained that the situation described by Young and, to a lesser extent by Stevens, was the result of the need for solidarity within the police organisation and the need for the individual to feel secure. He commented:

Police officers exist within a particular social subsystem where they learn from one another's work habits, strengths, weaknesses and preferences. Loyalty and solidarity provide the cultural foundations for the social identity of the police as they interact with other social groups.

7 Polis is a term used in the north east of England for the police or a police officer

A new form of normative behaviour replaced the detailed certainty of the officer's previous life which has been regimented within the training centre, by his or her reference to the behaviour of the colleagues on the shift that the newly-arrived officer had joined. This was the new situation in which the police officers found themselves. For the newly-arrived police officer, what may be seen as deviant behaviour, or inappropriate, by the group he or she has joined, the shift, may have been labelled as exemplary, or appropriate, when the officer was at the training school. The concept of 'deviant' or 'inappropriate' is not fixed but depends on who views the behaviour and the standpoint, attitudinally, of the observer as to whether what has been witnessed will be accepted by the group or rejected as being deviant. Alfandary (1992, p.2) expanded on the notion of deviancy, in reviewing Goffman's ideas about the total institution:

... the notions of deviancy and normalcy are directly related to what context that behaviour is seen or preformed within. Thus, the same behaviour will be deemed acceptable in one context and unacceptable in another.

Normative behaviour and situational responses

This analysis contributes to understanding of the behaviour of the newly-arrived police officer. It offers an explanation as to why, when the officers face situations in which they should apply what has been learned although perhaps not internalised while undergoing the police probationer programme of training they may not do so. The officers are likely to be guided by the normative behaviour of colleagues in an operational setting rather than remember to replicate the behaviours learned at the training centre. The influence of the operational environment casts doubt on the reliance on the initial training course as being capable of promoting values that will be robust enough to create long-lasting attitudes and behaviours appropriate to the role of a police officer. Goffman's description of a total institution, while based on observations, in particular of inmates in an asylum, nevertheless, has been shown to apply to other institution, such as colleges (Gibbon *et al.*,1999) and naval recruit training establishments (Zurcher,1967) and provides support for applying the description to police training centres.

Does police training provide a potential for changing attitudes and behaviour?

At one extreme on a continuum of behaviour, brainwashing can bring about a change in the way someone acts without a corresponding change in attitudes or beliefs held by that person. For example, 90 per cent of US army soldiers captured during the Korean War complied behaviourally with those holding them in captivity but did not alter their beliefs (McGuire, 1985). However, Zohar *et al.* (1980) showed how attitudes acquired as the result of contact with other people in a non-contrived, social setting might be stronger than attitudes delivered in a classroom setting which, in some instances, was similar to that of the total institution. With Zohar, the goal was to change the behaviour of workers who were not wearing the relevant protective equipment when at work. By providing feedback and an initial incentive as a motivational element, the research results showed that the changed behaviour persisted after the elements used to induce the change were brought to an end after four weeks. The research by Zohar *et al.* showed that when engaged at a personal level in a way that the individual sees as purposeful, behaviour could be changed. It was less certain whether attitudes had been affected.

Research findings elsewhere have pointed to the effectiveness of third party communication when modifying the negative racial attitudes in white school children in the fifth grade (Katz & Zalk, 1978); or the formative aspect of customers' expectations of the utility of a product influencing their attitude to the item prior to embarking on an operational trial (Olson & Dover, 1979). This is applicable to the research into the affects of police training and whether it can influence attitudes and behaviour. As Olson and Dover demonstrated, the promotional material read by a customer prior to them having the opportunity to field-test an item led the prospective customer to create for themselves an expectation of what the product could do, and they may subsequently base their assessment of the usefulness of the item not on its intrinsic utility but rather on what they expected the utility to be. The issue was not the nature of the product or the identity of the customer rather the interrelationship between the introductory information and the actor's ultimate assessment of the product and the ability of the former to be instrumental in creating attitudes that were sufficiently strong to negate later personal experience.

Applying the research to a police training environment

The research reviewed suggests that if the student officer forms a judgement of the relevance of an aspect of training based on the way it is promoted prior to being taught, the likelihood is that the way they later receive and internalise that aspect of the training programme will be affected. That affect will be directly related to the attitude they formed prior to the element being delivered and will be as a result of the manner and style of the delivery of the promotional information prior to the actual lesson being taught. Ajzen (2005, p.27) adds a further dimension when he comments:

Once a coherent picture of some aspect of our world is established, it tends to be resistant to change. ... gradual shifts in our views occur all the time, but drastic changes must be resisted because they challenge fundamental assumptions and central values. ... challenges to our basic views are ... responsible for anxieties and other strong emotions that may produce abnormal behaviour

The feeling of vulnerability may also cause a student officer to behave in a manner that is contrary to the training he or she has received. Tyler (1980) identified that an individual was likely to feel a greater degree of vulnerability to becoming a victim of crime once more when that individual had been victimised previously. When instances occurred where they were simply aware that someone else in the neighbourhood had been the victim of a crime, that awareness did not create the same feeling of personal vulnerability. In the latter case, however, when the individual was aware of the occurrence without having been victimised personally, they over-estimated the incidence of crime in their neighbourhood without feeling themselves to be more at risk.

Following from Tyler, if the police officer believes that a section of the community is responsible for a particular series of crimes, the officer may over-estimate the degree of offending, as Tyler has shown, which, in turn, may directly influence the officer's attitudes and behaviour towards members of the group that he or she has wrongly categorised as potential offenders. The officer, however, does not anticipate potential victimhood as he or she will usually live outside the community affected. This has implications for the manner in which the training of probationer police constables is

implemented, if the over-estimating effect, identified by Tyler, is to be avoided by police officers.

Taking account of the research by Tyler, the potential for someone who has been victimised to feel more vulnerable is understandable. The area most likely to have an adverse effect on the relationship between the police and the public is the one involving the experience of the passive recipient of information; the person who imagines the incidences of crime are greater. Here, the analogy presented is that the student officer may perceive the likelihood of adverse reactions from members of the public to be greater than they are likely to be in reality. He or she forms an attitude based upon the misperception and actuates that attitude in behaviour towards the public, when the officer commences operational duty. The reliance in police training upon a single strategy to inculcate the appropriate attitudes in student officers is likely to produce inconsistent results, as has been demonstrated in the work of Ajzen and Tyler.

Can attitudes predict behaviour?

Is there any evidence to suggest that attitudes can predict behaviour? If an attitude is a precursor to the way a person might act, then it is an important element in both the recruiting and training of police officers. It is also central to the research question concerning the inculcation of the attitudes and behaviour appropriate to the role of a police officer and central to the fundamental changes to police recruit training which this research examines.

Ajzen (2005, p.3) defined an attitude as, ‘... a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event’. He considered that there were three constituent elements enduringly present: cognitive responses, affective responses, and conative responses. A cognitive response implies a perception of or thought about the object being considered. The affective response determines how a person evaluates their feelings, positively or negatively, towards the object being considered or the empathy a person feels for the object of consideration. Finally, a conative response is related to what the person would do to operationalise the cognitive and affective

responses; how they would react or the action they would take in reacting to a situation.

Whether an attitude gives rise to observable behaviour is directly influenced by what Ajzen referred to as, 'situational constraints'. (*ibid.*, p. 42). This principle is directly applicable to the training school environment for police officers and the training course. It is more likely that a person's attitude about an issue will lead to observable behaviour if he or she perceives the social setting to be conducive to exhibiting such a behavioural response. In a classroom discussion at a police training centre the participant student officer is unlikely to voice any negative view he or she possesses unless the ethos of the closed society which they inhabit has some explicit signals indicating that it is safe to say whatever an individual chooses.

Goffman (1961, p.11) argued that a total institution is one where an individual is, '... cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, [and the individual and other inmates] together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life'. Individual liberties have been specifically curtailed if not completely eradicated in the total institution. This is an example of what Ajzen's defines as situational restraints. Therefore, the nature and organisation of the police training centre appears to conform to Goffman's 'total institution', in being an environment unlikely to be conducive to individual expressions of attitudes that fail to accord with the norm of the institution. Goffman (1997, p.56) uses the example of a recruit joining a military academy to exemplify the elements of a total institution. The characteristics of the military academy closely resemble those of the police training centre (Table 1.1).

Why attitudes might persist and behaviour change

If student officers are not encouraged to explore the attitudes and beliefs they bring to the course during the period of their initial training, it is likely that, for those who hold attitudes and beliefs inappropriate to the role of a police officer, those inappropriate attitudes and beliefs will persist. Ajzen explained this phenomenon further, when he identified that the actor is more likely to perform the behaviour when he or she anticipates a positive outcome that contributes to a goal towards which their behaviour was directed almost in the style of, 'What is it worth to me?'

Table 1.1 Occupational Culture: A Police Training Centre and a Total Institution Compared

Police training centre	Total institution – a military academy
The police officer is primarily a constable and secondly an individual	The role of the military intern supersedes that of the social life of the intern
The constable’s activities are completely scheduled for the duration of the IPLDP	Membership of the total institution dictates the role for the military cadet
The police recruit is called a ‘student officer’ ⁸	As part of the initiation, the military cadet may be called a ‘fish’ or ‘swab
The police officer is required to conform to a specific mode of dress and personal appearance	On admission, the military cadet is likely to be stripped of his usual appearance
The police recruit is required to address officers more senior than him or herself by their rank or, depending on their status, by, ‘Sir’ or , ‘Ma’am	The military cadet is required to conform to modes of verbal deference

Furnham (1997, p.264) commented, ‘The more important a job-related factor is to workers, the greater its potential effect on their satisfaction’. The worth of the behaviour exhibited can assume a negative or positive value and is dependent upon whether the actor is considering behaving in a deviant way, by ignoring his or her police training, in the case of the student officer. Such a choice has to be made by the newly-arrived police officer when they commence operational duties. To comply with the normative behaviour of the group of police officers who have amassed several years of police service and whose inclination may be to perform their duties in a manner convenient to the group rather than in compliance with some established protocols (Wilson, 1972; Reiner, 2000).

The newly-arrived officer may behave in a manner that is contrary to the training he or she has received. The individual’s behaviour may or may not reflect the attitude he or she holds because, for example, in the confines of the total institution, or ‘total

⁸ The name ‘student officer’ merely indicates the individual’s status as a trainee and is not intended as derogatory or demeaning term.

environment' (MacDonald, 1987, p 37) there is also a clearly delineated route the student officer must follow and exhibiting deviance in that environment would lead to censure and sanction. In such a setting, the student officer may behave in a way that avoids sanction because the attitudes he or she holds and the behaviour he or she exhibits are in harmony. If the student officer possesses attitudes that are inappropriate to being a police officer, then the behaviour he or she exhibits may be designed to avoid sanction. Thus, the actor may have a consistent attitude about the item but the situational requirements in the former, the police training centre, and situational constraint in the latter example, the newly-arrived officer, is manifested in two opposed sets of behavioural outcomes.

The relationships between attitudes and the observable behaviour to which the attitudes may give rise are further defined in the context of the compatibility of the two (Ajzen, 2005), or their contiguity (Guttman, 1957; 1959), where the attitude and the object of the behavioural activity are closely linked, the correlation between the two is high. Weigel *et al.* (1974) showed that compatibility between the attitude and corresponding behavioural response increases the correlation between the two the more closely the two facets were linked. This involved research with members of the Sierra Club, an organisation formed in 1892 in the USA. The club's aim, originally, focused on land preservation developed to embrace the search for a solution to climate change. The Sierra Club has branches throughout the country. The research by Weigel *et al.* was based in a Western city and a New England town in the United States.

Behaviour positively influenced by proximate outcomes

The research demonstrated the level of allegiance of those club members who took part. The data identified that the participants' attitudes towards pollution were behaviourally more demonstrable and predictive of their activities undertaken to respond to the problem, the more closely the behaviours were linked to the specific activities and goals of their particular Sierra Club. In those instances, a high correlation between the two facets was identified. When their attitude towards pollution was generalised to a global response, in the context of what they felt about pollution in general terms but not directly related to their club's activities or to what the club could reasonably do to influence the problem of pollution on a global scale, the correlation

between their attitudes and behaviour was low. The data also demonstrated that the club members exhibited statistically significantly greater environmental concern than a random group of adults. Returning to the notion of compatibility, the research also identified that the stronger the relationship between the facets of the attitude and the setting of the anticipated behavioural response the higher the correlation between the attitude and the predictability of the behavioural outcome (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977).

Commenting on the concept of compatibility in the context of attitudes influencing behaviour, Ajzen (2005) identified that an attitude about a specific behaviour is a good predictor of that behaviour being actualised. A review of a number of studies showed a significant correlation when the specific attitude was related to a specific behaviour whereas there was a low correlation in predictive quality of attitude influencing behaviour when the comparison was between general attitudes about something giving rise to a specific behavioural outcome. What does this mean for the way police officers are trained? Delivering training during the police training course that is generalised and generalisable by the recipients will serve a purpose, as Ajzen showed; the link between the attitude and outcome are closely related, in this case, in being capable of being generalised and not being, therefore, situation-specific. This is ideal where the training seeks to provide an overview or broad perspective of policing issues.

When police training is delivered in a generalised manner about specific situations it is less likely to be ideal. It is unlikely to provide what the police officer requires and will not, therefore, create the appropriate attitudes because the generalised input is used to create or reinforce an attitude about an aspect of police work that must be deployed in specific circumstances. There is disharmony between the two facets, the attitude and the dependent behaviour and a low probability that the former will influence the latter. The influence is further compounded by the fact that each incident with which the officer deals will require a unique interpretation to ensure that the response deployed meets the needs of the person seeking or requiring a police intervention. Here, the generalised nature of the training, while providing a utility of scale does not meet the test for compatibility described by Ajzen or Weigel *et al.*, or Guttman's contiguity. The training and attitudes created or reinforced by it and the circumstances in which the behaviour has to be deployed by the police officer operationally are dissimilar.

Therefore, there is a low correlation between the attitude held and the potential for the attitude to bring about the appropriate behavioural response from the police officer.

The impact of occupational culture on the newly-arrived police officer and their desire to conform

Why should conformity appear to have such a high value in the mind of the new arrival? Police work is not without its dangers and officers do not routinely patrol in groups unlike, for example, the army, where a detachment of soldiers has joint responsibility for the welfare of each member of the group. The police officer relies on his or her colleagues to respond to a call for assistance, to ensure their continued well-being when the officers perceive that their individual resilience and fortitude is insufficient to manage the immediate task. The police officer, like a member of the armed services, needs to have the constant certainty that when he or she initiates the call for assistance, the other members of the team will respond but, unlike the armed services, the police officer does not usually have the desired assistance nearby. The certainty that the response of colleagues will be immediate does not come from non-conformity to the group's norms, rather it is ensured by the individual police officer being an integral part of the group. As Harrison (1998, p.8) said, reflecting on occupational police culture, 'Officers are generally not fully accepted until they have demonstrated the willingness and ability to "back up" a fellow officer in the face of perceived danger'.

When the officer considers whether colleagues will respond to his or her request for assistance, he or she is probably not concerned about whether the arrival of the colleagues will actually be necessary to bring about a resolution to the perceived problem that initiated the call for help. What is necessary is for the police officer making the request for assistance to have the certainty that such a response will be forthcoming when the call is made, without those officers who are being called to provide assistance reviewing the need to attend or deliberating the necessity or appropriateness of their attendance. In the case of the non-conforming officer, the group cannot literally reject the member for his or her non-conformity. It does not rest with the group, in actual terms, to decide upon their membership. The normative group can create an atmosphere where the rejected member seeks to leave them, either to join

another group or to leave the organisation completely. De facto, the group has determined group membership where, de jure, they could not.

When a police officer joins their first operational station, after leaving training school and the police recruit initial training course, the officer needs to be part of the group. He or she needs the relationship for professional reasons. The newly-arrived officer is still undergoing training and that training process continues on joining the new shift. The officer also needs the affinity of being part of the group (Maslow, 1943; McClelland, 1961; Barton, 2003).

Maslow suggests that a person operates through a hierarchy of needs (Fig. 1.1), with affiliative needs found midway in ascending order of the hierarchy as follows:

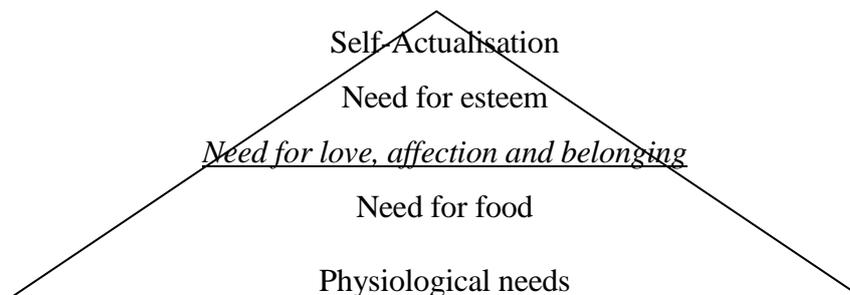


Figure 1.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow's theory states that higher order needs cannot be satisfied unless the subordinate needs have been satisfied and that the pinnacle of individual striving is self-actualisation. It appears that once an individual has satisfied the physiological needs, likened to the drowning person gaining safety on dry land, and then satisfied the need for sustenance in the form of food, next come the affiliative needs. Of course, the police officer, generally, does not strive to achieve the lower levels in Maslow's hierarchy at work and, consequently, is looking for affiliative needs and, thereafter esteem needs. In both cases he or she will satisfy those needs within the group as a conforming member, in a professional context, and outside the group, as a member of the general society. In this instance, the consideration is of the police officer in his or her professional context. Affiliative needs are unlikely to be satisfied where an individual is at odds with the norms of a particular group.

Maslow's theory has not been without its critics, however (Foucault, 1979; Boeree, 2006). Foucault's criticism of Maslow, for example, provides an alternative thesis for the explanation of associated and hierarchical needs. Foucault regards the individual as being guided and directed by a set of rules and norms which delineate normal behaviour. An individual is punished by sanction or exclusion when he or she deviates from what is normal. Foucault sees this as an extension of what occurs in the formal penal system, as part of a carceral continuum. Society has become used to and uses surveillance to monitor and control. People watch over and are watched over by others. It is this submission to the notion of control that dictates whether individual members of society are within or excluded from the group. If the deviation is serious; a crime, as defined by the state, then the punishment is in the form of legal sanction imposed, usually, by a court. If the deviation is not a crime, so defined, then the sanction may be exclusion from the group, with the punishment imposed by the sub-group of the society from which the individual is to be excluded. Unlike Maslow's notion of a hierarchical relationship, clearly delineated, Foucault's definition entertains a multi-dimensional web of scrutiny, affecting all aspects of a person's life and, by implication, that person affects every aspect of the lives of others with whom he or she interacts, because of the mutually-accepted need to belong, and their observance of group norms and behaviours to minimise the possibility of being excluded.

Boeree (2006) focuses much of his discussion on the concept of self-actualisation, although he questions the hierarchical nature of the other elements in Maslow's theory. Boeree cites a number of people, mainly artists such as Lautrec and Van Gogh, who enjoyed a self-actualized state but for whom there was frequently little if any evidence that the lower order needs had previously been or were currently being satisfied at the time of their self-actualised state. Boeree also criticises the methodology used by Maslow to arrive at the hierarchical list. Maslow also saw the lack of rigour in his methodology, where he studied people whom he, Maslow, considered to be self-actualised and derived his theory as a result of those observations without additional evidence to support the interpretations of what he, Maslow, had observed.

The police officer adopting a new status and adapting to a new role

When the newly-arrived police officer joins a shift, it is not the individual, recently-arrived, who will determine the behaviour that is acceptable and the behaviour that is deviant. It will be determined by the shift. The normative behaviour of the shift must become that of the new arrival, if he or she is to successfully integrate into the new group and become an accepted and trusted member. The shift, or reference group (Hyman, 1942; Stephan, 1985), comprises comparatively more-experienced police officers. It is the group or the shift that imposes the sanctions and exclusions when members fail to conform to the group norms. The occupational culture of the shift becomes the normative behaviour for the newly-joined member. Hsu (2007) identifies the paradoxical relationships between group members, when discussing the strong group ties of Chinese farmers. Her research showed while group identity was strong, weak interpersonal influences existed at a dyadic level. That weakness was observed even though its existence would directly disadvantage the individual through the non-fulfilment of a duty by another; in the case of Hsu's research, their financial well-being. Despite their non-action having a serious impact on them as individuals, they did not intervene to encourage the defaulting member to carry out the duty required of them.

This relates directly to police officers on a shift who have strong group ties. Some of the police officers interviewed during this research expressed the view that they would find it difficult in obvious cases of deviant behaviour observed in another, to challenge that person. Compared with the behaviour of the Chinese farmers, it seems, at a dyadic level, police officers are no more inclined to challenge inappropriate behaviour, even though their acquiescence may act to the detriment of themselves and of the group.

Behaviourism and conformity

Some support for the notion of conformity is available from the research of the behaviourists whose theories embraced the idea that the chaining of stimulus and response activities brought about learned behaviour and that negative reinforcement would extinguish any unwanted behaviour. Thorndike (1911) propounded the law of effect where an event with a pleasurable outcome was likely to be repeated and one

less pleasurable was not. Making a strong link between the event and the outcome created a strong bond likely to be repeated. The work of other behaviourists led to similar theoretical schema for learning (Watson, 1920; Pavlov, 1927; Tolman, 1930; Skinner, 1938; Hull, 1943) and provided an explanation for conformity by members of a group and the ability to train the deviant member to conform where their initial behaviour lacked conformity. Skinner had shown in his experiments that intermittent reinforcement led to continuance of the desired behaviour. The group could reward the new member by allowing them to access elements of group membership reserved for those who conformed and denied to those who did not, or more access to the inner working of the group by involving them in the process of decision making. They could also extinguish unwanted behaviour by clear rejection. These aspects of negative reinforcement could involve withdrawing elements of membership from a group activity. The ultimate negative reinforcement is exclusion from the group, that being the ultimate sanction for a non-conforming member.

The need to appear competent as a police officer

Pavlov's work also has relevance to the consideration of affiliative needs. Anxiety may be induced as an autonomic response, employing the same elements of behaviour control that were used by Pavlov. When the new group or shift member does or says something that is at odds with the norms of the shift, members of the shift may choose to act in a way that embarrasses the new member in the face of his or her colleagues or, in an operational setting, in the face of members of the public. Being made to look foolish can have a powerful effect on the recipient. If the behaviour is repeated by the shift towards the new member, as did Pavlov with the dog, the new member learns to associate the state of anxiety with the event's recurrence and not the upbraiding handed out by the members of the shift.

Furnham (1997, p.366) described a similar phenomenon as role ambiguity although he pointed to organisational role ambiguity, where an individual is uncertain about the parameters to their individual responsibility and how that uncertainty can give rise to stress, rather than intra-group manifestations of the stress-causing dilemma as in the example of group behaviour. Furnham (*ibid.*) also described how role conflict has the potential to create stress in an individual, where that person is required to change

rapidly between roles that are sometimes conflicting. In the case of the newly-arrived shift member, for example, he or she may be required to shift from a positive and decisive law enforcer, when dealing with a member of the public, to a subordinate member of a shift whose views are not sought by the remainder of the group nor listened to, when they are proffered.

Group behaviour

Furnham (1997) identified the nature of groups and the power they exert over their membership when he pointed to the membership having greater reliance in the utility of the group decisions and norms than they ascribe to their individual thoughts and ideals. Is the notion of the power of groups applicable to police officers? If so, it may have a significant bearing on their behaviour and on the affectiveness of the training course in creating the appropriate attitudes and behaviours in a manner likely to withstand the rigours of operational duty, and the collective influence of the police officers with whom the individual will work. Police officers spend the majority of their working lives patrolling alone or patrolling in pairs. Even when the officers are patrolling singly they are, nevertheless, part of a group of personnel with a single identity in the form of the shift - their reference group (Hyman, 1942; Stephan, 1985). The group whose norms, values and behaviours the newly-arrived member will seek to adopt and membership they will wish to retain. MacDonald (1987, p.33) identified that, 'probationers [were] very cue conscious. They [were] actively looking for the norms and defining values of the Service.'

Research showed that there was pressure to conform to group norms (Festinger *et al.*, 1950; Schachter, 1951). Festinger *et al.* (*op. cit.*) studied the behaviour of two sets of residents on a newly-constructed accommodation complex at a New England university in the USA. The campus was developed in two parts. Each complex had similar residents and used similar selection processes for allocation of accommodation. The residents were all married ex-armed services personnel studying engineering. The research identified, particularly in the individual tenants' associations and other groups that began to form, that different standards began to emerge even though the purpose of the comparator groups was the same.

Further research identified that each group exerted particular influence over its members to ensure conformity. When a person expressed a view or acted in a manner outside of the normative behaviour for the group, the group would endeavour to change the person's mind by increased communications, trying to persuade the individual to conform. When the group identified that persuasion was not going to effect a change in values, beliefs or behaviour, then the deviant member was likely to be disliked by the other members of the group and even rejected from group membership. Here, the term 'deviance' was used to identify the divergence from the normative behaviour prescribed by the group from which the non-conforming member was to be excluded. There are parallels, which I shall explore next, between what happened with the students in 1940s USA and what might happen to police officers who join a formal group, in the style of shifts, when they are posted⁹ to a police station.

The workplace, occupational culture and the policing process

To establish whether operational policing and the manner in which it is carried out might complement or frustrate the requirements of the police service in respect of the attitudes and behaviour of its officers as set out in police regulations and the police initial recruit training programme (PIRT) for probationer constables, it is necessary to examine how that policing process is carried out. When an employee is under direct supervision or works in an environment where he or she comes within the general purview of a supervisor, the employee's level of self-motivation and their attitudes and behaviour may be less critical than when he or she works on their own; in the former instance, the supervisor has it within his or her control to direct the employee and ensure that their performance is as required by the employer in manner and style. Police work as a task or series of tasks is not organised in that elemental manner. Police work is a function largely conducted alone. As Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987, p.290) identified:

... policework is conducted within a discretionary framework ... meaning ... that particular acts of law enforcement are the responsibility of individual constables exercising their own (independent) judgement as to when the law had been broken.

⁹ 'Posted' is the term used to describe the allocation of police officers to a police station or department.

Fundamental to an understanding of the nature of police work is the knowledge of the status of the office of constable. Police officers are not employees; they are not servants or agents or officers of the local authority¹⁰. A constable is a person who holds an office under the Sovereign¹¹. Every member of a police force who is a warranted officer, having taken the oath of allegiance to the Crown, enjoys that office, regardless of rank. They cannot be ordered to arrest a certain class of offender or to desist from such activity. The holder of the office of constable remains the sole arbiter of his or her actions, whether they are the newest recruit or the most senior officer within the organisation, a point also noted by Barton (2003) on his commentary on the impact of occupational police culture as an impediment to changing police practice.

The safeguard afforded the community by the independence of the office of constable could also act to their detriment. Without the determination of the individual officer to work when not directed¹² to do so, he or she may reject the opportunity to engage in self-generated tasks and, therefore, utilise the available time differently or inappropriately. Providing for the needs of the community involves the officer in deploying not only a law enforcement model but also the social role of policing (Mather, 1990). The social role of policing involves a range of activities such as engaging in incidental conversation with members of the community, resolving petty disputes and dealing with litter or other forms of antisocial behaviour that have a debilitating effect on people's lives. Police officers who are not directed to respond to an incident are more likely to choose to do nothing, unless their behaviour incorporates the social role of policing. Police work is not only about law enforcement strategies and, in some instances, not even about law enforcement. MacDonald (1987, p. 43) described it as,

'part art and part craft, part technique and part common-sense, part para-military part social work. [It] is characterised by a high degree of stress coupled with the ... combination of tedium and unpredictability'.

Emsley (2009, p.276) confirmed MacDonald's 'tedium and unpredictability' when he observed, 'Sometimes the beat patrol was uneventful but it was rarely predictable',

10 Fisher V Oldham Corporation 1930

11 Lewis V Cattle 1938

12 Directed to a task by a central controller

when discussing the day to day work of a young beat patrol police constable in the 1970s. The recorded notes¹³ from my penultimate day as a beat officer support Emsley's statement. As Grimshaw and Jefferson concluded (1987, p71):

The qualities of fragmentation, inconclusiveness and desultoriness [in the approach of the officers to their work] stem not so much from the characteristics of the officers or their collective norms as from the organisational demands of 'call-readiness'

Drawing a distinction between the two facets of operational police duty, the social role and the law enforcement role, Wilson (1972) described the American municipal police administrator as one who would encourage the patrol officer to ignore minor infractions of the law while at the same time ensuring peace and tranquillity was maintained in neighbourhood by employing law enforcements strategies. The UK counterpart of the patrol officer does not enjoy the same flexibility. Police officers in this country may choose to ignore offences but, unlike their American counterparts, are not encouraged to do so.

Discretion and policing

Before establishing what 'discretion' might mean in respect of operational policing in the UK and how it might be applied to the various roles the police perform and duties they carry out, it is necessary to understand the range of activities in which the police officers may be involved. Police officers are required to cover a wide range of duties, many of which would not usually be recognised as pursuing the investigation of 'crimes'¹⁴. The duties performed by the police include settling disputes between neighbours or strangers; taking care of someone who may be intoxicated; looking after a child who is lost; and dealing with a sudden death (Coleman and Norris, 2000). Studies undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s showed that anywhere between six per cent (Comrie and Kings, 1974) and 18 per cent (British Crime Survey, 1988) of police work involved contact with the public that was related to crime. However, the list of work

13 See Appendix 2 for extract from pocket note book, pp 116 – 121, 14th June, 1972

14 The Home Office issues a list of notifiable offences requiring the police to record and report certain crimes. Details may be found at <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/crime-research/user-guide-crime-statistics/user-guide-crime-statistics?view=Binary>. Accessed 24/09/2012

undertaken by the police that may, initially, appear not to be crime related, may have a potential outcome that involves either a notifiable offence or that indicates that one of the persons involved appears to have some criminal liability for their actions. When that potential outcome is applied to the interpretation of what the police do, in one area of London, Jones *et al.* (1986) found that the work done by the police was reported as 51 per cent crime related.

Waddington (1999, p. 31 cited in Coleman and Norris, 2000) identified that,

Prior to ... the 1960s, the prevailing assumption was that policing was little more than the application of the law

Newly-appointed police officers in the UK are told that their primary duties include the prevention of crime, and the bringing to justice those who break the law (CENTREX, 2004). Missing from the discussions by Waddington and CENTREX is an appreciation that the social role of policing may contribute to the process of law enforcement. That role; the interaction between the police and the public where there is no law enforcement outcome, real or potential, may provide the foundation for support to be given by the public to the police. The absence of incidental and informal contacts between the police and the public may frustrate police attempts to garner public assistance during, for example, a crime enquiry when the role of the latter can prove crucial to the success of the police investigation.

Does upholding the law mean that every infringement must be prosecuted? Clearly, every offence committed, were it known to the police, could not be the subject of a criminal prosecution involving a court appearance, as the capacity of the criminal justice system would be unable to cope with the volume of the work. Equally, as has been identified (Coleman, and Norris, 2000) the police use the law as their servant to resolve issues rather than being a slavish adherent to the actuality of each law.

‘Discretion’ is frequently used by police to refer to the latitude afforded a police officer in deciding what action to take; what an officer is expected to do within the requirements of the office of constable. This could be considered to be their ‘operational discretion’. Elsewhere, Klockars (1985 cited in Coleman and Norris,

2000) considered that discretion for both the officers and the police organisation is the position that leaves them free to choose what action to take amongst several courses of action, including the possibility of not taking any action.

However, 'discretion' may not actually be vested in the officer on the beat, when it is a police managerial or government edict detailing the action that has to be taken in the form of local policing plans or nationally-set policing objectives (Coleman and Norris, 2000). This second form of discretion may be considered as 'organisational discretion', in order to distinguish between the two facets of discretion, where, in the current case, the decision is, to an extent, removed from the choices available to the patrolling police officer.

Organisational discretion will include decisions to concentrate on a particular problem either exclusively or primarily, as in Brixton in 1981 when Operation Swamp was established to combat street crimes. At that time, a policy decision emanating from senior officers dictated the focus of police work. It was unlikely that, running contemporaneously, would be an operation, equally highly resourced, dealing with all other crimes in the Brixton area. The policy had decreed that, by implication, certain levels of criminal liability would receive no sanction. However, some considerations (Lustgarten, 1986, cited in Coleman and Norris, 2000) of the options available to the patrolling officer in the exercise of their operational discretion point to a variety of interventions. They do not include non-response as one of the strategies available to the officer, underlining the discussion earlier in this chapter that operational discretion decrees that a range of strategies may be employed but excludes non-action as a potential response. Organisational discretion may well, by implication, involve inaction by decreeing an exclusive or primary focus on a particular problem and, for a period of time, paying little or no attention to elements of criminal behaviour considered by the police organisation to be less important.

Normally, if a member of the public witnesses the non-application of the law by police officer and reports their observations to the police officer's managers, in addition to any police disciplinary action that may follow such a complaint, he or she is liable to be charged with a criminal offence in cases of more serious legal infraction that the officer has ignored. Even in the case of Swamp 81, a police officer would not have

been excused for failing to act if they witnessed another serious offence taking place and did nothing in respect of it. The officer has operational discretion, within his or her role as a constable, as to what action he or she takes but the laws in the UK, common and statute, decree that discretion does not counsel or countenance doing nothing but, rather, it dictates the scale of the intervention appropriate to each incident.

A final element in the discussion of discretion is described by Coleman and Norris (2000) when they provide a list of possible outcomes applied by a police officer as, ‘involv[ing] doing something or not doing something’ and they consider as an example what might be done by a police officer who observes a fight taking place in the street between two men. In their discussion, however, the police officer is seen to consider one of a number of possible actions. The officer, when ‘... not doing something’ (*op cit*) is choosing not to exercise a power of arrest that could be an available means of disposal of the incident.

Failing to act would leave the police officer liable to answer a charge of misconduct in a public office¹⁵ if he or she, say, ignored a crime in progress – if one of the participants in the fight was seriously injured. At the lower level of culpability, the officer involved would be liable to be charged with neglect of duty¹⁶ - if the fracas witnessed amounted to a breach of the peace or a less serious public order offence. The continuum does not commence at zero. However, the level of intervention may be as little as a comment to the perpetrator, at the most minimal intervention, or arrest and detention, at the highest level. In reality, the police officer may choose to ignore a transgression of which he or she is or has become aware – taking no action when witnessing the fight. He or she has exercised discretion but, at a formal level within the police organisation, such a choice may be liable to sanction.

The notion of discretion and how the officer views the member of the community and their need for service will determine what is done and how it is achieved. Occupational culture has an important influence on the application of discretion. Goldsmith (1990) remarked on the police culture and the set of values, belief, rules and practices and how they combine to influence police behaviour and the application of discretion or its

15 An offence at Common Law punishable with a maximum in life imprisonment.

16 On offence against, currently, The Police (Conduct) Regulations, 2008.

misapplication. Later in this chapter, the use of the Vagrancy Act, 1824 to stop and search people is discussed and the over-representation of black people amongst those stopped identified. Arguably, this is a misapplication of the use of police discretion and an abuse of authority, if there was no evidence to warrant the suspicion employed by the police officer as a pretext for the search.

Following from Goldsmith (*op cit*), the police officer who is not directed to deal with an incident may infrequently resort to self-generated work and, on the occasions when he or she does, the propensity to engage in work that has a law enforcement outcome is likely to be reinforced by the honorific value ascribed by the organisation to 'locking up' and the symbolism that accompanies it (Mather, 1990, p. 289). He concluded,

... [the] value systems need demonstrably to reward such conduct, and the status and esteem needs to be accorded and ascribed as readily to the roles which primarily engage in social aspects of policing.

The lack of reward for the social role of policing was also true in the USA, where Kelling and Coles note, 'Recognition for meritorious performance is given for feats of valour and ingenuity in crime fighting' (1996, p.87).

If a police officer does not possess the appropriate attitudes and behaviours, he or she is more likely to be influenced by the nature of the positive organisational response to law enforcement strategies rather than motivated by the desire to enhance the status and esteem of the office of constable in the eyes of the wider community by deploying the social role of policing. MacDonald (1987, p.175) summarised this dilemma as a situation in which probationers are wondering,

...whether the social responsibility role really means anything to the organisation when they are pressed to and judged by criteria of work (number of offences proceeded with)

Affecting judgements

The predisposition of the officer to arrive at a particular outcome is likely to be influenced by the officer's attitude to the particular set of circumstances. A group of

protestors at the G20 Summit, for example, was more likely to be kettled¹⁷ than allowed to move about their lawful business. The attitude held by the officers influenced the behaviour they exhibited. By comparison, when the police held a mass rally to protest about the then Home Secretary failing to honour the pay award for the police, such kettling tactics were not deployed. Ajzen (2005, p.25), when offering an explanation that might explain the disparity between the two policing strategies, commented as follows:

We tend to like people who agree with us, to associate positive properties with objects or people we value, to attribute negative motives to people we despise, to help people we admire ...

The two demonstrations were, in part, dissimilar but, amongst the G20 demonstrators, there were likely to be some people who were as equally disposed to lawful protest as there were within the protesting police ranks. How could the behaviour exhibited by some police officers who were policing the G20 summit demonstration be explained? As Reiner (2000, p. 86) commented,

... the laws governing police behaviour... do not even purport to determine practical policing [leaving] considerable leeway for police culture to shape police practice in accordance with situational exigencies

Furnham (1997, p.312) expressed the view that, 'subordinates, more often than not, appear to do what they believe they are expected to do'. Bayley (1996, p.146) explained that,

... roles determine behaviourIn policing ... behaviour is dependent on organisational context'.

The complex nature of policing the G20 demonstration created a ready environment where lack of specificity about procedural responses to operational problems and tacit approval for spontaneous reaction to incidents as they evolved created within the police officer the potential to internalise sets of attitudes and values. Those attitudes and values may give rise to behaviours that a police officer will deploy as a sub

17 Corralled in one place in a large group and prevented from moving.

cultural response to a situation, whether or not that behaviour is appropriate to the circumstances encountered.

Furnham (*op. cit.*, p.224) developed this argument further by suggesting,

A value is considered an enduring belief that a specific instrumental mode of conduct and/or terminal end state of existence is preferable.

It is easy to see, within the sub cultural setting, why such values become normative behaviour, the police officer's, 'How to do what needs to be done'. Fielding (1999, para1.11) summed it up as follows:

In practical terms, then, the constable is much more accountable to the norms of the working culture, its accepted ways of doing things, than to supervisory officers.

When looking at the experiences in North America, Kelling and Coles (1996, p.70) further explained the failure of certain policing strategies .They identified what they believed to be a paradigm shift from what was the original notion of crime prevention and maintenance of the peace:

[The police] as professional crime fighters... came to constitute [the start of the criminal justice process] aloof from the citizens and the communities they policed, and accountable not to the citizens but to the principles of their profession.

How the question of police operational necessity comes to be answered from a view based entirely on an internal police perspective, may be explained by the professionalisation of the function of policing and the real need to safeguard the individual in the face of an unquantifiable danger. It is also understandable that both of those elements, the professionalisation of the role and the perceived need for survival, even if overstated, might act to predominate over considerations of the training received and the requirement to act in a different manner.

Policing, the potential for danger and the impact of occupational socialisation

The police operate in an arena that frequently puts them in circumstances of potential danger and, occasionally, extreme violence, when those with whom they interact or they confront are determined to have their way (Reiner, 2000), despite the expressed disquiet of the public and the attendant police attempt to resolve the issue without resorting to a law enforcement strategy. The utility of a response strategy is compelling, when the officers seek not only to resolve the instant problem, safe guarding the public or their property but also ensuring that they, the officers, do not also become victims of the encounter. Within the group of G20 Summit protestors, there was the potential that someone would be present whose motive was to achieve their objective at whatever cost to any police officer who sought to intervene. Within the group of protesting English police officers such potential was unlikely to exist.

How a police officer responds to a situation is likely to be determined by learned behaviour which will provide an expedient response to a situation they encounter. The affects of occupational socialisation may, additionally, compel the officer from their perspective, to employ a strategy that gets the job done and prevents, as far as it is possible, the officer becoming a casualty. Therefore, the seeking of evidence and the testing of the motive of the individual protestor is subsumed in the greater need to protect oneself and operate as a cohering member of the group of police officers. Farnham explained that, ‘... we choose our ... job but afterwards the job and organisation shape us and subsequent choices’ (1997, p.92) and Schein (1978) referred to the occurrence of such behaviour as acceptance of organisational reality. Wanous (1992) described it as, ‘the acquisition of appropriate role behaviour for the workgroup’ (cited in Furnham, 1997, p.130). The English police march and the operational police response were different from the experience in 2001 in Paris, when gendarmes marched in protest against their poor conditions of service. The gendarmerie, while providing a policing function, is part of the military. The Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité (CRS) is a branch of the Police Nationale, the civil police force. The CRS prevented the uniformed gendarmes from completing their march by barricading the route and refusing to allow them to pass.

The phenomena detailed were encapsulated in the work by Mischel (1977) where he described the differing outcomes between strong and weak situations. A strong situation is one where the stimuli are very powerful, leading all participants to view the situation with a collective interpretation and act in a potentially cohesive way with their dispositional attitude giving rise to a situational response, as in the English policing response to the protest march by the English police or the collective antipathetic view of the purpose of the gendarmes march and the operational response by the CRS in blocking it. Weak situations, by contrast, are lacking in sufficiently strong stimuli, preventing them being decoded in a comprehensively consistent way as with their strong counterparts. In the case of weak situations, the lack of consistently similar decoding by the actors leads to the potential lack of a cohesive response, as the actors do not perceive the incident similarly, or, where they perceive it similarly, they do so with exclusive levels of intensity, once more, leading to a response lacking cohesion. This was exemplified by the differing police responses to the G20 protestors.

While Mischel was describing a schema for empirical research, nevertheless, the proposition is equally applicable to the operational setting of police work with its particular emphasis on how situational factors influence behaviour. Snyder and Ickes (1985, p.905) commented:

This type of strong-situation procedure makes sense when the researcher is attempting to study the impact of situational factors on behaviour, since it ideally maximises the variance in behaviour ... while minimizing the [affect of] individual personality.

The paradigm was designed to elicit a response to consistently interpreted stimuli to measure the range of behaviours exhibited rather than create a situation giving rise to identical behaviours. Due to occupational socialisation, together with primary socialisation, predisposing the individual to become a police officer, an alternative paradigm might assert that strong situations will give rise to the majority of police officers reacting in a comprehensive and cohesive way, as was witnessed during the G20 Summit demonstrations. Policing and the management of the function of policing do not necessarily travel a linear and developmental path and it is equally true that the application of those organisational goals is determined by the patrolling officer in what

he or she does in operational response to the stated intention (Wilson, 1968; Holdaway, 1983; Brown, 1988; Reiner, 2000). However, the influences and organisational norms serving to inform an officer as to what is required of him or her does shift substantially, depending on the philosophy of the chief officer.

Affective leadership styles of senior officers

The way things are done has the potential to change dramatically from one chief officer to the next. Divergent philosophies were apparent when Sir James Anderton was the Chief Constable of Greater Manchester Police from 1975 to 1991, and, for example, when John Alderson was the Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall Police from 1973 to 1982. The former was a proponent of the law enforcement model of police practice, detecting crime and arresting offenders, while the latter firmly espoused the notion of community policing which involved a more reflective practitioner whose first recourse would not always be exercising a power of arrest (Alderson, 1979; 1998).

From the direction of each chief constable, his or her staff were likely to understand 'how the job was done' in essentially different ways and the behaviour they exhibited, as a result, would be more likely to receive organisational approval depending upon the coincidence of their response with the philosophy of the chief constable. Pond (1999) identified that police officers operating a community policing¹⁸ strategy are more respected by the communities within which they operate. He also identified that those police officers have a better appreciation of their standing with the public than do the officers who work with a law enforcement strategy¹⁹ as their main method of policing. The differences observed were not the product of comparing a city and a rural community and said something about the attitudes of the officers and the manner in which they related to the communities in which they worked.

The philosophy espoused by the senior officer may place the operational police officer in a situation of uncertainty yet, at the same time, the officer needs to manage the task in hand and maintain his or her safety. Is the behavioural response he or she

18 As required by Alderson, Chief Constable, Devon and Cornwall

19 As required by Anderton, Chief Constable, Greater Manchester Police

subsequently displays causally linked to attitudes held by the actor or is it borne out of a need to complete a task as best as the officer can? The question places the officer in a position where the operational dilemma may give rise to inappropriate behaviour. How the officer resolves the operational problem while at the same time being mindful of the force directives and the needs of the member of the public can present a difficult problem where there is no ideal answer to meet the needs of all the participants. The policing of the G20 Summit appeared to present such dilemmas for the operational police officers. 'You can't go by what the book says' (Wilson, 1968, p.66) and sometimes there is no book to go by.

The process of decision making

Explaining the milieu of police work, particularly in North America, Wilson (1972, p.38) made the following comment:

... [The police officer] must... act in ways that deviate from the strict procedural conception of justice... because officers are routinely called upon to "prejudge" persons by making quick decisions about what their behaviour has been in the past or is likely to be in the future.

Wilson identifies a thin line between a police officer making a judgement based on his or her police experience compared to them making the judgement based on personal opinion, thereby identifying the influence of the officer's prejudice in making it. Here, Wilson appears to have missed the point with his explanation. Unless the officer acts in the face of there being no evidence, wholly prejudicially, then he or she will always be acting in a partial way. In the UK, at least, the law recognises that requirement in the way the powers of arrest have been drafted. It gives specific authority to the police officer to make arrests when the officer suspects an offence may have been committed and suspects someone may be guilty of it. The law carefully distinguishes the power conferred on the constable from that conferred on the ordinary citizen for whom, to exercise the power of arrest, it is required that they must see someone in the act of committing the offence.

The remit of the office of constable is that the officer will routinely engage in decision making. This is also an expectation of the manner in which the officer will discharge his or her duty. In some instance, no offence will have been committed though the officer suspected that one had. From every law enforcement encounter or call for service attended, the police officer internalises that experience, mediated by the range of preceding experiences, thus creating not a monochromatic picture but a kaleidoscopic representation of the instances. The officer takes this information to every succeeding event.

Weiner (1992) categorised these occurrences as ‘antecedent conditions’ in his attributional theory. While initially developed to understand elements of classroom behaviour and learning, the theory has been broadened to cover other learning situations. Implicit in the construction of the attribution is the antecedent element; what the actor has learned from previous experiences of the same or similar instances. All of those experiences accumulate to form an attributable set of values applied by the officer when he or she is creating a theoretical construct of the potential outcome of a forthcoming event or situation. The officer, therefore, is likely to base his or her anticipation of the outcome of their interaction with a member of the public on their accumulated experience of similar previous events.

There is no view which is shared by all. The phrase, ‘police experience’ might imply that each officer will hold an identical and complementary set of values for each given scenario. Each may understand the legal points will relative commonality. Ultimately, however, while officers may agree on a common outcome either to warn or to arrest, the journey to that final point will have been unique for each participant. The journey will have been influenced by the officer’s rehearsal of the kaleidoscopic representation of the confronting circumstances and mediated by his or her attitudes and values formed and reinforced by that representation - Weiner’s (1992) antecedent information. The officer will view the circumstances uniquely no less than will the person upon whom the judgement is visited for, as with the police officer, the member of the public will have a perspective of the incident giving rise to the intervention that is unlikely to be conterminous with the view held by the officer nor to replicate the service user’s previous recollection of any similar event.

Summary

This chapter has examined the research question, which focusses on whether the initial training for new police recruits is effective in promoting appropriate attitudes and behaviour for twenty first century policing. The elements of the research question were explored and explained in the context of this research.

There is evidence which suggests that behaviour could be modified by training though it was more problematical as to whether the same statement could be made for attitudes. The strength of police occupational culture, as an intervening factor, and how it exerted the influence to conform to the behaviour exhibited by operational police officers was identified and exemplified by reference to examples in the Metropolis and in a provincial police force. The evidence reviewed, showed that normative behaviour in one environment, the police training centre, may be radically different from what is accepted as normal in an operational police setting. The impact this might have on the newly-arrived police officer might result in their behaviour not being in accord with the training they had received. Additionally, the role played by the most senior officer in a police force, the chief constable, in setting the agenda for normative behaviour was shown to have a bearing on how subordinate officers react and those differences were highlighted by reference to the chief constables of the Devon and Cornwall police force and Greater Manchester police force. Officers who worked in a policing environment with a community-oriented philosophy, working together with communities to resolve problems, were shown to have a better appreciation of how they were perceived by the public than police officers who worked in a more law-enforcement driven police style, one in which communities are recipients of law enforcement rather than partners in resolving law-related policing issues.

Chapter 2 looks at the development of police training with regard to its relevance to newly-appointed officers and identifies how it has changed during the period from the early 1970s until the early part of the twenty-first century. The chapter examines what influences upon the 'attitudes and behaviour' posited in the research question have been addressed by the development of police training over the period reviewed.

Chapter 2 A Critical Review of the Development of Police Training

This chapter identifies the processes of change to police training by providing an insight into the relevant developments of policing in the UK from the foundation of the modern police service in 1829 with the emphasis being on events occurring in the twentieth century. A brief operational context for the changes is also provided. In particular, the chapter explores the validity of the belief that the training of police officers at the time of their appointment can inculcate attitudes and behaviour appropriate to their role. The research question has, as the core focus, the inculcation of appropriate attitudes and behaviour and whether it can be achieved through a process of training. A number of working parties, cited elsewhere in this thesis, have directed as the main aim of changes to the training of newly-appointed constables, that such an outcome must, in part, be the result of the training process. This has been shown to be a critical and recurring element in many of the deliberations about how it might prove possible to resolve underlying problems in the relationship between the police and members of the public. The under-pinning rationale for that view is explored and discussed together with an assessment of whether the objectives set for many of the changes to police training have been met or whether it was practicable.

The new police service

The modern police service was created in 1829 with the formation of the Metropolitan Police Service (Emsley, 1995). The City of London, whose police service was not implemented until 1839, was exempted from the remit and authority of the Metropolitan Police and remains so today. This was a political manoeuvre on the part of the then Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, to deflect criticism from his proposal for a police service, which involved the, ‘City’s opposition to the encroachment on their corporate rights’ (Reiner, 2000. p18). From its inception in London, the compulsory spread of the police service occurred first through the boroughs of England and Wales, by virtue of legislation in 1835²⁰ and finally to the counties, following further legislation in 1856²¹. The officers appointed by police service were not efficient due to the lack of effective training. Weinberger (1991) underlined the point, when discussing

20 Municipal Corporation Act.

21 County and Borough Police Act.

the notion of policing as a profession, commenting that police officers used to commence duty without any formal training, unlike other professions where it is necessary to acquire a body of knowledge before a person was allowed to practice.

The complex nature of police work

Policing is a complex, interpersonal process. The police officer produces a unique response to each instance he or she confronts. Within each response there will be familiar and repeated elements of behaviour. Peyton (1986, p.405) identified what he saw as the method for answering most calls upon the police for service when, in a training manual for US police officers, he described the consistent need for the officer to use his or her experience, saying:

With few exceptions, there is no one set procedure or technique that must be used in all cases of handling each type of call for service. The main ingredient is common sense...

That explanation failed to identify the range of skills and ingenuity the officer employs as he or she interprets the situation and then applies a response. When the officer deals with a call for service he or she will manage a consistent set of criteria: a caller – the person requiring the service; a set of circumstances – what the caller identifies as the situation requiring resolution; and the response – how the officer decides to respond to the request for service, having identified whether or not there are circumstances that permit or require that the officer must respond.

Dealing with calls for service

The actual calls for service, where the member of the public wants advice or to make a report, are not events that require police officer to exercise legal powers. They are requests repeated consistently during a tour of duty²² (Mather, 1990). The person who makes the call for service is the key variable in a set of substantially consistent circumstances. The caller has a unique perspective of the problem requiring police attendance. The requirement for the police officer is to treat the caller and the request

22 Tour of duty is the period allocated to the officer to be on duty and at work.

for service in a professional manner. This should lead to the caller being satisfied with the interpersonal interaction between the two parties and the resolution proffered by the police officer.

The practices and procedures of police work are clearly prescribed by law or directive, in the latter case by Home Office circulars. The appropriate attitudes and behaviours for a police officer are also prescribed. There is, therefore, little flexibility in what the officer must do but considerable opportunity to deploy the appropriate attitudes and behaviour to satisfy the requirements of the call for service. The curriculum model, and what it seeks to achieve, is not, therefore, located in an unbound syllabus-free world: rather, it is located in a tightly prescribed world, allowing the officer to be him or herself within clearly defined parameters

Early methods of police training

Rawling (2002) described the training provided by the newly-formed Metropolitan Police as amounting to little more than foot drill and it was not until 1907 that a recognisable training system was evident with the creation of Hendon Police Training Centre. Rawlings identified the dominant philosophy as being one where police officers would acquire the necessary skills on the job, by carrying out their police duties and by following general instructions set out in a manual directing how policing activity and administration were to be carried out. In Hull, the first training, apart from foot drill, was not apparent until 1883 and then it comprised the issue of a booklet setting out the duties of a police officer. This was similar to the system applying in the Metropolitan Police. As Reiner (*op. cit.*, p.51) said, it was not until the early part of the twentieth century that the training of police officers started to change when he noted:

Training was not taken very seriously in many forces until after the 1919 -1920 reports of the Desborough Committee²³, which introduced a much stronger element of standardisation and central direction into all aspects of administration and conditions of service.

23 A committee convened to review conditions of service for police officers following a police strike in London in 1918 and in London, Liverpool and Birmingham in 1919.

A training course for accelerated promotion candidates

The training of police officers was subject to a brief but specialised focus in the early 1930s. In 1934, Lord Trenchard, who was then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, launched an accelerated promotion scheme to identify and train officers whom it was considered had the potential to reach the highest ranks in the police service. One aspect of the short-lived scheme, which ended in 1939, was an element that allowed direct recruitment of people from outside the police service onto the advanced training scheme. Both the internally-selected candidates and externally-identified entrants would be appointed to the newly-created rank of junior station inspector, a middle-ranking supervisor. This caused a great deal of resentment and resistance.

Speaking in the House of Lords in 1946, Trenchard (Hansard, vol.144, c.746) conceded that entrants into the police service should, ‘... all go through the ranks’ unlike the then-defunct advanced training system he had implemented within the Metropolitan Police Service. Although he conceded that all entrants to a form of training for accelerated promotion should be drawn from within the ranks of serving police officers, Lord Trenchard held to the view that there needed to be some form of advanced training, as exemplified by the Hendon College²⁴. When appointed Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Lord Trenchard had identified what he considered to be a number of serious deficiencies. He considered the root cause of the problems were lack of efficiency and poor leadership. These deficiencies he suggested were due to the poor system of identifying and training personnel at the optimum age for senior command in later service. He also considered that those identified should not be required to be promoted solely on the basis of seniority, a major element used for selection for promotion in the Metropolitan Police at the time Trenchard assumed command of the force. The Trenchard Scheme and the Hendon College were designed to eradicate those problems and practices. Despite similar models of recruitment and training applying across the entire British armed services’ officer training schemes, that model has never been repeated within the UK police service.

24 The training college created by Lord Trenchard for Metropolitan Police offices and external recruits

Greater standardisation in police training after 1945

It was not until 1945, following the end of World War II, that a standardised form of police training for student officers was considered necessary for those entering the service (Southgate 1988). Lord Knights, formerly chief constable of a number of police forces successively between 1972 and 1985, culminating in his appointment to West Midlands Police, reflected on his own training when he joined the police service in the 1930s. At that time, not all forces had provided the same level of training and some smaller forces used the training services of larger neighbouring police forces. Less than one quarter of the then 183 police forces had a training school where, comparatively, the content and quality of the training provided varied widely. He recalled that recruit training was not universal in content or duration although, generally, it involved a course of three months of intensive learning of the law. He commented on the necessity to, '... learn much of the law by heart...' (Knights, 1988, p. viii), adding that there was very little if any instruction about interaction with the public. Critchley (1971, p.2) had commented on similar aspects of the initial training course:

... the syllabus seemed ... too heavily weighted with criminal law, the treatment of much of which was unnecessarily complex and detailed. Changes in police methods and equipment did not appear to be adequately reflected... and ... there was insufficient attention given to the role of the police in a changing society

Continuation training, a system of refresher training following the initial training course, involved, '...a few hours a year...' (Knights, 1988, p. viii) if it were provided at all. The training system described by Lord Knights was changed when recommendations were implemented following the Oaksey Committee report (1948). A catalyst for the implementation of a national training strategy had been the success of a number of *ad hoc* collaborative agreements between police forces, entered in to during the years 1939 to 1945. Chief constables had recognised how productive collaboration had been but also identified the serious disadvantages associated with officers not being trained and organised to a common standard. The Oaksey Committee also recommended the inception of a police staff college for the training and development of police officers who had the potential for the highest rank, following the notion but not the style of the system implemented in the 1930s by Lord

Trenchard. Unlike the Trenchard scheme, the Police Staff College would take candidates only from within the police service. The college opened in Warwickshire in 1948, where it remained until 1960 before moving to its present Hampshire location at Bramshill House.

The initial training course between 1948 and the early 1970s

For the next twenty five years after the implementation of the Oaksey Committee recommendations for a standardised police recruit training programme, police recruit training followed an eclectic course. New lessons were added to the syllabus of a thirteen week intensive training course, which covered both the criminal law and police practice. Poole (1986, p. 85) described the training provided by the Metropolitan Police during that period as, ‘... a philosophy less concerned with understanding than a prompt repetition’ and characterised the process as one of rote learning. From my experience of undertaking the course in the provinces, rote learning was not a distinct learning strategy, far less the dominant one. The opportunity to note diagrams and flow charts, used to exemplify aspects of the law during the teaching and as an aide memoir for the student officer, was a positive and helpful feature. There were no elements of surface learning or memorisation of legislation present in the course.

The process of delivering training

Because there were no learning objectives for any of the lessons, there was no consideration, as part of the curriculum design, about what an officer needed to know about each subject and the depth of training needed. One example of that principle is exemplified in respect of the lesson about homicide. The subject was covered in great legal detail, including the law concerning all types of homicide and all aspects of the legal defences available to someone accused of committing those offences. The spectrum of learning went from infanticide, the killing of a child by his or her mother through to murder, the killing of a human being by another human being with malice aforethought express or implied. The detail exceeded what the student officer needed to know to carry out the duty they would be required to perform as the first officer on the scene of a homicide. That level of detailed learning applied to all subjects. In addition to being taught to a level exceeding operational necessity, there were subjects

on the syllabus that that were operationally irrelevant to the student officer. Coinages, the forging of coins of the realm, forgery, whether of bank notes or other documents, and abortion are examples of unnecessary learning.

Exposition lessons were used as the main teaching strategy and, as a constituent part, class interaction was prevalent. Although the curriculum was ill-defined in breadth, the epithet, 'talk and chalk' could not accurately be applied universally to the training of provincial student officers from the late 1960s onwards. The expositions lessons were followed up contemporarily with a series of simulated incidents where student officers assumed the role of an operational police officer dealing with an occurrence. On those occasions, it was necessary for the student officer to employ the law learned in the classroom together with the other elements of policing, the appropriate attitudes and behaviour, that may have been covered during the same law lesson but which were, more likely, to be the cumulative effect of whole-course learning; products of the informal or hidden curriculum exemplifying the appropriate attitudes and behaviour to employ. The practical incidents were assessed by the class instructor who observed the action as it unfolded and noted the behaviour of the student officer and whether he or she concluded the task successfully. Feedback was given to each of the student officer participants. The incidents were concluded with the requirement to complete the relevant police forms and reports. The administrative element was a task undertaken by each member of the class, regardless of whether he or she had actually performed the role of investigator.

Lack of standardisation in training content and delivery

There were no learning objectives set for any of the police training syllabus, therefore it was possible for classes of student officers to have received different levels of teaching, when the content of a subject taught to one class were compared to the content of the same subject taught to a second or subsequent class. Also, because of the lack of standardisation, it was not possible to conclude that the way one class was taught would be reflected in the style of the instructor in an adjoining classroom, and less so in another police training centre. Notwithstanding the lack of learning objectives, student officers were required to pass a written examination and successfully complete a practical test on simulated operational police to satisfactorily

pass the course. Where an officer did not reach a satisfactory level of competence, it remained for the officer's chief constable to determine what happened to the officer: whether they had to undertake additional training before being allowed to perform operational duty, or whether they were required to undertake remedial training whilst working operationally. However, it was the eclectic nature of the curriculum and the depth of the learning of each topic rather than the efficacy of the course, per se, that gave rise to the formation of a working party²⁵ in 1970 to review the system and content of police recruit training. At their second meeting, the working party received reports from the initial analysis of their constituent sub group members, each one having responsibility for looking at particular elements of the structure and content of the existing thirteen week police initial training course. The working party considered (Critchley, 1971, para. 3), when reviewing the existing training course for newly appointed police officers as a whole, that it was no longer relevant to their operational needs, concluding:

... although in many respects excellent [the initial training course] had come to bear an insufficient relationship to the work demanded of a constable when he returns to his force.

Following the review, Home Office Circular 94/1973 set out in detail the new training for student officers and, in addition to reducing the course length from thirteen to ten weeks, it introduced into the syllabus for the first time a section entitled, 'public relations'. Seventeen lessons or lectures were to be provided to student officers during their initial training, designed 'to give the Probationer Constable an understanding of the role of the Police Force in British Society'. (*ibid.*, p.25). The series of lessons, delivered under the title of Associated Police Studies (Home Office Central Planning Unit (CPU), u.d., para. 1) was provided:

... to make initial course students more aware of those problems which do not necessarily require the invocation of any specific powers or legislation but are relative to human behaviour and attitudes.

25 Membership of the working group comprised senior personnel with both education and training experience in addition to senior police officers and officials from the Home Department.

Standardisation of course content and teaching methods

The new model of training, with specific elements of social education in the form of associate police studies, operated from 1973 in all centres providing training for provincial student officers in England and Wales. A similar programme had been implemented for the Metropolitan Police recruits who were trained by their own staff within their own police training establishment at Hendon, London (Yuille, 1986). Because of the particular problems and responsibilities of policing the capital city, created by the unique requirements of having the centre of national government and foreign government representation together with the residences of the sovereign and other foreign dignitaries, the Metropolitan Police Service has always operated its own training school and followed its own syllabus. Though it is not relevant to probationer training, the Metropolitan Police Service is also responsible for some national aspects of policing provision that add to the uniqueness of the force and the way it is trained.

The social education scheme in the Metropolitan Police area had commenced in 1971. It was delivered in a block of lessons during the first two weeks of the recruit's initial training programme. Bull (1986, p.98) identified that the Metropolitan Police judged the block programme of lessons was not effective because the content of the training:

was rather academic and ... appeared to cause many recruits to lose interest in this part of their training. [Also] ... the input (and the way ... it was presented) was thought to clash with the law enforcement image which many of the recruits were thought to hold of police officers.

As student officers did not benefit as intended from the block training programme, this gave rise to a change to an integrated programme of lesson which became known as human awareness training and, colloquially, under the acronym HAT (Bull, 1986). As had been the case with the model of training in the Metropolitan Police area, the provincial model was also changed, with the amended programme implemented in 1976, when the classroom instructor became responsible for delivering the associated police studies lessons, which had been refined and made more applicable to the operational needs of the student officer.

Review of police training and the impact of civil unrest - the 1980s

The major catalyst for the changes made to police probationer training was identified in the evidence submitted to one or more public enquiries investigating the causes of large-scale public disorder and the response to them by the police service. Inter alia, the evidence has pointed to inappropriate behaviour by the police towards members of the public. The behaviour had been cited as a number of misapplications of the law, through alleged partial application of legislation against one element of the community disproportionately, or using an unacceptable or unprofessional manner when addressing members of the public. All of these events contributed to a change in the way the police perform certain aspects of their duty. Some of the changes to practice and procedure had also involved the inception of or a change to specialist training.

The focus of Lord Scarman's 1981 enquiry was not a new phenomenon nor was he a stranger to the process. A number of outbreaks of civil disorder occurred in the UK in the 1970s involving the police in confrontation with the public: Saltley Gate Coking Plant, 1972; Red Lion Square, 1974; Notting Hill Carnival, 1976; Grunwick, 1977. The most serious of these, in which a young man died, was the incident in Red Lion Square, London. A public enquiry was held to examine the causes of the disturbance (Scarman, 1975). In that case, two groups²⁶ of people with opposing political views had booked a venue to hold a meeting in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. The intention of the police had been to marshal the groups to ensure that their routes did not cross, and a route had been planned to keep the groups apart. The police were overwhelmed by groups of demonstrators who did not follow the route or the intention of the demonstration. This reaction resulted in large scale disorder in Red Lion Square. In addition to the young man who was killed, determined by the coroner to have been as the result of a blow to the victim's head by a blunt instrument, police officers and demonstrators were injured.

The review of police probationer training was to be a staged process. The Home Office intended that a fundamental review would be carried out and that the first part of the review process, Stage I, would provide an immediate but interim response to the findings of the Scarman Report. That initial review, the Stage I Review (1983), was to

²⁶ The National Front and Liberation.

be followed by a more in-depth and independent review, the Stage II Review, referred to earlier in this chapter in the context of the style of training it required on implementation. The second review comprised, ‘a small research team including academics and police officers [to] undertake the review... [which]... should be ‘fundamental in nature with no options ruled out’...’ (MacDonald, 1987, p.21)

Civil disorder in St Paul’s, Bristol, Brixton, London and Toxteth, Liverpool

The riots in St Pauls, Bristol, preceded both Brixton and Toxteth, occurring in 1980. The cause was said to be due to police activity in the area. It was triggered by a drugs raid on a café. Unlike Brixton, this civil disorder involved both black and white youths who took sides against the alleged heavy-handed tactics of the police officers. The disorder lasted for several hours during which time emergency service vehicles were damaged and a number of people were injured, some requiring hospital treatment. Research by Litton and Potter (1985) revealed that there was no consensus as to the actual causation. Views varied and included notions across a spectrum as diverse as police racism to the deprivation caused to the local community by government underfunding.

London had experienced a number of outbursts of civil unrest in the twentieth century. The disturbances at the Notting Hill Carnival, particularly in 1975, were an example. Amongst other factors giving rise to the 1975 incidents, the local community felt that they were being subjected to excessive policing. The disturbances also showed the poor level of training, as exhibited by the police response to the disorder, and the inadequacy of protective equipment needed by the police for their personal safety, as demonstrated by the use by the police of dustbin lids and milk crates to afford themselves an element of protection from the missiles thrown at them by the people who were opposed to their presence and previous policing activities deemed to be partial and oppressive (Anon, Runnymede Trust, 2012).

Notwithstanding the claim of oppressive conduct at the time of the Notting Hill Riot, further police interventions in black communities in London continued. The police use

of Section 4 of the Vagrancy Act, 1824²⁷ – the so-called, ‘Sus Law’, was a particular source of disquiet among and annoyance to some members of black communities. The law allowed the police to stop and search a suspected person or reputed thief²⁸ whom they saw loitering or frequenting certain places as specified in the Act.

In the early 1980s, 25 per cent of the population in Brixton was represented by members of the African Caribbean community and 50 per cent of their male population of working age was unemployed. To combat the incidence of crime, which was running at a high level in Brixton, the Metropolitan Police launched Operation Swamp in April 1981 to reduce the incidence of robbery and arrest offenders. In a six-day period, almost 1,000 black people²⁹ had been stopped and searched under the provisions of the Vagrancy Act. Whitfield (2012) commented that the police intervention, when employing stop and search powers, was an interference with the liberty of the individual and should only be employed by the police when specifically authorised by statute and within the specific powers the statute confers. It is possible to argue that Operation Swamp, delivered to a community that perceived itself already to be oppressed by the police service, was likely to engender an even greater antipathy towards the police by virtue of the manner in which the strategy was deployed, regardless of whether the operation was within the strict guidelines of the law or not.

During the time when Operation Swamp was occurring, a large outbreak of civil disorder occurred in Brixton, London, on 13th, April 1981, when a uniformed police officer attempted to render first aid to a black youth who had been stabbed. The actions of the officer were misconstrued by bystanders. Fearing the injured youth had been arrested, the bystanders wrested him from the custody of the attending officer. Subsequently, other officers arrived on the scene, caught up with the fleeing youth and, inter alia, summoned an ambulance to assist him. Once more he was taken from the custody of the police. The crowd then began throwing missiles at the police officers and damaging their police vehicles.

27 The Vagrancy Act was enacted to deal with the return to the UK of soldiers who had fought in the Napoleonic wars, were thus unemployed and, in some cases, unemployable due to injuries sustained during the war. To be stopped and searched, the police need only suspect a person of wrong-doing.

28 These are person who by their antecedent conduct and associations have acquired such a character

29 Available at <http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/brixton-riots-1981-and-1985> viewed 11092012

As the result of rumours that spread around the estate, suggesting that the police had tried to prevent the injured youth being given first aid and were themselves responsible for his injuries, a great deal of tension was created between the resident community and the police. The following day, the actions of two uniformed police officers in stopping and searching a black man became the catalyst for a series of violent outbursts between the local community and the police. Almost three hundred police officers were injured during the riots, as were sixty five members of the public. More than one hundred police and public vehicles were destroyed and several properties burned to the ground or severely damaged by fire or looting.

In Toxteth, Liverpool, again in 1981, the arrest of a twenty year old man by two police officers became the catalyst for another outburst of large scale civil disorder.

Complaints of heavy-handed, partial policing, the planting of evidence and the gratuitous use of violence by police officers were all cited as reasons by the community for seizing the opportunity to vent their anger with the police. There were many instances of white youths from adjoining neighbourhoods using the opportunity provided by the disturbances in Toxteth to create smaller-scale disorder and commit crime elsewhere within the city. The Toxteth riots were the first occasion in mainland Great Britain where CS gas was used on the streets, though it was a common weapon deployed by the police in Northern Ireland when the Royal Ulster Constabulary attempted to disperse rioters. The use of CS gas in this context should not be confused with the small canisters of CS³⁰ spray or pepper spray, issued to officers from 1996 onwards, for personal defence.

The Home Secretary appointed Lord Scarman to enquire into the disturbance that had occurred in Brixton. The terms of reference (HC Deb 13 April 1981 Vol 3 cc20-31) for the enquiry were as follows:

To inquire urgently into the serious disorder in Brixton on 10 to 12 April and to report, with the power to make recommendations. The inquiry will be held in public save where Lord Scarman decides that it is appropriate to be held in private.

30 CS spray is a chemical compound carried by a propellant liquid and used by police officers when they feel a person poses a threat to themselves or other members of the public nearby.

In his report, Lord Scarman (1981, para. 5.28) made a number of recommendations concerning police training. He said:

Training courses designed to develop the understanding that good community relations are not merely necessary but essential to good policing should ... be compulsory from time to time...[for police officers] up to and including the rank of superintendent.

A different model of police training

Following the substantial reviews of the practice and content of student officer training, undertaken during Stage I and Stage II of the review process the report, Police Probationer Training: The Final Report of the Stage II Review (*ibid*) (Stage II Review) was published in 1986. It took two and a half years to complete, and made 143 recommendations. The recommendations covered the organisation of central, regional and district training establishments; the re-organisation of the initial recruit training course, to be known as the foundation course, together with the continuation training³¹, in-force, of student officers; the training of police instructors and, post-probationary³² and information and communication technology (ICT) training. The implementation of the Stage II Review findings caused a substantial change to the curriculum and pedagogical models, reporting that, ‘fundamental changes to instructor training will be necessary’ (*ibid.*, p.166). The thrust of all the changes and development was to provide better, more effective and affective training for student officers.

The emphasis on better training for student officers had been a consistent feature of the many working parties constituted to advise on the way ahead for their initial course. Equally consistent had been the cyclical nature of the working parties’ recommendations. Field-Smith (2002, p.27) underlined the nature of the recommendation when he observed:

31 Continuation training refers to a series of training course that the student officer has to successfully complete as part of their probationary period of service.

32 Post probationary training embraces all training occurring the probationary period of service.

There is a recurring theme of what needs to be done, much of the advice following the same format, with comments about what little is actually being done.

While that may be true, there was a requirement to change teaching methodology in a substantial and non-linear way. The Stage II Review recommended a facilitative model of pedagogy and a substantial change to the curriculum. They described the existing programme of probationer training as being, ‘too front-loaded’ and a, ‘most intense but abstract training [course]’ (MacDonald, 1987, p.3). The revised, facilitative style of training persisted, substantially intact, until that last part of the twentieth century. The model is based on the therapeutic work and advocacy of Rogers (1951; 1983) and the idea of the function of learning being more reflective rather than receptive in its process (Schon, 1987). Rogers’ notion of learning was specifically directed towards placing the learner affectively at the centre of the process of learning. In reality, the learner effectively assumed that position too.

The effect of and amendments to the revised pedagogy

Some questioned the efficacy of the Stage II revisions to the curriculum and teaching methodology (Mather, 1987; Warner, 1991) because the emphasis on the empathetic practitioner, as exemplified in the way the courses were delivered, was achieved at the expense of the student officers acquiring the requisite knowledge of police law and practice to enable them to efficiently discharge their operational duty. The concern about the diminishing level of cognitive understanding was voiced by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) (Field-Smith, 2002) and in 1993, Ryan, as Director of National Police Training, responded to disquiet about the efficacy of the then current system of police probationer training, expressed by ACPO. In discussing the over-emphasis on the affective domain as the major element applied in the teaching of student officers on the initial training course, Warner considered:

... [Affective learning] is a card that can be overplayed, and in many cases a disproportionate time seems to be spent on this area during the trainers’ course
(*op. cit.*, p.291)

Establishing how the student officer feels about a policing situation, the affective dimension to their perception of the problem, is a relevant consideration. However, the

overuse of such a method may be unhelpful to the process of learning. As Field-Smith (2002) reported, senior police officers felt that the emphasis on attitudinal training had only occurred to the detriment of the student officers' legislative knowledge. This situation is exemplified in the instructor who knows the information that needs to be imparted to the officers in his or her class but who, methodologically, is discouraged from imparting it. The overuse by classroom instructors of the facilitative model as a teaching method has been questioned elsewhere (Mather, 1987), when it was suggested that an integrated curriculum model would produce the benefits of reflection as discussed by Rogers (1983) and Schon (1987) and those of reception described by Ausubel (1969).

The objectives of the revised curriculum for the initial training of police officers were to provide them with a sufficient understanding of the communities within which they would work. If the programme of studies for those newly appointed police officers was effective and affective, then there should not have been the level of public disquiet evidenced at public enquiries or major public demonstrations, when police behaviour was cited as a cause for concern by those involved in the civil unrest or demonstration. The substantially-revised training course sought to address the previous failures in that area of training. It was cited elsewhere, however, (Fielding, 1999) that it was not the training or the manner of its delivery that created or maintained the perceived problems of inappropriate attitudes and behaviour. The student officer wished to acquire the status of being an operational officer; a non-probationer, having left those ranks as quickly as possible and the, 'prevailing culture of the station and the squad car' (para. 1.10) became the dominant influence upon how the officer behaved. Occupational police culture had proved to be more powerful than the training programme.

Predisposition to the process of learning

Over thirty years ago, Bloom (1976) identified specific elements associated with the affective domain of learning. Bloom focused on the learner rather than the teacher as had Rogers. Childs, when discussing the most useful of Bloom's models for learning, listed the six major specifications and, in respect of the domain relevant to the

development of correct attitudes, the affective domain, he identified:

... what are called 'student entry characteristics' or 'predispositions'. In plain language they are concerned with how the history of the learner, prior to the task in hand, will affect performance of the present task.

(Childs, 2004, p.396)

The active role of the learner in the process and the degree to which their involvement influences the effectiveness of the training process is discussed by Pierre and Oughton:

...affective learning inculcates the values and beliefs we place on the information we engage with. It refers to our attitudes and willingness to take part in new things, and ability to make decisions about how we operate and behave in a variety of circumstances.

(Pierre & Oughton, 2007, p.1)

While many student officers willingly participate in the process of occupational socialisation, an element of the secondary process mentioned above, Pierre and Oughton (*ibid.*) identified an important element that may serve to frustrate all of the training directed towards the affective domain: the willingness of the recruit to share the ideals that the training system tries to inculcate. They identified a number of techniques that may encourage the learner to participate in the process. Those techniques included, in particular, the opportunity for the learner to talk about or act out the particular attitude under consideration or discussion with reinforcement being given from the trainer by way of feedback to the learner when he or she exhibited the desired response. This, Pierre and Oughton suggested, made affective learning a more certain process.

If Bloom, Pierre and Oughton and others are correct, then a successful curriculum model for the training of student officers must be based on the axiom that the probationers are not, in a learning context, empty vessels into which learning may be decanted. It must also recognise, in the content, structure and teaching methodology, that each probationer will bring his or her own set of attitudes and behaviours, developed over a number of years through the processes of primary and secondary socialisation.

Measuring the effectiveness of training

To know whether a teaching strategy is successful, it is essential that there must be some way of measuring transfer of training from the classroom to the workplace. To meet the directions of the working parties on police probationer training, mentioned earlier in the thesis, particularly in respect of their requirement that training inculcated the appropriate attitudes and behaviour in student officers, evaluation of learning outcomes needed to be an integral part of the process. It should have been necessary to determine the benefit derived by the student officer and also as an essential mechanism for the evaluation and development of the training programme. Relying for success of a strategy solely on the willingness of the recipient to absorb the teaching affectively was unlikely to guarantee the aims of probationer training emanating from the recommendations resulting from the Scarman Report (1981) to the Macpherson Report (1999). Furthermore, the process model of education has not been appropriate in police training, where there are many elements of the practices and procedures of police work that must be known and replicated precisely. The lack of success of the process model of teaching and learning has been shown to be equally unsuccessful in the compulsory education sector (Childs, 2004).

At the time the changes happened the way the new training package was taught, in a facilitative rather than a didactic way, required student officers to train themselves, in some instances. One teaching strategy required the student officers to undertake research on a piece of legislation that was previously unknown to them. When they had completed the task, they were given little or no feedback about the accuracy of their understanding of the cognitive element of their project but they were provided with much feedback in respect of the affective elements. The newly-appointed officers were not being sufficiently well prepared for their operational role, as the decrease in the cognitive element of the initial training course was not being compensated for through any improvement in the affective elements, particularly attitudes and behaviours. As evidence in Macpherson Report (1999) subsequently identified, substantial issues still existed in those respects.

Training for the social role of policing

As set out in the research question, this study undertakes an examination of the effectiveness of initial training for new police recruits in promoting appropriate attitudes and behaviour for twenty first century policing. Scarman's (1981) findings related to a time when the social role of policing had been part the initial training programme of training for seven years. Previously, no element of training for police officers at ground level had provided an opportunity to consider the relationship between the police and the public. At the time of the disorder, notwithstanding focussed training, police officers were being identified as the cause of the problem, due to the manner in which they dealt with the public. Anyone minded to break the law would not want the police to intervene and may, in certain circumstances, resort to making a complaint of inappropriate police behaviour in an attempt to deflect attention away from their alleged criminality and on to the alleged impropriety of the police officer.

Whether or not unfounded allegations were made against the police, there still remained a question about the efficacy of initial police training as identified in the evidence gathered by Lord Scarman (*ibid.*, para. 4.49), which, in part, stated that the behaviour of the police had been inappropriate. This was particularly so in evidence taken in respect of the Brixton Riots that occurred in April 1981, which reported, '... police behave arrogantly and abusively and they frequently exceed or abuse their power', suggesting some police officers still did not have an appreciation and understanding of the communities within which they worked. The training programme had been altered to include skills training and an understanding of the elements of society. The first occasion was in 1973 (HOC 94/1973). A further revision, the Stage I Review, occurred in 1983, in response to the civil disorder on the streets of the UK.

A fundamental requirement of policing was the need for police officers to understand their role in society. That fact was recognised by the new model of police training when, in 1980, the CPU identified the requirement as follows:

...It is also important to understand where the policeman fits into this society.

We can see that people generally live in harmony with each other and that this harmony needs to be maintained in order to preserve our society.

(CPU. 1980, p.1/11 -12/5)

This was to become a recurring theme and, in 2004, the Home Office Central Police Training and Development Authority (CENTREX) described it as follows:

*...in order to be effective as a police officer, you need to understand how
...diversity of cultures, customs, beliefs and religion influences people's lives.*

(CENTREX, 2003, p.3)

The Working Party (Critchley, 1971) stated that the aim of the lessons was to equip the officer with the necessary skills to enable them to approach any member of the public with confidence and, “establish a rapport” (*op. cit.*, para.5.09). They added a recommendation aimed at maximising the benefit of the sessions:

If this section of the course is to be of any real practical value, the instructors should have available to them the services of an outside specialist. The specialist would be a social psychologist with the experience of group dynamics and development of interpersonal skills. (ibid.)

When the course was implemented, some of the lessons were delivered by visiting speakers who were academically qualified in the subject area. They were not police officers. The lessons were delivered to large groups of student officers, often comprising several classes combined for the purpose of the session. Subsequently, it was felt that police officers undertaking the training would learn more from speakers who were able to contextualise the lessons for their audience rather than from outside lecturers. The practice of using outside speakers was changed to that of using police instructors who were able to offer relevant examples of operational situations to the police trainees where the technique or techniques being considered could be of benefit in resolving the situations described in the supporting examples (C.P.U. 1980).

The revised ten week police probationer training course

The objectives of the new course were based on an analysis of what a newly appointed police officer was required to do. Prior to the new ten week programme, student officers needed to learn all the elements of each subject, even though their duty would not require them to use much of the knowledge. The ten week course, following the 1973 pilot, provided a standardised programme, comprising 333 periods of instruction, each of one hour duration, and was taught in the seven police training centres for provincial police forces located throughout England and Wales.

The development of the curriculum model and teaching methodology rested with the CPU. The unit was part of the training establishment for police officers and was under the direction of the Home Office with responsibility for the training of police duty instructors; police officers who attended a course to qualify them to teach student officers at the police probationer training centres. The CPU staff were also responsible for writing the course materials including those for the courses held at the police training centre. The curriculum was devised along the centre-periphery model (Mather, 1987); everything was developed and written at the centre; the central planning unit, and then delivered to the training centres for implementation, the periphery.

As a police officer working within the training estate, my field observations between 1981 and 1983 indicated that there was a struggle for primacy of status between the centre and the periphery: between the senior police officer in charge of each of the police training centres, the periphery, and the senior management, also police officers, at the centre, the CPU. This tension did not assist the implementation of curriculum changes or the transfer of the ethos implicit in them. It was evidenced in the way the police duty instructors dealt with the material, according to the measure of importance they chose to ascribe rather than the manner in which it was intended to be implemented.

Inconsistent implementation of the new course

I saw evidence, when I visited the regional police training centres during the same period, that the way in which the training centre staff were teaching also diverged from the way they had been trained to do so when undertaking their instructor training course. This divergence was not a commentary solely on the literal difference employed methodologically, rather an assessment of the efficacy of the style of teaching observed in bringing about learning. One clear example was the case I observed when visiting a police training centre in the Midlands. The exercise involved the student officer delivering a summons³³ to a householder, a regular duty for police officers at that time, and, then, part of the initial training course. The householder's role was being played by a sergeant instructor from the police training centre and he did not follow the script for the incident and, therefore, the student officer, whom I observed dealing correctly with the situation, had no opportunity to succeed. The student officer, whose role it was to serve the summons in the example observed, was unable to make any progress with the task and did not have a positive learning experience as the result of the encounter.

It is important to maintain the integrity of a training programme and it appeared that the training centre management either did not have in place a mechanism to ensure the training syllabus was delivered as intended or, if they did, it was not working effectively. MacDonald (1987) identified that situation as one in which the student officers could not win. He reported that the training staff were in a position to control the level of difficulty facing each participant and also the sole judges of whether a participant officer had performed the task successfully. By comparison, several visits to other training centres showed that all aspects of the curriculum were being delivered and supported by the training centre staff as required.

Officers trained in an environment as described in the first example were not receiving the support they were entitled to demand and were not being equipped to manage the difficult process of becoming a police officer and managing the process of interpreting the nuances of behaviour that they would be required to do when dealing with

33 A legal document requiring a person's attendance at a magistrates' court.

members of the public. In the other training centres, officers were being supported and trained according to the requirements of the course.

The two examples of training centre practice provide evidence of the different responses to the directions and guidance emanating from the CPU. Such responses determined whether the new course was successful or a failure. The duration had been shortened, with the new course being ten weeks long while the course it replaced had been thirteen weeks long. The reduction in the duration provided a financial saving and the opportunity to increase the number of initial training courses offered, due to the increased capacity at police training centres then available.

How the affective training was implemented

The behaviour of the police instructor at a police training centre when the student officer did not have a positive learning experience, as described earlier, does not support the direction intended by Working Party (Critchley, 1971 para. 3.09), when, in their report they recorded, ‘... with the exception of paperwork ... [dealing with the public] caused more concern to probationer constables’ . As identified earlier, to address that concern, the working party report recommended that seventeen periods of instruction should be given in a topic they called public relations. The lesson content focussed on possible areas of conflict between the police and particular sections of the community as represented, for example, by motorists, juveniles, and demonstrators. Individuals identified in those and other groups within the community were likely to be encountered by the police officers frequently and most often when the officers were engaged in law enforcement, dealing with an infraction.

Due to the potential animosity likely to be engendered by the encounters, it was important that police officers were trained to manage the potential conflict, maintain a professional disposition and conclude the business with the minimum of rancour from the member of the public. To achieve that outcome, the training undertaken during the lessons required the police officer to consider the perspective of the member of the community, as represented by the particular sub culture being discussed. This was a departure from the usual method of teaching the material. Previously, the legal aspects of the situation had been covered and no reflection or consideration was required on

the part of the police officer as to how or why the member of the public had found themselves in the particular situation encountered by the officer.

The purpose of the new lessons was to train the student officer to understand the motivation and circumstances of the member of the public and, as a result, deal with the person in a more humane, personal and empathetic way. The police officer was expected to understand that he or she was dealing with a person who had a number of statuses and roles, beyond that of being a potential or actual offender. The person, whom the police officer may label 'offender', should be treated according to the appropriate procedure and the police officer should not import into the encounter any value-judgements based on the police officer's labelling and as a result treat the person unprofessionally. The variety of statuses and roles of people whom the police encounter has the potential to present the police officer with a dilemma. The police were miscast, however, when Waddington (1983, p. 34) described them as the social equivalent of the RAC or AA³⁴.

When a motorist has broken down, he or she will welcome the intervention of either one of the motoring agencies. For the police officer, such certainty of response, if held, is illusory. When the officer arrives in response to a call for service, say when the member of the public has been the victim of a crime, the officer usually meets a positive response. The caller expects and normally receives a supportive service. The member of the public is unlikely to feel threatened by the police officer, in the sense that the officer does not attend with a law-enforcement outcome in mind in respect of the caller. If, the next day, the police officer encounters the same person when the officer is operating in a law enforcement role and the previous victim is now an offender, then the officer is more likely to be greeted with a neutral or negative response, more frequently a negative one. In this instance, the member of the public anticipates some negative consequence will result from the encounter. They are less likely to hold a positive view of the officer in those circumstances. The officer has performed his or her role as each situation required; the status of the person who encounters the officer has changed and with that change their perspective has shifted.

34 Royal Automobile Club; Automobile Association.

This variety of situations and encounters was not sufficiently clearly envisaged, when the Working Party (*op. cit.*, para. 5.25) considered that the inclusion of the seventeen periods of instruction:

... [Would] give the Probationer Constable an understanding of the role of the Police Force in British Society. Such an understanding should enable them to perform their duties with greater success whether enforcing the law or dealing with a minor domestic dispute.

Elements of police and public encounters not considered by the Working Party

The Working Party did not address the shifting statuses of the people with whom the police officer would deal nor offer a strategy to enable the officer to deal with the variations he or she would encounter. Consider a member of the public who reports a child missing and requires the police officer to instigate an immediate search. There are definite procedures that must be applied to ensure a positive response to the request but, because the caller is unable to see their relevance, it may give rise to conflict between the officer and the member of the public. This is not a law enforcement situation but may still bring the two people into conflict.

A second example of an emotional but non-law enforcement situation would be one of the officers dealing with a sudden death where someone had died unexpectedly and without any obvious medical reason. Here, if the deceased is a child, the situation is likely to be one of high emotion and yet the officer needs to perform a range of duties. Again, those duties have the potential to create a situation where there is conflict between the two parties for the member of the public may not see the relevance of the procedure to their immediate needs. Finally, consider the case of the person who has lost their key and, as a result, has locked himself or herself out of their house. They may be distressed by the occurrence. The officer will assist them to regain entry to their property but must establish they have a bona fide right to be there. It is unlikely that there will arise any conflict between the two because the householder sees that the officer's diligence is employed in safeguarding the property of the householder.

The Working Party report, cited above, appears to see the encounters between the police officer and the member of the public typified by individuals who inhabit a

single, unchanging role. The changeable nature of the role has to be as true for the police officer as, in reality; it will be for the member of the public with whom the officer deals. For the police officer, sometimes his or her role will be that of a law enforcement agent, sometimes the provider of counsel and assistance. For the member of the public, sometimes he or she will be the victim, sometimes the offender. The officer cannot treat every person or every situation in the same way. Every encounter is unique and must be treated, at least in part, as such. MacDonald (1987, p. 31) summed up the dichotomous world of a police officer by concluding,

No matter how popular the police have been, are , or may become they will continue to be socially 'required' to live apart from the rest of us citizens... neither off-duty status nor discretionary powers can dispel the sense that an essential privacy has been breached [by the arrival at such a social gathering by a police officer]. Police officers will never be fully welcome, even in the pubs of democracy. And even recruits know that.

Further developments of affective training for police recruits

The nature and complexity of interpersonal skills needed by police officers was identified in the provision of twelve periods of instruction in the revised course allocated to the subjects under the general description of 'dealing with the public' (*op. cit.*, para. 3.09). Those periods included lesson about the individual; interpersonal communications, and what were called, 'human relations problems' (*op. cit.*, para. 5.09). The new material was to be delivered as part of an integrated curriculum. This was not integrated in the manner Bernstein (1971) described as being without boundaries where the various elements of the law and the social role would be woven together imperceptibly. The intention was that, alongside the law lessons elements of the associated police studies material would be encountered by the student officers to provide them with a broader perspective of their role as police officers. In the case of road traffic legislation, the material to accompany the police law subjects would examine social problem surrounding the ownership of motor vehicles and the attitudes and behaviour of motor vehicle drivers. However, the law lessons and the associated police studies were taught in isolation, one from the other, and in a different teaching style.

Differences between the affective and cognitive elements of the course

The lessons were, primarily, in the affective domain of learning. The method used to deliver the material necessitated the classroom to be re-organised from rows of desk to a horseshoe-shaped format. The reason for doing so was to allow the student officers in the classroom to interact. In law lessons, all comments were directed through the police instructor with no interaction between the individual class members. In the associated police studies, interaction between the members of the class was essential to the development of the lesson.

A further difference between the two elements of the revised training course was that the law lessons were formally examined but the associated police studies subjects were not. When visiting the regional police training centres, between 1981 and 1983, I observed that some of the associated police studies lessons on the course timetable were being omitted, on an ad hoc basis. The omission was to enable time to be found to teach the law and practice lessons. Occasionally, it was necessary to find additional time when training days were lost due to statutory holidays falling during the course. My experience, gained from teaching the law lessons, suggested that the time allocated to some of the lessons in the initial programme was insufficient and, therefore, there was a built-in need, albeit unwitting, to allocate additional time to some of the law lessons, creating another occasion when associated police studies lessons were omitted from the timetable.

Due to the difference in the two elements of the curriculum, as outlined in the preceding paragraphs, it became easy for the police officers to attach a value or valence to each element, if he or she chose to do so (Vroom, 1964). As Vroom showed, when discussing elements that motivate and those that do not, the actor will ascribe a value to each situation he or she encounters. The value represents the relevance each situation is perceived to have in assisting the individual to successfully reach a goal or target. If there is a perceived relevance, then the actor will exert as much effort as is necessary to achieve a satisfactory outcome. Where the perception does not suggest a beneficial outcome, then the actor's energies will be diverted elsewhere.

The potential influence of the class instructor on student learning

As has been shown by Novojenova & Sawilowksy (1999) in respect of a teacher and his or her students, the former can have a significant influence on the latter in the way the student interprets and internalises the message delivered by the teacher. Their research applies equally to the relationship between the class instructor, the person who provides the training at the police training centre, and the student officer being trained. Not only is the class instructor an authority he or she is in authority (Peters, 1973). They are an authority in the classroom, due to the superior level of subject knowledge possessed by the training officer. They are in authority, due to the role they have as class instructor and hierarchically, in an organisation in which the officer being trained has recently become the junior member. The instructor, if he or she is a constable, will enjoy a more senior status by virtue of their experience, when compared to the student officer. If the officer holds a supervisory rank, the officer is in authority by virtue of their achieved status. The values perceived by the student officer as being exhibited by the police officer providing the training are those most likely to become the values the student officer will internalise.

Successfully completing the initial training course continues to be an essential prerequisite for continued service as a police officer. Although the right to dispense with an officer's services is retained by the chief constable by whom the officer is appointed, nevertheless, reports from a police training centre indicating that the student officer is not performing adequately could be responsible for proceedings being initiated that could see the trainee's services terminated. Those elements that were formally examined and reported upon would attract sanctions if not completed successfully: the law lessons. The associated police studies were neither formally examined nor reported upon and did not have any sanctions. The curriculum model and the system of prizes and rewards, as exemplified by the passage through the training process and on to operational police duty, underlined the explicit benefit in performing well in the police law component of the initial training course and the irrelevance of associated police studies as a determinant for continued employment. MacDonald (1987, p.111) reported that the situation applied equally to the social skills

of policing (SSOP) elements of the revised course operating in 1984 when he identified,

The fact that learning in this area [SSOP] is not systematically assessed, in contrast to the acquisition of legal/procedural knowledge, reinforces the segregation by creating a status difference; and reflects the continuing dominance of craft assumptions in the formulation of training proposals.

Review of training - the 1990s

For the previous twenty years (Critchley, 1971, Scarman, 1981), police recruit training had been designed, in part, to inculcate the attitudes and behaviour appropriate to the role of policing. This review undertakes an examination of the effectiveness of initial training in the 1990s for new police recruits in promoting appropriate attitudes and behaviour for twenty first century policing. It was not until September 1998 that the revised training programme was implemented, following the concern expressed by ACPO in 1993. Central to the revised training of student officers was the requirement that their knowledge be formally checked and assessed at three predetermined stages. This was a fundamental change from the training model implemented following the Stage II review. However, when the new model was being introduced, there was a consistent and dominant emphasis in the presentations I attended reinforcing the fact that the revision of the training curriculum was not a return to the training model that had preceded the Stage II Review, although there were the obvious similarities between the two systems, in particular, the return to teaching to objectives in the style of a product-based curriculum model rather than the process-based model (Childs, 2004) that was then currently employed. When undertaking a further review of training, Field-Smith (Training Matters) (2002, p.57) recommended:

...that any training involving the use of documents, which are necessarily force-specific, be delivered locally... [and]...the responsibility for training probationers in court file preparation be placed on individual forces...

Localised training delivery for student officers

In 1969, the training of student officers had been conducted in the manner that was being recommended in 2002 by Field-Smith (*ibid.*): it had been done that way for the

reasons given by Field-Smith in his report. The particular focus of that element of what Field-Smith had to say concerned the training of police officers in procedures local to their force area or immediate region. Local variations did and do exist in the style of forms, notwithstanding a manual of guidance issued by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) the purpose of which was to standardise the forms and how they were to be used. Local training officers were better equipped to manage local differences in procedure, peculiar to the individual force and those differences that were apparent between different branches of the CPS, the agency created by statute³⁵ and responsible for authorising all criminal proceedings in England and Wales. The local procedure course, a two week session of training coming at the end of the initial police training course, was designed to address local procedures, local forms and, prior to 1985 and the inception of the CPS, local court requirements in a way the centralised police training was neither designed for nor able to manage successfully.

The need for structural changes with the implementation of the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme

Looking further at how police training might evolve, Field-Smith (2002) commented on the problems identified due to the student officers' initial training course being residential. The opinions he received included comments about the difficulties created for those people with families and the fact that there was no part-time option. Both were expressed as valid concerns but they do not take account of the nature of policing and the role of the police officer. If someone is appointed as a police officer but has an expectation about his or her role that is inaccurate, training may identify the inaccuracy but it will not alter the nature of the role to accord with appointee's perspective. Policing is not a role in which the person appointed chooses either what or where the action is or its setting. Field-Smith (2002) reported that there was a recurring theme, emanating from successive enquiries and reports, of what needed to be done in respect of police training. The advice was cyclic rather than linear in its nature. It followed a pattern and returned to visit what had gone before rather than being developmental and progressive. However, changes in neither the training curriculum nor the pedagogy

35 Prosecution of Offences Act 1985. Chapter 23.

will inculcate the appropriate attitudes and behaviours that ought to be exemplified in student officers if the potential police officers have misunderstood the role or intend to stipulate a personal perspective for what that role should be.

With the inception of the initial police learning and development programme (IPLDP), implemented in 2004 and resulting from the report, Training Matters (Field-Smith, 2002), training of student officers saw the commencement of the curriculum model currently in place in 2009. However, whereas, previously, training was delivered regionally at police training centres it is now delivered locally, sometimes with an inter-force arrangement, and on a non-residential basis. Despite the various calls for standardisation, there is still disparity in the ways in which forces apply the IPLDP.

The structure of the IPLDP

The IPLDP comprises a number of discreet phases. It is designed to allow the student officers to experience a period of supervised exposure to operational policing between two phases of classroom instruction on law and police practice. The following table (Table 2.1) identifies the structure of the IPLDP and the phases and duration of each element. The IPLDP comprised thirty one weeks of learning, delivered in a number of discreet but inter-related components.

Table 2.1 The Structure and Duration of the Phases of the IPLDP

Phase	Duration in weeks	Activity
1	3	Induction Phase
2	3	Community Phase
	1	Annual Leave
3a	11	Classroom Phase I
3b	10	Operational Phase I
3c	2	Classroom Phase II
	1	Annual Leave

The induction phase

The induction phase is carried out by the constable's own force. The purpose of the phase is (CENTREX, 2004, Section 3, p.1), '... to provide an induction into the Police Service, as well as presenting a general introduction to policing issues'. Phase 1 commences with information on the role of the constable which includes topics on leadership and also professional behaviour. Citing, amongst other examples of problematical areas for the police officer, the illegal use of drugs, receiving gratuities on licensed premises and dealing with relatives involved in incidences of civil disorder, the text (CENTREX, 2004, Section 1, pp. 5, 6) advises student officer to:

Think about such incidents and develop [their] own way of dealing with them in a professional and ethical manner. ... There are rarely simple answers to ethical issues, but at least if you have thought about as many of the issues and implications as you are able, then you will be in a stronger position to cope with problems when they confront you.

The call for reflective practice is again evident in the session dealing with race and diversity when the student officer is encouraged to, 'think about how [they, the student officer] behave[s] and the impact [they] may have on others' (CENTREX, 2004, Section 5, p.3). The relationship of this aspect of the training course to the development of the attitudes and behaviour defined as appropriate by the police service is also pursued in the narrative interviews with the police training centre training staff and student officers.

The phase also includes but is not limited to information about the Police Federation. The Police Federation³⁶ was created in 1919 by an act of parliament following a series of strikes by police officers. The role of the Police Federation, specifically, is to represent its members in all matters concerning their welfare and efficiency. The other sessions covered during the induction phase include: the Force Chaplain; an address by

36 The creation of the Police Federation provided police officers with a recognised form of representation and, at the same time, prohibited them from withdrawing their labour by making it unlawful for police officers to take strike action. The Police Federation's elected representatives are serving police officers. Each of the forty three police forces in England and Wales has a branch board: an elected group of police officers, which represents each of the police ranks by which they are elected. One branch board represents police constables; one, police sergeants and the third, the inspecting ranks: inspector and chief inspector.

an assistant chief constable; human rights issues; first aid; the use of the police radio system, and issues concerning the role of a police constable including:

- warrant card
- DNA and fingerprints
- uniform dress standards
- conflict management and officer safety
- handcuffing and baton training
- pocket note book rules

The community phase

The purpose of the community phase of the IPLDP is to provide the police officer with an understanding of the differing needs of the community within which he or she will work. In particular, it is to develop an understanding in the police officer of the needs of victims and witnesses. The final goal of this phase of training is to, 'inspire(s) public confidence in the police, particularly among minority ethnic communities'.

(CENTREX, 2005, p.2).

There are a number of lessons included in this phase in addition to an attachment within the community. Two days on the programme are allocated to the broad topic of race and diversity, including issues surrounding prejudice and discrimination; minority and cross cultural issues; homophobia, disability, race and religion; the Macpherson Report (1999). The remainder of the phase includes a six day attachment to a community group or within a diverse community setting and an additional day during which the officer visits an operational police station. The third and final week of this phase of training is allocated to a two day debrief of the external visits; a day allocated to visiting speakers from community groups including groups which represent or comprise people with mental health issues and groups which represent or comprise asylum seekers and refugees.

The classroom phase

The phase comprises eleven weeks of instruction on law and police practice. In most centres, this phase is delivered in its entirety before officers embark on the next phase of their training. In the north, the police forces that use the training centre have different ways of managing phase three. The host force requires its officers to complete the phase as an entity of eleven weeks. The officers from the adjoining force, who are undertaking the same training course together with officers from the host force, complete the classroom phase as a sandwich course. They do six weeks of classroom work before they leave to complete five weeks of operational attachments with police officers and within their own geographical police area. They then return to complete the remaining five weeks of classroom based learning before leaving to complete the second five week operational placement. The final element of the classroom phase³⁷ is common to both forces and comprises periods for considering the police officers local policing objectives; reflective journals of their experiences throughout the course; information about preparing for independent patrol; final examination and course evaluation.

Attitudes can be influenced and behaviours taught – the premise of the IPLDP

The emphasis of the revised courses for student officers was to ensure that they acquired those attitudes and behaviours as set out in regulations and deemed by the police service as being appropriate to their role as police officers. The recommendations of each review of probationer training since the 1970s have included that requirement as an outcome necessary from the revised training package. There appears to have been, implicit within their deliberations, a belief that the new course could deliver the student officers appropriately equipped for operational duty. The working party identified the goal of the course but their deliberations, as reported, did not identify any discussion on whether such an outcome was possible within the structure of the course, or at all. The working party did not identify whether training could affect attitudes or behaviour. As Bull and Horncastle (1989) had discovered, as opposed to increasing the desired effect, the human awareness training employed by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) and akin to the training undertaken by

³⁷ See Table 2.1 supra.

provincial police training had actually diminished the value student officers attached to race awareness training. They conclude that there was a limit to what training can be expected to achieve. Police occupational culture was the main factor in undoing what had been learned as the need to conform to local operational norms proved to be more powerful than what had been learned in the classroom. Fielding (1999) identified that the failure of the MPS training to achieve the aims and objectives set for it was not due to lack of professional skills on the part of the training staff or a deficiency in the course content.

The initial training programme is strictly controlled and individual course members experience their progression through the course as part of a group required to demonstrate that they conform to the norms of the new social setting they inhabit. Student officers are not free to elect when they participate and in what subject, and the process of initial training appears not to create an environment where diversity of opinion or individualised reflection is easily achieved. Although it is not contended that the training course sought to brainwash student officers, there is a relentlessness of the curriculum model. Elements of the total institution are identifiable within the structure of the police training centre.

Police training – the process appears to have turned full circle.

With the implementation of the IPLDP, the nature of police probationer training has all but completed a circle rather than a cycle of change during which process it has almost entirely returned to the position it inhabited when the implementation of changes began following the Oaksey Committee (1948). In particular, the context for the provision of initial police training had undergone a fundamental change since the research undertaken with Study A. In 1987 police officers were taught at a regional police training centre. They undertook a ten-week residential course. The lessons all had learning objectives and the lessons were taught in a didactic manner.

With the inception of Stage II, in 1989, the teaching model became facilitative and the emphasis in the curriculum was on affective domain of learning rather than cognitive domain. The course remained residential and at regional police training centres. The current model has returned the teaching style to being more didactic than purely

facilitative and has returned to the use of learning objectives for the lessons. The emphasis in the training course is on the acquisition of legal knowledge although balanced with the need also to understand about the society in which the officer will work. However, using regional training centres has ceased. Police forces now train their own student officers or have formed partnerships with adjoining forces to acquire training. Police probationer training, in part, has returned to the way it was organised prior to 1948, when those officers who received training were trained locally. What differentiates police training prior to 1948 from today is that there is, today, a more stringent inspection regime to monitor the training and performance of the police officers, the establishment where they are trained, the forces in which they serve and the level of satisfaction expressed by communities who are the recipients of the service they subsequently provide.

Reflecting on policing and police training in 1999, the then Home Secretary, The Rt. Hon. Jack Straw (HC Deb 24 February 1999 vol. 326 c399) said:

The interesting thing about the Scarman report ... is that it was implemented more within the police service than outside and therefore in something of a cultural vacuum. For that reason, much of the initial impetus behind the change... was lost.

The IPLDP for the training of newly appointed police officers does not inhabit the cultural vacuum mentioned by Straw. However, almost ten years on from Straw's comment, it is difficult to show that progress has been made. Notwithstanding the new training model emanating from the Field-Smith report (2002), which, in turn, had been brought about by the criticisms of the police in the Macpherson Report (1999), a large degree of racism was exposed amongst student officers then being in training at a police training centre in Cheshire. Twelve officers were involved in disciplinary proceedings (Millar, 2005). This occurred despite the new training model, an element of which is designed to take training out of the training centre, avoiding Straw's 'cultural vacuum', and thus provide police officers with the opportunity to meet with and learn about the constituents of the communities in which they will work.

If the recruiting process, now designed specifically to identify the skills, attitudes and behaviour relevant for being a police officer, failed to such a substantial degree by allowing those persons to be appointed to the police service then the training programme, in its new format, had proved no more efficacious in identifying their inappropriate attitudes and behaviours before both were exposed in a television documentary. This could not be laid at the door of police occupational culture in isolation as the officers concerned were undergoing police recruit training.

Anticipatory socialisation, where the individual undertakes a preparatory process to inhabit a new cultural world, seems not to be responsible for there are no obvious repositories of racist behaviour available to the outsider to allow someone to embark on such a route as preparation for becoming a police officer. The student officers may be explained by reference to the attitudes and behaviours they brought to the course as police recruits.

Summary

This chapter has examined the development of police training in the context of the research question with reference to the training of newly-appointed police officers. From a position of learning how to police by watching and learning from a more experienced colleague to the sophisticated level of the recruit training course of the twenty first century, there have been substantial changes to the ways in which newly-appointed police officers are trained.

The emphasis placed by working parties on the inculcation of what regulations and the police service had determined as appropriate attitudes and behaviours was identified. With the exception of the Stage II review of probationer training, however, there was an absence within the working party report reports of any mechanism for achieving those desired outcomes in the revised training programmes. The working parties' reports did not incorporate a recognition that the status and role of a police officer may vary from incident to incident and require a differing approach over a range of encounters with members of the public and their prescription to improve police attitudes and behaviour appeared to lack the broader range of training strategies and content needed to address the problems. The review identified that over the period of four decades, there has been a recurring theme of inappropriate police behaviour,

although subsequent generations of police recruits had undertaken initial training courses specifically designed to ensure the required attitudes and behaviours were possessed by all police officers. It also appears that the process of recruitment could not ensure that applicants who possessed attitudes inappropriate to the police service would be identified and not pass the recruitment process, as was identified by the racist behaviour of some student officers while there were undergoing their initial training course in the north west of England.

Evidence revealed that well-applied training techniques and well-structured and relevant training course had not produced a sustained benefit in creating the desired changes in attitudes of student police officers. It showed that student officers were less well disposed to elements within a multi-cultural community after training than they were prior to undertaking the course. As the result, a serious question exists as to whether it is reasonable to expect the attitudinal and behavioural outcomes of training to be able to achieve the outcome required of it. The experience with human awareness training in the MPS suggests that it is not. There is no evidence to suggest the finding in the MPS cannot be applied with equal certainty to the training carried out in provincial police force.

Chapter 3 explores the research methodology and the research methods employed, providing a commentary on the strengths and elements requiring particular attention of the methods employed.

Chapter 3 Research Methodology and Methods

This chapter describes the rationale for the elements employed in the research process, the methodology, and identifies the methods used. The locus of the research is examined and selected demographic criteria compared regionally and nationally. The aims and objectives of the research undertaken were to discover whether there was any evidence to show that the attitudes and behaviours determined by the police service as being appropriate for police officers were capable of being inculcated through the training provided by the police initial recruit training course. As the host force would be the locus, it was necessary to establish the degree to which applicants applying to that force were likely to be representative of applicants applying elsewhere in England and Wales. The chapter also provides a commentary on the process of applying to become a police officer at the time of Study A and, again, for Study B

Research methodology

The circumstances in which the research was being conducted were influential in the choice of the research methods used. Some elements of the research programme were outside my ability to control, namely:

- the availability of research participants, as the recruiting process did not occur at regular or predetermined times
- the irregularity of appointment to the police service of student officers after selection following the assessments centre process
- the possibility that student officers did not necessarily attend IPLDP in the order in which they had been appointed to the police service

The research methodology was responsive to the elements listed above to ensure that relevant data were collected from the study participants at the different stages of their induction into the police family. The intention to include both quantitative and qualitative data, collecting those in distinct phases throughout the research process, also required consideration of how the participants could be best surveyed both in time, location and method.

Designing the questionnaire and managing potential obstacles in gathering the data – Study A

At the time of Study A, there were many instances of racism in sport (Conn, 2012) and the broader society (Bassi, 2007). Part of the curriculum for police training, current at the time of Study A, was specifically designed to equip police recruits with an understanding of their role in an increasingly-multicultural society (Critchley, 1971). The questionnaire, in addition to questions seeking to gather demographic data, focussed on the key components of police training at that time to identify the views of the police recruits before and after attending the training course. There was no existing body of published research in respect of police training (Neyroud, 2010) therefore the questions were constructed by me and reviewed by my supervisor before the data gathering commenced.

The data were gathered across a number of intakes³⁸ of student officers and included every member of each intake. This assisted with the internal validity (Jupp, 1989; Leary, 2004) of the sample by ensuring the data were gathered from a sample that was fully representative of recruit population appointed by the police at the time of the research. A second element of the data gathering that assisted internal validity, by removing the influence of operational policework on the attitudes and behaviour of the student officers, was to ensure data were collected immediately prior to attending the training event and immediately after its conclusion. Comment has been made that it is essential to eliminate confounds as they compromise the internal validity of the data gathered (Leary, 2004). In the case of Study A, the same questionnaire was used in the pre-course and post-course data gathering. Leary (2004, p.215) discusses ‘pre-test sensitization’ as a confound. He identifies that the administering of the first test may influence how the respondent deals with the intervening variable that the research project is seeking to assess and confounds the internal validity of the data gathered, rendering it unreliable as the researcher has no way of knowing the degree to which the pre-test acted on the participant and influenced his or her later behaviour. The pre and post testing in Study A was not testing cognitive levels but seeking affective data. Participating in the first process of data gathering would not render the data gathered

³⁸ Periodic appointments of officers during a recruiting process

subsequently unreliable. The questionnaire used in Study A did not present the respondents with a 'Pepsi Challenge' phenomenon (Leary, 2004, p.212) where the respondents were conditioned by an extraneous element³⁹ of the survey while their responses were assumed to be an answer to the main research question.

When the data were gathered for Study A, I was an insider, working in the police training department and meeting the potential research participants as part of my duty as a police officer. They had been successful in being appointed as police officers and were commencing on the initial part of their training, the Induction Course. I met the police officers in the classroom, when they arrived for their training, introduced myself and explained the purpose of the research which was also set out in the preamble to the questionnaire⁴⁰. The police officers were told that their participation was voluntary and that the data were to be managed in a way that would not identify them with the views they might express if they participated in the research project. The contents of the questionnaire had been reviewed and approved by my supervisor⁴¹. A pilot study was not undertaken although the participants were requested to note anything they found ambiguous. There were no comments that required the questionnaire to be amended. Additionally, all questions requiring a respondent to record their response to an affective statement in the questionnaire allowed, in addition to the variables provided, a free-text response, where the respondent could write their own reply and were not restricted to the choices presented by the questionnaire.

I met with the police officers again, when they returned to the police training department having completed their initial training course, reminded them of the questionnaire they had completed when they had joined the police training process and invited them to complete a questionnaire once more. I also reminded them that I was the only person with access to the questionnaires they might complete and that none of the views they expressed would be attributed to them in person.

It is difficult to know if any research participants completed a questionnaire because of the relative position they held in the police organisation compared to myself, the

39 Subsequent research proved that, in the initial challenge, respondents were reacting to the 'M' or 'Q' identifiers on the glasses and not the liquid contents they were being asked to judge.

40 For details see Appendix 3

41 This research formed part of a process leading to the award of a first degree

researcher, who was an established police supervisor. I ensured that the voluntary nature of their participation was clear and did so personally. I met the potential research participants on each occasion they were invited to be part of the research to underline the integrity of the process and the secure nature of the data. I undertook this as I saw it as being a necessary element of increasing the reliability of the potential data to be gathered. The focus of this aspect of the research was to discover whether there were more effective ways in which to teach the police probationer continuation courses. Those are the training packages that student officers undertake after having completed initial police training and prior to being confirmed as suitable for permanent appointment. Confirmation of appointment as a police officer occurs after having successfully completed a period of two years as a police officer.

Managing potential obstacles in gathering the data – Study B

Gathering data from the police applicants in this instance needed the agreement not only of the applicants but also of the police service they were intending to join. Access had to be negotiated and maintained throughout the research. For those subsequently appointed, access needed to be negotiated to speak to the officers while they were at the police training centre (PTC). The PTC was operated as a joint enterprise with an adjoining force and within the latter force's headquarters' training establishment. Neither environment is generally accessible to the public.

An important element in the research was to limit the degree to which the student officers might be influenced by the fact that the research was being conducted by a retired police officer. Miyazaki and Taylor (2007, p.781) in reviewing research into the influence and bias a researcher may introduce unwittingly into the data gathering process, identify a number of characteristics that have had a negative influence in some cases. Considering how a researcher may introduce bias into the data gathered they concluded:

... “warm” (person-oriented and friendly) researchers elicited more consistent data than “cool” (task oriented and business-like) researchers. This suggests that data collectors who are more friendly and personable will tend to elicit a greater amount of, and better quality, information from respondents.

To ensure that any negative influence was minimised, I met informally with the applicants at the assessment centre, without anyone else from the host force being present. I explained how I would maintain the integrity of the research process and the collected data, reinforcing the fact the members of the host force had no access to the data supplied to me by the applicants. The assurance of anonymity is an effective method to be employed in reducing socially desirable responses to survey questions. The applicants were told that the research was supported by the host force, to ensure they knew that, if they chose to participate in the research, they would not be contravening any force policy or directive. In this way, I sought to create the potential for a safe environment within which the applicants could participate in the research and provide reliable data. The process in which they were being asked to participate was supported by their potential employer; there was no compulsion to participate and it was not a pre-condition of the application process; and their prospective employer would not have access to any personally-identifying data.

My presence at the assessment centre also provided an important opportunity for potential student officers to query any aspect of the process and seek reassurance about confidentiality, particularly the separation between the host force and the research data. Ensuring that the data gathered were consistent and reliable was important. The applicants needed to be sure that the information they supplied could not influence their potential success at the assessment centre or during their training. Providing information personally about the research process allowed each applicant to make an informed judgement about their participation in the study.

In my initial contact with the applicants, I ensured that the manner in which I provided the information to them about the research and, subsequently, how the data were gathered did not create what Leary (*op. cit.*, p.218) calls, ‘... demand culture...’ and, elsewhere, is described as, ‘... the self-fulfilling prophesy...’ (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968). Leary (*ibid.*), explains the demand culture phenomenon as one where, ‘Participants’ assumptions about the nature of the study... also affect the outcome of the research’. The way the research was described and conducted must not provide any cues to the student officers that might suggest to them the information they were to provide must reflect a particular view or that they were expected to behave in a particular manner.

If studies are affected by the self-fulfilling prophecy both the research participants and the researchers may distort the process and the data gathered may be influenced by participants having a preconceived notion about the outcome. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1966) demonstrated that children whose teachers believed they would do well academically subsequently did well. This gave rise to the theory cited above and which had been identified as early as 1948 by Merton. It is less clear from the work of Rosenthal and Jacobson whether their research is applicable to adults. Further research, conducted in 1966, suggested that the influences of the self-fulfilling prophecy were less likely to occur in the case of adults and Rosenthal considered it likely, *inter alia*, that older respondents are less malleable. Others have pointed to a similar phenomenon, whereby the researcher sees what he or she believes they should see, regardless of what the data actually reveal, thus distorting the results and, as a consequence, their validity. (Cordaro and Ison, 1963; Balph and Balph, 1983; Eisenach and Lindner, 2004).

As a final measure, to reinforce the integrity and separateness from the host force of the research, all correspondence used to communicate with the student officers at every stage of the research programme was carefully monitored to ensure the use of university documentation. It was important, throughout the research, that everything was done to reinforce the fact that the research and the host force were completely separate and the individual data provided were not available to the host force.

While it may have been preferable to issue the initial research questionnaire at the assessment centre, thus ensuring that everyone received a copy and the explanation of its purpose at the same time, there was no time available in the programme to allow me to do this. The host force had already agreed to facilitate the delivery of the initial questionnaire to the applicants, as previously described, and the candidates at the assessment centre worked to an exacting time schedule during the day. In addition, given the limited free time available to the applicants and the intensity of the assessment process, mentioned by many of the applicants attending and by the people who were managing the assessment centre process, there remained the possibility that candidates may forget to take the research questionnaire away with them when they were finished at the assessment centre.

The locus of the research – the host force

The research was conducted, primarily, with applicants to a large provincial police force (the host force) located in the north-east of England. The location for the research was chosen for a number of reasons. First, it was the force involved in the original research for Study A. Second, it was an area with which the researcher was familiar organisationally and one to which gaining access was not likely to be problematic. Third, by using a local host force the logistics of the data gathering at all stages of the research process could be managed effectively. The data gathered during research for Study B allowed comparisons to be made with the data gathered in Study A, particularly as the target population in each case was drawn predominantly from the same local area and the same police force.

Study A was located in the host force because, at the time it was conducted, research was being undertaken to establish whether the methods used to teach student officers attending in-force training course was the most effective to achieve the outcomes sought. To establish a baseline, student officers were surveyed before and after attending their initial training course and again during the currency of their in-force training. The latter aspect of that research, the in-force training, is not relevant to this thesis but provides a context for Study A.

The host force is one of the ten largest police forces in the UK and employs approximately four thousand police officers and more than two thousand support staff. Support staff are part of the civilian establishment and, by definition, are not police officers. The area policed comprises a large conurbation and a substantial area of sparsely populated rural land. Some 85 per cent of the population lives in the conurbation with the remainder spread among communities, living in villages or towns or on farms in the rural area. The conurbation amounts to approximately 10 per cent of the area covered by the police force. Table 3.1 situates the force area in the context of UK national statistics. The statistics covering economic activity cover a period from July, 2007 to June 2008. The statistics for qualification cover the year 2007. When the characteristics of the Force area are compared to those for northern England and nationally, there is similarity between the three, providing additional support to the

expectation that selecting research subjects from the host force would provide a homogeneous and reliable sample.

Table 3.1 The Host Force Area: Comparisons with Other Resident Populations by Category and Region ^a

Category	Sub Category	Host Force Area	Northern England	National
		%	%	%
Economic Activity	Economically active	77.8	75.9	78.8
	In employment	73.2	70.8	74.5
	Employees	65.4	64.1	64.7
	Self-employed	7.3	6.2	9.4
	Unemployed	5.9	6.6	5.2
Standard Occupational Classification 2000 ^b	Group 1 – 3	39.4	38.0	43.1
	Group 4 – 5	22.4	22.4	23.0
	Group 6 -7	16.9	17.1	15.8
	Group 8 - 9	20.7	22.4	18.7
	NVQ 4 and above	24.6	24.3	28.6
	NVQ 3 and above	45.4	44.3	46.4
Qualification	NVQ 2 and above	67.5	65.5	64.5
	NVQ 1 and above	81.7	79.5	78.1
	No qualifications	12.5	13.8	13.1

a The data are available at www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1967128612/report.aspx. Accessed 9/3/2009

b For more discussion on the categories, see Standard Occupational Classification 2000 Vol. 2. The Coding Index. London. The Stationery Office

Providing a service for a resident population in excess of 1.25 million people, the host force draws its applicants mainly from within the force boundary but also attracts some applications from people who live in other areas of the UK. Of the Study B applicants (N=296) who participated in the current research only twelve (4.05 %) came from outside the area covered by the host force. While it is similar in many ways to other regions throughout the country, the host force has changed substantially, structurally and in authorised establishment⁴² since 1969, as the result of amalgamations with neighbouring police forces and the further changes following the reorganisation of

42 The number of police officers the Home Office permits a police force to recruit.

local government boundaries in 1974. From its creation in the mid-nineteenth century until 1969, the police force area had remained largely unaltered although there had been a growth in the number of personnel and resources. The force now comprises six territorial areas, each commanded by a senior police officer⁴³ who is assisted by a number of senior police managers and senior support staff.

The context for data being gathered over two cohorts

The main aim of the research was to identify whether the attitudes and behaviour of people appointed to the police service were significantly affected by attending the PIRT, a process which occurred following appointment. The research was spread over two cohorts of student officers. Data were gathered from the first cohort (Study A) in the late 1980s⁴⁴ the second cohort (Study B) twenty years later⁴⁵. Study A data were gathered for a purpose unrelated to this research but were comparable to part of the data that were gathered in Study B. The two data cohorts provided an opportunity to reflect on the effective results from the PIRT and, depending on what the data revealed would provide for a more comprehensive judgement on whether the aims and objectives set by the police service for the PIRT were being met or were capable of being met.

It was important to establish whether there was any evidence to show that the PIRT course was succeeding in achieving the inculcation required of it by the police service. Over the twenty-year period covered by the research, there had been changes to the curriculum model and teaching style therefore it was important in establishing the answer to the research question to identify whether there was continuity in training outcomes between the two research periods or, if there was not, to endeavour to establish where the disparities lay and the reasons. It was also essential to establish, before gathering any data, whether the PIRT had been designed with aims and objectives that sought to affect the attitudes and behaviour of the officers undertaking the training and the previous chapter examined the history of police training over a time period relevant to this research, identifying the changes made and their purpose.

43 A chief superintendent is head of the area command. The officer is supported by a number of officers who hold the rank of superintendent and a senior administrator who is not warranted.

44 Data were gathered from recruits joining the police service between 1985 and 1987

45 Data were gathered from Cohort B between 2005 and 2007

As a serving police officer, I had been involved in training when the major changes following the Scarman Report had been implemented with the view of improving police and community relationships, in part, through the training of newly-appointed police officers. I was interested to discover whether the changes were achieving the outcomes intended. That research was undertaken in the form of Study A, involving 142 newly appointed police officers using a self-report questionnaire⁴⁶. The research provided an archive of data which I was able to use subsequently in this research. Major changes to probationer training occurred towards the end of the millennium and I was interested to see how the implementation of the revised training package has affected the police officers attending their initial training course. Study B which covered the latter period reviewed involved a total of 293 police officers. As the underlying reasons for making changes to the probationer training programme was evidence of inappropriate behaviour and followed a very similar path to what had given rise to the changes made to training in the late 1980s, it was relevant to use both sets of data to discover whether the training package was succeeding or failing over a sustained period of time. The reasons for the changes made to the training of newly appointed police officers suggested that the outcomes desired were not being achieved.

In the case of Study A, student officers had been appointed prior to be given the opportunity to participate in the research programme. However, they were offered the opportunity to take part on the first day they joined the police service and prior to undertaking any training. No comparison was made with officers who failed in their attempt to secure appointment as police officers, in the case of Study A. To achieve a broader comparison within the data sets and establish comparisons between applicants who were appointed and those rejected and to minimise the impact of occupational socialisation potentially influencing responses in the self-report questionnaire, it was necessary to gather data from the potential student officers participating in Study B around the time of the assessment centre, their initial formal contact with the police service.

At this stage, the recruits were unlikely to have been influenced by direct contact with the police training system. There would have been no formal contact between the

⁴⁶ See Appendix 3 for example.

applicants and the police training processes but, from the assessment centre onwards, informal contact could take place and such contact may influence the reliability of the data gathered during the research. To provide a basis for comparison with data obtained during Study A, and to obtain a perspective of attitudes and behaviours of officers in Study B, quantitative and qualitative methods were used. The datasets from the two cohorts, therefore, were not identical. The Study A Cohort included a dataset of those officers who had resigned. The Study B Cohort, because the data were current, did not. The Study B Cohort included data captured from everyone who applied to be a police officer during the research period, whereas the Study A Cohort included data only from student officers following their appointment to the police service. The comparisons made between the two studies use the data from corresponding datasets, maintaining the relevance of contrasting and comparing the outcomes of the analysis. The consideration of the methods to be employed was directly influenced by consideration of the process of induction, training and the move to operational police work for the newly-appointed officer. These are discussed below.

Joining the police service in the 1980s

To be eligible, the candidate must have satisfied certain criteria at the point of application: the candidate had to be a minimum of eighteen and a half years of age and not exceed the age of forty. In the host force, male officers were required to be at least 5 feet 8 inches tall and female officer 5 feet 4 inches tall. The applicant must be a British citizen, a citizen from the European Union or other state in the European Economic Area, or a Commonwealth citizen or a foreign national who is allowed to stay in the UK without limit. People may have been eligible to join the police service even though they had minor convictions or cautions, though there were certain offences and conditions that would render them ineligible. The applicant must be deemed physically and mentally capable of performing the duties of a police officer. At the time of Study A, potential police recruits made a written application to their local force if they wished to become a police officer. The initial process required the applicant to satisfactorily complete the Police Initial Recruitment Test (PIRT) by reaching the required pass mark. If they succeed, they were interviewed by a panel of senior police officers. Following a successful medical screen, if they had passed the PIRT and the interview process, they were offered an appointment. The PIRT was a

national test but police forces could set their own pass mark. Much of the procedure, the PIRT apart, was locally designed and applied to the recruitment process.

Joining the police service in the 2000s

The research for Study B sought to follow a group of student officers new to the police service. Anyone wishing to join the police service currently follows a standard application procedure, which includes an assessment and, subsequently, selection or rejection. The initial point of contact for potential student officers is either directly with the selected police force's recruiting department or through the 'Police Could You' website. To be eligible, the candidate must satisfy certain criteria at the point of application: the candidate must be a minimum of eighteen years of age but there is no upper age limit. He or she must be a British citizen, a citizen from the European Union or other state in the European Economic Area, or a Commonwealth citizen or a foreign national who is allowed to stay in the UK without limit. There are no formal education requirements and no minimum or maximum height requirement. People may be eligible to join the police service even though they have minor convictions or cautions, though there are certain offences and conditions that will render them ineligible. The applicant must be deemed physically and mentally capable of performing the duties of a police officer.

The Assessment Centre process

If the applicant meets the required age and citizenship criteria he or she is required to complete an application form to provide evidence demonstrating that they possess the core skills required for the post. Those applicants who meet the initial criteria and pass the paper sift are invited to attend an assessment centre where they undergo a battery of tests and exercises. This standardised system, employed by all police forces in England and Wales, was implemented progressively during 2003 and 2004 (Field-Smith, 2004). The applicant must provide evidence of core competencies (CENTREX⁴⁷, 2004) and the assessment centre process requires the successful completion of a number of exercises which test written English, oral and mathematical

47 An acronym for Central Police Training and Development Authority

skills and verbal reasoning. The tests involve role-play exercises, written exercises and interviews. The interview comprises four questions related to the list of seven behavioural competencies. The four questions require the candidate to relate how he or she has dealt with specific situations in the past.

The candidate is allowed five minutes for each answer and will be stopped by the interviewer, should the candidate attempt to exceed the allotted time.⁴⁸ As with each element of the assessment centre process, the candidate has the opportunity to select and rehearse responses, prior to attending the assessment centre. The national system for recruiting and selecting police officers is entitled Police Search, where the word 'search' is an acronym, 'Structured Entrance Assessment for Recruiting Constables Holistically'.

Following successful completion of the assessment process, the candidate is invited to attend a medical examination and eyesight test and to take a fitness test. If the candidate passes the medical and fitness requirements, he or she is then subject to a number of background checks, including the taking up of references and a security clearance. If, at the end of that process, the candidate has satisfied all the criteria, he or she will be offered an appointment as a police officer. On occasions, there may be a delay of many months before a vacancy arises for the candidate to start as a student officer⁴⁹ Once appointed, the police officer attends the police initial recruit training course (PIRTC). The current training course for student officers is known as the Initial Police Learning and Development Course (IPLDP).

The significance of there being a national model for recruiting police officers

Since the recruiting process now follows a national framework, there are unlikely to be significant differences in the standard of applicant accepted for appointment in the various police forces in England and Wales. Discussions with the independent assessors, who were engaged to assist with administering the assessment centre in the

48 Home Office Central Police Training and Development Authority (CENTREX, 2005).

49 'Student officer' is the name given to an appointee who is to commence or is undergoing initial police training. The terms 'student officer' and 'probationer' or 'probationer constable' are synonymous. The latter two terms were used extensively until the advent of the IPLDP when the term 'student officer' was employed to identify the status of the officer as being in training. That term is used throughout the thesis with the exception of cited material.

host force, identified that the management of the recruiting process and the results of the assessment centres are regularly reviewed to ensure that the recruitment model is being correctly and consistently applied throughout England and Wales. One of the assessors who had conducted several such evaluations within police forces throughout the country confirmed the standardised nature of the process. Initially, approaches had been made to other large police forces in England situated in the north east, northwest and the midlands to explore the opportunity to extend the study. Only two constabularies replied and neither was prepared to assist with the research. One force was unable to assist due to the volume of their work. The second said that the request did not fall within the scope of the requirement to assist under the freedom of information legislation.

The presence of the independent assessors ensured that the assessment centre process in the host force followed the national model on every occasion when student officers were drawn from the applicant pool. If a national system had not applied to the recruiting process it would have been difficult to guarantee the homogeneity of the applicants selected for appointment across all police forces in England and Wales and, therefore, the typicality of those selected for appointment in the host force would have remained uncorroborated and the data gathered may have shown a local bias. The information provided by the independent assessor indicated that the strategy to conduct the study within a single police area was robust as the student officers were likely to be typical of candidates selected by other police forces elsewhere within the UK.

Whether the candidate initiated his or her application through the 'Police Could You'⁵⁰ web site, or contacted the host force directly, each completed application form from those participating in this research was eventually collated by the recruiting department of the host force. As the recruiting department was the common element in the process of applying to be a police officer, it appeared to be the most suitable point for the initial research contact. People who apply to join the police service are sent a pack⁵¹ that provides information about the form and substance of the assessment centre process. The host force agreed to include with the information pack the research questionnaire and accompanying information about the research process, inviting

50 [Http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk](http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk).

51 Application Pack For The Police Service. Published by the Home Office Communication Directorate, October 2004.

every applicant within the research period to participate in the initial data gathering phase. All research materials were assembled under separate cover.

Research methods employed

The research methods employed in gathering the data in Study A and Study B were considered to be the most appropriate and likely to provide the most reliable data. Each method had limitations and they were minimised by using a process of between-method triangulation discussed later in the chapter. Study A⁵² used a self-report questionnaire which the respondents were invited to complete on the first day that they joined the Induction Course, their first day in the police service. They were invited to complete the questionnaire for a second time on the first day they returned to in-force training immediately after completing the PIRTC. The methods employed in Study B and the considerations in respect of them, and for Study A where applicable, are reviewed below.

Quantitative methods - the self-report questionnaire

The self-report questionnaire involved each respondent in answering a series of open or closed questions without any intervention by me as I was not present at the time the questionnaire was being completed. The process has been described as the most widely used data gathering instrument (Leary, 2004). The questions included were carefully structured to cover the areas for which data were being gathered. One format may be to allow a narrative response to open questions. As the research methods would incorporate face-to-face interviews, allowing me to gather qualitative data and the attendant difficulty of interpreting the participant's intentions in some open ended responses, the quantitative data gathering did not employ the use of open ended narrative responses. Multiple choice questions are frequently used in gathering data and were used to gather the quantitative data during Phases I and II of Study B.

The major ancillary benefit gained by using a self-report questionnaire to gather data was the economy of scale and effort if offered when the method enabled 445 student

52 See Appendix 3

officers to be contacted. Additionally, Leary (*op. cit.*, p.97) points to the utility of using the self-report questionnaires commenting that, ‘...survey researchers often ask [student officers] to complete questionnaires about their attitudes...or behaviours’, and Boynton and Greenhalgh (2004, p.1) expressed a similar view: ‘Questionnaires offer an objective means of collecting information about people’s knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour’.

In choosing the self-report questionnaire as one of the research methods, the deficiencies of the process were considered for the potential impact they may have on the quantity, reliability and validity of the data gathered. In the case of the questionnaire method those deficiencies were identified as:

- the potentially low level of return necessitating a large pool of potential student officers to ensure a data set of sufficient size for analysis
- the affect of biases or ambiguities in the questions
- the questionnaire construction and length may influence fatigue and accuracy of response
- the responses provided, especially when they concern behaviour, though truthful, may not reflect the actuality of what the respondent does
- when student officers are required to recall past events, they may not remember them at all or may be inaccurate in their recollection

To minimise the impact of the deficiencies and maintain the reliability of the data gathered, the process of gathering the data was spread over a number of police recruit assessment centres to ensure sufficient responses were received from applicants wishing to join the police service and who attended the assessment centres. A pilot study, described later in this chapter, was used to establish whether there were any ambiguities in the questions and modifications were made as a result of the information provided by the pilot study participants.

The research participants’ perceptions, as they had reported when they participated in Phase I, were explored by using face-to-face interviews, during Phase II of the Study B research. The face-to-face interviews also provided an opportunity to gather additional data, as the result of asking supplementary questions, which may have prompted the

interviewees to recall events that they may not have done when completing the self-report questionnaire. To minimise the influence of fatigue on accuracy, the questions in the self-report questionnaire were set out in a clear manner and the method of indicating responses kept consistent in style, and unambiguous.

The self-report questionnaire used to gather data in Phase 1 of Study B was constructed in two sections. Section 1 gathered demographic information about each respondent while, in Section 2, information was gathered about the respondent's attitudes and beliefs across a range of topics relevant to their potential role as police officers. Because of the type of the data being gathered, much of which was reflective and concerned prior experiences, the self-report questionnaire⁵³ was considered a better way of gathering the data needed. Leary identified that approach as the most beneficial when the data are, '... about past experiences, feelings, and attitudes ...'. He concludes, '... [Such] information ... is most directly assessed through self-report measures such as questionnaires ...' (Leary, 2004, p.92). He also identified the relevance of using the self-report questionnaire when gathering data about how the respondent feels: the affective domain. Considered to be the most efficient and reliable for the purpose of gathering quantitative data in this research, the self-report questionnaire and its construction is discussed later in this chapter.

Qualitative methods - personal interviews

In the context of gathering the data in Study B, I employed face-to-face, in-depth interviews (Massarik, 1981) in Phase II. The in-depth interview relies on the researcher creating a rapport with each respondent thus allowing him or her to probe the respondent to a greater depth to gather evidence of the respondent's views and motivations (Malim and Birch, 1997). A face-to-face interview is regarded as a robust method to gather data in depth. One immediate issue, however, with face-to-face interviews is the potential for the interviewee to be reluctant to participate or to reveal sensitive information when he or she has to relay the information directly to someone for recording. It is difficult to know with certainty the degree to which responses may be affected by gathering the data in a face-to-face interview but the possibility that it might occur remains and the researcher should ensure that the manner in which the

⁵³ For example see Appendix 3.

process is implemented and discussed earlier in this chapter, does not add to the potential for data invalidity.

The main determinant in not using face-to-face interviews as a method of data gathering in Phase I of Study B was the impracticality of interviewing each of the candidates at that initial stage. It would not have been possible, due to the time available in the assessment centre programme, to interview the candidates and, as the candidates lived throughout the north east of England, and, in some cases, outside the region, visiting them to conduct an interview was impossible within the time and resources available. Face-to-face interviews provided me with an insight into what the participants thought about aspects of their role which I could not obtain solely through the use of the self-report questionnaire. The process also provided me with the opportunity to pose supplementary questions to ensure clarity and depth to what the participants told me during the process.

The organisational commitment survey - the data grid

The data grid used a matrix format to gather data by means a series of statements or elements presented on the vertical axis and the response opportunities, where the respondent indicated the response that represented their view, presented on the horizontal axis. The statements indicate levels of commitment to an organisation and seek to establish the degree of that commitment in the analysis of the responses provided by each respondent. The statements or elements⁵⁴, for example, would include the degree of pride the individual feel about being a member; the amount of commitment they would give to an organisation in non-remunerated activity, and the level of professional development they would entertain if self-funded. This research used a data grid containing thirty three statements and employing a five point Likert⁵⁵ scale to measure responses. It was constructed to test whether the reported views of newly-appointed student officers showed any variation across the data set and whether the data recorded from one data set differed between those selected and those who were not offered an appointment as a police officer. The style of data grid used in this

54 For example see Appendix 3.

55 Named after the creator of the system, Rensis Likert, the five point scale is frequently used to measure attitudes.

research had been used previously elsewhere to measure organisational commitment (Porter, 1974; Mowday *et al.*, *op.cit.*) or, as Blau (1988) termed it, career commitment. Knights *et al.* (2005) used a similar approach when assessing the impacts on job satisfaction among Australian senior public servants, as did Carless (2005), also in Australia, when looking at the influence of a range of variables on pre-entry police officers' career commitments.

Organisational commitment may influence the degree to which an individual internalizes attitudes, whether or not public conformity to a social norm of an organisation represents the individual's private position (Kelman, 2005). Research elsewhere (Mowday *et al.*, 1979; Blau, 1985; Carless, 2007) has shown a causal link between attitude, behaviour and commitment in an organisational setting. The items used in the data grid for Study B followed the models in the research cited, with minor modifications in wording, incorporating the words, 'police' ; 'police officer' ; 'police force' and 'police service' to accommodate the target group. Each person from Study B who took part in Phase II of the current research (N=76) completed a grid. In summary, the following methods were used to gather qualitative and quantitative data during the research:

- self-report questionnaires
- face-to-face interviews
- the data grid

Each method had some limitations but the methodology employed during the research process ensured that where a limitation existed it did not invalidate either the process employed or the data that were collected and that they retained their relevance to the research question regarding the inculcation of the attitudes and behaviour set out in regulations and deemed by the police service to be appropriate to the role of being a police officer.

Other research methods considered and rejected

Observing the participants in different stages of the assessment and appointment processes would have provided comparative qualitative data. To be able to observe the

effect of the IPLDP in influencing attitudes, observations of the student officers prior to the offer of an appointment would have been necessary. Being able to observe and record the behaviour of candidates in their natural environment may have provided detailed data about their attitudes and behaviour and the greater the number of observations the more comprehensive a pattern of their behaviour may emerge from the subsequent analysis. However, student officers may have modified their behaviour to provide the evidence they believed to be appropriate rather than behaving in a way that would be the norm for them in each situation observed. This affect or reactivity, as Leary (2004, p.86) describes it would be minimised if the observations were conducted over a longer period. Ultimately, controlled observations were not contemplated because a more intractable problem with observations is to interpret the motivation for the behaviour observed when attributing a cause to what was seen. The activity may not always lead the observer to an obvious causal connection for what has been observed. In the case of participant observation, observer bias may influence the integrity of the data where the observer notionally participates but in most respects keeps him or herself distant from the observed group and Malim and Birch (1997) show how such failure may occur.

Naturalistic observations would have created the potential to provide reliable data, as they would have involved observing and recording a spontaneous response to a non-contrived situation. While the data gathered may have been more reliable, the logistics of applying the process were not. It would have been impractical, though not impossible, to employ naturalistic observation.

Holdaway (1983) points to the dilemma confronted by the researcher who is an insider and to the unethical nature of some aspects of covert observations. He argues that everyone's right to privacy and freedom from observation should be, '... qualified when applied to police work' (*ibid.*, p.4). In supporting his statement, Holdaway considers that the secret and secretive nature of policing justifies his approach and the consequential erosion of the rights of the individual members observed. Whether the case made by Holdaway is as relevant and defensible in today's social climate is less clear⁵⁶.

56 For further discussion, see Article 8, Human Rights Act 1998 in respect of, inter alia, the employee's right to privacy.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, the aims and objectives of the research were to establish whether any changes that occurred to attitudes and behaviour could be attributed to attendance at the IPLDP thus providing an informed response to the research question. The data needed to be gathered at the end of the training course otherwise it would be difficult to control for the intervening affect of operational police duty and make the data gathered during that process much less reliable as a statement of the affect on the student officer of the IPLDP. Participant observations were not a viable option.

The primary factor, however, that prevented active consideration of using any form of observations as a method of gathering data was that there was no access to the identities of the applicants before they attended the assessment centre, as the requirements of data protection legislation prevented the host force revealing personal data. While I could have observed the applicants after appointment, I would have been unable to gather the necessary comparative data prior to them joining the police service and therefore unable to make a valid judgement about the impact upon their attitudes and behaviour of the period they spent in initial police training

Constructing and using the questionnaire for Study B

One of the key considerations, when designing the survey questionnaire to gather data from the Study B, was to ensure that the data that were gathered would allow comparison with the data gathered from the earlier research conducted in the 1980s. Items used in Study B Phase I survey were based on the questionnaire used to gather quantitative data in Study A (Mather, 1987). Because there was no existing published research in this area (Neyroud, 2010), in designing the Phase I survey questionnaire for the Study B research, a number of options were considered. However, because this remained a new area of study, unsupported by published research, I needed to compose a new questionnaire in consultation with statisticians and methods experts in Newcastle University. Items, used in the British Social Attitudes surveys,⁵⁷ which have been carried out annually by the National Centre for Social Research, London, since

⁵⁷ Section II of the questionnaire uses a series of questions drawn from the British Social Attitudes surveys: Q24, BSA 1989; Q38, BSA 1997; Q39, BSA 1998; Q40, BSA 1999; Q41, BSA 1998; Q42, BSA 2001; Q43, BSA 2002; Q45, BSA 1994; Q46, BSA 1994; Q47, BSA 2003; Q48, BSA 2002; Q50, BSA 1998.

1983⁵⁸. were also included in the Study B questionnaire, which was tested in a pilot study.

The questionnaire used to gather quantitative data in Phase I of Study B was also used in the follow-up survey (Phase II) and comparisons between those two sets of data were reviewed and analysed to reveal whether there were unexplained variations between them. The questions reviewed had face validity as described by Leary (*op.cit.*, p.69) which he explains as, ‘... [referring] to the extent to which a measure appears to measure what it’s supposed to measure’, or, as Emmet (1968, p.86) stated, ‘... when we ask questions about matters of fact we normally know what sort of answers to expect, what sort of answers we would be prepared to accept’. Emmet uses ‘accept’ stipulatively to mean a response relevant to the question posed as distinct to implying an answer influenced by the bias of the researcher. He illustrates his point (*ibid.*, p.87), thus: ‘If we ask what the other side of the moon is like, the answer ‘Like a Beethoven symphony’ ...would not be acceptable...’.

Comparison between the two sets of data from Phase I and Phase II in Study B showed consistency in the responses. However, consistency between the two sets of data would not identify what Leary (*ibid.*, p.101) calls, ‘... social desirability bias’ where the respondent provides the answers they believe the researcher seeks or the organisation of which they are a member requires. To minimise the impact of socially desirable responses challenging the validity of the data, several techniques were used employing triangulation, specifically, between-method triangulation (Bryman, Undated; Olsen, 2004).

Employing the technique of triangulation allowed me to gather quantitative data in Phase I of Study B and to supplement it with qualitative data gathered during Phase II, providing both greater depth of focus on the student officers’ views across a range of topics and the opportunity to compare consistency of perspective between the two phases of the research as expressed by the student officers. It allowed me to establish

58 For a technical description of the compilation and management of the research process see http://ir2.flife.de/data/natcen-social-research/igb_html/index.php?bericht_id=1000001&index=&lang=ENG accessed 17092012

why the student officers had made some of their choices when completing the self-report questionnaire in Phase I of Study B.

The method for gathering each aspect of the data was consistent throughout the research. As Leary (*op. cit.*, p.68) outlines, when discussing how to increase the reliability of the data gathered, there should be a, 'Standardize[d] administration of the measure', where each respondent is tested under the precisely the same conditions. While Leary employs the word, 'test' it is clear that his context is a broad one, for he cites, by way of elaboration, a respondent completing a question requiring them to rate on a scale how they feel at a particular time. The data gathered for Study B also followed a standardised procedure.

The internal validity of the data was considered as was described earlier in this chapter. All of the elements inherent in the safeguarding of the internal validity of the data in Study A were again repeated in the process of gathering the data in Study B.

The pilot study - research Study B

The questionnaire for Study B was tested with a small group (N=12) whose demographic profile reflected that of the potential pool of student officers. They were selected from staff in the HR Department of the host force. Before using personnel from the host force, I considered whether there were any reasons to suspect the data gathered and the opinions provided might be invalid because of the locus of the test group. Enquiries with the liaison officer for the host force in whose department the pilot group were located satisfied me that their demographic profile suggested that they were an appropriate group with whom to conduct the pilot study. The pilot study identified twelve questions about which the pilot group, individually, had commented. The questionnaire was reviewed and amended in the light of the comments. The accompanying, explanatory text was amended to correct instances where the pilot group had identified a problem with some aspect of a question.

The research was phased, due to the periodic nature of the assessment centre process and the need to cover several assessment centres to acquire a sufficiently large data pool. The Initial Recruit Survey was used on a number of occasions with separate

constituent groups that would ultimately comprise the Study B applicants. To test the continued relevance of the questionnaire over the life of the primary data gathering process, each package of research papers forwarded to the potential student officers contained a review form⁵⁹, inviting each respondent to identify any question that was ambiguous or unclear. This process enabled a continuing review of the questionnaire before it was used for a subsequent group of student officers. In the event, when all returned review forms were read, no indication was given that revisions to the style or content of the questionnaire were necessary.

The process of gathering the data

I first met the participants when they attended the police recruit assessment centre. I had established with the assessment centre administrators that time would not be available for me to conduct any research then. Notwithstanding the lack of available time, I considered that trying to gather data at such a time when the participants were focussed on the police recruiting process may detrimentally affect the research process by offering a potentially poorer quality of data, as the participants were likely to be focussed on the recruiting process and not that of the research. In order to cover as many participants as possible and acknowledging the fact that their homes were spread throughout the police force area and beyond, I needed to employ a method of gathering the data that provided the participants with the time to complete the research process at a time when they were likely to be positively disposed to it and using a technique that allowed me to maximise the numbers I could contact simultaneously, as I wished to survey police assessment centre attenders over a number of assessment centres

The first phase of data gathering, therefore, took place at the earliest time the applicants could be identified as potential student officers and at a time when they were least likely to have been directly influenced by police culture. Winthrop (1991), when discussing the systematic change in culture between one society and a second, showed how the process occurred during direct contact with the dominant society or culture. In the case of this research, the police culture was likely to be the more dominant, if only because it was the culture in which the applicant sought to become a

⁵⁹ For an example of a review form see Appendix 3.

part. It was unlikely, therefore, that the applicant would feel or show any antithesis towards the culture of the organisation he or she was attempting to join and equally unlikely that he or she would seek to impose their own culture on the organisation. It is possible that the choice of their potential occupation may already have influenced the applicants and, thus, potential student officers' attitudes and beliefs, as Bond and Bond (1994) identified when discussing anticipatory socialisation during the professional development of nurses and doctors who 'play' the role and seek approval. The attitudes and beliefs of the applicants may have had a fundamental influence on their choice of occupation, as Super (1963) showed, when identifying the influence on career choice of what he called vocational self-concept.

Super's research identified that a person's primary socialisation had a fundamental influence on his or her career choice. It was also likely, therefore, that the applicants in my study might already have begun the process of anticipatory socialisation (Morgan, 1982; Schein, 1996), a process that an individual undertakes, prior to appointment, to shape their attitudes and behaviours to those required of the organisation that they are seeking to join. It may have been the case, as Super (1963) showed, that the research participants had undergone a long period of unconscious preparation to become, in the case of this research, a police officer, the unconscious preparation being the product of primary and secondary socialisation. Such a period of preparation is not a negative aspect when seeking an occupation. The level of preparedness at which a prospective candidate approaches an organisation may be an important determinant in deciding the curriculum model and content for the induction and formal initial training programme for those people successful in securing an appointment.

Why the data were gathered in phases

The gathering of data for Study B was carried out in two phases, between September 2005 and March 2007, using a self-report questionnaire entitled, 'Survey of Police Recruits and Probationer Constables 2005 and 2006'⁶⁰ (Initial Recruit Survey) completed by each research participant. Every candidate attending the assessment centre during the research period (N=445) was invited to participate in the research process, two thirds of whom returned a completed questionnaire (N=296; 66.52 %). Of

⁶⁰ For an example of each type of questionnaires used in the research, please see Appendix 3.

the completed questionnaires, one was rejected because the respondent failed to provide the level of authorisation required to allow the data to be stored on computer and did not respond to a subsequent written request to provide written authority. The rejected questionnaire was completed in full, apart from the authorising signature. The respondent's data were omitted from the research. A second questionnaire was rejected because the candidate failed to attend the assessment centre. A third questionnaire was rejected because the status of the candidate, appointed or not appointed, could not be established with the host force.

The data gathering process during Phase I of Study B, by means of a self-report questionnaire, was repeated on each of three occasions when a new group of applicants attended an assessment centre operated by the host force. The data gathered during Phase II comprised three elements and was carried out on four separate occasions. The first element gathered quantitative data when the police officers were nearing the end of the IPLDP course, Phase 3c⁶¹, using the self-report questionnaire that was employed in the Phase I. The second element comprised the gathering of quantitative data using an organisational commitment questionnaire in the form of a data grid⁶², measuring the person-job and person-organisation fit (Mowday, Steers and Porter, 1979; Blau, 1985). The final element comprised the collection of qualitative data using a structured face-to-face interview.

Collecting data from the research participants over a period of time meant that it was possible to maximise the number that could be included in the initial survey. Because Phase II of data gathering in Study B involved a more in-depth investigation, the qualitative data provided a fuller understanding of the responses given in the self-report questionnaires gathered during Phases I and II of the quantitative data gathering process. Using the same model of self-report questionnaire in Phases I and II of Study B allowed a comparison to be made between the two sets of quantitative data: before and after the IPLDP training course. Gathering qualitative data during Phase II assisted in the interpretation of the responses gathered quantitatively. Over both phases of the research, there was a level of consistency in the quantitative data responses provided.

61 As described in Chapter 2 - The structure of the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme. The course is divided into a number of phases. Phase 3c refers to the final classroom phase of the initial element of student officer training.

62 For example please see Appendix 3.

When research was conducted in respect of Study A, data were not gathered from rejected candidates. Although it was possible to reach conclusions about the affectiveness and effectiveness of the training programme the student officers undertook, it was not possible to identify whether those appointed were significantly different from those that were not. The research for Study B included quantitative and qualitative data from both successful and unsuccessful applicants with the specific aim of identifying differences and similarities between those appointed and those rejected. Any differences that were identified would serve as variables to test hypotheses when analysing and interpreting the data. Data were gathered for Study B maintaining the distinction between those two data sets: the people who were offered an appointment and those who were not. As those not offered an appointment did not undergo the IPLDP training course, a randomised sample of the rejected applicants was selected for interview by telephone during which qualitative data were gathered using a structured interview similar to the one used in the Phase II but amended to reflect the fact that the research participants were not police officers and had not undergone training. The unsuccessful candidates were also invited to supply additional quantitative data using the organisational commitment survey. By using these data gathering elements, two comparative datasets were compiled and maintained.

If successful at the assessment centre, applicants were offered an appointment by the host force. The actual date of appointment was, in some cases, delayed for many months due to the actual vacancies available for police officers or the budget available to allow their appointment. In turn, this directly influenced when those who had participated in the initial data gathering for Study B would attend the police training centre for the initial phase of their training.

The structured interview

This was the final element in the Phase II data gathering process in Study B. Student officers, who had completed the follow-up surveys at the end of Phase 3c of the initial training programme, were invited to participate in a face-to-face interview. The interviews (N=43) were conducted at the police training centre in a room set aside for the purpose. Only the interviewee and researcher were present during the interview

process. With the agreement of the interviewee, the interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed.

The interview was carried out using a structured questionnaire. The structured interview was selected as the method to employ, to enable the areas of questioning to focus on elements of the data gathered in the self-report questionnaire during Phase I of the research. While the general progress of the interview was pre-designed in a series of topics and questions, nevertheless supplementary questions were employed, where relevant, to seek amplification of what had been said by the interviewee. Each interview was preceded by an explanatory preamble that was relayed to the interviewee identifying the structure of the interview and the subject areas to be covered. The duration of each interview was between forty five minutes and one hour and the questions were divided into five subject areas, namely:

1. Preparation to join the police service and the social implications for the applicant.
2. Perceived attitude changes attributed by the officer to the training programme.
3. Perceived relevance of promotion to the respondent as a condition for continuing to serve as a police officer.
4. Integrating into an operational policing unit following the initial training programme.
5. Attitude to the perceived comparative level of public scrutiny of the police personnel compared with other professions or occupations.

The following sections examine, in turn, the content and purpose of each of the five elements of the structured interview.

Preparation to join the police service

The questions in this element of the interview were designed to discover what preparation the interviewee had undertaken as part of the process of applying to become a police officer. Elements of preparation included role-related research and reading of police periodicals and books. The interviewee was also asked for his or her appraisal of the efficacy of the assessment centre process as it applied in their

particular case with specific reference to the elements used to test their suitability for appointment. They were asked what, if any, changes they had made in terms of their social networks and whether they believed that being a police officer would place restrictions on what they were able to do in their leisure time. The questions were designed to identify the degree to which the interviewee had considered how their role might be perceived by those who were not police officers and the implication for their private life. The private life of a police officer is regulated by legislation⁶³. Instructions about police regulations and the importance of complying with their requirements are included in the first weeks of training. The Conditions of Service (CENTREX 2005, Section 12, p.1), given to each officer on joining the police service makes it clear that there are restrictions on their private life:

This document is of fundamental importance to you as a constable and includes conditions relating to restrictions on your private life.

Perceived changes in attitudes and behaviour

In this section, the questions were designed to discover whether the interviewee considered their attitudes and behaviour had been changed by the training programme and their thoughts on the relevance of the elements designed to influence attitudes and behaviour. Questioning here also sought to establish the amount of knowledge the interviewee believed he or she had prior to attending the initial training programme. Further questions sought to establish the perceived relevance of the material taught and the degree to which the interviewee considered the material would apply to their day-to-day role as a police officer.

Having established their perceptions in respect of those elements of the training course, the interviewees were posed a hypothetical situation⁶⁴ in which they were asked to imagine themselves as a newly-arrived member of a shift⁶⁵ at their police station. This was designed to establish the degree to which the officers felt able to deal with a

63 The Police Regulations 2003, Schedule 1.

64 For example, please see Appendix 3..

65 A group or team of officers who work together.

difficult or potentially difficult situation, after they had identified behaviour, a sexist comment made by a shift member with a long service history, as clearly inappropriate.

The level of commitment to the police service

The next series of questions sought to explore the degree of commitment the interviewee had to remaining within the police service and identify the markers he or she would use to judge their perceived level of professionalism and the esteem in which they were held by their colleagues. One of the more obvious examples of extrinsic markers of success is the badge of rank worn by an officer. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, relatively few people who join the police service will ever be promoted. The questions sought to identify the officer's commitment to the police service, whether they had revised the rank to which they hoped to aspire, identified in an earlier part of the research, and what alternatives they may cite as measures of success.

The affects of peer pressure

The interviewee's were asked for an assessment of the training course, including those areas that they had enjoyed most and least. The remainder of the questions focussed on the influences of peer pressure and the degree to which the interviewee thought a newly-arrived shift member who was also a student officer might feel inhibited from reacting in an appropriate manner because of their status relative to the remainder of the shift personnel. All of the training in the area of attitudes and behaviour was designed to make the officer decisive and confident in order that he or she would be able to discharge their duty as required. When discussing leadership, the training manual (*op.cit.*, Section 1, p.3) emphasises a number of key words:

*Leadership is about behaviour. It is about displaying the right attributes and attitudes across the service as a whole. In other words it's about everybody having the **integrity**⁶⁶, **self-confidence**, **commitment** and **resolve** to make a difference ...*

66 The emphasis is in the original text.

This part of the training is delivered within the first week after the officer has been appointed to the police service, so that police officers should be in no doubt about the importance of decisiveness and propriety.

Scrutiny of the police

The final questions asked the interviewees to assess the degree of scrutiny they believed police officers were subjected to by members of the public when the officer was on or off duty and how they felt about this. My experience, as a police officer who carried out a number of policing roles over a thirty year period, was that a high level of public scrutiny was an integral part of being a member of the police service and the level at which the scrutiny was applied was substantially higher than for many other occupations. Joining the police service is a life-changing experience. The attitudes and behaviour of interviewees may be influenced by what the individual perceived as his or her personal goals and their commitment to remain a police officer, despite their need to revise the goals they had originally set because of their inability to achieve their initial career targets. The responses to these questions provided data that would identify individual variances in goal-setting and commitment to the organisation and, in later analysis, would show whether those relationship were statistically significant.

Training centre staff

Five members of the training centre staff were selected to provide perspectives on police training. They were police officers who either delivered training on the IPLDP or police managers whose responsibility it was to monitor the delivery of the training. A variation in the length of their police service and their experience as a police trainer or instructor was also represented within the group. The officers were interviewed to inform a conceptual framework for the management of the IPLDP course and the management of the classroom. Each officer was interviewed using a structured questionnaire and the interviews, which lasted thirty to forty five minutes, were tape recorded. The interviews sought information about the interviewee's professional experience and experience within the police training environment; the comparative qualities of candidates they had taught over their period of involvement with the IPLDP, and, where relevant, the predecessors of the current initial police training

course. The final area of detailed questioning was about attitudes and behaviour of student officers. The interviewees were asked about the way they monitored the behaviour of student officers and what action they took when examples of unacceptable behaviour were observed. They were also asked whether they perceived the IPLDP to have been designed in a way that allowed trainers to assist student officers to achieve the appropriate attitudes and behaviour, measured against a predetermined and consistent set of criteria.

Rank aspirations and the police promotion system

An area of research relevant to both Study A and Study B was to explore officers' expectations about the rank which the student officers hoped to attain during their police service. These data were relevant so as to identify changes in their aspirations following training. The promotion examination system operates on a national basis for all the provincial forces in England and Wales. It operates independent of individual police forces to maintain the integrity of the system. In order to qualify⁶⁷ for promotion, a police officer is required to have completed a certain level of service and passed the qualifying examination. To be promoted to the rank of sergeant, a constable must complete a two year probationary period of service satisfactorily and have their appointment to the regular force confirmed, indicating that they have successfully concluded their period of initial training. The officer must have completed two years of police service, which normally would be the case, as the probationary period is of two years duration. Finally, the officer has to obtain a pass in the qualifying examination. The examination is the Objective Structured Performance Related Examination (OSPRE).

The examination comprises two elements. Part I is a three-hour paper that tests whether the candidate understands the law relevant to the rank they seek to join. This part of the examination contains a maximum of one hundred and fifty multiple choice questions. The second part of the examination, Part II, which the candidate may only reach after successful completion of Part I, tests the candidate's management and supervisory potential. Its duration is ninety minutes and involves a number of role play

67 Statutory Instrument 1996 No. 1685. The Police (Promotion) Regulations 1996 .

exercises during which a trained assessor observes the candidate's performance in each of a number of scenarios and provides feedback as to whether he or she has reached the required standard. The candidate must attempt Part II within twelve months of achieving a pass in Part I of the examination. Successful candidates are automatically entered into the Part II process. If the candidate is unsuccessful in the Part II examination, he or she may attempt Part II on two further occasions within a five years period. If unsuccessful, then the candidate must revert to the beginning of the process by entering Part I of the examination. If the candidate has reached the required standard in the OSPRE examination then he or she is eligible to be considered for promotion. Passing the qualifying examination is not a guarantee that an officer will be promoted, however.

To be promoted to the rank of inspector, the candidate must satisfy additional criteria. He or she must have satisfactorily completed two years of police service in the rank of sergeant and passed both parts of the OSPRE examination, which follows the same format as described above. Part I of the examination for promotion to the rank of inspector contains questions on the law relevant to that rank as do the scenarios in Part II. The successful completion of Part I and Part II of the examination renders the candidate eligible for consideration for promotion but does not guarantee it. Officers eligible for promotion may then apply for consideration when their police force advertises that they will be holding promotion boards. The promotion boards include an interview by a panel, usually comprising senior officers. To reach a more senior rank, usually promotion from chief inspector to superintendent, the process will require the satisfactory completion of an assessment centre test as a precursor to attending the interview panel. The assessment centre requires the candidate to undertake a number of role-related tasks that test the officer's suitability to be considered for promotion to the rank of superintendent. There is no formal examination.

In the case of all ranks that have satisfactorily negotiated the promotion process, officers will then be placed on a list of persons qualified for promotion and, when a suitable vacancy arises, they may be promoted to the next rank. Officers promoted from the rank of constable to sergeant must complete a one year probationary period to determine their suitability. None of the other ranks has the completion of a probationary period as a requirement. Even though an officer is graded as qualified and

suitable for promotion, there is no guarantee that the officer will ever be promoted and many officers who are graded suitable for promotion never achieve the substantive rank.

The research process and data analysis

The research followed a 'discovery-based' or grounded theory approach (Jupp, 1989, p.121). While the actual methodology, as propounded by Glaser (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in the 1960s, identified a series of rigorous and specific steps in applying the principles of grounded theory to social research, Jupp (*op. cit.*, p.122) suggests, in drawing a distinction by comparison to Glaser's rigid typology, that a more frequent application of grounded theory is, '... a general commitment ... for qualitative researchers as opposed to a fixed set of protocols' and Charmaz agrees (2006). The process involves an inductive approach to discovering the underlying theory explaining the phenomena emerging from the analysis of the data rather than employing hypothetico-deductive reasoning. The process does not start with a body of empirical knowledge and proceed to gather and analyse data in order to prove or disprove the previous findings. In grounded theory, the data are gathered and analysed and, from the initial analysis, broad principles emerge which are tested using subsets and refined data models to identify relationships between the phenomena observed or emergent from analysis of the recorded data. During the analysis and interpretation of the data some explanation of the phenomena may emerge which can be replicated and tested.

In reviewing grounded theory as a scientific method of research, Haig (1995) rejected the notion that inductivism is the equivalent to approaching research as a *tabula rasa*. He argued that, as opposed to approaching the research devoid of any idea or perspective of the matter to be studied, it is only by the researcher having experience of the subject area that he or she possesses the necessary perspective allowing them to

gather, analyse and interpret the data in a purposeful and meaningful way. Charmaz (2006, p.12) commented:

Grounded theory strategies lead you to concentrate on your analysis rather than on arguments about it, to delay the literature review, and to construct an original theory that interprets your data

As part of the grounded theory approach to this research, the data gathered were analysed using standard statistical⁶⁸ packages recommended by the university for analysing data.

The analysis of the quantitative data was conducted to identify whether there were any differences recorded by the respondents when they completed the post-course questionnaire compared with the views they had recorded prior to being trained. The analysis was carried out to determine, where differences in responses occurred, whether they were statistically significant indicating that attending the training course had brought about a change in attitudes and behaviour as reflected in the respondents' answers as recorded on the questionnaires. In particular, the McNemar-Bowker test was employed and it is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5 and the underpinning rationale for the choice of that test related to the data being analysed.

The analysis of the qualitative data was assisted by the use of QSR Nvivo. The transcripts of the interviews were loaded into the programme and a series of analytical searches was done to relate the comments made during the interviews with the themes from the quantitative data. The explanations given and comments made by respondents are included in the thesis in Chapter 5. Analysis was also carried out to identify whether there were any relationships between the comments offered by respondents during the course of their interview. No trends were identified where there was an inter-relationship between one view expressed giving rise to a concomitant view existing and being mentioned during the interview. The use of the software did enable a large amount of data to be effectively reviewed by topic and sub-topic.

68 SPSS v.15 was used for analysing the quantitative data and the P values for comparisons of pre and post training course data were arrived at by applying the McNemar-Bowker test. QSR NVivo 8 was used for analysing the qualitative data.

Managing the analysis with small observed cell counts

In some instances of the data gathered during the research, there were categories where there were no observations. To enable a comparison to be made of the data gathered before and after training, it was necessary to either eliminate the category completely, or combine it with another category. When the variables were collapsed, it was necessary to ensure that the subsequent analysis was testing the hypothesis required. The variables collapsed together were levels of agreement: strongly agree and agree, and strongly disagree and disagree. As the resulting table still delivers a commentary on the views expressed by the respondents, in collapsed form, it is still reflective of the data that were gathered. When data variables are collapsed, it is possible that, had there been sufficient observation to complete the analysis without collapsing the variable, a different result may have been observed. However, within the data there is a high level of agreement and the off-diagonal frequencies, used in the McNemar-Bowker test, are small, suggesting that the uncollapsed variables would be unlikely to produce a different statistical outcome.

Challenges and opportunities in conducting the research as an insider

There may always be an element of bias when data are gathered. DeVinney and Merritt (1991), showed how a study of women's employment and the affect on their children was not culture-fair because the researchers had a preconception about the ideal family unit, which, in turn, influenced the manner in which the research was conducted. Allport's view is that items in tests are usually, '...culture bound' (1979, p.91).by which he means imbued with values implicit of certain cultural or sub cultural groups which, as a result, disadvantage people who are outside of those cultural groupings and for whom there is no familiarity or understanding implicit in the form of words used to convey the concept. 'Culture fair' implies the opposite situation; the absence of such terms which, as a result, renders the concept accessible to everyone on an equal basis. Though his comment is directed towards tests constructed by American psychologists to be applied to a range of American students, nevertheless, Allport's notion of culture boundness is an important element that the researcher should seek to eradicate from any data gathering.

My background as a police officer for thirty years required consideration of a further element: mediating the views of the student officers through the experience of the researcher: Emmet's (*op. cit.*, p.119), '... value judgements ...'. Here, Emmet draws the distinction between making a judgement on a matter of fact as distinct from expressing a personal preference. To minimise the possible affect of mediating the views, when the face-to-face interviews were conducted, they were tape recorded to provide a verbatim record of what was said, allowing any misconstruction of the interview to be identified and considered during the transcription and subsequent analysis and opening the interview to third-party scrutiny.

Summary

Chapter 3 has set out the research methodology and the research methods employed in gathering data. Considerations were given to the fact that I was an insider researcher during the time Study A was conducted. I sought to minimise the potential impact of being a police supervisor inviting newly-appointed police officers to participate in a research project but the degree to which that may have influenced their participation or their views is unknown. That potential was something I needed to keep in mind, when reviewing the data gathered and in the subsequent analysis.

Although, by definition I was not an insider during the currency of Study B, as a retired police officer, the applicants may have perceived my status as being that of an insider researcher. The problems of being unable to identify potential research participants prior to their attending the assessment centre were outlined. The steps taken to provide reassurances about the research process and the management of the data I would gather and the manner in which I delivered those fact to the potential participants in the research were identified as being more likely to secure their involvement and, more importantly, could have a direct bearing on the reliability of the data they were to provide.

The locus for the research was examined in a local, regional and national context and I established that there did not appear to be any data that were likely to be counter-influence on the reliability of data gathered from research participants. The use of the data gathering methods were explored and effectiveness of the self-report

questionnaire identified together with supporting evidence to show it was an acceptable and reliable method to employ. I chose to use face to face interviews to allow me to gather qualitative data which may help to explain the comments selected by participants when they completed the self-report questionnaire. The qualitative data would also allow the research process to examine areas not covered in the quantitative data. The additional considerations that were outside the control of the researcher were identified, particularly, the frequency of the holding of assessment centres for potential recruits and the delay in successful officers being offered an appointment as a student officer. Following appointment, the sequence in which they attended the IPLDP was not necessarily the same sequence in which they attended the assessment process and the administration of the follow-up process needed to be carefully monitored to ensure potential participants were not overlooked. Those variations did not affect the reliability of the data but made it more difficult to track participants to ensure they were afforded the opportunity to participate in the second phase of the Study B research programme.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the data gathered during Study A and a statement of what that current analysis, carried out in the early 2000s, revealed in respect of those police officers appointed to the service in the late 1980s.

Chapter 4 The Study A Data revisited

The data gathered as part of Study A (1985 -1987) were not subjected to detailed analysis at that time. In order to employ the data as part of the current research project, the data in Study A were subjected to detailed statistical analysis⁶⁹ and this chapter provides a commentary on what has been learned from that analysis undertaken during as part of this research. The data were gathered from newly-appointed police officers when they attended their induction course held within the force training department of the host force. This was their first day as police officers following their appointment to the police service. The process was repeated when they return for their local procedure course, also held within the force training department of the host force. The course was attended immediately after attending the police initial recruit training course.

What the training programme sought to achieve for the Study A cohort

During the early part of the 1980s, the PIRTC curriculum had been fundamentally changed to emphasise the social role of the police officer. A specific element of the curriculum, Associated Police Studies, later titled, *The Social Skills of Policing*, was designed to influence student officers in respect of the non-law enforcement aspects of their role. The method employed to construct the new curriculum was instructional systems design (Critchley, 1971). The three elements that underpinned the writing of the instructional objectives were the importance of the task, the frequency of its occurrence, and the difficulty of performing the task. Using the three criteria allowed the course to be developed in two curricular strands: those skills that must be taught and, secondly, those skills that require mastery learning. Mastery learning (Bloom, 1976), applied in the circumstances of the police training curriculum, was a term used to identify critical elements that were to be over-trained on the course. This was a stipulative use of the term. It meant intense training for a critical and infrequent incident that had to be performed correctly each time it occurred. In Bloom's sense, it simply meant providing the time necessary for the students to master the learning as opposed to becoming a master or expert of that which had to be learned.

⁶⁹ SPSS v.15

Some subjects in the revised curriculum were identified as requiring over-training. In particular, they were the subjects providing training on how to deal with domestic disputes; sudden deaths; road accidents, and fights and disturbances. In the areas of non-law enforcement or, referred to elsewhere as, 'the social role of policing' (Mather, 1990, p.4), no subject was considered to fit the criteria to require overtraining. Mather showed (*op. cit.*) that members of a local community saw a police officer on foot patrol infrequently and rarely had the opportunity to speak to one. It was of paramount importance to the fostering and maintaining of good police and public relations that the police officer ensured the benefits from the infrequent encounters with members of the public were positive in nature and content.

Attitudinal training was a dominant feature of the curriculum model at the time of Study A, conducted in 1986 and 1987. The Working Party commented (MacDonald, 1987, p.108) *inter alia*, that the professional dimensions of the role of a constable required,

... a commitment to high ethical standards governing relations with members of the public [and the development of] their understanding of the social and cultural contexts of law enforcement.

If that dominant element was effective, then this should be evident in their attitudes and behaviour following the course. Alternatively, they may have already possessed the desired attitudes and behaviours at the time they were recruited. Study A set out to examine whether the training changed attitudes and behaviour or reinforced existing attitudes and behaviour. The research showed that the training had little impact.

The Study A cohort examined

At the time Study A was conducted, police probationer training was undergoing a substantial transformation. The PIRTC had been amended following the Scarman Report (1981) and was undergoing a further review as part of the Stage II Review.

The data, though gathered for a different purpose at the time, nevertheless afforded a baseline for comparison when the current research was undertaken and were, in part, founded on the requirement to answer the question,

Does the initial training course for police officers inculcate the attitudes and behaviours regulations and the police service deem necessary for them?

The data showed the student officers to be a heterogeneous group. However, pre and post-PIRTC surveys revealed that, for the most part, the student officers had not significantly shifted from their initial responses provided prior to being trained. There could be a number of reasons for this: first, if the null hypothesis applied, it may be because the student officers already possessed the relevant attitudes and behaviours appropriate to the role of a police officer. Second, it may be because the curriculum model was not appropriate to bring about the change sought. Third, it could be that it was not possible to achieve the changes sought by training due to other influences, such as socialisation prior to the person joining the police service. Whichever premise or premises applied, it would not invalidate the null hypothesis.

During the Study A period of recruitment, all of the student officers, (N=142) completed a questionnaire in the first day following their appointment to the host force and prior to their attending the PIRTC. The fifteen questions⁷⁰ covered issues surrounding why they had joined the police service; aspects concerning their personal safety as a police officer; their perception of promotion prospects and, finally, a series of questions to establish their attitudes towards black and other ethnic and minority groups. Immediately following their PIRTC, the same student officers were asked to complete the questionnaire. Eighty one student officers (57 %) did so.

The composition of the Study A Cohort

The Study A Cohort (N=142) data were organised into two main categories: serving officers (N=107) and resigned officers (N=35), for the purposes of analysis. The following sections analyse the data with each variable identified by a key sub heading.

⁷⁰ For example please Appendix 3

Of the 142 recruit constables who completed the survey, there were more men (111) than women (31). Overall, the women student officers were younger⁷¹ than the men⁷² and more women than men held first degrees. A follow-up review, in 1999, revealed that while approximately one in five (18.9 %) of the men had resigned⁷³, almost half (45.2 %) of the women⁷⁴ had done so. Of the police officers who resigned, more than a half (57.1 %) of the women and an even greater percentage of men (81 %) held first degrees. Indeed, all the women who had a degree had resigned. The resignations represented 15.3 per cent of the men and 25.8 per cent of the women who were members of the cohort and who had been appointed at the beginning of Study A. Table 4.1 presents the characteristics for the Study A Cohort.

Table 4.1 Study A Cohort: Officers Overall, Serving and Resigned.

Category	Overall		Serving		Resigned	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Numbers of officers	111	31	90	17	21	14
Percentage of applicants	78.20	21.80	84.10	15.90	18.90	45.20
Mean age	24.44	22.34	24.45	21.06	24.37	23.92
Modal age	22.00	20.00	22.00	20.00	22.00	22.00
Percentage with first degree	16.20	19.40	15.60	Nil	19.0	42.9

The table shows that the women who were leaving the police service were older than those who remained. There was only a marginal difference in the ages of the men who resigned and those who remained. The mean age for the group of men and women who resigned was similar. This contrasts with the mean age of male student officers, which was greater by two years than that of the women student officers. The modal ages at time of recruitment were 22 for the men and 20 for the women. While the women were the younger of the two groups of officers appointed, the women at the higher end of

71 Mean age = 22.34 years.

72 Mean age = 24.44 years.

73 Here, 'resigned' includes voluntary leavers; those leaving on medical grounds; those dismissed and those women taking maternity leave and choosing not to return to duty.

74 Amongst this figure will be some women who left for reasons other than being dissatisfied with their role.

the age range, over 24 years of age, were the ones who chose to resign from the police service when all of those appointed chose to leave the police service. The same was not true in respect of the male officers. There was no statistical significance between the men (P=0.716) and woman (P=0.263) regarding the ages at which they chose to leave the police service.

Perspectives of the new student officers at the time of their appointment

The data in Table 4.2 identify the reasons given by student officers joining the police service. The data show the statistics for the cohort and subsets for those officers who were still serving and those who had resigned. There was no statistical significance (N=142 p=0.377) when the data for those student officers still serving was compared to those who had resigned.

Table 4.2 Study A Cohort: Reasons Given for Joining Police Service.

Category	Serving N=107	Resigned N=35
	%	%
Good Career Prospects	40.6	38.2
Good Job Security	7.5	11.8
Worthwhile Job	48.1	41.2
Good Pension	0	2.9
Other	3.8	5.9

Student officers who chose to record their response as ‘other’ identified a range of reasons broadly similar to the options available, recording:

- ... a combination of factors*
- ... job security and a worthwhile job*
- ... to help people*
- ... interesting career*
- ... interesting and demanding career*
- ... all of the reasons contained in the selection*

Job involvement (Kanungo, 1982 cited in Chughtai, 2008, p. 169) or the degree to which a person is committed to their job determines the degree to which the employee internalises the values of the organisation of which he or she is a member. It can have an impact on their organisational commitment (Chughtai, 2008) and influence their attitudes and behaviour. A number of factors might influence job involvement (Rabinowitz and Hall, 1977, cited in Chughtai, 2008, p. 169) including among other age, education, and gender. The analysis of these data uses those three variables and others to identify any changes that might be identified in what the student officers report before and after attending their initial training course to establish what evidence emerges in respect of their reported attitudes and behaviours as gathered from the data that were provided when they completed the questionnaires.

Academic qualifications reported by Cohort A

Turning next to education, there was a statistically significant difference between those who resigned and those who did not ($P=0.038$) when comparing those officers who had a first degree with those who did not and whether they were more or less likely to resign. In the Study A Cohort, the holders of first degrees were more likely to resign than those who did not hold first degrees. All the women with first degrees resigned from this cohort. This finding is in line with research undertaken by the Home Office (Cooper and Ingram, 2004), to identify the reasons why police officers resigned. The researchers also considered the prospect of failing to be promoted as a possible reason for resignation. They found (*op. cit.*, p.20) that:

Opportunities for promotion were less important for most people joining the service than many other aspects of the work. However, it was an important factor for nearly two-thirds of police officers with a degree or higher qualification

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 compare the results obtained from Study A in respect of the main reasons given by applicants for joining the police service. When the Study A Cohort was considered alongside the research conducted by Cooper and Ingram (*op. cit.*), differences could be detected. Table 4.3 sets out the findings related to officers who were not holders of a degree.

Table 4.3 Study A Cohort: Main Reason Given by Non-degree Holders For Joining the Police Service

Employment status	Analysis category	Good career prospect	Other reason	Total N=118
Serving	Count	35	58	93
	% <i>-serving</i>	37.6	62.4	100.0
	% of Total	29.7	49.2	78.8
Resigned	Count	8	17	25
	% <i>resigned</i>	32.0	68.0	100.0
	% of Total	6.8	14.4	21.2

Almost twice as many officers who remained in the police service gave a reason other than ‘good career prospects’ as their motivation to join. Of those who subsequently resigned, that distribution is similar, with more than two thirds giving their main reason for joining as one other than the hope of good career prospects. These data are in line with the Cooper and Ingram’s findings that fewer non-degree holders were influenced by career prospect when giving their main reason for joining the police service.

Turning next to those officers in Study A who were holders of a degree, Table 4.4 shows that more than half of them mentioned good career prospects as their main reason for joining.

Table 4.4 Study A Cohort: Main Reason Given by Degree Holders for Joining the Police Service.

Employment status	Analysis category	Good career prospect	Other reason	Total N=24
Serving	Count	8	6	14
	% within <i>-serving</i>	57.1	42.9	100
	% of Total	33.3	25.0	58.3
Resigned	Count	5	5	10
	% within <i>resigned</i>	50	50	100
	% of Total	20.8	20.8	41.7

The first-degree holders who subsequently resigned were equally distributed between those who had given good career prospects as a main reason for joining and those officers who had selected another reason.

Fewer officers with degrees seem to have been influenced by career prospect than the two thirds reported by Cooper and Ingram. Women were significantly more likely to have resigned than were men ($P=0.003$) and as it was not solely because of the lack of the prospects of being promoted, other reasons were explored. This aspect is considered later in this chapter.

Aspirations

Comparing the promotion aspirations with those officers who resigned with those who did not, there is some evidence that an unrealistic expectation of promotion does not appear to be the cause of resignations: the difference is not statistically significant ($N=129$; $P=0.566$). Almost one fifth (19.2 %; Count=19) of the officers from Study A who were still serving, had hoped to reach a superintending⁷⁵ or an Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO)⁷⁶ rank when asked before attending their initial training course. Almost two thirds (60.6%; Count=60) hoped to aspire to the rank of inspector or chief inspector. Four officers indicated that they wished to remain constables (4.0%) Following the student officers training course, the aspirations of the officers as identified in the post-course survey showed that the promotion aspirations had increased, with 42.6% (Count=23) identifying the superintending or ACPO ranks as their potential goal. Those aspiring to the inspecting ranks represented 42.6% (Count=23). The remaining student officers (14.8%; Count=8) aspired to the rank of sergeant. No-one wished to remain as a constable.

Table 4.5 identifies the officers' aspirations prior to and following the police initial training course. As can be seen, almost twice as many officers who resigned (87.5%) hoped to have achieved the inspecting ranks during their service compared to those officers still serving (42.6%). Furthermore, among the group of officers who resigned,

75 Superintendent or chief superintendent - see Table 4.4 for hierarchy of ranks.

76 Assistant chief constable, deputy chief constable or chief constable.

the number wishing to reach the inspecting ranks had increased by 14.2 per cent following their period of initial training, representing more than four fifths of the officers who chose to leave the police service

Table 4.5 Study A Cohort: Ultimate Rank Student Officers Hoped to Achieve Reported Before and After PIRTC

Status	Totals	Constable		Sergeant		Inspecting		Supt.		ACPO	
		% pre	% post	% pre	% post	% pre	% post	% pre	% post	% pre	% post
Serving	Count =55	5.5	0	21.8	14.8	58.2	42.6	3.6	18.5	10.9	24.1
Resigned	Count =15	0	0	20.0	12.5	73.3	87.5	6.7	0	6.7	0

a Hierarchy of ranks: Inspecting= inspector and chief inspector; Supt= superintendent and chief superintendent; ACPO= assistant; deputy and chief constable

b Sub headings Pre and Post refer respectively to data gathered before and after attending PIRTC

By comparison, those who did not resign were less inclined to select an inspecting rank as their ultimate goal, with less than three quarters of them maintaining their original aspirational goal. However, while there was a reduction in the number of officers who hoped to attain the inspecting ranks, the number wishing to reach the superintending ranks, a more senior post, had increased almost threefold. Following their initial training course, no-one aspired to remaining as a constable.

The ranks of sergeant and inspector are generally understood to be operational ranks, where the incumbent is involved in operational police work at street level. The ranks of chief inspector, superintendent and the other ranks above those two are most usually non-operational roles with the incumbent being the head or deputy head of a large department in which he or she is involved in the daily management of resources and tangentially rather than directly able to influence the work done on the street by other police personnel.

There is an opportunity for every person who joins the police service to reach the rank of chief constable, though the likelihood of it occurring is extremely remote, given that there are just 43 forces regulated by the Home Office in England and Wales, a further eight regulated by the Scottish Ministry of Justice in Scotland, and the Police Service

of Northern Ireland, making 52 in total⁷⁷. Taken as an entity, the officers in Study A, if they had all ultimately fulfilled their aspirations, would have occupied one quarter of the vacancies for chief constables in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. None of the officers who aspired to the highest rank ultimately achieved it and many, as will be discussed later, remained in the rank of constable. No evidence was found to support the premise that the officers who resigned did so because of a lack of promotion prospects. Furthermore, those officers who did not resign held more ambitious aspirations.

Until relatively recently, several symbols were used to distinguish the hierarchical structure of the organisation in the host force and in many Home Office forces in England and Wales. Many of those symbols persist, such as modes of address for different ranks. Officers in the inspecting ranks are known and addressed by their rank, 'inspector' or 'chief inspector' for example. However, all male officers of and above the rank of inspector may also be addressed by the courtesy title of 'sir' or, in the case of women officers, 'ma'am'. Those designatory forms of address still apply.

Another obvious symbol was the dress worn by constables and sergeants, who wore a blue shirt while officers in inspector and higher ranks wore a white shirt. That distinguishing mode of dress also applied to women officers in a small number of police forces although the majority of forces required their women police officers to wear white blouses regardless of rank. Williams (1990) and Kelling and Coles (1996) have discussed the way in which the division between the ranks was symbolised by their uniforms. Although there were additional differences in the uniform of officers compared with that of constables and sergeants, the major distinguishing feature remained the white shirt. When the Study A Cohort joined the police service the symbolism was evident. In his discussion of the symbolism of the police uniform and the way in which it was used as a visual cue to provide the observer with information, Johnson (2001, p.28) noted that the uniform: '... provides one powerful clue to an individual's background and serves as a mental shortcut to identify a person's ... status [and] authority...'. The white shirt of the inspecting ranks was distinguishably

⁷⁷ An officer could seek promotion in a police force maintained outside the purview of the government agencies mentioned. This would be an unusual career development move to make, unless the officer was approaching the end of their period of pensionable police service.

different from that worn by the new student officers, and marked out the difference in status from the sergeant who carried a badge of rank but, nevertheless, wore a uniform similar in most respects to the student officers. By the time the Study B Cohort joined the police force symbolism evident in the uniform had been removed, and all police personnel wore a white shirt.

The research question sought to identify whether there was evidence to support the potential for the training course to inculcate attitudes and behaviour appropriate to the role of a police constable. If the period of initial training had been successful in informing the student officers about role of a constable, and in underlining the reality that the majority would complete their service in that rank, this should have been reflected in their responses after attending the PIRTC but it was not. There were eight police officers appointed to the host force in 1969. Of those, two resigned during the early years of their service, one person was ultimately promoted to the rank of sergeant and one was ultimately promoted to the rank of superintendent. The remaining officers served as constables throughout their thirty years of service. At the time of the analysis, the host force had 4187 police officers. Of those officers, approximately eighty per cent were constables. That figure puts the promotion aspiration of the Study A Cohort into perspective.

The lack of promotional opportunities is further emphasised when one looks at the spread of officers within the supervising ranks. The number of officers who were promoted to the rank of sergeant amounted to fewer than fourteen in every hundred. This is more important than it may seem for, without achieving that first promotion, it is impossible to be promoted to a higher rank. Thereafter, promotion prospects are better. Almost one third of officers promoted to sergeant will be promoted to the inspecting ranks. However, at the lower lever of the inspecting ranks, less than five officers in every hundred recruited to the police service will achieve promotion to the rank of inspector. Although the earlier discussion identified how few officers achieve promotion, it remains a positive characteristic for student officers to have a positive outlook about their promotion prospects. However, as Table 4.5 shows, almost ninety per cent of those officers who resigned aspired to joining the inspecting ranks. Their aspirations were unrealistic, given that, in the host force, less than five per cent of police officers achieve that level of promotion.

Length of service required to gain promotion in the police service

Further analysis relating to the Study A Cohort was undertaken to identify any differences in the views expressed by the student officers after they had attended the PIRTC compared with those they had held prior to attending in respect of promotion.

They were asked to estimate the length of time they believed it would take a police officer to obtain promotion to three ranks in the police service: sergeant, a first line supervisor; inspector, a second line supervisor; and superintendent, a senior manager. Table 4.6 presents an analysis of the data for the inspecting ranks. They were not statistically significant when the data gathered prior to attending the PIRTC were compared to those gathered after the course (N=78, P=0.230).

Table 4.6 Study A Cohort: Time it Might Take to Obtain Promotion to the Inspecting Ranks - Views Expressed Before and After Attending PITRC

		Post Training Response		
		Up to 10 years	More than 10 years	
Serving N = 60	Pre training response	Count	7	8
		Up to 10 years' service	46.7%	53.3%
	Pre training response	Count	15	30
		More than 10 years' service	33.3%	66.7%
Resigned N = 18	Pre training response	Count	4	1
		Up to 10 years' service	80%	20%
	Pre training response	Count	1	12
		More than 10 years' service	7.7%	92.3%

Almost half (46.7 %) of those officers still serving who, prior to attending the PIRTC, thought that it was possible to attain the rank of inspector before reaching ten years of completed police service retained that view after attending the PIRTC. By comparison, a third (33.3 %) of those officers, who, before attending the PIRTC, thought that it would take more than ten years to attain the rank revised their response to indicate that it was likely one could attain the rank of inspector with less than ten years of police

service. This perception suggested that the officers were still unaware about the real prospects and opportunity for promotion. More than one third (36.7 %) of all student officers in the serving sub-group held that view.

Officers who had subsequently resigned also appeared not to have increased their understanding about the timescale likely to be needed to secure promotion. The majority of those student officers, (80 %), who, prior to attending the PIRTC, believed that it was likely to take less than ten years' service to be promoted to the rank of inspector still maintained that view after training. Their responses indicated that they were somewhat better informed than their serving colleagues because, after attending the PIRTC, slightly more than a quarter of the officers (27.8 %) in the resigning sub-group indicated that they thought it would be possible to achieve the rank of inspector in less than ten years. It appears that those officers who subsequently resigned were less likely to change their views during training but were comparatively better informed about the likelihood of promotion.

Area of managerial influence related to rank attained

The officers were asked to indicate the area of police work that they considered they would be able to influence from the rank they hoped to achieve. The data are presented in respect of two categories, serving and resigned, and data are presented in Table 4.7. The two sets of data were compared to identify whether or not there was any significant relationship. When the responses were analysed there was no significant difference between the views expressed prior to (N=77; P=0.552) or after attending (N=80; P=0.142) the PIRTC. When the responses were compared together, pre and post training, there was no statistical significance (N=76; P=0.520).

Prior to attending the PIRTC, the majority of serving student officers considered that, in the rank they aspired to, they would be best able to positively influence the lack of police efficiency (23.7%), street crime (27.1%) and public disquiet about crime (22%).

The majority of officer who resigned considered they would be best placed in their chosen rank to influence street crime (38.9%). Following attendance at the PIRTC, both categories student officers indicated that the area of most positive influence was street crime

Table 4.7 Study A Cohort: Area of Policing Activity Respondent Considered They Were Most Able to Influence as a Supervisor

Status	PIRTC	Public disorder	Lack of Police efficiency	Street crime	Public concern about crime	Other
		%	%	%	%	%
Serving	Pre N=59	16.9	23.7	27.1	22.0	10.2
	Post N=61	27.9	13.1	34.4	18.0	6.6
Resigned	Pre N=18	16.7	11.1	38.9	16.7	16.7
	Post N=19	5.3	15.8	42.1	15.8	21.1

The number of officers who had considered that efficiency of police resources would be their primary focus had decreased for those still serving (23.7 % to 13.1%) but increased for those who resigned (11.1% to 15.8%). There was no statistical significance (N=77; P=0.94) in the responses by gender prior to attending the PIRTC however, after the training courses, when compared by gender, the responses produced a statistical significance (N=80; P=0.023). On returning from the PIRTC, the officers' appreciation of their roles and the opportunities they would provide for promotion should have allowed them to demonstrate a firmer appreciation about what it was possible to achieve in the rank they had indicated as the one they hoped to achieve. Nevertheless, the data did not indicate any increase in understanding of the various supervisory ranks, or their purpose and scope.

Concerns for personal safety

Officers were asked how concerned they were about being assaulted on duty. Table 4.8 compares the views expressed by officers still serving with those who had resigned.

Working as a police officer carries with it the potential to be assaulted on duty.

Table 4.8 Study A Cohort: Concern For Personal Safety

	Overall N=142	Serving N=107	Resigned N=35
	%	%	%
Fear of being assaulted			
Can take care of self	6.3	6.5	5.7
More confident after training	31.7	29.9	37.1
Worried: avoid thinking about it	9.2	9.3	8.6
Not worried: it rarely happens	3.5	4.7	
Accept possibility: I hope the first occurrence happen soon	33.1	38.3	17.1
Other	16.2	11.2	31.4

Many officers said, during a review of their progress when they returned from the PIRTC, they hoped that if they were to be assaulted on duty it would occur soon in their police service. In order to test that anecdotal evidence, the reason was included as one of the responses in the Study A survey questionnaire. At the time they were appointed, the majority of officers participating in the study (38.3 %) expressed the same views as heard in the earlier anecdotal evidence. That was substantially higher than for the percentage (17.1%) of student officers who had resigned and who expressed a similar view.

Of the 142 people surveyed as part of Study A prior to attending the PIRTC, only nine student officers said that they felt confident about their ability to deal with being physically assaulted. Officers gave varied responses about feelings related to being

assaulted and the following comment by one officer after the PIRTC was typical of many:

I often think about it [the prospect of being assaulted] – not worry. I think that it was mentioned excessively at training school.

Prior to the PIRTC, two officers, when thinking about the prospect of being assaulted on duty said:

It's a hazard of the job, which we have all agreed to face. I hope it doesn't happen but I'm certain that it will. You just have to grin and bear it. It's probably commonplace

Three officers were positive about their ability to deal with physical assault. One of them said, 'I'm not worried by it. I'll deal with it if and when it happens'. Almost three quarters (73.9 %) of officers who supplied additional comments stated that they accepted the possibility of being assaulted on duty.

Part of the process of attending initial training, in addition to learning the law and police practice, is for the student officer to continue the process of socialisation into the role of the office of constable. That process should include the opportunity to develop a clearer and more detailed understanding of aspects of the reality of police work; particularly, what happens when the student officer is on patrol. The process should help to demystify the role (Reiner, 2000). If it were the case that the student officers had an incomplete or misguided view of what the operational role of policing entailed and what they would be required to do once they became operational police officers, attending the PIRTC should remove any doubts and provide greater certainty.

The data presented in Table 4.9 indicate how the views of police officers about being assaulted changed after attending the PIRTC. The table also compares the views of officers still serving with those who had resigned. After attending the PIRTC, which involved many hours of self-defence training and other elements designed to promote a feeling of physical self-sufficiency, few student officers (6.5%) believed that they could take care of themselves when dealing with physical confrontation.

Additionally, a number (11.3%) were worried about the prospect and tried to avoid thinking about the prospect of being assaulted on duty. More than half of the student officers (56.5%) were mindful of the possibility of being assaulted on duty and wished the first occurrence to be experience early in their police service.

Table 4.9 Study A Cohort: Fear Of Being Assaulted On Duty: Views Before and After Training (Pre and Post N=81 in each case)

Category		Variables											
		Can take care of self		Will feel more confident after training		Worried: avoid thinking about being assaulted on duty		Not worried: being assaulted on duty rarely happens		Accept possibility: hope first occurrence of assault on duty is soon in service		Other	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Serving N=62	Count.	4	4	22	1	3	7	2	1	22	35	9	14
	%	6.5	6.5	35.5	1.6	4.8	11.3	3.2	1.6	35.5	56.5	14.5	22.6
Resigned N=19	Count	1	2	9	0	0	5	0	2	2	5	7	5
	%	5.3	10.5	47.4	0	0	26.3	0	10.5	10.5	26.3	36.8	26.3
Totals	Count	5	6	31	1	3	12	2	3	24	40	16	19

There was no statistical significance between the views expressed by student officers and whether they had resigned or were still serving before they attended training (P=0.116) or after their initial course (P=0.120). Whatever else the initial training course achieved, in respect of student officers, regardless of whether they remained within the force or resigned, it did not help them to feel equipped to deal with the physically confrontational aspects of police work. After they had attended the PIRTC, none of male or female officers who subsequently resigned said that they felt more confident in dealing with being assaulted on duty after their training.

It is unclear whether the thought alone of being assaulted on duty may have influenced the men and women to leave the police service. There was no statistical significance (N=81; P=0.116) comparing the views of officers as a cohort, serving or resigned, prior to attending the PIRTC or afterwards (N=81; P=0.120). Some evidence might be

found in the concern expressed about the thought of being assaulted in the case of the women (N=20; P=0.17), but it was not true for the men (N=61; P=0.724). Twenty female officers took part in the post-training survey. Half of the women who resigned said they were worried about being assaulted on duty: prior to attending the PIRTC, fewer than ten per cent had expressed any concern. What had happened to make them so worried? The women who chose to stay within the police service did not exhibit the same levels of concern. Prior to training, one women in ten said she was worried about being assaulted on duty. That figure had decreased after the women returned from their training course. There is no similar trend for either group of men: those who remained or those who resigned.

Creating and maintaining respect within a community

The final area of the analysis examined the views of the police officers before and after attending the PIRTC in respect of Black and minority ethnic groups (BME) and about language used by and the behaviour of police officers. There was no statistically significant relationship between the response to a question about police improving relationships with members of the community when the responses prior to the officers attending the PIRTC were compared to those when the officers had completed their training (N=81; P=0.596). There was no statistically significant relationship between the answers they gave and whether or not the respondent subsequently chose to leave the police service (N=81; P=0.251).

Before the officers attended the PIRTC, almost half (44%) of all survey participants considered that the best way for the police to enjoy a better relationship with BME youths was to obtain a better understanding of their culture. That response was the one chosen by the majority of participants in both subsets, serving (40.2%) and resigned (55.9%). Following the PIRTC, the majority of participants maintained the same view. However, while those officers in the subset serving remained fairly consistent in their response (43.5%), it was true for substantially fewer in the subset resigned (42.1%) The PIRTC curriculum placed emphasis on improving understanding of different elements of society and ways in which a police officer should work within a varied community. The research question sought to identify whether there was any evidence to show that the initial training course for newly-appointed police officers was capable

of inculcating the appropriate attitudes and behaviours the police service had deemed were relevant to the role of a police constable. The analysis of the follow-up data did not show that an improved understanding of the potential causes of conflict between BME youths and police officers or an improved knowledge of how better to deal with or prevent the occurrence of such dissatisfaction had been achieved. The analysis appeared to support the null hypothesis and, moreover, the data suggested that the student officers' orientation, after completing their training course, were no more inclined towards a reflective, information-gathering model with fewer student officers (43.2%) selecting that response. Almost one quarter of student officers (22.6%) chose to supply a free-text answer where they wrote a narrative response to the question when they answered after their training course. Of the free-text answers, the majority (52.6%) considered relationships would improve if:

... the police understood the youth culture and the youths had a better understanding of the policeman's job.

However, when the data gathered prior to the training course were compared with those gathered afterwards, there was no statistically significant difference (N=81; P=0.409).

The student officers were asked what they thought about the notion of repatriation⁷⁸. There were no statistically significant relationships between the views expressed whether the respondent was serving or had resigned (N=82; P=0.221) nor the view they held prior to (N=80; P=0.309) and after attending (N=81; P=0.266) the PIRTC. Prior to completing the PIRTC, more than three quarters of respondents (77.5%) expressed the view that they strongly agreed with the notion of repatriation. Following their training course, the majority (69.1%) maintained that view as reflected in their responses.

When asked to consider the benefits of the legislation concerning race relations, more than half of the respondents (54.4%) who, prior to attending the PIRTC felt the Race Relations Acts created problems between races maintained that view. Equally

⁷⁸ 'Repatriation' was used to indicate a position where supposed-immigrants may be returned to the country of their ethnic origin.

consistent in their views were those who identified benefits in having race relations legislation generally indicated that they considered the legislation to be necessary to prevent unfair treatment towards BME groups as the majority (62.6%) that held that view prior to training expressed the same view following their course. The analysis showed no statistically significant relationships between the views respondents held prior to or after having attended the PIRTC (N=81; P=0.171) when the two sets of responses were compared. Typical of the views provided as a free-text response after attending the PIRTC are the following comments;

The Acts may encourage reverse discrimination but they are needed.

I cannot give a view as I do not know enough about coloured people and Race Relations Acts to comment.

In a way, they discriminate against others in the community

There is a need for some legislation to protect rights but it is vastly abused and members of minority groups use it to their advantage.

Student officers were asked to consider the degree of racism that might exist and by whom the problem should be confronted, if they considered there was one. Analysis of their replies did not reveal any statistically significant relationships in respect of racism (N=80; P=0.661) when the responses provided prior to and after completing the PIRTC were compared. Before they had received any training, more than one quarter (26.2 %) of the 'serving' officers said they thought minority ethnic groups tended to be too sensitive or exaggerated ethnicity issues. After they had been trained, a similar number (25.8 %) still held the same view. Prior to training, 15.8 per cent of those who resigned expressed the view that BME groups were too sensitive or exaggerated the problem. The same percentage of respondents held that view following the PIRTC.

Many student officers made comments indicating that the problem was one to be tackled jointly by both black and white people, as in: 'Racism is a problem for both black and white' (70% pre; 35.8% post). Other comments made after the training course included the following, gathered from two officers: 'It's a problem for black and white but blacks are too sensitive'. The tendency of BME groups to exaggerate the

scale of the problem associated with racism in society was raised by officers prior to attending the PIRTC. Four of them made comments such as: 'It's a problem for black and white but the problem is exaggerated'. Individually, the issue of exaggeration was raised by one respondent who thought, 'It's a problem for black and white and both exaggerate it'. Another considered that the media were inclined to exaggerate the problem. Prior to the officers being trained, they provided a range of views, including the following:

Both blacks and whites are too sensitive and racist.

Racism was brought into the UK by immigrants as a tribal and regional hatred.

The immigrants need to adjust and the host country to accept them for what they are.

The problem is being overcome but some minorities use it as an excuse.

Views on unprofessional language used by police officers

Student officers were asked to consider the use by police officers of unprofessional and derogatory terms and to indicate the degree to which they thought the use of the terms 'sunshine' and 'coon' to be acceptable. There was no statistically significant relationship between the views expressed by the student officers when compared by prior to or after training (N=81; P=0.110), nor whether the student officers were still serving or had resigned (N=81; P=0.204). Prior to attending the PIRTC, 11.3 per cent of officers still servicing selected the responses 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' in answer to the question asking whether the words 'sunshine' and 'coon' were meant to be offensive to black people when used by the police. Following training, that view was expressed by 16.1 per cent of officers in the 'serving' category. Considering next the student officers in the 'resigned' category, only 5.3 per cent selected the responses 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' prior to training however, following the PIRTC, those responses were indicated by 36.9 per cent of them. Many student officers selected a response indicating that they considered the views were intended to be offensive to black people when used towards them by a police officer. Prior to attending training,

of those student officers in the ‘serving’ category, 87.1 per cent indicated they believed the comments were ‘offensive’ or ‘strongly offensive’. There were a large majority in the ‘resigned’ category who indicated a similar response (84.2%). Following their attendance at the PIRTC, the responses in the ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ that the comments were meant to be offensive were, for the ‘serving’ category, 80.7 per cent and for the ‘resigned’ 57.9 per cent. Whilst the ‘serving’ category maintained a strong relationship to their originally-selected responses, those officers in the ‘resigned’ category did less so, with 26.3 per cent fewer than prior to attending their training course.

The data presented in Table 4.10 show what the student officers had identified they would do if a colleague made a comment in the form of a joke about a member of minority group.

Table 4.10 Study A Cohort: Officer’s Reaction to Unprofessional Behaviour by a Colleague Telling a Joke About a Minority Group or Group Member

Category		Ignore	Reluctantly	Consider	Do	Ask	Other ^a	Totals	
		it	join in	it	something	them			
		%	%	harmless	similar	to			
				fun		stop			
				%	%	%			
Serving	Pre								
	PIRTC	N=62	17.7	9.7	37.1	17.7	1.6	16.1	100
	Post	N=62	6.5	17.7	40.3	24.2	1.6	9.7	100
<hr/>									
Resigned									
Resigned	Pre								
	PIRTC	N=19	15.8	10.5	26.3	15.8	10.5	21.1	100
	Post	N=19	31.6	0	31.6	26.3	0	10.5	100

a ‘Other’ refers free text annotation provided by respondent.

When the data provided prior to training was compared to the data provided afterwards there was no statistical significance (N=81; P=0.140). Prior to training, 17.7 per cent of the student officers in the 'serving' category and 15.8 per cent of those in the 'resigned' category said that they would ignore a colleague who was behaving unprofessionally by telling an inappropriate joke.

The wording of the question⁷⁹ did not connote a specific minority against whom the comment would be directed.

Following the PIRTC, only 6.5 per cent of the 'serving' student officers but twice as many student officers in the 'resigned' category (31.6%) reported the same view. In both categories, 'serving' and 'resigned', more student officers considered an inappropriate joke to be harmless fun after training than did so before attending their course. Of those student officers who chose to respond to the question by means of the free-text, 61.9 per cent (Count=13) considered that their reaction to the joke against a minority group or one of its members would, '... depend on the circumstances'.

The following comments are typical of those additionally made:

If the jokes aren't offensive then it's only harmless fun. If it's offensive then I'd ignore the joke and make it known that I didn't like it.

If it were told by a racist I would probably be annoyed. If it were told in fun and not to annoy then I probably wouldn't mind

It's acceptable when used solely for entertainment and not to offend those about whom it is told

Teaching about attitudes and behaviour was an important part of the PIRTC curriculum. The emphasis placed throughout the training course on the role of the police in society and the inter-relationship between the police and the public suggested that following the PIRTC, if the course was affective, the responses given by the officers surveyed should have evidenced a greater awareness of their social roles. Those officers who, prior to attending the PIRTC, provided evidence that they already

⁷⁹ For example, please see Appendix 3

possessed a sound understanding of the social role of a police officer would be expected to maintain their view after they had completed their training.

It is evident that after attending their training, the responses provided by student officers indicated that the majority were no more inclined to intervene if a colleague engaged in unprofessional behaviour than they were prior to attending. After training, 38.3 per cent of those surveyed considered that the unprofessional behaviour was only harmless fun. Prior to being trained, a similar percentage (34.6 %) held the same view.

The significance of assault on duty and gender on decision to resign

When the data were gathered from Study A in the late 1980s, they were subjected only to a simple analysis designed to identify the different groupings that resulted from the responses provided by the student officers. Those initial groupings were used comparatively, after the student officers had completed their PIRTC, to establish whether the data revealed anything different following training. Differences did emerge and they suggested some correlations may exist between elements of the data.

When the current research was undertaken, the data gathered from Study A was to be used as a baseline against which to compare the results emanating from the analysis of Study B and establish whether evidence existed to determine whether the PIRTC was effective, as set out in the research question, in inculcating the required attitudes and behaviour. In order to use the data gathered as part of Study A, they were analysed using statistical software, which had not occurred originally. The correlations that appeared to be evident as a result of the simple analysis conducted in the late 1980s were confirmed. To establish the extent of any statistically significant relationships, some elements of the data were subjected to regressions analysis and the results are set out in the following tables and discussion.

Student officers were asked about the likelihood of their being assaulted in their role as police officers and how they felt about the prospect. Comparison between the officers who were still serving and those who had resigned identified a statistically significant relationship ($P=0.025$). There was also a statistically significant relationship between those officers who resigned and who had expressed their concern about being assaulted

on duty (P=0.007). The analysis identified that there was a relationship between the prospect of being assaulted and resignation.

Moreover, a statistically significant relationship was identified between women who subsequently resigned and had reported they were more worried about the prospect of being assaulted when compared to women who remained within the force (P=0.035). There was no similar relationship between the prospect of being assaulted and resigning in respect of the men. The changes in the student officers' perspective, before and after the initial training course, almost certainly need further research. Tables 4.11 and 4.12, show the regression analysis⁸⁰ for the Study A Cohort, with 'serving' as the dependent variable. The data are arranged by covariates in rows and statistical significance is identified in bold print. The dependent variable is listed in the left-hand column of the table. There are statistically significant relationships between gender and resignation and between concerns about being assaulted and resignation. Women were more likely to resign than were men. Officers who expressed greater concern about being assaulted on duty were more likely to resign than those who expressed less concern and this was significant in the case of women officers.

Table 4.11 Study A Cohort: Regressions Analysis Relating to Assault Data (N = 107)

Dependent Variable	First or Sole Covariate	Sig ^b	Second Covariate	Sig
Serving (comparing serving and resigned recruits)	Assault- other ^a	0.007		
	Assault - accept possibility	0.025		
	Assault-other	0.007	Gender	0.008
	Assault - accept possibility	0.028	Gender	0.005

a 'Other', in this table, means that the respondent elected to use the free-text response to the question

b 'Sig' refers to statistical significance.

Prior to the legislation⁸¹ in 1975, women police officers did not carry out the same duties as their male counterparts. The women police officers were organised into departments staffed solely by women with responsibility for dealing with female

80 Where $P \leq 0.05$.

81 Sex Discrimination Act, 1975.

offenders and missing persons, particularly juveniles. Their working day was shorter than that of their male counterparts and their salary was lower. As a result, the opportunity for women officers to progress was severely restricted, since all the supervisors were drawn from within their own ranks, serving in what was known as the policewomen's department.

The department comprised only a small percentage of the total police establishment and the number of supervisors required was correspondingly fewer than in the male departments. Women officers who wished to do the same work as male police officers were prevented from doing so. Women officers were not involved in dealing with instances of violent public disorder or dealing with cases of sudden, violent or unnatural deaths. The way women police officers were deployed prior to 1975 is substantially different to the way they are used in today's police service, where their role and duties are indistinguishable from those of their male colleagues.

The significance of educational attainments on decision to resign

The data from Study A were analysed in respect of the respondents' educational attainments and their promotion aspirations to identify any statistically significant relationships (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 Study A Cohort: Regression Analysis of Education Data and Promotion Prospects (N=107)

Dependent Variable	First or Sole Covariate		Second Covariate	
		Sig		Sig
(comparing serving and resigned recruits)	University level education	0.021		
	University level education	0.037	Gender	0.005
	Inspecting rank as post training aspiration	0.005		
	No degree	0.038		

The highest level of academic attainment, when considered with gender, produced a statistically significant difference between the officers who resigned and those who did not (P=0.021). When gender was included in the analysis, there was a statistically significant difference between the men and women who resigned and their academic

attainment: women who held a degree were statistically significantly more likely to resign ($P=0.005$). Holding a degree was not a significant factor in whether or not men resigned.

The final area of significance to be considered was the rank that the respondent hoped to reach. Prior to attending the PIRTC, almost three quarters (73.3 %) of the officers who subsequently resigned said they hoped to be promoted to one of the inspecting ranks compared to 60.6 per cent who did not resign. The likelihood of those aspirations being realised were highly improbable. Prior to their attendance at the PIRTC, there was statistical significances between the aspirations of those two sub-sets, serving and resigned ($N=129$; $P=0.530$). However, when the aspirations of the student officers are considered following the PIRTC, they do reveal a statistically significant difference ($N=70$; $P=0.009$) between those who remained within the police service and those who resigned.

Summary

This chapter provided an analysis of the data obtained from Study A Cohort gathered before and after police officers attended the PIRTC. The analysis was undertaken to establish whether there was any statistically significant differences between the views gathered from the student officers before they attended the PIRTC and after they had completed the course, in order to identify whether evidence suggested that undertaking the PIRTC had brought about the changes, if any were identified. The data analysis also compared the views expressed by officers who were still serving compared to those who had resigned and identified a number of differences based on the variable 'serving'. However, the main finding from the analysis was that there were no statistically significant differences between the data gathered prior to and following the PIRTC when the two results were compared using the McNemar-Bowker test. Relating the analysis to the research question, there did not appear to be any evidence to support the view that the PIRTC was able to inculcate the attitudes and behaviour deemed by the police service and set out in regulations as appropriate for police officers.

There were differences in the responses of student officers that were related to age, gender, academic qualifications and propensity to resign from the police service. The data also revealed differences relative to academic qualifications and the reasons given for joining the police service. These did not appear to influence the responses given on the questionnaires, as the attitudes and behaviours as reported in those answers were not statistically significant when a comparison was made between the data provided before the PIRTC with that provided after attending the course. Further differences were identified in the assessments of the element of police work that was as the motivational factor propelling an individual to become police officers. It is possible for any officer joining the police service to become a chief constable - the most senior rank in the provincial police forces - though it is unlikely. A comparison of the respective aspirations of those officers who resigned from the police service with those who remained identified differences between the two groups suggesting that an awareness of the operational realities may not have been fully learned during training. From the analysis undertaken, the chapter showed, there was no conclusive evidence that lack of promotion prospects was a factor in the resignations recorded.

There is always the possibility that an officer might be assaulted when they are on duty and many of the women student officers who resigned said that they were worried about the prospect of being assaulted to the degree that they avoided thinking about it. There was a differences in the perspective of student officers and the degree of concern they expressed about the prospect of assault when their view before they were trained and after having attended the PIRTC were compared.

As was highlighted earlier in the chapter and elsewhere in the thesis, the PIRTC curriculum was directed towards the specific goal of providing a greater awareness of the social role of policing and an understanding of the perspectives of the communities in which the police officers would work, as well as seeking to provide knowledge of the law and police practice. The analysis of the data showed how the officers would react to a range of situations and provided a commentary on the relationship between the officers' expressed views and the intentions of the PIRTC. No statistically significant evidence emerged to suggest that the course affected the attitudes and behaviour of the student officers who attended the PIRTC. Three of the major factors,

differentiated those who remained within the police service and those who resigned: gender; the prospects of being assaulted, and the rank aspiration.

Chapter 5 examines the data gathered from the Study B Cohort, identifying the extent to which the initial training course attended by officers from the Study B Cohort had been any more affective than the PIRTC, attended by the Study A cohort in. Would there be evidence to show that it was able to inculcate the attitudes and behaviour in newly-appointed student officers, as it was required, in part, to do?

Chapter 5 Study B - The 2005 Cohort

This chapter reports on the analysis of the Study B cohort in order to establish whether, some twenty years after the initial research and following substantial changes to the training process and a further re-stating of the underlying purposes of the police initial recruit training course, evidence exists to show that the attitudes and behaviour of students officers is being reinforced, when appropriate at the time of appointment or is being changed where it was not.

Analysis of the Study B Cohort

The Study B Cohort comprised 293 officers who participated in Phase I of the research by returning a completed questionnaire. The data are organised into two main datasets, 'applicants', representing everyone in the cohort who applied to become police officers, and, 'appointed', representing those who were successful in securing an appointment. The majority of applicants, and the majority of those subsequently appointed as police officers, selected the nature of police work being a worthwhile job as their main reason for joining the police service. Those data are discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

Table 5.1 provides an overview of the pool of applicants comprising the Study B Cohort who applied to join the host force. Of those, 126 (43 %) were offered an appointment. Within the cohort, 50.8 per cent of the people appointed were women. The mean age for all women applicants was 26.1 years with those who were successful in being offered an appointment slightly younger, with a mean age of 25.7 years; for the men appointed (49.2 % of the cohort), the reverse was true. The overall mean age was 26.6 years and, for those men appointed, the mean age was 27.8 years. A greater contrast is seen when one compares the holders of first degrees in both groups: the total applicant pool and the persons appointed. Overall, less than forty in every hundred male applicants (39.7 %) had a first degree compared to those finally appointed where the figure was almost twenty per cent higher (57.9 %). The percentages were even higher for female applicants. More than half of the females (59.3 %) in the applicant pool had a first degree. However, almost three quarters (73.3 %) of the women appointed had a first degree.

Table 5.1 Study B Cohort: Applicants and Student Officers Appointed by Age and Degree

Category	Applicants N=293		Appointed N=126	
	M	F	M	F
Count	173	120	62	64
Percentage of applicants	59.0	41.0	49.2	50.8
Mean age	26.6	26.1	27.8	25.7
Modal age	24	23	24	24
Percentage with first degree	30.2	40.3	41.9	46.9

Perspectives of the new student officers at the time of their appointment

Despite the fact that in the pool of prospective applicants more women (40.3 %) than men (30.2 %) held a first degree, this was not reflected in the reasons they cited as to why they had chosen to join the police service. Table 5.2 presents an analysis of the reasons given for joining the police service. Men (39.1 %) gave career prospects as their main reason for wishing to join the police service more often than women (32.2 %). When the prospective applicant pool was compared with those officers who were appointed, career prospects for the latter group were seen to be marginally higher as the motivational influence for the men (41.9 %) but lower for women (31.3 %), suggesting that the men were more ambitious than the women.

Table 5.2 Study B Cohort: Reasons For Joining Police Service

Reasons	Applicants N=293		Appointed N=126	
	M	F	M	F
Count	173	120	62	64
	%	%	%	%
Career prospects	39.1	32.2	41.9	31.3
Job security	6.9	5.0	3.2	4.7
Worthwhile job	54.0	62.8	54.8	64.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

A variety of explanations were provided by student officers in respect of their desire to join the police service during interviews in Phase II of Study B. The extracts provide a varied and inconsistent rationale for seeking to be a police officer. There was no evidence to support the notion that police work is seen as a vocation, an idea categorised as a ‘... middle-class image of the force...’ (Fitzgerald, McLennan and Pawson, 1981, p.130). Career potential was an important consideration, as the following comments illustrate:

... well, it was a career really first and foremost ... a very stable career as well... it's not as if I'm going to be made redundant.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

... it's something I wanted to do for a while... my career wasn't going where it was before and it came to the point where I said I want to go for the police.

(Male officer, late twenties)

... really it's the long term prospects of the job. I've had quite a bit of time to establish the route that I wanted to take. It's the long term prospects, it's the pension prospect, it's the career progression.

(Female officer, late twenties)

For some student officers, the idea of being a police officer was something they had considered since their mid-teens:

I suppose that started when I was sixteen really, that was my ideal career choice. I just fancied doing something a bit different, you know ... working in the community.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

I always wanted to be one [a police officer] from school age. ... there's no particular reason, not sort of power or anything. Probably it's ... job satisfaction.

(Female officer, late thirties)

... I've been in the military police, and I've worked with the civil police and it's been a kind of 'little girl' ambition since I was at school.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

Other student officers considered that being able to help the communities in which they would work was their motivation for choosing police work as a career. The following comment is typical of officers who held that view:

... [I] would appreciate helping people and I wanted to have a career that I thought was worthwhile and that I didn't mind necessarily going to work every day to do. (Male officer, mid-twenties)

Some student officers provided additional reasons that included remuneration, the respect accorded to police officers and the self-esteem associated with the work:

... [it's] a good job, it's a respectable job. ... it's got a decent pay. ... and I just think that I would feel really proud of myself if I was a police officer. (Female officer, early twenties)

I know that I've got the skills required to become a police officer, and it's the career. (Female officer, early twenties)

In some instances, officers had been motivated to join the police service because other members of their family were or had been serving police officers:

... because my uncle was in the police force, so obviously seeing him... so it was [because of] him really that I wanted to be a police officer. (Female officer, mid-forties)

I've always wanted to do the job from being very young. ... my great granddad was in the police, and my granddad kind of talked to me for quite some time about the police and how fun it was. (Female officer, mid-twenties)

I do have family members in the police and just the stories from what they tell me and how much they enjoyed it really. (Male officer, mid-twenties)

... my uncle, he was a police officer, and ... and he loved his job ... and I've always been interested in a legal career. (Female officer, late twenties)

Career advice provided by schools or during a visit to the school by a police officer was also given as a reason for joining the police service by some of the officers interviewed:

... a police officer came into the school where I was at... I was probably only eight years old... I quite fancied being in the dog section of the police and that's where it stems from. I spoke to the careers woman at school and she said, 'Oh there's no way you can be a dog handler because of your colour vision.

(Male officer, early thirties)

It's one of these things that's always been in the back of my mind. At school it was like when somebody asked you what you were going to do when you grew up.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

I think it is when I was at school. ... we got career advice and we had to go away and ... they had ... these books and stuff. And I don't know, I just – it was just something I quite fancied. I can remember the man saying at the time like, "... the police have got a cracking pension scheme..." and [I] thought, "Oh yeah I could see myself doing that."

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

... I've always wanted to be a police officer. I just found that when I was at school... obviously you get your career's advice and this, that and the other, and I looked into it then. And just everything to do with it appealed to us. I couldn't get any work experience [with the police] because there was nothing, there were no cadets or anything, so I joined the youth training scheme, the Police Youth Training Scheme.

(Female officer, mid-thirties)

Some officers had been motivated by the financial rewards of becoming a police officer or the security of tenure appointment as a police officer at the time of the research brought with it:

... the pension, I think, to be honest... I had just left [previous job]... so I was aware that I could carry the time I had already done across to the police service. I'd paid in for ... and didn't want to lose that time...

(Male officer late twenties)

... one of the main things, to be honest, was security initially. Job security, yeah, as well as, you know, the prospects for promotion, the pay, and also the job they do, ..., I've never been one sort of nine to five sitting behind a desk, I like the varied work.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

Just a few people mentioned status as a motivational force:

I've always wanted to be a police officer since I was little. I think it is just the idea of the status... plus you get to help people. It's not routine and I like the idea of getting out there and really helping people, making a difference.

(Female officer early twenties)

I wanted to be a police officer back home in my country, just probably the uniform at that time, because I was so young. ... and being able to make decisions on the spot and stuff like that.

(Female officer, mid-thirties)

The variety of the work was often mentioned as a reason for wishing to be a police officer and, on occasions, it was the only reason given:

.... different things to do ... not doing the same thing.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

... without a doubt it was the interesting job. ... financially, I could have been a lot better off than I am now if I'd have stayed [in my previous job], but – I was bored, I used to hate going to work.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

The impression the police make on members of the public when they deal with an incident was cited as having been a positive influence by one officer:

I suppose it's one of those things you think of as a kid, isn't it? I got assaulted a few years ago and the cops that came were really, really good ... kind of left a really good impression. I actually applied for the fire brigade and the police at the same time and I ended up being successful with the police.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

In the applicant pool, more women (62.8 %) than men (54 %) considered the worthwhileness of the job as a motivating influence. The notion of having a worthwhile job was reflected in those people appointed, marginally higher for the men (54.8 %) than in the overall pool and considerably higher in respect of the women appointed (64.1 %). Although worthwhileness was selected by many student officers as one of the motivating factors for joining the police service, during interviews, only two officers specifically mentioned it as a motivator to join the police:

I love it, absolutely love it. It's one of the most worthwhile jobs and I haven't even been out yet and dealt with anyone, but I can just see already it's worthwhile... It's hard work but you know what you're there for, you know what your role is in society. It will be worth it.

(Female officer, late twenties)

An academic degree does not provide a guarantee of promotion nor are a police officer's promotion prospects directly related to academic status at the time of their appointment. More than half (56.4 %) of those with a first degree (level 6 award⁸²) were appointed and this was statistically significant in terms of the relationship between holding a first degree and being appointed ($P=0.004$). Those with lower academic awards fared less well in their attempt to obtain an appointment in comparison with those with a degree. Only 20 per cent of applicants, whose highest academic award was level 4 or level 5, secured the offer of appointment. The relationship between holding that level of academic award and the offer of appointment was also statistically significant ($P=0.015$). Only 16.7 per cent of the applicant pool whose highest academic award was at level 3 was offered an appointment. No-one was appointed below this level. Table 5.3 identifies the comparative levels of academic awards.

The most frequently held academic award among all those persons offered an appointment by the host force was a first degree (44.4 %). The relationship between holding an academic award and being offered an appointment was statistically significant ($P=0.013$) and, for degree holders, the more so ($P=0.002$). It was also

⁸² For a commentary on the hierarchy of awards please see the National Qualifications Framework, QCA/06/2298 Mar 2006.

statistically significant for men appointed who were degree holders (P=0.013), though it was not so for women who were appointed.

Table 5.3 National Qualifications Framework^a

Key Skills	NVQs	National qualification framework level	Framework for HE ^b Qualification
	Level 5	Level 8: BTEC Advanced Professional Diplomas, Certificates and Awards	D (Doctoral)
		Level 7: BTEC Advanced Professional Diplomas, Certificates and Awards	M (Masters)
Level 4	Level 4	Level 6: BTEC Professional Diplomas, Certificates and Awards	H (Honours)
		Level 5: BTEC Professional Diplomas, Certificates and Awards. BTEC HNDs and HNCs	I (Intermediate)
		Level 4: BTEC Professional Diplomas, Certificates and Awards	C (Certificate)
Level 3	Level 3	Level 3: BTEC National Diplomas, Certificates and Awards + A Levels	
Level 2	Level 2	Level 2: BTEC First Diplomas, Certificates and Awards + GCSE A* - C	

a Revised levels from 1st January 2006

b Higher education

Women with a degree did not have a greater chance of being selected for appointment (46.9 %) when compared to those women who were selected and who did not hold a first degree (53.1 %). The women appointed who held first degrees amounted to a quarter (25.4 %) of the female applicant pool. Men who held a first degree (41.9 %) were less likely to be offered an appointment than were similarly qualified women, and they amounted to 15.2 per cent of the male applicant pool.

The only other case, where the holder of an academic award was more likely to be offered an appoint than someone who did not, was in respect of those holders at level 4 and level 5 awards. Applicants who held academic awards at that level were appointed more frequently (M=12.9 % F=12.5 %) than those who did not (M=10.1 % F=7.4 %).

In every other category of academic award, the majority, of either gender, were not appointed.

Aspirations

Table 5.4 identifies the career and promotion aspirations by gender and rank of the Study B Cohort at the time they attended the assessment centre and, again, after completing the IPLDP. Following the IPLDP, 91.3 per cent of the women and 93.3 per cent of the men indicated that they wished to hold a supervisory rank. In reality, more than three-quarters (77.26 %) of the 141,000 officers serving in England and Wales in 2006 held the rank of constable (Clegg & Kirwan, 2006). The student officers were asked to identify the rank they ultimately hoped to attain. After attending the IPLDP, the percentage of women who aspired to reach one of the ACPO ranks remained unchanged (5.9 %).

Table 5.4 Study B Cohort: Aspirations for Promotion Before and After the IPLDP

	Count		Cons ^a		Sgt		Insp		Supt		ACPO	
			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
			Pre ^b	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Female	119	Cohort	6.7	21.7	55.0	11.7	5.0					
	64	<i>Appointed</i>	5.9	8.8	26.5	32.5	50.0	44.1	11.8	8.8	5.9	5.9
Male	172	Cohort	2.9	28.7	48.3	12.6	7.5					
	62	<i>Appointed</i>	0.0	6.7	30.0	16.7	53.3	60.0	6.7	13.3	10.0	3.3
Overall	291	Cohort	4.4	25.9	51.0	12.2	6.5					
	126	<i>Appointed</i>	3.1	7.8	28.1	25.0	51.6	51.6	9.4	10.9	7.8	4.7
UK ^c	141k	National	77.26	15.1	6.43	1.13	0.16					

a. The rank structure is as follows: Cons = constable; Sgt = sergeant; Insp = inspector or chief inspector; Supt = superintendent or chief superintendent; ACPO = assistant, deputy and chief constable.

b. Pre and post refer to before and after attending the IPLDP.

c. Statistics for serving police officers at a national level.

While the percentage for men reduced (10 % to 3.3 %) it still represented an unrealistic aspiration. The national police statistics show that less than two in every one thousand serving officers holds an ACPO rank (0.16 %). Prior to attending the IPLDP, only 3.1

per cent of the officers indicated that they wished to remain in the rank of constable. After attending the IPLDP, the number increased (7.8 %). However, Table 5.4 shows this still under-represented the reality of potential promotion prospects by a factor of almost ten.

The officers who had chosen the rank of constable as their ultimate goal explained their reasons in the following terms:

... because I never thought I'd stay [in the police service] for twenty years. I'm going to try something else. ... government. ... that's something I've been interested in. But then I'd be late forties-fifties ...

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

I would have no desire to progress. Obviously, given my age as well ... if I was obviously very young, coming in at twenty or twenty one, I may have wanted to go [up]. I couldn't be having the hassle that obviously supervisors have now.

(Female officer, later thirties)

Male officers displayed more realistic aspirations than women, in respect of the sergeant rank, following the IPLDP: 16.7 per cent of student officers identified that rank as their ultimate goal. Nationally, 15.1 per cent of officers in service in 2006 held the rank of sergeant. In the case of the female officers, those wishing to achieve the rank of sergeant increased following the IPLDP, with almost one third of the (32.5 %) citing that rank as their ultimate goal. Their aspiration was more than twice the level of the actual number of officers who held the rank nationally. Officers aspiring to the rank of sergeant offered a number of reasons to support their choice including acquiring additional responsibility, being well-regarded and keeping a close contact with operational police work:

Well, it's just one step up from P.C. and I'd like to have a little bit more responsibility. I'm not interested in going any higher than that because I don't really want to do an office job.

(Female officer, mid-forties)

... I didn't know a huge amount about the rank structure, just from a forces background, sergeant was quite a sort of well-regarded rank to have in the forces.

(Male officer, late twenties)

I feel that's [carrying out a sergeant's duties] probably about as far as it is from being the policing job that I would want to get. (Male officer, mid-twenties)

... at first I wasn't really too bothered about the rank structure I just wanted to be in the job but I'd want a little bit... to be able to supervise. I know other things in my life would probably put barriers to that but I do see myself as a sergeant purely because I am quite career orientated and I would like to take the exams. I know I couldn't stay a P.C. for the whole of my career...

(Male officer, late twenties)

The realistic reflection of the male officers, in respect of the sergeant rank, was not apparent in their other choices of their rank aspirations. The male officers over-estimated the probability of being an inspector or chief inspector by a ratio of almost 10:1. Sixty per cent of the male officers chose that as their ultimate goal whereas, nationally, only 6.43 per cent of officers fill those two supervisory ranks. For women, while the number selecting the inspecting ranks (44.1 %) was less than for the men, they also over-estimated the potential of achieving such a rank by almost 7:1. Aspiring to the rank of inspector or chief inspector represents a move away from a functional supervisor to an administrative supervisor with some functional responsibilities. Officers selecting the inspecting ranks as their aspirational goal gave several reasons including additional responsibility, retaining and operational perspective and the requirements of domestic and professional lives requiring a compromise to be made:

Well, I've kind of chosen inspector because I want to leave my promotion 'til later on in my career ... I'd like to get lots of years under my belt.

(Male officer, early thirties)

... to me it's high enough up that you have a bit of responsibility but it's not so high that you're removed from the front line.

(Female officer, late twenties)

Because, from what I've heard it was – it was a suitable point at which a good level of responsibility is achieved while maintaining contact with the public.

(Male officer, late thirties)

Because it's still hands-on, which is important to me. I am quite driven and I am ambitious, whereas my partner would like as high as possible, I'd still- I'd like to – to be promoted, but I think inspector would be probably the highest I'd like to go.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

Well, inspector would be nice, but I think if I was going to do it I'd rather be chief inspector... that would be like the level for me. ... I know I'm going to have children eventually, and that could compromise any career progression that I think I might like. ... [I] wouldn't think it would be a barrier from the police service's point of view, but I think it would be a barrier from my own point of view.

(Female officer, late twenties)

... just like to think that might be attainable. I'm not sure how high up the police force most women actually get; I'm not entirely sure to be honest. I think it might have more to do with the fact that I think there are predominantly more men in the police force than there is women. So I suppose you could say that might be the reason why there's not as many women in higher positions. I've heard attitudes are changing. And I knew people who were in the police, like female officers about ten years ago, and they experienced an awful lot of problems when they were in.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

Officers over-estimated the probability of reaching either the superintending (Aspiration: 10.9 %; national: 1.13 %) or ACPO ranks (Aspiration: 4.7 %; national: 0.16 %). On their return from the IPLDP, they did not demonstrate a greater awareness of the probability of being promoted, when compared to their views expressed prior to being trained. Officers explained their choices of a senior rank in the following ways:

... the rank of chief constable. because it's the highest you can get and I think, well, I've got thirty five years to fill in and I'm going to do everything I can to reach that rank. I mean I know it's not completely realistic.

(Female officer, early twenties)

Chief constable. Because I just, you know, I think that you can't put yourself down. I don't know what's going to happen, I might never be anything more than a pc – not that there's anything wrong with that either.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

There was no statistically significant relationship between gender and the choice of the rank the officers hoped to achieve prior to or after having attended the IPLDP. There was a statistical significance in the selection of ultimate rank, when the choice of ranks made prior to attending and following initial training were compared ($P < 0.001$). When the aspirations are compared for a weighted group, with an equal number of student officers by gender, 20.6 per cent of the women in the sample said that they wished to remain constables or reach the rank of sergeant compared to 11.7 per cent of the men. Approximately one quarter (26.5 %) of the women said they hoped to attain the inspecting or superintending ranks compared to more than one third (36.7 %) of the men. As Table 5.5 identified, some of the aspirations were unrealistic, in some cases over-estimating the probability of reaching the desired rank by a factor of twelve. However, it was the case that the women appointed, although better academically qualified, reported themselves as being less aspirational than did their male counterparts.

Policing priority

The student officers were asked in the questionnaire to select the level of priority they felt the police should give to a list of policing issues. Comparing those persons offered an appointment with those who were not; there were no statistically significant relationships in the choices they made ($N=291$; $P=0.338$). When the responses of the officers appointed were compared, prior to attending and after having completed the IPLDP, there were no statistically significant relationships in the views they expressed ($N=64$; $P=0.361$). Addressing the public fear of crime was the item selected as the greatest priority by 59.1 per cent of respondents before and 61.9 per cent of respondents after attending the IPLDP. Fewer than half of those officers appointed and who completed Phase II of the Study B research identified operational issues as their greatest priority (street crime, 31.3%; public disorder, 9.4%)

Concern for personal safety

Police work carries with it the inevitable risk of personal conflict and the potential of being physically assaulted. Recent research (Shapps, 2007) identified the number of police officers being assaulted on duty: five out of every six police officers in England

Wales and Scotland had been assaulted on duty at some time since 2002. While not every officer will be assaulted during his or her service, some officers will be assaulted several times during the time they serve. The potential to be assaulted is an issue. For most officers, particularly those who patrol the streets on a regular basis, it is an ever-present threat. In the host force, data collated by HMIC (Anon, 2008), showed that in the year 2005 to 2006, two officers were seriously injured⁸³ and 227 suffered minor injuries⁸⁴ while being assaulted on duty. In the following year, in the host force, the figures were two and 205 respectively.

Table 5.5 provides data analysed into the subsets of people who were appointed and those who were not. In the case of those applicants appointed, their responses are provided to show their view about being assaulted on duty before and after attending the IPLDP. Prior to attending the training course, 95.2 per cent (Count=119) said they were concerned about being assaulted. Following the IPLDP, 86 per cent of officers still expressed that view. An increase in the level of physical self-reliance was identified after the course with fewer officers (86%) who said that they were concerned about being assaulted compared to their level of concern prior to attending the IPLDP (95.2%). It seems that, for some officers, the process of being trained had increased their physical self-reliance while for others it had created the reverse effect.

Table 5.5 Study B Cohort: Student Officers Concerns About Being Assaulted

Applicants not appointed			Applicants appointed			
	Count	%	Pre PIRTC		Post PIRTC	
			Count	%	Count	%
Concerned	144	86.2	119	95.2	55	86
Unconcerned	23	13.8	6	4.8	9	14
Count	167		125		64	
%		100		100		100

83 'Serious' here means an assault within the meaning of S.18 or S.20 of the Offences Against the Person Act, 1861.

84 Of a lesser gravity than serious assaults and include assaults where no injury was caused.

Of the applicant pool (N=292), 125 people were appointed to the police service with only 4.8 per cent who said they were unconcerned about being assaulted. Of the remainder of applicant not given an appointment, 13.8 per cent said that they were unconcerned about being assaulted. There was a statistically significant relationship between the concern about being assaulted and the offer of employment (N=292; P=0.036).

The student officers were asked to assess their level of self-sufficiency in the face of being assaulted and also their level of concern about it, based upon how frequently they thought about it occurring. One officer said, prior to attending the IPLDP, she had some concerns about her self-sufficiency and, following the PIRTC, that she still had some concerns about being assaulted but accepted it as part of the job. She added that she was not overly concerned and thought about it infrequently both before and after her training course. When asked what they had enjoyed most about the course, only one officer specifically mentioned the self-defence training:

Probably the self-defence training ... I'm quite sporty and I quite got into it ... it's probably my favourite bit. (Male officer, mid-twenties)

Relationships between the police and young people

The issue of interpersonal relationships between the police and young people was addressed in two sets of questions. The first asked general questions about how the police might enjoy better relationships with young people, and the second set focussed on relationship with black and Asian young people. The police can only operate with any reasonable prospect of success if they do so with the support of the majority of the communities within which they work. Such support will not be forthcoming unless the police display a professional outlook towards the duties they discharge and behave in accordance with the regulations stipulating how they must conduct themselves. Even then, they will not be able to rely on the support of everyone in the community.

Research undertaken into the causes of civil disorder in London and elsewhere in 2011 revealed that, 'distrust and apathy towards police [w]as a key driving force' (Lewis *et al.*, 2011). Apart from the civil disorder, The Youth Justice Board for England and Wales reports that in the year 2010/2011 almost quarter of a million people aged

between 10 and 17 were arrested by the police. The contact between the police and young people in law enforcement situation is inevitable but it is equally important for the police to ensure that they maximise opportunities to meet with young people in non-confrontational settings. The civil disorder research analysis and Youth Justice Board's data suggest that police officers displaying the attitudes and behaviour required by the police service were an important element to consider and a very relevant consideration in respect this research, as ensuring police officers acquired knowledge of their communities was a key stated aim of the PIRTC.

When asked to consider how the police could have a better relationship with young people, irrespective of their ethnicity, there was no statistically significant relationships (N=62; P=0.204) in the answers obtained from the Study B Cohort between the answer the student officers gave before and after they attended the IPLDP. Analysis of the data (Table 5.6) showed that after being trained, the majority of officers (50 %) identified parents exercising greater control over their children as the best way of improving relationships between the police and young people. The number of respondents who selected the option of a police increasing their understanding of youth culture remained almost unchanged, when the responses provided prior to and after having attended the IPLDP were considered (pre=37.3%; post=37.1%). This response may suggest that the view of trained officers did not entertain the requirement for the police to increase their understanding of a sector of the community with which they would come into regular contact. Whilst that view cannot be directly attributed to the responses obtained, it was the case that little movement in that area was identified on the two occasions of data gathering.

Table 5.6 Study B Cohort: How the Police Could Obtain a Better Relationship with Young People

IPLDP status	If young people obeyed the law	If the police better understood youth culture	If parents exercised greater control over their children
	%	%	%
Pre N=75	33.3	37.3	29.3
Post N=62	12.9	37.1	50

Considering the views of the student officers, what they said did indicate that the majority appeared not to have altered the attitude they held prior to attending the IPLDP so far as it concerned what the police themselves might do to achieve the outcome.

Relationships with Black and minority ethnic youth

Comparing the responses from the two groups of research student officers, there was a statistically significance between those offered an appointment compared to those who were not (Count=101; $P=>0.001$). Of those applicants not appointed to the police service, 86.2 per cent though police would obtain a better relationship with Black and minority ethnic (BME) youth if the youths were more law abiding. The remainder of respondents indicated that they considered a better relationship would follow if the BME youth were less antagonistic towards the police.

The perceived misuse of police powers has a divisive influence on the relationship between police and members of the BME communities. 'Stop and Search'⁸⁵ has been cited (Townsend, 2012) as one of the main causes of distrust and antipathy of black people towards the police. In 1999, black people were 5.9 times more likely to be stopped by the police than were white people and, in the year 2009 to 2010 the factor increased to 7 times more likely. Shiner, (2012) commented that the large numbers of mainly young black people being unnecessarily stopped and searched was, 'fuelling a sense of alienation and creating a more damaged and divided society'. The manner in which some police officers carry out one aspect of their duties being cited as the causation for unrest in BME communities makes the performance of police training in equipping police officers with the appropriate attitudes and behaviour crucial and that element of the research question: the ability to inculcate the appropriate values an important question to be considered when the research data were gathered and also in 2012.

Those applicants appointed to the police service indicated views at odds with the other sub-set, where 47.2 per cent reported that the police would have a better relationship if

85 Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, Section 1.

they obtained a greater understanding of BME culture and 25 per cent of respondents indicated such an outcome if the parents of BME youth exerted greater control over their children. However, the majority of responses indicated that the respondents had maintained the views they reported prior to being trained when 50 per cent of those respondents who had indicated the need for youth to be law abiding maintaining that view. This was the case for 70.6 per cents of those respondents who indicated an improved cultural understanding on the part of the police would achieve a better relationship between the police and BME youths and for 61.1 per cent of the respondents indicating the need for greater parental control as what was needed to achieve the better relationships. There were no statistically significant differences between the responses provided prior to or following their attendance at the IPLDP (N=62; P=0.494). The next section deals with the analysis of responses to questions concerning, in general terms, the student officers' perceptions of the various Race Relations Acts.

Interpreting the data in tables analysed using the McNemar-Bowker Test

The following series of tables (5.7 – 5.14) are presented to show any movement between categories across a scale with opposing poles. The purpose of each of the cited tables is to identify whether there has been any change in the views expressed by the respondents after they had attended the IPLDP when compared to the responses they provided on the questionnaire before their training course. The data were analysed using SPSS and the McNemar – Bowker test⁸⁶ to identify whether there were any statistically significant variations in the response provide prior to and after completing the training course and whether the changes, if they were identified, could be attributed to the influence upon the respondents of the training event. The null hypothesis was that attending the initial training course for police recruits would not have a statistically significant affect on the responses obtained.

The data are presented to show, in rows (Table 5.7; (b); (c) and (d)) the views expressed after they had been trained and to compare those views within the category

83. The McNemar-Bowker test is used for statistical testing for 2 related variables (e.g. pre/post responses). The McNemar-Bowker procedure is to be used to test the hypothesis that the responses in condition A do not differ from the responses in condition B. (Heller & Green, 2012)

the students had selected before their training course to see what if any movement had occurred and, if there had been movement, what interpretation could be attributed to the change in views recorded in each of the two instances and whether it was statistically significant. Using Table 5.7 as an example, prior to attending the training course, 7 students, the sum of Count(a), said they ‘agreed or strongly agreed’ with the premise of the questions. After attending the training course, those students, in some instances, reported different responses as set out in columns (b1); (c1) and (d1). The analysis indicated that, following their initial training course, 71.5 per cent of the officers surveyed recorded a different response from that provided before training with 28.6 per cent changing their view from ‘agreeing or strongly agreeing’ with the premise of the question to ‘strongly disagreeing or disagreeing’ with the premise. The remainder of the table (Count (a1) and Count (a2)) plots any movement in the views reported by respondents in respect of the other elements in the question prior to and following their training course. In the case of Table 5.7, the McNemar – Bowker test showed that the variations in the views expressed by the respondents before and after the training course were not statistically significant (P=0.924).

Race relations

Student officers were asked a series of questions⁸⁷ about their perception of the effects of race relations legislation (the legislation). The analysis reveals that although there has been movement in the responses provided prior to and after attending the IPLDP, nevertheless, when the responses of the student officers were compared before and after they had completed their training course, in respect of what they thought about the legislation there was no statistical relationship in the responses. Table 5.7 records the responses of appointed student officers before and after attending the IPLDP.

Those officers who considered that the legislation caused discrimination rather than prevented it appeared to be affected by the IPLDP in different ways. Of those student officers who agreed with the statement prior to attending the IPLDP, almost one half (42.9%) reported that they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement when asked

⁸⁷ For example please see Appendix 3.

after the IPLDP and more than one quarter (28.6%) who had agreed with the statement reported that they disagreed with it when asked after training.

Table 5.7 Study B Cohort: Student Officers' Responses to Statement: 'The Race Relations Acts Have Caused Discrimination Rather Than Prevented It': Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons (N=64)

	Post IPLDP (A)	Agree or strongly agree ^(b1)	Neither agree nor disagree ^(c1)	Disagree or strongly disagree ^(d1)	P Value
Pre IPLDP (B)	Count ^(a)	2	3	2	0.924
	Agree or strongly agree ^(b)	28.6%	42.9%	28.6%	
	Count ^(a1)	4	13	8	
Neither agree nor disagree ^(c)	16.0%	52.0%	32.0%		
Count ^(a2)	1	8	23		
Disagree or strongly disagree ^(d)	3.1%	25.0%	71.9%		

The majority of student officers who, prior to attending training, reported that they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (52%) maintained that view as reported in their responses when surveyed after attending the IPLDP. Almost one third (32%) who, initially neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, shifted their reported view to stating that they disagreed that the Acts had caused rather than prevented discrimination. Some student officers (16%) took the opposite view, reporting in their responses to the survey after the IPLDP that they believed the Acts to have caused rather than prevented discrimination.

Table 5.8 sets out the analysis of the responses given by student officers when asked whether they considered race relations legislation was necessary to prevent unfair treatment. The majority of student officers (92.7%) who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement maintained their views after training. Of those student officers who had originally agreed with the statement and now provided a different response after attending the IPLDP, a small number (5.5%) reported, they neither agreed nor

disagreed with the statement and one student officer said that they disagreed that the legislation was necessary to prevent unfair treatment. Of those student officers who, before training, said they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, 40 per cent said they agreed and 40 per cent said they disagreed that legislation was necessary to prevent unfair treatment when asked after they had attended the IPLDP.

Table 5.8 Study B Cohort: Student Officers' Responses to Statement: 'The Race Relations Acts Are Necessary to Prevent Unfair Treatment': Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons (N=64)

	Post IPLDP	Agree or strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree or strongly disagree	P Value
Pre IPLDP	Count	51	3	1	0.261
	Agree or strongly agree	92.7%	5.5%	1.8%	
	Count	2	1	2	
Neither agree nor disagree	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%		
Count	4	0	0		
Disagree or strongly disagree	100.0%	0%	0%		

It is interesting to note that there were as many people (Count=4) who had originally agreed the legislation was necessary moved to a different view after attending the IPLDP as made the move in the opposite direction, initially disagreeing that the legislation was necessary but subsequently reporting that they agreed, after attending their training course.

It is possible to consider that the IPLDP was not achieving the objective of inculcating the attitudes and behaviour, as set out in the research question, if student officers were reporting the views shown in Tables 5.7 and 5.8. Although there were many student officers who expressed views appearing to support the requirement of the training course that they obtained a better understanding of the communities in which they

were to work, there remained a number of officers, in as far as their reported views in the survey suggested, who were not.

Where it provided information that apparently reinforced the views of the officers, the IPLDP appeared to have a positive effect, as the majority of student officers maintained the view they had reported prior to being trained. Where the course content did not appear to support the view of the student officers, it seems to have been less influential in changing their reported views. The influence of the IPLDP, if the null hypothesis were rejected, would be to produce a more standardised response, where all answers were likely to be within the sub-cultural framework of acceptability. This element was identified in earlier chapters, in the context of the revision of the probationer training programme and the accompanying review of the aims and objectives. The review was particularly influential in respect of establishing in the curriculum the inclusion of training for the social role of policing and interpersonal skills. Those elements of the curriculum contained information about the benefits to police work of understanding the communities within which the officers would work.

Human rights

Student officers were asked to rate their views about the importance of safeguarding the human rights of an arrested person and of the victim of a crime. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984 sets out specific rights for arrested persons and the accompanying Codes of Practice detail how the rights of the arrested person must be provided. The Human Rights Act, 1998 has added additional focus on the rights of arrested persons making it a crucial role for police officers to adhere to the principles and guidelines. In default, it was possible that a court would not accept evidence acquired in breach of either convention and that the police officer could be prosecuted for a criminal offence arising from the breach of the guidelines or face disciplinary proceeding that might result in the officer's dismissal from the police service.

There were no statistically significant relationships, when the various categories of data were analysed. Student officers all reported that the human rights of the victim were important or very important and that view was true of their responses to the survey prior to and after attending the IPLDP. However, there was a difference in the

responses given prior to the IPLDP training course and after its completion when the rights of the arrested person and the relative rights of the victim of crime and the arrested person were compared.

Table 5.9 sets out the analysis of the student officer responses when asked to consider the rights of the arrested person. The majority (91.8%) maintained the view that they agreed or strongly agreed that the right of the arrested person was important. Although the student officers had undergone an extensive period of training, part of which focusses on human right, five officers who, before being trained, indicated that they agreed or strongly agreed that the rights of the arrested person were important reported different views after completing training. Two officers (3.3%), subsequent to their training, said they neither agreed nor disagreed and three (4.9%) said they disagreed or strongly disagreed that the rights of the arrested person were important.

Table 5.9 Study B Cohort: Student Officers' Responses to Statement: 'The Rights of the Arrested Person are Important': Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons (N=64)

	Post IPLDP	Agree or strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree or strongly disagree	P Value
Pre IPLDP	Count	50	2	3	0.607
	Agree or strongly agree	91.8%	3.3%	4.9%	
	Count	2	0	0	
Neither agree nor disagree	100.0%	0%	0%		
Count	1	0	0		
Disagree or strongly disagree	100.0%	0%	0%		

If the IPLDP was meeting the objectives set for it by the police service in inculcating the attitudes and behaviours deemed to be appropriate for a police constable, it should be more likely that all respondents would report that the human rights of an arrested person were important.

Table 5.10 sets out the comparison, when the student officers were asked to place on a continuum⁸⁸ whose human rights they considered to be more important; those of the arrested person or those of the victim of crime. The question required the respondent to indicate where they considered the comparison lay. Equal importance was signified by (d) on the scale. Each of the two intervening gradations towards the poles was represented by the letters (c) and (b) with the pole being represented by the letter (a) at either end of the scale. The continuum was labelled to indicate what each pole and the mid-point represented.

Table 5.10 Study B Cohort: Student Officers' Responses to Statement: 'Comparing Rights of Arrested Person to Those of a Victim of Crime, Which is More Important?': Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons (N=64)

	Post IPLDP	Both equally important (d)	(c)	(b)	Victim more Important (a)
Pre IPLDP	Count	11	4	3	0
	Both equally Important: (d)	61.1%	22.2%	16.7%	0%
	Count	3	2	4	0
	(c)	33.3%	22.2%	44.4%	0%
	Count	2	3	4	2
	(b)	18.2%	27.3%	36.4%	18.0%
	Count	3	0	0	1
	Victim more important: (a)	75.0%	0%	0%	25%

None of the student officers reported that they considered the human rights of the arrested person to be more important than those of the victim of crime. The majority of respondents (61.1%) maintained the view that they considered that the human rights of each category were of equal importance. However, seven student officers who, prior to

88 See Q.37, Appendix 3 for the manner in which the question was presented.

attending the IPLDP had considered the rights of each category of person to be of equal importance, after training considered the rights of the victim of crime to be of a higher level of importance. By comparison, three quarters of those student officers who, prior to being trained, reported that they believed the rights of the victim of crime were more important than those of the arrested person reported that they considered the right of each category to be of equal importance when they completed the survey after attending the IPLDP. The analysis did not reveal a statistical significance between the views expressed before or after training (N=42, P=0.360)

Turning to the research question, it appears that the disparity in the views reported by the student officers following their training course does not provide evidence to show that the training course is inculcating the attitudes and behaviour deemed appropriate by the police service for police officers. The evidence suggested that it remained a matter of uncertainty as to whether attending the IPLDP would bring about the desired changes to attitudes and behaviour as set out by the police service. As was shown earlier (Young, 1991), newly-arrived officers will adopt the norms of the group they have joined to gain acceptance by them. Fielding showed (*op. cit.*) that repeated behaviour becomes normative even though it may be different in form to the training the police officer has undergone. The strength of the training is diluted by their operational experiences and occupational police culture with which the newly-trained officer is confronted.

Trust in the community

Substantially, police work is based within communities and requires police officers to work with the varied range of members they comprise. Student officers were asked to consider the level of trust they accorded some of those constituent element, including: the degree to which they felt members of their residential communities would become involved in improving the area in which the student officer lived, and, finally, the degree to which they felt that local and national organisations could be trusted to manage the finances deposited with them.

Prior to training, 62.3 per cent of the student officers said they believed that most of the time they could be sure that other people wanted the best for them. Following the

IPLDP, less than half of the student officers (48.4 %) expressed that view. This contrasted with views of the applicants who were not offered an appointment who said they agreed with the statement (60.8 %). A statistically significant relationship (N=57; P=0.112) was not identified between the responses provided by student officers before and after training. If the social role of policing was being positively affected by the curriculum of the IPLDP, it was unlikely that the student officers would report a less positive disposition to other members of the community than they reported prior to being trained. As Barton (2003, p.350) identified, occupational police culture creates solidarity and, 'tends to bind officers closer together.' The hidden curriculum (Meighan, 1981) of the training centre may be responsible for the reduction in the number of officers trusting members of the community.

Of those officers offered an appointment, 47.5 per cent agreed with the statement that if they were not careful other people would take advantage of them and slightly fewer student officers (46.7%) maintained that view following the IPLDP. This contrasted with 49.7 per cent of those who were not offered an appointment who expressed the same view. In this instance, applicants rejected by the police service appeared to be less favourably disposed to the community than those who became student officers. There was no evidence that attending the IPLDP had altered the views of the student officers to one more favourably disposed to members of the community and it remained possible that their attitudes and behaviour was unchanged by the experience. There was no statistically significant relationship between the responses provided prior to or following the IPLDP (N=63; P=0.893)

Being a police officer places particular demands on the social and professional life of those who choose to follow that career path. One female officer discussed how she had dealt with the additional requirements:

Yes, it's bound to [place extra demands] because obviously some friends don't like police officers but even with [me] working shifts it's obviously going to affect your social life. ... How do I word this? It doesn't sound very well. One of the most important things to me was the fact that you have to be very careful who you associate with and who you know and sort of be associated with so from deciding to join [the police] ... There's some people now when I say oh like I've joined the

police and people are really happy for [me] and there's others that are like - sort of shy away from you a bit.

(Female officer, mid-forties)

A second officer had delayed her application to join the police service for some five years because she wanted to enjoy a social life that she believed would be impossible to have as a police officer:

... I would have applied for it [the police service] a lot longer ago, a lot – like, say five years ago, but I was more committed to my social life than my career. I knew it was something where, you know, you had to have one or the other because it is a life style change, not just taking a job on board. ... a lot of people moved away which makes me think they ... possibly had something to hide and didn't want me involved in their lives.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

An additional element of concern was the way the student officer might be treated by a police colleague in circumstances when the student officer was socialising with non-police personnel. The student officers considered what might happen to them if they were with civilian friends when the police were required to deal with one of the friends who were suspected of committing an offence. The student officers concluded that there was a need on their part to behave in an exemplary manner at all times, reflecting on the changes they had made to their social lives and the care with which they managed their interaction with members of the public when they were not on duty:

... I'm just more aware of what I'm saying now, more aware of things that I say.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

It is possible to see why the newly trained police officers might not be inclined to trust other members of the public, seeing them to be a to be potentially more of a threat than a support. Prior to attending IPLDP, 64 per cent of those appointed considered that there were only a few people that they could trust completely. Following the course, almost three-quarters of them (72.6%) selected that response. However, there was no statistical significance between the responses provided prior to or following the

IPLDP (N=63; P=0.120). The following officer's comments are indicative of the concern for their professional wellbeing:

... you steer clear of people. I mean I was – a friend of a friend really who I got on quite well with, ... , I'd knocked about with him and we'd been out for a few drinks on a couple of occasions – and I found out he was on bail for bottling⁸⁹ a guy in [location], and it was his second one, and he then went to jail for it, seven years I think he's doing now. ... As I found out I was sort of, you know, obviously not judging him, he hadn't been found guilty, but I made sure to steer clear of that

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Implicit in their considerations was the prospect that their social lives might have a detrimental effect on their career as a police officer. The following extract is typical of the responses of most of the interviewees in respect of the care with which they intended to protect their tenure as police officers:

... I think the difference really now is I can't afford to have a moment of madness. ... You know, you could be in town, get involved in an altercation, you could be completely in the right, but [in the police role] I think you could find yourself locked up⁹⁰ very easily.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Law enforcement perspectives

Student officers were asked to consider the statement that young people don't have enough respect for traditional British values. This question is one also used in the British Social Attitude Survey⁹¹. Table 5.11 presents the responses recording the degree to which student officers agreed with a number of propositions.

When the data were compared before and after attending the IPLDP, the result was statistically significant (N=63, P=0.047). Of the student officers responding, 48.4 per cent strongly agreed or agreed with the statement after attending the IPLDP. Officers

89 'Bottling' – holding a bottle by the neck, breaking the base and using it as a weapon to thrust the jagged edges in to a person.

90 Arrested.

91 British Social Attitude Survey, 2002, Q31

who held this view may allow their perspective to influence their operational judgement when dealing with young people. In the year 2009 - 2010 there were almost one quarter of a million⁹² young people aged between 10 and 17 years arrested by the police. Elsewhere in this thesis, the views of young people gathered during research in to the civil unrest in 2011 points to the police being seen as one of the causes of the disorder.

Table 5.11 Study B Cohort: Student Officers' Responses to Statement: 'Young People Don't Have Enough Respect For Traditional British Values'. Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons (N=64)

	Post IPLDP	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Pre IPLDP	Count	2	3	2	0
	Agree strongly	28.6%	42.9%	28.6%	0%
	Count	4	16	12	0
	Agree	12.5%	50.0%	37.5%	0%
	Count	0	3	11	2
	Neither agree nor disagree	0%	18.8%	68.8%	12.5%
	Count	0	3	4	1
	Disagree	0%	37.5%	50.0%	12.5%

The impact of occupational police culture, as identified by Young (1999) and Stevens (2005), and discussed earlier in the thesis, may serve to create an operational reality for the newly-arrived probationer constable that conditions the officer to act in a partial way towards the discharge of his or her duties in respect of the communities within which they work and towards young people in particular.

It is unlikely that many will welcome the prospect of being arrested and less so if they view the occurrence with a deep-held sense that they are the victims of police injustice.

⁹² Youth Justice Statistics Executive Summary, 26th January 2012 records the figure as 241,737.

The probability that such feeling may be engendered by police action within communities is higher if the occupational police culture reinforces the law enforcement model of policing – arresting rather than counselling⁹³.

The data in Table 5.12 show the responses when student officers were asked to consider whether people who break the law should be given stiffer sentences. The analysis produces a statistically significant result (N=63, P=0.012). Almost half (46%, Count=29) of respondents maintained the view they held prior to attending the IPLDP. Of those officers who agreed prior to training, almost half (42.9%) strongly agreed after attending the IPLDP. Of those officers who, prior to being trained neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, nine student officers (60%) agreed with the statement following their training course.

Table 5.12 Study B Cohort: Student Officers’ Responses to Statement: ‘People Who Break the Law Should Be Given Stiffer Sentences’. Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons. (N=63)

	Post IPLDP	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Pre IPLDP	Count	8	3	0	0
	Agree strongly	72.7%	27.3%	0%	0%
Post IPLDP	Count	15	16	4	0
	Agree	42.9%	45.7%	11.4%	0%
Neither agree nor disagree	Count	0	9	5	1
	Neither agree nor disagree	0%	60.0%	33.3%	6.7%
Disagree	Count	2	0	0	0
	Disagree	100%	0%	0%	0%

Whilst it may be understandable for newly-appointed police officers to feel that greater punishment for offenders is appropriate, as occupational police culture places them as

93 A process involving community resolution as a means of disposal

a bastion against lawlessness and the upholders of order in society, nevertheless, the ethos of the IPLDP is to provide student officers with an understanding of the communities within which they work and their complex nature. The large number of student officers advocating increased penal sanctions for people who break the law does not appear to show that they appreciate the diverse reasons that give rise to offending behaviour and that not all of them merit a custodial sentence. Student officers should not be expected to ignore what has occurred but an effective and affective initial training course would have been expected to produce views less heavily polarised towards punishment

Data were gathered to identify the support for capital punishment. The analysis of the responses is set out in Table 5.13. Prior to attending the training course, almost a quarter of respondents (23.8%, Count=15) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement on capital punishment. There were 28.6 per cent of respondents (Count=18) who neither agreed nor disagreed and almost half (47.6%, Count=30) who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea of capital punishment.

After attending the IPLDP, the support for capital punishment had decreased with only 11 student officers (17.4%) still reporting agreement. However, of those student officers who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the notion of capital punishment when they commence the IPLDP, more than one third of them (36.7 %, Count=11) changed their view with more than half of those who changed their view (54.5%, Count=6) agreeing or strongly agreeing with the notion of capital punishment. The remainder (45.5%, Count=5) of those who moved chose the option to neither agree nor disagree with the statement on capital punishment.

Table 5.13 Study B Cohort: Student Officers' Responses to Statement: 'For Some Crime the Death Penalty is the Most Appropriate Sentence'.
Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons. (N=63)

	Post IPLDP	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Pre IPLDP	Count	3	1	0	0	0
	Agree strongly	75.0%	25.0%	0%	0%	0%
	Count	2	5	4	0	0
	Agree	18.2%	45.5%	36.4%	0%	0%
	Count Neither agree nor disagree	6	1	6	4	1
		33.3%	5.6%	33.3%	22.2%	5.6%
	Count	2	2	4	7	5
	Disagree	10.0%	10.0%	20.0%	35.0%	25.0%
	Count Disagree strongly	2	0	1	1	6
		20.0%	0%	10.0%	10.0%	60.0%

The comparison of the responses pre and post IPLDP fell marginally outside the level of statistical significance (N=63, P=0.052). Although the IPLDP does not require student officers to take a position on the role of capital punishment in British society, the behavioural framework⁹⁴ issued by APCPO (2003) point to a negative competency in effective communication as failing to answer difficult questions. Additionally, the training of a police officer is, in part, to equip them to gather evidence and make a decision based on the information as they know it. The problem solving competency in the behavioural framework sets out that requirement.

The responses by student officers to the remaining areas of this question: the role that censorship of films and magazines was necessary to uphold moral standards (N=63, P=0.120); all laws should be obeyed even if a particular law is believed to be wrong

94 See Appendix 4

(N=63, P=0.436) and schools should teach children to obey authority (N=63, P=0.778) were not statistically significant when the results obtained prior to attending the IPLDP were compared to those obtained after the student officers had completed the course.

Police behaviour

An area of behaviour that regularly results in formal complaints by members of the public about the conduct of police officers is that of incivility. The behaviour offends against the Police Discipline Code⁹⁵. Such behaviour runs counter to the intentions of police probationer training (Critchley, 1971; Scarman, 1981; Field-Smith, 2002; Kushner *et al.*, 2003) and is evidence relevant to determining whether the elements of the research question, the inculcation of appropriate attitudes and behaviour set out in regulations and deemed by the police service as being requirements for a police officer are being met. The Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) reported that 28,998 formal complaints had been made against police officers in a twelve month period covered by the years 2005 and 2006. Of the total, one fifth of them (21 %) were for, 'incivility, impoliteness and intolerance'. (IPCC, 2007, p.1). Student officers were asked to consider the use by police officers of two words: one was potentially offensive – 'sunshine' and the second offensive and racist – 'coon'.

Prior to attending the IPLDP, the majority of student officers appointed (69.1 %) disagreed or strongly disagreed that they believed the use of the word 'sunshine' was meant to be offensive when used to address Black or Asian people. After attending the IPLDP, their beliefs remained unchanged, as the same percentage maintained the view that they did not believe the use of the word 'sunshine'⁹⁶ was meant to be offensive in the circumstances of the question. Almost one quarter of respondents (pre IPLDP=23.8%; post IPLDP=26.2%) said they neither agreed nor disagreed that the use of the word 'sunshine' was meant to be offensive when used to address members of the BME communities. Although a small number of respondents (7.2 %) believed that the use of the word was meant to be offensive prior to being trained, those who recorded that view following the IPLDP represented only to 4.8 per cent of responses

95 See Appendix 2 for additional information

96 For discussion on the racist potential when using the word to a Black person see item in the New Statesman by Darcus Howe, 27th May 2002, available at <http://www.newstatesman.com/200205270004>

provided. When the data were compared prior to and after having attended the IPLDP, the results were not statistically significant (N=42; P=0.368).

When student officers were asked to consider whether they considered the use of the word 'sunshine' to be unprofessional for a police officer, prior to being trained 54.8 per cent of the responses indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed with the premise. Following training, 61.9 per cent reported that they considered the use of the words to be unprofessional. The results, when the data gathered prior to attending the IPLDP were compared to those gathered following the training course, were not statistically significant (N=42; P=0.453). By contrast, there was almost unanimous agreement amongst the student officers that 'coon' was both offensive and racist (Pre: 88.1 %; Post: 97.5 %) though not statistically significant (N=42; P=0.287) and that it is an unacceptable word to be used by a police officer (Pre: 95.2 %; Post: 100 %). Again, comparing the results before and after training did not produce a statistically significant outcome (N=42; P=0.219).

If, at the time of being appointed to the police service, an officer did not appreciate that using the word 'sunshine', when addressing a Black or Asian person, might be seen as offensive, it would be reasonable to expect that a training course designed in part to identify the acceptable attitudes and behaviours for police officers should have been able to create the necessary awareness before the course member concluded his or her training. Therefore, if the affective elements of the IPLDP were inculcating appropriate attitudes and behaviours, the views of the student officers would have been unlikely to reflect such differences between the overtly racist 'coon' and the more subtle form, 'sunshine'.

As the Home Office (2006, p.11) identified in their consultative document on police conduct⁹⁷:

Police officers [should] use appropriate language and behaviour in their dealings with their colleagues and the public. They ... [should] not use any language or behave in a way that they know, or ought to know, is offensive or is likely to cause offence

⁹⁷ Later enacted as The (Police) Conduct Regulations, 2008

To establish how the student officers would react in circumstances where a colleague engaged in inappropriate behaviour by telling a joke about one of three sub cultural groups: race; gender, and disability, they were asked to choose one from five possible responses:

- ignore the joke
- join in but wish the colleague didn't say such things
- consider it harmless fun
- tell them to stop
- tell a similar joke

When the data were compared before and after the officers had attended the IPLDP there were only two variables that produced a statistically significant result. Both of them involved the student officer reporting that they would intervene to stop someone telling an inappropriate joke. In the first instance, the variable concerned a joke with a racial context (N=42; P=0.004). The second instance concerned an inappropriate joke with gender as the focus (N=42; P=0.015). Intervening to prevent someone telling a joke with disability as a focus did not produce a result that was statistically significant (N=40; P=0.077). The data suggest that, following training, student officers would be more likely to take positive action to deal with the problem when confronted by the inappropriate behaviour of a colleague after their training if the behaviour was related to joke telling about race or gender but not disability.

The analysis also revealed that the number of student officers indicating that they neither agreed nor disagreed with the 'tell them to stop' variable increased after they had been trained: race, 4.8 per cent to 16.7 per cent; disability, 7.5 per cent to 20 per cent; gender, 7.7 per cent to 20.5 per cent. If the IPLDP was meeting the requirements the police service had set for it, in respect of inculcating the appropriate attitudes and behaviours, then one would have expected student officers to be more likely to make a definitive statement of their position on each of the subject areas rather than expressing the more neutral one. The only variable not to give rise to 'neither agree not disagree' being selected was, 'tell a similar joke myself'.

During the interviews that were conducted as part of the Phase II research with the Study B Cohort; the interviewees were each asked how easy they thought it would be for them to speak out against what they considered to have been inappropriate behaviour by a colleague. The qualitative analysis sheds light on the findings of the quantitative data reported above. A number of interviewees spoke about their concerns at the prospect of speaking out against a colleague as follows:

Very difficult. I probably imagine that it's one of the hardest things a policeman has to do because obviously you want to be part of the team.

(Male officer, early thirties)

By contrast, one female officer stated:

I wouldn't ever like just go along with them just to fit in.

(Female officer, mid-forties)

Many officers felt that the difficulty of intervening would be too great for them. They described their reaction to the situation as follows:

I think it would be certainly [difficult] if you're jumping straight in challenging people's behaviour, like say, who have been there for a long time, that might cause a bit of animosity and the people might have a grudge towards me. ... it would be quite a tough situation to be in. It would be different if you'd been there for a few years maybe, but if you've been there – being new it's going to be quite – quite tough.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Now this is hard [Intervening] this is really hard. Kind of like not at all easy, to be honest.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

... I think initially, like everything else when you first go in, you're the new kid on the block and I think you'd feel very nervous. I think it's obviously being new and trying to make a good impression when you first get there. I wouldn't feel very comfortable about it, not at all, no. Because I mean starting a new job, like on the first day in any job is going to be sort of a big thing, and I wouldn't really want to go in there and start complaining about somebody being sexist or something like that.

(Female officer, early twenties)

Very hard. ... Obviously if you're the new person on your shift. ... I mean obviously there probably will be repercussions but I think to do it in the right way as well. I mean I wouldn't, if someone's pressuring me, I wouldn't necessarily go and complain about them. (Female officer, early twenties)

To be honest ... personally ... sexism I think is ... it wouldn't offend me ... I know you shouldn't accept that's how men are but I'm not offended by it ... I'm strong enough not to be offended by a sexist comment ... I'm a lot capable ... and if somebody questioned my ability to do me job because of my sex I would challenge them (Female officer, mid-twenties)

In the last example, the officer would challenge someone who questioned her professional ability based on her gender but would not challenge sexist comments, per se. A number of officers said that they would challenge inappropriate behaviour although it might not be an easy thing to do:

... if I ever, fingers crossed I won't, but if I ever did come to that situation I think I would, I would struggle to do it but I would know it was right so I would have to. (Female officer, early twenties)

... quite difficult but I don't think it's something I'd have a problem doing, to be honest. (Male officer, late twenties)

It's going to be difficult, like very difficult. But I think it's something you have to do. (Male officer, mid-thirties)

... I think it would be pretty hard if you're like the new person, and ... because he's obviously had the sexist attitude for however many years, and everyone else has probably just accepted it, and then I challenged it, I think it would be hard for you to go in and challenge it. (Female officer, mid-twenties)

The question asked during the interview did not identify the gender of the person who was responsible for the inappropriate comment⁹⁸. The response identifies that the

98 For example please see Appendix 1, p.310, Q.28

interviewee presumed the culprit to be a man with a long-standing sexist attitude. The answer may exhibit a level of prejudice which Allport (1979, P.9) described as, '...prejudgements ... that are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge'. We do not know whether the interviewee would be amenable to additional evidence as to the gender of the culprit. However her response does appear to indicate a position beyond that of categorisation, because the student officer imports negative associated behaviour attributable to the gender of the person.

Allport (1979, p.192) sought to clarify the difference between the two positions: generalizations and stereotypes, when he identified that a stereotype, 'operate[d] ... in such a way as to prevent differentiated thinking about the concept' and, illustratively, provided the exemplar, 'All lawyers are crooked'. What is incontrovertible in the statement of the student officer is her use of language that excludes from her commentary, and, maybe, also her consideration, that a woman may have been the culprit. Considering the affective elements of the IPLDP, created with the purpose of reinforcing or inculcating in student officers the appropriate attitudes and behaviour for a police officer, the use of exclusionary language does not suggest that the affective element of the course is succeeding in every respect.

One older officer considered that his age would make it relatively easy for him to be able to manage the situation compared with the difficulty he considered he would have experienced when he was twenty years younger. He said:

Quite confident, possibly because, of the, - the age has a lot to do with it. I think if I was going in aged twenty- odd I'd find it very difficult. If I go back sort of twenty years I wouldn't, - I wouldn't [intervene]. I think [it is] incredibly difficult.

(Male officer, late thirties)

The confidence that comes with greater maturity was reflected in the female officer quoted earlier. Increasing age appears to provide a level of confidence notwithstanding the level of training provided. The male officer, quoted above, also expressed a doubt that his confidence would have been as high had he been younger.

Police tolerance with sub-cultural communities

Student officers were asked a number of questions about the consequences of Gypsies and the travelling community creating a camp site where they, the student officers, lived. Only one element of the question produced a statistically significant result when the responses provided by the student officers prior to and after attending the IPLDP were compared. Table 5.14 reports the responses obtained prior to and following the student officers attending the IPLDP in respect of whether the local authority should have a duty to provide official camp sites for Gypsies and Travelling people.

There were no statistically significant differences between the responses of those officers appointed and those who were not. The role of central government in compelling local authorities to provide official camp sites for travellers was also tested. When the responses were compared before and after attending the IPLDP, student officers' considerations of the role of central government did not produce a statistically significant result (N=62, P=0.867).

Table 5.14 Study B Cohort: Student Officers' Responses to Statement: 'The Local Authorities Should Have a Duty to Provide Official Camp Sites for Gypsies & Travelling People'
Pre and Post IPLDP Comparisons (N=62)

	Post IPLDP	Agree	Disagree	Can't Choose	P Value
Pre IPLDP	Count	39	2	1	0.047
	Agree	92.9%	4.8%	2.4%	
	Count	5	2	0	
	Disagree	71.4%	28.6%	0%	
	Count	5	4	4	
	Can't Choose	38.5%	30.8%	30.8%	

As Table 5.14 shows, the question of whether the local authority should have a duty to provide official camp site for the travelling community produces a statistically significant result when the results obtained following the IPLDP were compared with those provided by the student officers before they had attended their course. Of those officers who could not choose prior to attending the IPLDP, more than one third of them (38.5%, Count=5) said, after training, that they agreed that local authorities should provide camp site.

The majority of student officers, in the responses they indicated when completing the questionnaire, suggested that they would take a tolerant view of travellers. When asked about their views of what is referred to as political correctness⁹⁹, language or conduct that are deliberately used to avoid offending anyone, they did not exhibit the same degree of tolerance. In their answers, they identified a range of positions:

I agree [the country has gone too far towards being politically correct]. I mean I've heard people say that you can't call a blackboard, you can't say black tea or white tea, because – do you know what I mean? I think ... people who say things like that, they don't really understand diversity. How ridiculous is that? Do you know what I mean? You can't say blackboard and you can't say white board, so, I think it probably has gone a bit far... .

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

[Not sending] Christmas cards [is an example of this country going too far]. I think they [immigrants] know basically, so I think people coming in to the country, generally know we are a Christian nation and celebrate Christmas. If they go to another country that doesn't celebrate Christmas, they won't celebrate Christmas there. I don't necessarily think that we should stop sending Christmas cards [in case it offends non-Christian residents].

(Female officer, late twenties)

I think some things have gone too far. ... like, 'baa baa rainbow sheep' and m-board. M-board or marker board. I think things like that have gone too far.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

⁹⁹ The avoidance of forms of expression or action that are perceived to exclude, marginalize, or insult groups of people who are socially disadvantaged or discriminated against. Oxford Dictionary. OU Press

Many of the women were consistent in their views, in following the tolerant position they identified about travelling people, when dealing with the notion of politically correct behaviour. Their answers are typified by the following responses:

I would say I can understand why some people say that [this country has gone too far towards politically correct behaviour] but I can also see it from the other point of view. ...so you've just got to treat things all the same thinking that they may be offended by it and not say it or do it.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

The male officers who were opposed to travellers having their customs accommodated were equally of the view that the country had gone too far in investing in politically correct behaviour. The following comments were typical:

... I agree with it to an extent [The proposition that the country has gone too far with politically correct behaviour]. Some areas you can't go too far with political correctness for race and diversity and whatnot because we are an equal rights country ... where if you can't put Christmas trees in the classroom – things like that I don't – could be seen as being a bit too far.

(Male officer, late twenties)

I would probably agree with that [That the country has gone too far with political correctness], ... to give an example I think it was this year there was supposed to be a Christmas Festival on ... and they cancelled it and it apparently that was to do with political correctness. I know my niece is not allowed to celebrate Christmas [in school]. They have, instead of a Christmas where you have the shepherds and everything and the nativity play, they've changed that to include other religions ... why can't you have a nativity play and whatever the other religions do as well?

(Male officer, early thirties)

... I'd agree to a certain extent. ... abolishing Christmas because it might offend ... I think is certainly over the top in a lot of ways.

(Male officer, late thirties)

They were banning the three little pigs' story ... and they used to do a play about it in school and they stopped doing [it] because it was offensive to Muslims. ...

Well, that's what the school said and the British Council of Muslims came out and said it's not offensive at all ... but the school still banned it.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Organisational commitment survey

Student officers showed a strong commitment to the police service when they completed the organisational commitment survey. Unsuccessful applicants also showed a high level of organisational commitment despite not gaining a place as a police officer. Some statistically significant differences emerged from the analysis.

The respondents were asked to consider a number of statements and then, in the case of each statement select a response¹⁰⁰. Fewer of the student officers reported spending a significant amount of time reading police-related literature when compared with unsuccessful applicants (N=76, P=0.001). In respect of the statement that the respondent would avoid mentioning the police service in conversation, both sets of respondents, applicants (88.8%) and student officers (50.7%) had a larger percentage of officers who disagreed with it. The results were statistically significant (N=76, P=0.028).

One of the statements respondents were asked to consider was that they would only participate in promotion course or seminars if they could do so in duty time. Almost one third of student officers (32.8%) neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement. Rejecting the proposition 44.8 per cent of student officers disagreed or strongly disagreed that they would only undertake either task if it occurred in duty time. Many more unsuccessful applicants (88.9%) held the same view. The result was statistically significant when the two groups of respondents were compared. (N=76, P=0.005).

The final area that provided a statistically significant comparison was when the respondents considered the statement that they were always ready to do something outside their routine duties. The majority of student officers (70.1%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement with a further quarter (26.9%) who reported neither agreeing

100 The respondents could select one from the following: agree strongly; agree; neither agree nor disagree; disagree; disagree strongly

or disagreeing with the statement. By comparison, the unsuccessful applicants reported a more positive response with every one of them saying they agreed or strongly agreed that they would be happy to do extra work (N=76, P=0.012).

It is possible that unsuccessful applicants were not as close to the reality of actualising the statements upon which they provided their views, unlike the student officers for whom the reality of what they were reflecting upon would soon be upon them. There is no way of knowing, within this research, whether or not the impending operational experiences influenced on sets of responses as much as the lack of that potential for operational police did not influence the second. It remains, however, a factor that needs to be borne in mind when considering the statistically significant elements of the organisational commitment survey.

The reflections of unsuccessful applicants

The people who applied to become police officers but were unsuccessful were also interviewed. Their views were not dissimilar to those applicants who were appointed, as some shared the view that the country had gone too far in the use of what was described as politically correct language while others felt that tolerance and acceptance of the views and sensitivities of other people made it essential that we modified the language we used.

The following comments typify their views:

Well, like, for example, things like blackboard, you know, that word has been used for – for, like, a lot of years. And even speaking to my friends who are black, black or Asian, they will say that it's ridiculous.

Or displaying the British flag, ... or English flag, where there is a match or World Cup going, I think I'm ... British now and I would be quite proudly displaying English flag out of my car window.

(Female applicant, mid-thirties)

I've heard of instances where things like nursery rhymes that have like used certain coloured words, you hear of it being regarded as being racist, but it

obviously wasn't meant in that context. So I think things may have gone a little bit too far.

(Female applicant, late twenties)

Most definitely we – it has gone too far. ... obviously things are changing through stuff like that, and I think they're changing way too fast. Or maybe people are just not getting – they're not clarifying it enough, and people just don't – (laughs) people tend to keep their mouth shut because they're not really sure what to say.

(Female applicant, late thirties)

Some unsuccessful applicants held different views. Typical of the comments they made were the following:

... I would say, on the whole, I don't think we have gone too far but sometimes I think ... on the... occasionally we are too politically correct but on the whole in the present world it needs to be like that.

(Male applicant, mid-twenties)

Well no, [We haven't gone too far] because I think we're just evolving as a country, aren't we? And things do change, and we do have to change the way that we sort of think about things, and I don't think we've gone too far, no.

(Female applicant, early twenties)

Police officers' attitudes to social contacts and public comments

When participating in Phase II of the research, the Study B Cohort had completed their initial training. While they would continue to receive on-the-job training to enhance their operational skills and would periodically receive further training in law and police practice, the fundamentals of attitudinal training to create the appropriate attitudes and behaviour for being a police officer had been completed. In addition to discerning their thoughts about political correctness and the appropriateness of using particular words or phrases, the research sought to discover whether they perceived themselves to be exercising greater care or greater discretion about what they did and the manner in which they expressed their thoughts and views when in public and in a social, non-police environment. Did the analysis provide evidence to show that the process of

initial police training was capable of inculcating the attitudes and behaviour deemed by the police service to be appropriate for police officers? The officers considered, in some instances that being a police officer made them think carefully about what they said while others considered that being a police officer had not made any difference to their behaviour. The officers commented on the way they presently thought about their behaviour in the following extracts:

I've never been in trouble with the police prior to this job and hopefully I won't be in the future- I'm sure I won't. But, ... you've got to be aware of other people's actions. ... You've got to be, you know, eyes open all the time, and concentrate and be aware of other people, I suppose. Not myself personally but other people's actions.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

I don't know, because I never used to say anything bad to start with, but I'm just more aware of what I'm saying now, more aware of things that I say.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

While some student officers had changed their behaviour, they did not necessarily change their attitudes. The following officer explained the elements of the situation as follows, when asked whether he thought more carefully about what he said:

I think I do, to be honest, I think I am a slightly different person outside of work, and if I have frustrations or opinions perhaps that in work I would be a bit more diplomatic about, I still say those things [away from work]...

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

The officer did not consider that any of the comments he made when with his family or friends were unacceptable but he would not make similar comments at work. He explained his position as follows:

I mean I don't think what I say is, you know, sort of prejudiced or anything like that, but like anybody I have opinions, and I'm aware that perhaps if I'm talking to someone in my family or a friend, I can say things to them, but when I'm in work there's certain things I wouldn't say in work, you know, unprofessional, and you have to have that, I don't think you can be the same.

But certainly I think about more carefully what I say in the job, definitely. But outside of work, I mean, I'm not the sort that usually shouts their mouth off about things, so I don't think it's really too much of an issue for me.

His response indicated two distinct positions: the first in respect of comments he deemed to be acceptable within the police service and, the second, those comments he refrained from making within a police environment because they might conflict with the cultural norms or rules and regulations of the organisation. The student officer felt able to express views more openly with his family and friends, where such comments were permissible. As Goffman (1959, p.45) explained, '[the way]... the individual presents himself before others, ... will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behaviour as a whole' Elsewhere, Goffman (*op. cit.*, pp.109 - 114) described the two different positions of professional and acceptable comments as front region and back stage, elaborating on the latter as being, 'the place where suppressed facts make an appearance'. Regardless of whether the student officer's attitudes were changed by the process of training, he did modify his behaviour dependent upon his assessment of the acceptability to his audience of what he was about to say. Another officer focussed on the ramifications of being perceived as saying something unacceptable:

I now realise the responsibilities I have, and I'm very, very aware that, you know, the responsibilities are massive, and yes I'm just more careful because I don't want anyone to turn round and say, "You shouldn't be saying or doing that," I don't want to put myself in that position.

(Male officer, late thirties)

Other officers considered the likelihood of having members of the public overhear what was being said. Typically, they expressed views such as the following:

Just more aware that I think, [the role that I'm in], I think more aware that what you say will be picked up around you .

(Female officer, late twenties)

I think now because I'm in the role it's what other people would perceive if you actually did or said something. I think a good highlight of that was when we

got the training on race and diversity. Because when you're out there, things which you don't actually mean anything malicious by them, but just little things you could see could be totally taken the wrong way. ... I think you actually stop yourself, if you like, not things that you'd say every day, but if there's somebody [who] could possibly take that the wrong way, and you tend to like pull yourself back.

(Female officer, early thirties)

Some of the student officers interviewed said that they had not changed their behaviour although they pointed to a heightened awareness of what was happening around them when they socialised. One officer described his situation in the following manner:

... I think, I've got to a lot more, I suppose, careful ... when I'm out, you know, socialising with my mates. I think I've just been a lot more aware of the situations that can arise around you when people have had a drink especially. I'm not saying for one minute that it'd be myself causing any of the trouble but anything can happen in those kinds of situations when people have had a drink. So I think it's being a lot more aware of what possibly could go wrong and how I would deal with it but, so far, no changes [in behaviour] personally apart from, as I say, just being a lot more aware of other people's actions and how that might implicate me being there and other people's opinions of me. Sometimes I don't think it's a good idea to advertise you're a police officer to people you don't know so ... but ... no massive changes.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

When asked why he thought it was a good idea not to advertise that he was a police officer, he gave the following explanation:

Well the reason is unfortunately, there are some people in society that don't have a positive view of the police force, for one reason or another, justified or not. You know it's not for me to say but at the end of day I am aware that people, some people go out their way to, I suppose, offend police officers or ... make it known that they dislike them so, in company ... , I think it's very important ... you've got to be very selective of who you tell.

He went on to speak about the situations in which he might need to inform people of his occupation and that he would say what he did if asked but it was not information he would choose to volunteer:

... I don't really see a need to tell people any way. If somebody asked what occupation I do I'll quite happily tell them. I won't lie about it. But it's just something I don't feel it necessary to tell everybody and I think you can come across sometimes – with some people- can come across like, I don't know, - it's totalitarian sometimes I suppose – well maybe that's not the right word but kind of, 'Well I'm a police officer. You've got to do as I say. I'm in charge here', and that's not the case and it shouldn't be the case, so I think just being selective of who you tell.

The affective domain of learning and the IPLDP

Having considered how the officers would choose to conduct themselves off-duty and the degree to which they felt scrutinised by the remainder of the community student officers were asked to consider whether and how they felt their attitudes and behaviour had been affected by the IPLDP. Officers who felt that their attitudes remained unchanged as the result of the IPLDP training course made a number of comments:

I don't think any of my attitudes have changed. Certainly not in respect of race and diversity or equality ... anything like that. I think my knowledge has changed the most, especially [in] the last six weeks because you're getting fed with so much information

I think you're just ... you're more aware of your role and how you fit into society and how you can't arrest someone for one thing and then go and do it yourself the next. I'd say that was possibly the only thing ... you're just aware of how you're judged... .

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

... to be honest with you I've always had an open mind. I've never had any prejudices or anything anyway. I lived in India for six months. I have no problem with any other religions - in fact I really enjoyed listening to people

talk about the way they were brought up and their other cultures so to be honest, I haven't changed my opinion at all.

(Male officer, early thirties)

... I don't really think I've had to change anything that I've thought.

(Male officer, late twenties)

Some officers considered that they might have achieved a greater awareness of diversity and the need to treat people fairly. One officer said:

I've been more aware of the diversity side of things just simply because of the training here. It's like, everything they'll say is like diversity all the time, but I've always been that sort like right down the middle any way. But I think it brings [it] home to you just how you've got to treat everybody exactly the same, it doesn't matter whether they're innocent or guilty.

(Female officer, mid-forties)

Other officers expressed views that the training had made them more self-aware and confident but they had not necessarily changed their attitudes:

I'm not sure how much I've changed. As I say I'm a lot more aware now. Like, aware of myself; surroundings; situations that I'm in. I think I'm probably more confident... .

(Female officer, early twenties)

Discrimination ... victimisation ... sort of based on sort of race and ethnicity ... gender and sexuality and things like that ... to be honest I don't think it's really affected my sort view point that much ... I don't know ... just looking at my view point and my parents and my grandparents ... I think my generation's more brought up on that sort of mind set anyway.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

I wouldn't say I've really [altered my attitudes or behaviour]. It's made me more aware of certain things

(Female officer, early thirties)

This officer went on to say that while she had not changed her attitudes, some aspects of the training, she said:

... had made [her] more aware of the fact that there are reasons why people land up in situations. They're not there by choice. Actually, that's opened my eyes...

Officers frequently mentioned that although they did not believe their attitudes had been changed they recognised they had become better informed. The following comments are typical of the responses:

I'm more aware of things now. Obviously there's a lot of diversity we've been talking about and you see things when you're out there and you're just more observant of different people. I've learned a lot about , as I say we've touched on diversity with a lot of like different other cultures – things I wasn't aware of before, like little traditions and customs – it's just opened your eyes a bit that's all...

(Male officer, late twenties)

Attitudes? I'm not sure about attitudes – I think- put it this way I can describe it as my eyes have been opened. I think I was quite naïve in certain areas obviously until I joined the police service.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Diversity training and the community phase of the IPLDP are important elements of the initial training course. They focus on providing information to ensure that the student officers are equipped with the appropriate attitudes and behaviour for their role as police officers. If the training is not perceived as relevant or supportive to the needs of the officers being trained, it may fail to satisfy the objectives set for it. The student officers were asked for their views on the duration, content and impact of the diversity training. There were contrasting views about the amount of training delivered.

The following extract reflects the views typically expressed by those who felt that the amount of training was appropriate to their needs:

... we had quite a lot of diversity input and equal opportunities. And we had outside speakers come in and put us through different role plays and things like that. [The amount of training] was just about correct. I think it was pretty similar to any beliefs that I had.

(Male officer, late twenties)

Some officers cited aspects of the training that they had found of particular interest. The range identified was broad, including the Stephen Lawrence enquiry and the history of Adolf Hitler. Their underlying theme was that the process had not altered their attitudes.

The following two extracts are typical of those who held that view:

I think it just reinforced things ... like as I say with the asylum seekers ... it reinforced ... I found [it] interesting they told you about ... Hitler ... how it all started with name calling and then it spread about and then Hitler made people think they [the Jews] were dirty and then you look at things now that's what's happening with the way people perceive asylum seekers ... I found that ... No ... [I haven't altered any of my beliefs] 'cause I've never really had a problem with sexuality or race or anything like that ...

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

Race and disability ... the Stephen Lawrence case ... we went through that ... that's the one thing that stuck out most in my mind ... came out of that ... how the investigation was conducted ... I found that really interesting ... I'm not sure if it was hard evidence [about the Stephen Lawrence case] but from the training we were given, it was assumed that there had been racism in the way the case was carried out ... I find it difficult to answer any questions about race and diversity and things like that because what I've been taught here is the right way, but it's a way that I've always thought anyway.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

Some officers, while recalling the specific topics covered during the diversity training, were more pragmatic in their assessment of the worth of the lesson when they considered how relevant the information would be to them when the communities in which they were to work did not include many people of specific faiths or ethnic groups. For example, one student officer commented:

Well, there are certain aspects which I thought went into too much detail ... we did quite a lot on the Jewish community ... and I know ... where I'm going to ... there's not much of a Jewish community there ... I just found that very irrelevant and I didn't think we learnt enough about the areas we were specifically going to be policing and especially the community phase ... I just think we didn't touch upon ... people from different cultures at all really ... it was just mainly sort of people with housing problems that sort of thing

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Some of the officers interviewed were quite clear in their observations that there was too much training given during the IPLDP devoted to the subject of diversity. They expressed their views as follows:

... possibly a little bit over the top. I mean it's a generation thing, but I think in our class in particular we were really just totally converted. ... [I] felt like saying, "Well, you know, I would have done that anyway." I think it was just a little too long. ... and it was all the same thing. ... but there was nothing achieved.

(Female officer, early twenties)

Phew, it was a lot. I mean we obviously had the community phase outside, which for me wasn't that great on the diversity side, I didn't get a great deal out of it... we did have really good input regarding drugs, but we stayed away from the law a bit more, looking at people who had used drugs... .

(Male officer mid-twenties)

The male officer who made the last comment went on to elaborate on why the community phase had not been a successful element of his training:

... the idea that we just went to places and were talked at, to be honest. You know, we went to a centre for rehabilitation programmes for perpetrators of domestic violence, which sounds great, but we were just talked to by the people all day ... as far as I was aware ... we were really going to interact with the community and really speak to service users, to real people.

Other student officers expressed different views: they had enjoyed the diversity training and had learned a lot and felt more confident as a result. The following are typical of the comments they made:

There was a lot of things which I didn't know, obviously with regard to certain religions, I was quite – quite shocked at how much I didn't know really. I suppose you felt a bit ignorant in a way. But I certainly feel a lot more confident now that I've had the training, and some of my own personal views perhaps have changed with regard to certain minority groups.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

... I mean the whole emphasis on, you know, treating people equally was always something that I believed in before I joined the police, and I felt that it was sort of re-affirmed again adequately by that diversity training.

(Male officer, late thirties)

There were several recurring themes during the interviews of student officers in respect to diversity. One was the eclectic nature of the content. Some officers spoke of having had a substantial input about one group of people who lived in a conurbation in the host force. One interviewee believed that the detailed lecture reflected where the speaker worked rather than it being directly relevant to all of the class in the degree of detail in which it was delivered. A second theme referred to the problems associated with providing the class with sets of data without allowing the student officers to digest and interpret the material. The delivery of the material on the Stephen Lawrence enquiry and the information provided about Hitler are two examples of this. The benefit of ensuring an interactive reception of affective learning has been discussed in an earlier chapter.

While some of the officers may have had misgiving about elements of the training or their own ability to manage the task of policing as effectively as they might wish to do, each officer interviewed expressed pleasure at having been appointed a police officer and each was eagerly anticipating commencing operational duties.

The following extracts are typical of the pride and enthusiasm they expressed:

I love it, absolutely love it. It's one of the most worthwhile jobs and I haven't even been out yet and dealt with anyone, but I can just see already it's worth...

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

... doing this training has just confirmed that it's definitely what I want to do.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

Quite proud ... took quite a long time to get here ... really looking forward to it... see what happens in the future.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Absolutely over the moon, absolutely unbelievable actually.

(Female officer, early thirties)

I'm really pleased... I can't wait to get out [and start operational duty].

(Female officer mid-twenties)

... quite proud to have got in, in the first place and to complete the training. At the moment I'm a bit apprehensive about the job, to be honest ... it's not the job that I thought it was going to be.

(Female officer, early twenties)

The officer's apprehension was not in respect of her role but the associated administrative duties she would be required to perform because of working operationally. Another officer, who was apprehensive about commencing operational duties, summed up his thoughts as follows:

I'm excited, I'm really excited to go and do it. I mean it's scary and I think it's going to be a tough few weeks... .

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Several other officers expressed apprehension about leaving the training centre and commencing operational duty. Typical comments were as follows:

I think it's a massive responsibility of being a full-time officer. I'm quite nervous about that. I do feel after seventeen weeks that it's the right decision for me at this time. ... the main thing is over-stepping the sort of lines and exceeding authority that I have. I worry about getting it wrong.

(Male officer, late thirties)

I'm looking forward to it; I'm excited. ... but I'm a bit apprehensive as well, about actually going out and having to apply it in practice. ... so I'm a bit nervous.

(Female officer, early thirties)

... yeah, I'm looking forward to wearing the uniform, and I realise what it carries with it. ... I'm a little apprehensive about going out because I'm... but yeah, I'm really pleased with it, I'm so happy I joined.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

... just slightly apprehensive because I think I don't know enough.

(Female officer, late twenties)

Some officers were not so effusive in their assessment of their new role. Their comments were characterised by the following:

I'm actually the same as when I wasn't a police officer. I think it's going to be more fulfilling for us than sitting in an office, but it's just a job at the end of the day.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

Once a person holds the office of constable he or she accepts the mantle of duty that will remain with them until they retire or resign. A possible parallel would be a doctor whose oath would require him or her to act in a medical emergency when, morally, others may feel bound to act but are not, by punishment in default, required to do so. Therefore, unlike most other occupations or professions, a police officer is never off duty which means that he or she would be required to deal with any illegal

act that they witnessed when they were off duty. During the interviews I sought to establish the student officers' perceptions of the freedom they would enjoy when not on duty, away from the workplace.

Not every person who applies to be a police officer may understand those elements of the role that are peculiar to it: never being off duty; always being required to maintain a responsible attitude to all aspects of compulsory licensing and regulation. Liquor licensing and the laws governing the sale and consumption of alcohol is one area where the officer will undoubtedly be involved in enforcing the law and must be scrupulously honest in upholding it. The requirement can be burdensome for anyone who is not immersed in the police life and sees it as no more than a job. Officers reflected on the prospect of perpetual duty in a variety of ways:

Everyone likes their rest and relaxation but you've just got to do it bearing in mind that you're a police officer at the end of the day,. and you can't – you're still representing the force even when you're off duty so ... you've always got to be conscious of that.

(Male officer, late twenties)

... I think you should be able to switch off for your own good... if you want to go out and get drunk and fall over, you know, everybody does it.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

The extract from the male officer, mid-thirties was not typical of the majority of views expressed by student officers. The comment does not suggest he understands what the police organisation requires of its members. The necessary attitudes required of a police officer are now set out in the Police (Discipline) Regulations 2008. Male officer, mid-thirties would clearly be in breach of the regulations should he behave in the manner he suggested was acceptable. Having completed the IPLDP, it was difficult to understand how he could believe the conduct he described was acceptable for a police officer.

The statement of the officer assists in determining whether the initial training programme is achieving the affective aims and objective required of it. However, Male officer, mid-thirties had always wanted to be a police officer as he explained the reasons for joining the police service:

It's one of those things that's always been in the back of my mind.... At school it was like when somebody asked you what you were going to do when you grew up.

Despite his desire to be a police officer, the process of becoming one and attending his initial training course appeared not to have communicated to him what he was expected to behave when off duty.

One officer appeared to suggest that the responsibility of being a police officer when off duty may be eased if the community where you live is unaware of your role:

You're sworn to do a certain job and even off duty you've got to uphold that standard. The people look up to you. Yeh, there could be a bit extra pressure ... [but] most people where I live don't know I'm a police officer any way.

(Female officer, mid-forties)

The idea of being watched all the time by members of the public or the need for the officer to be particularly conscious of their activities and actions was also commented upon by several people:

You've always got to keep in mind what you do and who's watching you and the fact that it is different now. You can't just say – it's not like nine to five; you go to work; you go home and forget about it.

(Female officer, early twenties)

I think everybody here [Police training centre] knows that they have to be seen to, like I say, almost – not leading by example, but setting a good example certainly.

(Male officer, late twenties)

Many officers understood the requirements of being a police officer and that, as such; they were never off duty in an absolute sense:

... we have to watch what we and do all the time. Because whether you've got the uniform or not, you're still a police officer.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

I think the training we've had emphasises that ... they [The public] should expect a certain level of behaviour from a police officer because ... you're the same on duty as you are off duty ... I think it is a twenty four hour job.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

We're office holders and it goes with us twenty four hours a day.

(Male officer, late thirties)

While the majority of people interviewed understood the nature and responsibility of the office of constable, as evidenced by the comments they made, not every officer agreed with the concept of never being off duty. One officer felt that it was permissible to engage in conduct that could give rise to a criminal charge:

I think you should be able to switch off ... for your own sake – for your own good. ... if you want to go and get drunk, go out and get drunk, you can get drunk. ... if you want to go out and get drunk and fall over, you know, everybody does it. [If you try to be a police officer for] twenty four hours a day then it starts to rule your life.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

Another officer challenged the principle of never being off duty. She did not consider that it was acceptable to be disturbed when enjoying time away from police duty. She felt that when an officer was at home that time should be inviolate:

... when they are at home in their own private life but ... I don't think anyone should be able to say 'Oh there's a chief inspector lives across the road I'll go and give him a knock and see if can come and help us out' and things like that. I wouldn't think that was acceptable.

(Female officer, early twenties)

The view of the majority of officers is summarised in the following comment:

I think you're coming into the job – I think – I think you'd be a bit naïve to think that your life's not going to change by becoming a police officer.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

How newly-appointed police officers perceived the assessment centre process.

Everyone who wishes to join the police service in England and Wales must undergo selection through the assessment centre process described in an earlier chapter. The research sought to establish what the participants thought of the selection process they had undergone, including the views of candidates who had been successful in the selection process and those who had not. The interviewees were asked to what extent they considered that the test and exercises used to recruit them gave them the best opportunity to produce evidence that they possessed the required skills and abilities. Some felt that the system provided them with a proper opportunity to evidence their appropriateness for the role, via role-playing exercises, for example:

... probably the role plays I think. You couldn't really prepare for those, I think they would give a true reflection of how you would react in a situation. ... I think [the role play is] as realistic as it possibly can be without being the real thing.

(Male officer, late twenties)

I thought it was very good. ... the role plays in particular, obviously people get to see you face-to-face, see how you react under pressure, and see how well you cope with problems.

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

Some of the officers were quite specific about the relationship between the scenarios and actual police work, even though no scenario required the participant to assume the role of a police officer. The following extracts are typical of the views they expressed:

I think the scenarios where you went into a situation and you had to try and sort that situation out ... I think that's quite a good indication of everyday life as a police officer really ...

(Male officer, late twenties)

Yes I think that is a good way to do it. Because obviously they get to look at all the core competencies, and they use life experiences to show that you have that. Obviously those are things that apply for when you are a police officer.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

Many respondents said that the assessment centre process provided them with the opportunity to present evidence of their competence to be a police officer though some expressed the contrary view. The views of those who did not consider the process of selection enabled them to properly present their evidence of suitability are reflected in the following comments:

I think they've got a script to work to, and you don't - you could say anything but they could only reply with the script. So five minutes is a very short period of time that you get on this subject (to show the experience) that you've got. ... I found that what they said was repeated, and if I asked them questions it just went out the door a little bit.

(Male officer, mid-thirties)

I didn't find them very useful ... I thought ... you know ... I thought there was ... [a] one-to-one interview or something like that would have been a lot better ... I understand, obviously, the maths and the written side of things but the role plays ... that sort of thing ... I didn't find them ... [they were] not very[realistic]... I don't know ... a lot of acting ... I think that's what you don't want to do when you're in the police ...

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

The following extract exemplified the comments of those officers who felt that, because of the way the assessment centre was organised, together with the information candidates received in order to prepare themselves for the process, the more astute could simply act out the requirements of the role without necessarily revealing what they were likely to do in reality. If this practice is widespread and if the reactions of the officers are conditioned by what they know is required rather than a reflection of the attitudes and behaviours they possess, it might cast doubt on the reliability of the selection process used by the police to appoint police officers to the service.

One officer commented as follows:

I think you do fall into an element of box ticking. I mean you get given a [file] about actually what really the police service are looking for in a person. So I think perhaps if you're savvy enough, if you spend enough time studying those, you know, you can – there is an element where you think, "Right I'll just make sure I say something along those lines." You know, I made sure in every situation –

I think the race and diversity was one – that as soon as you hear someone – you know, anything that's possibly prejudiced or anything like that, you know, you're straight [onto] it, you know, because you know that's what you have to do, and that's obviously the one you can't afford to [miss].

(Male officer, mid-twenties)

That officer pointed to the potential for applicants to prepare themselves to a degree that their performance at the assessment centre secured their recruitment. If such a situation occurred and the assessments centre process was unable to discern with sufficient accuracy candidates who were simply doing and saying what was required then it critically important that the training process is sufficiently robust to identify officers who might not be suitable.

Some officers, notwithstanding their success at the assessment centre, had some negative comments about the process. One officer, picking up the theme of doing the right thing said:

... well I feel that possibly the recruitment process is a little bit – I'm trying to think of the best way to describe it. Divisive is not the right word, but I don't feel there's enough opportunity for somebody to actually – for people to find out what makes you tick. I don't think that the questions and the processes you go through, I think if you're aware of what those processes are, I think it's perfectly easy to train yourself to, you know, to pass the thing. And I don't think I was given a chance to actually show much about my real personality during that process.

(Male officer, late thirties)

The officer felt that the role play exercises were also unrealistic and he commented that the role players:

... we're going to sort of plough through that [scenario] no matter what my responses were. But again, I was ready for it, and I had a pretty good idea of what they were looking for.

Another officer felt she had been unable to demonstrate what personal qualities she had to offer during the assessment centre process. Although successful and appointed, she expressed her view of the assessment process as follows:

... when I originally looked into joining the police it was all about what you could offer the police service, what sort of points that you had as a person. Whereas I don't think the assessment centre got you to display your own personal qualities.

(Female officer, mid-twenties)

One officer described how she had difficulty getting feedback from the assessment centre she had attended unsuccessfully¹⁰¹ in an attempt to join the police service. In her view, the assessment centre process was not a fair and balanced process. She felt that a decision about a candidate's suitability should be made with reference to a bank of data about a candidate rather than giving undue weight to only a few elements. She said:

I made two careless spelling mistakes, which dragged everything else down. So I don't think, from that point of view ... [that the assessment centre is] very fair. But if everything else had been taken into account it would have given an overall picture. Apparently I put – I hyphenated reiterate, and maybe I put it as two separate words, I think, or was it may be together? One of the two. But it was only after I had it reassessed and I pushed and pushed them to get the information out of them, because they weren't going to tell me.

(Female officer, late twenties)

¹⁰¹ Applicants are entitled to apply on more than one occasion in an attempt to join the police service. The officers whose views are reported are examples of people who followed that route, having failed to secure an appointment at one or more earlier assessment centres.

A second officer, who had also been an unsuccessful applicant on a previous occasion, felt that the assessment centre was of poor quality. She expressed the opinion that if she had been a police officer and had treated a member of the public in the manner that she had been treated during the assessment centre process then, as a police officer, she would have been made subject of disciplinary procedures.

She described the process as:

Rubbish. ... not the complexity of the questions, [rather] the interview itself, there was no communication from obviously the – the interviewers. ... and it was – you know, they didn't – if I treated someone like that out on the street I'd be disciplined. There was just nothing, it was – it was atrocious for me personally.

I actually sat in the Assessment Centre about six months previous to the June one, and there was an Asian gentleman who was interviewing. At no point did he look up, he wouldn't have even known if I was male or female till I spoke. And he was extremely difficult to understand. I asked him to repeat one of his [questions] – because obviously you had the set questions. I said, "I'm sorry, could you repeat the question?" because I basically could not understand him, and all I got was, "Question," in a really abrupt manner, and he wouldn't repeat the question. So obviously I couldn't progress what he'd asked me. And his manner was absolutely atrocious.

The second time was a lady. ... she – it was a lot better, you know, again another Asian lady, very well spoken, very good English. It was slightly better. But there's just like – you might as well just have a board up between you. Because obviously I know that – I know they stick to a criteria, but there's no eye contact, no nothing, and obviously they're reading what they've got to read. To me, that's very off-putting, because no matter what situation you're in, most people will look at you. I just found it off-putting.

(Female officer, late thirties)

The officer's recollection cast some doubt on the efficacy of the system. If a candidate perceives the conduct of an official member of the assessment centre process to be inappropriate, the candidate's progress into the police service may be

disadvantaged by the assessment process. If the candidate's perception is, in fact, the reality of what is occurring, then the inappropriate behaviour on the part of the assessor is damaging to the effectiveness of the recruiting process. Even when there was no perception of inappropriate behaviour, interviewees have mentioned the unnatural aspect to the process in that it did not replicate the natural flow of a conversation. That fact had made it difficult for the candidates. The lack of nonverbal feedback, when one person would look for some signal of acceptance or rejection of a proposition by the visual signal the other person displayed, made the process unnatural and unnecessarily difficult for the candidates.

The perspectives of the police training staff

The police training centre is staffed by serving police officers and support staff who are retired police officers. All police officers must successfully complete the recruit initial training programme; therefore every member of the training centre staff, apart from some specialist staff not relevant to this research, will have undergone a form of initial police training. Some police officers, who have undertaken a number of secondments from their parent police force to work at a police training centre throughout their service, may have taught the initial training course using more than one curriculum model. The views of the police training staff could provide relevant information, from the trainer's perspective, as to whether the inculcation of appropriate attitudes and behaviour was a facet of the course that they identified and were responsible for delivering in the classroom and elsewhere during the initial training programme and serve to assist in answering the research question. The officers surveyed had been responsible for training of all student officers attending the training centre during the currency of the Study B cohort's period of initial training.

Data were gathered by structured interview¹⁰² from a 'purposive sample' (Leary, 2004) of five members of the training staff. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed. The training staff were selected to ensure representation from both of the police forces whose officers worked at the training centre, and a representative spread of experience within police training establishments. One disadvantage of

102 For example please see Appendix 1, p.318 *et seq.*

purposive sampling is that the researcher may not identify accurately the parameters by which participants are selected or, where they have identified the parameters accurately, they may not be sufficiently accurate in identifying which of the potential participants should be included as representatives of the population being studied. The range of service lengths and previous training experience of those persons interviewed from both of the partner police forces providing the training service suggest that any detrimental aspects of purposive sampling have been minimised. Although minimised, the potential for lack of representativeness may affect the degree to which the comments made can be generalised.

In order to ensure their anonymity, each member of the training staff is identified in the analysis by a letter ranging from A to E. The first officer interviewed (A) was a police supervisor who had worked in a number of specialist and generalist police roles throughout his career. Previously, he had been seconded to the staff at police training centres. The second officer (B) had previously taught student officers for a period of two years and was now a member of the training centre staff teaching the IPLDP. He had worked as a beat officer and a police car driver. The third officer (C) had worked for a number of years in a specialist role before embarking upon a role as a trainer. He had been working as a trainer on the IPLDP for a period of two years. The fourth officer (D) had worked as a constable in a generalist role and, later, in a role with a specific community focus. He had four years of experience in training police officers and had worked on the IPLDP for the previous twelve months, since his return to central service from his last operational post. The final officer (E) interviewed had worked in generalist operational roles before she took up a post in a specialist administrative support role. She had worked at the police training centre in a support role. At the time of the interview the officer had been a trainer on the IPLDP for approximately twelve months.

The interviews with the training staff focussed on four key areas concerning student officers and their progress through the IPLDP training programme. The training officers were asked to consider how those areas impacted on their role and whether they considered the organisation and delivery of the IPLDP assisted or hindered them

in their role. The areas covered in the research were:

- the standard of student officers currently appointed.
- problems associated with assessing attitudes and behaviour.
- the perceived difficulties associated with the non-residential nature of the IPLDP.
- lack in both the continuity of staff allocated to courses and the consistency of assessments made by members of the training staff.

The comparative standards of student officers

Officer A, who had worked at several police training centres over a number of secondments, was able to provide a broader perspective of the differing qualities of student officers:

I would say [there is a difference between recruits] depending on which system they've been through, and a lot of this is down to recruit assessment and the needs of individual forces and with specific forces in particular ... that have been very short and are recruiting, [they have] potentially dropped their standards and people they wouldn't have [appointed] previously or they're not the standard of recruits they've had twelve months previously

The officer continued by citing an example of a problem that had arisen as a result of the lowering of standards in respect of student officers sent for training by a large regional police force:

The [police force] was one [that] had a massive recruit programme going through where it was... [several] hundred [recruits being appointed] in a year, and we found that their levels of educational background, levels of knowledge-when they were here they had more academic problems dealing with it [the training programme] and also [the] attitudes and behaviours of some of them weren't what would have been expected.

Because Officer A had been recently appointed to his current role at the police training centre, he did not have the experience to make a judgement on the standard

of the current student officers at his training centre. He explained:

... the comments that are made that [one of the police forces] has now reintroduced a final interview [into the selection process] [the applicants have] got through the police assessment centre they're now going to have a final interview ... and the standard of recruits is a bit higher now [as a result]... there's some anecdotal evidence ... to say that ... some forces' recruits, we have fewer problems with than others, [and by comparison there] were [other] forces that were recruiting more and are wanting more numbers in and the standards [of student officers] aren't as high from [them].

Officer B echoed the comments of Officer A, saying that the current standard of student officers was higher than had been the case previously. His experience also mirrored that of his colleague: he commented on the weaker standard of student officers being received into training where one police force in the region was recruiting large numbers of personnel. It was his view that the standards of the student officers arriving at the training centre were quite poor.

Officer B thought the standard of the current student officers had increased since the training centre had taken student officers from only two police forces:

In the past we were recruiting from other forces that had pressure to... get bums on seats. They had to recruit large numbers and I think the result of that ... [was that] some of the standards were quite poor.

Officer E also thought that the career orientation of student officers had changed:

I think that people enter this job and see it as it's a kind of take it or leave it. When I joined and certainly the people I've worked with in the past it's been, 'This is my career and this is what I'm going to do for the next thirty years'. I think the students that come through now [consider] 'I'll give it a go and if I don't like it I'll just leave'. And I think it's a bit of a blasé attitude and ... because of that they don't take the training as seriously. ... I certainly know from the first intake that we had ... about the fifty per cent mark left from [contributing police force] recruits and it was purely a lack of understanding of what the job was all about. [The student officers think] 'Well I can just leave now and go and get another job - it's not really a big deal' [but] we'd invested

all this time and money in them and [they] said, 'No it's not really for me', and I think that in the past people have joined the police and thought, 'This is my career for life...', and they took it more seriously.

Officer E pointed to this as one of the issues that had prompted the police force concerned to reinstate a formal interview as part of the selection process, in addition to the assessment centre data. Due to the change, the standard of student officers attending the training centre from that force had improved. Officer C had little direct evidence of the varying standards of police student officers but he recalled being told by a colleague about a student officer who expressed surprise that shift working was a necessary part of being an operational police officer. Officer C recounted his experience of a student officer on the initial training course, who had expressed surprise at having to wear a tie in the classroom.

Officer D also felt that newly appointed police officers did not always exhibit the career interest that had been the norm in previous years:

[The student officers are] less career orientated ... people just look at it as a job not a vocation ... more prepared to sort of ... 'If it's not for me I'll do something else' ... sort of more demanding but ... generally less respectful of the organisation probably ... Nothing that you wouldn't expect ... you expect given that we're taking from the pool ... less focused ... Fitness is definitely poorer ... and I think, probably, [they are] less disciplined as well ...

In addition, Officer D was concerned that the academic standard of some of the student officers who arrived for training was somehow lacking, particularly with respect to some skills areas:

Some of the students that seem to come in seem to lack the basic skills which makes me wonder ... whether any of this is being addressed [in the recruiting phase]... i.e. being unable to put together a coherent sentence which is something you just can't address [during the IPLDP], and just some characteristics ... either extremely shy, and it tends to be basic communication issues that we have a problem with ... The level of intelligence is not really a problem because ... the ones we get seem to be intelligent enough but they just

seem to lack basic communication skills ... you know ... reading, writing and being able to address certain people ...

The assessment of student officers' attitudes and behaviours

One of the major elements of the IPLDP is to ensure that the police officers who attend the course receive the necessary instruction to enable them to complete the course and commence operational duty with the appropriate attitudes and behaviours. The training staff were asked whether they were able to identify any differences in the attitudinal development of the police officers and whether they employed any systems to measure and record development and training needs in this area of the student officers' development. Officer A was clear, 'that everything that's done is contributing to the development of the officer within the expected system for attitude and behaviour of police officers ...'. He described the segmented nature of the training course and the way in which the police officers portrayed themselves when they returned to the training centre following a period of operational duty:

... they put up a front at times of what they think is expected of them as police officers when they come in. Under the current system, we only have a limited amount of time to see them and see how their attitudes and behaviours are affected as they are going through that training.

Officer A described the method of gathering evidence about the attitudes and behaviour of student officers as:

... more general in the way they develop with it. There are certain lessons that they go in to, certain presentations they go in to, that you can pick up on certain things with it.

He confirmed that there were no specific exercises designed to test a student officer in a simulated operational situation to establish how he or she might react when in a stressful situation. He said that the student officers were told at a very early part of

the training process what was required of them. He pointed specifically to the induction process, saying:

When they are going through the diversity inputs at a very early stage, and this is part of the induction process for them, which is the first part of the training they go through, it may well be that ... [the training staff] can pick up on things within that and [the issues that arise] are specifically dealt with when they look at different attitudes and behaviours and what is and what isn't acceptable for police officers. Throughout the rest of it [the training process] ... if an issue [of inappropriate attitudes or behaviour] came up within an individual lesson then that's when they [the training staff] may be able to pick up on those things.

He underlined the training elements of the course which deal with attitudes and behaviour by identifying the stages when the lessons featured:

There's one part of the Induction [when] there is a lesson on behaviour and what the expectations are of police officers when they look at preparations for going out to do the community phases or preparation for going out to do independent patrol. At the end of it, when they're getting to weeks thirty and thirty-one [of the training process] this is something which is covered yet again within those areas ... telling them this is what's expected ... [by] the organisation of professional police officers. And it comes in, as I say, throughout the lessons but there are specific reminders put in at set points over the course.

Officer A thought that there were other and more effective ways of managing the monitoring of attitudes and behaviour and establishing the stage of development the student officer had actually achieved compared with the stage they should have achieved:

We should be looking at where they [the student officers] are, where the expectation is that they should be. ... [the process is made more difficult by] the time scales that they run it on. Although there's formal aspects to it [the assessment process], a large amount of it is informal ... [and is done] by the tutors or by the training staff that speak to them [the student officers] on an individual basis.

He identified what may amount to a systemic failure in the course. It should not be possible for an individual to secure an appointment as a police officer without adopting the correct attitudes and behaviour. The recruiting and training systems should each be sufficiently robust to identify people who do not possess those.

Officer B described a rather imprecise system for assessing attitudes and behaviour:

There's not really [any] formal assessments in place for doing that [assessing attitudes and behaviour of student officers]. That's just sort of ad hoc things that you'll notice during classes as you move around the Centre in role play. So if something comes out that is of note then that would get recorded down and then obviously [the training staff would] give the student officer feedback on that.

He gave an example of this and described the journey to a regional shopping mall with a class of student officers and noted a comment made by one of them, en route:

We were going to go up to [shopping mall]. All the students were on the minibus: a lot of students on there. One of the students made [a] comment, 'Oh the scrotes better watch out when we're travelling up there and when we arrive', so that was an attitude that was immediately challenged.

'Scrote¹⁰³' is not a word in common usage in the north east of England. The popularising of the word, 'scrote' may be due, in part, to a comedy programme set in a prison. One of major characters regularly used the word, 'scrote' or 'scroat'. Reiner (2000) has written on the impact of television and how it may form public attitudes and opinions about the police but there is some evidence that, in addition to art imitating life, the reverse is also true.

103 A derogatory term referring to the worthless nature of a person.

Officer B thought there was one specific period when the monitoring of attitudes and behaviour could be undertaken:

... the areas where they [attitudes and behaviour] really come out is [when] we have a period of time early on when we look at diversity and diversity lessons. So things that would come out of there that would be on an extreme level and obviously that would be recorded from there. It's difficult because I think a lot of students officers in current climates are quite guarded in what they say so the real attitudes don't really come out as such.

Without a purposeful monitoring system to ensure key elements relative to attitudes and behaviour are measured and recorded it may prove difficult to make a meaningful, evidence-based judgements on whether the student officers being trained has acquired the appropriate attitudes and behaviours. Officer B felt that there were some additional problems in trying to assess the attitudes and behaviours of student officers. He summed up in the following way:

I think definitely they [the student officers] are portraying what is expected of them as a police officer and I think some people do develop and progress into that role. And, obviously there's things might happen in role plays [on] which you can give feedback, they [the student officer] can reflect on it and, as a result, they then develop and progress into the role more as a constable.

In the case of reflective practitioners, the lack of a robust monitoring system is not a serious concern. By contrast, officers who present the persona required by the organisation without acquiring the appropriate attitudes and behaviours create a problem for the training system. It is impossible to know whether the teaching has promoted the appropriate attitudes and behaviours before the officer commences operational duty.

Officer C added to the view that making assessments of attitudes and behaviour is difficult:

It's very difficult to ... assess people on their attitudes and behaviours. You've just got to ... rely on your observations and then the tutors observations as they [the student officers] progress through their... two years [training programme].

It's got to [be] picked up by people assessing them mainly and I think it's very difficult to... anything differently.

Officer D was very clear about what he expected of student officers:

I certainly would be expecting people to learn from mistakes in terms of attitudes ... Certainly [I] would be addressing attitudes and documenting attitudes and discussing other people's attitudes and that would be a constant steady stream throughout the whole of the course ... certainly addressing behaviours as well ... down to body language ... actual words that are used ... the sort of things that [are] possibly ... going to lead to problems ... Your attitude and behaviour affects their[the public's] attitude and behaviour ... that's constantly reinforced ... throughout the course ...

Despite the officer having a clear framework for carrying out the assessment process, he was less definite about the effectiveness of the way it was applied:

I don't think we really assess their attitudes and behaviours ... we tend to just sort of give them one side ... What do you think of the public? ... How are the police perceived by the public? ... How are we going to address that? ... So I don't think we have a measure before and after.

He was unable to point to any substantive evidence that student officers had changed their attitudes and behaviour because of attending the course. He did feel, however, that while they might hide their true feelings there was also the chance that they may reflect on what they had discussed:

I think they're much more aware ... we only see [the person based on] what they're prepared to say to us ... It's a difficult one... have people fundamentally changed? I'm sure it's taught in schools in citizenship and this, that and the other, but it's very difficult for me to say, 'Well, yes they're deeply influenced by what we input them in class' ... difficult to judge. Some of them you look at and you think you've hit all the targets, ... you've hit all the requirements ... Look through it [the training record] and everything is generally positive, but you think, 'I know nothing about you ... I know absolutely nothing about you' .

Officer E described the process she used to give feedback concerning a student police officer's attitudes and behaviour. She commented that some trainers were reticent to give feedback:

I have given verbal feedback in the past about people's attitudes, especially during the role plays and things like that. I don't have any problems in giving that feedback, so if I feel that somebody's been abrupt or been dismissive of the situation or a particular incident, then I will tell them in their feedback. But I am aware of the fact that some people feel uncomfortable giving that kind of feedback ... and ... do find it difficult to challenge people's attitudes and behaviour, but I have no issues in doing that.

When considering the problem associated with the assessment of attitudes and behaviour of student officers by the class trainer, Officer E. commented:

... it's a problem in relation to a lot of them [student officers] that come in. I don't know whether they've been told by other people that've come through the training system but they seem to keep everything to themselves. They know what to say and what not to say. Normally... you still get sexist comments that they ... think to themselves well you know that's not important- sexism isn't important- but you don't get the racist comments, you don't get the comments about people with a disability. ... I don't know whether it's society or they've [the student officers] been pre-empted because they know if they come out with [unacceptable] type[s] of comments it's going to be an area for discussion and development, so I do think they put up a barrier and that you don't see their attitudes and beliefs really.

She described her skills in assessing attitudes and behaviour and said that she had recently completed a three weeks course on diversity. She felt that, following the course, she was more adept at carrying out the assessment process but, prior to receiving the training, she had had insufficient understanding of the issues included in the diversity programme to deal meaningfully with the assessment of student officers' attitudes and behaviour. She thought that her listening skills would be enhanced and she would definitely challenge unacceptable comments made by class members.

Officer E explained her professional development as follows:

I lacked an understanding of diversity issues and I think that a lot of the other trainers here probably lack an understanding and therefore wouldn't identify a lot of the things that probably go unchecked and unnoticed. ... It wasn't until that three week course that I've come back with a lot of food for thought and I feel like that I'm listening to what people say a lot more closely now.

Officer E had changed her approach to classroom management in respect of how she monitored gender specific language as a result of the course. Now, she monitored and dealt with issues when they occurred and ensured she no longer failed to recognise the problems of exclusively or mainly using a single gender in classroom discussions:

I would be more switched on to that whereas in the past it would just go unnoticed and I would do it myself, you know – refer to 'him' or refer to 'her'. It's something I've done for a long time. I think it's very difficult to get out of as well.

The officer was in no doubt that some student officers acted out a role when they were in the training centre, behaving in ways they knew was expected by the organisation. She felt that a formal recording system that required much documenting of interchanges between the trainer and the class member had an inhibiting and restricting effect on the degree of openness displayed by the student officer. She considered that the benefits of creating a learning environment where the true attitudes of the class members could be interpreted from their behaviour might allow the trainers to make better judgements about the appropriateness of attitudes and behaviour:

I think if there was less of the formalness in relation to challenging and writing things down on students event sheets, then ... we would get to find out a bit more out about them... [student officers]

Officer E did not feel that a better system of monitoring and recording student officers' behaviour would, in itself, provide a solution, unless the parent force was

prepared to support the judgements made by training centre staff:

I think that we could be getting rid of some of the student officers that come through who display ... inappropriateness, but we don't – we [training centre staff] challenge it and then we allow them to carry on with their career, and it kinda seems like a thankless task almost ... Why are we keeping these records if we're not going to do anything with them?

The perceived difficulty created by the IPLDP being non-residential

Some of the training centre staff commented that their ability to provide detailed assessments of the attitudes and behaviour displayed by student officers was hampered by the fact that the training course was non-residential. The training officers considered that the social activities, enjoyed by the student officers after the working day, had the potential to allow a more detailed assessment of the student officers than classroom observations alone. As Manning (1997) suggested, occupational police culture does not imply a homogenous, monolithic body. Police officers are different one for the other and behave differently. The solidarity referred to by Barton (2003) is not an ever-present aspect of police life.

Training Centre staff felt that, during recreational periods, particularly those enjoyed outside of classroom time, provided the staff with the opportunity to observe student officers in a more natural environment. If, during formal periods, student officers managed their behaviour to conform to the norms of the organisation, recreational periods would allow training centre staff, they considered, to observe whether the conformity was the result of internalised values or not. They felt they would be able to determine whether the student officer portrayed expected behaviour because it was expected, Goffman's (1959, p.166) frontstage, 'maintaining whatever balance of formality and informality has been established for the interaction', or because the manner in which they interacted with each other and the Training Centre staff was a statement of their attitudes expressed in what they did – their behaviour. Officer A felt that the student officers were guarded during the classroom sessions about what they

said and how they reacted to situations:

One of the aspects, from my point of view, that is now missing that we used to have was when it was a residential course. There was a lot more of these attitudes and behaviours came out, out of working hours if you like, as opposed to what happens within working hours. I don't know how we can do it, but it's a lot easier now to hide true attitudes because we can only pick them up at certain times if it's displayed by them [students] than it was previously when you knew what was happening out and about.

I don't know how we can overcome that one. I don't think there's anything we can put into the course to say, 'Right we will go and observe them in a social environment and see actually what they do when they are there'.

He was very clear on the benefits of being able to observe the officers off duty and in a social setting:

That's where a lot of things did come up and I think that's what we might lose at the minute by the fact that the training system has changed and we don't see them. ... We've always said ... that they have got to show the correct attitude and behaviour of police officers twenty four hours a day ... because they still are [police officers] and not just at the times when they are at work.

At the minute, with the training being non-residential, there are opportunities for people who haven't got the correct attitudes but still want to be in the job to hide that - unless it leaks out - if they don't come in and take part fully in the reflective process and appreciate for themselves that some of the attitudes they have may not be those that are acceptable to the police.

Officer B also thought that the process of assessing attitudes and behaviours was diluted by the course being non-residential:

When I worked at [training provider], attitudes and behaviour came out a lot more because they [the student officers] were residential and there were things that would come out of that and spill into the work place, and with not having that sort of contact with the student officers currently now, we don't really get into depths with that. They come for eight hours and then they leave. So there's

issues that ... we don't really get to see People can keep things under wraps if they want to. They can sit at the back of classroom: keep themselves very quiet and it's difficult to get into that.

The impact of the lack of continuity in training centre staff produces varying assessments of student-officer achievement.

The IPLDP is structured and organised in a way that requires the student officers to undergo a period of classroom training followed by a period of operational attachments, when the officers are working in the community, and then requires them to return to the training centre for the second period of classroom instruction. Some of the training officers commented on the fact that it was unlikely that a training officer would work with the same student officers on both phases of their classroom training, making it more difficult to identify the development over time of the appropriate attitudes and behaviours. The lack of continuity was, they felt, exacerbated by a differing approach to acceptable behaviour among the training staff or the manner in which the trainers chose to deal with infractions.

Officer B highlighted that lack of continuity between the training staff and the student officers being trained:

I think the other thing now... we tend not to see a course or student from day one right the way through, because people go out on the tutor phase and we get other people coming back from another phase, so you don't see that continuity throughout. And, as I mentioned earlier with them not residing here, then you tend not to pick up on those things

Officer E was also concerned that a lack of a consistent approach between the training staff might lead to the downfall of the efforts she intended to make with her next class. Her concern was that her students would be in a position to compare her reaction and the potentially different reaction from other trainers who observed similar behaviour in their classrooms. She was concerned about the student officers' attitudes and the need for consistency on the part of training staff to ensure all inappropriate attitudes and behaviour were dealt with appropriately.

Summary

Chapter 5 has examined the data provided by applicants and student officers in the Study B Cohort, gathered before and after their initial training course. Over the range of data sets, there were a number of differences. The main theme emerging was that there was no consistent evidence that the IPLDP was effecting a change in the attitudes and behaviour of the course members. The research question sought to examine whether there was any evidence to show the initial police training was capable of inculcating the attitudes and behaviour deemed by the police service as appropriate for police officers. The affective element of the IPLDP, in some instances, appeared to have had no influence on the course members, who completed their training with apparently less community-centred views than those of the applicants who were unsuccessful.

Where the course content reinforced the view already held by student officers, it seemed to have the effect of reinforcing their beliefs. When they held a view that was counter to what was being taught, the ability of the training to influence the student officer was less apparent. Student officers reported differing experiences of their diversity training with several of them considering elements were repetitive and, in some instances, influenced more by the speakers' rather than the students' needs. Many said that the lesson material simply reinforced what they already knew and practices they employed in their dealings with other members of the community.

The views were sought of applicants who had been successful at the assessment centre and those who had not. There were a number of themes emerging that suggested the process was not guaranteed to select accurately the most appropriate candidates by virtue both of the way some aspects of the assessment centre process were constructed and subsequently conducted.

The chapter has also provided reflections of the police training centre staff who were in post at the training centre during the period when the Study B cohort were there. Their comments identify what they perceive to be the problems associated with the current methods of police recruitment and training. The training officers, in some cases, are able to provide a comparative commentary, when they reflect on what they perceived

the standards of recruits and the students' ability to benefit from initial training under different training and recruiting systems. Comments reflected the difficulty some staff considered their role to be when trying to assess attitudes and behaviour of student officers since the course was made non-residential and compounded by the lack of trainer continuity between the various elements of the IPLDP. It was not the case that one training officer would follow a student officer throughout his or her IPLDP and therefore, some training officers felt, it created difficulties in try to assess whether or not an individual student officer was demonstrating inappropriate attitudes or behaviour. They felt it was very difficult to make an informed judgement with the organisation of student officers and police training staff as it existed at the time of the research.

Chapter 6 comments upon the analyses of the data gathered from Study A and Study B, what it has revealed and the why the initial training course for newly-appointed police officers may not have achieved the intended aims and objectives in respect of inculcating the attitudes and behaviour set out in police regulations and deemed by the police service as appropriate for everyone who undertakes the role of a police constable. Key items emerging from the research are identified and the three main elements that warrant consideration as part of any future development of police training are identified and their relevance to the success of future strategies explained.

Chapter 6 Reflecting On The Findings

In 2010, Sir Paul Stevenson, the Metropolitan police commissioner, identified how fragile the relationship between the police and the public can be. Commenting shortly after the decision was taken by the Crown Prosecution Service¹⁰⁴ not to institute legal proceedings against a police officer who was involved in a confrontation with a member of the public during the G20 summit in 2009 when the member of the public subsequently died, Sir Paul said he could feel the level of public outrage at the fact the police officer had avoided criminal proceeding (Meikle & Travis, 2010). What occasioned that officer, and other police officers on other occasions, to allegedly behave in a manner that did not accord with the attitudes and behaviours or training of the police service?

This research was designed to establish whether there is any evidence to support the view that the police initial training course was capable of promoting the appropriate attitudes and behaviours in new recruits to the police service in the UK. The underpinning evidence for what was deemed by the police service to be appropriate behaviour was identified. The research has focused on a number of key issues: the major events in the twentieth century that have influenced the public's expectations of the police; the extent to which the initial police training course shapes the attitudes and behaviours of police officers, and the extent to which the police service determines whether a student officer has acquired the appropriate attitudes and behaviours prior to being deployed operationally. The content of much of police training courses, particularly those parts designed to shape the attitudes and behaviours of newly-appointed police officers, has been developed following enquiries into major public disorder incidents when the behaviour of officers policing the streets of major cities in the UK has been criticised as having been a catalyst for the outbreaks of rioting.

104 Subsequently, on 24th May 2011, The Director of Public Prosecutions announced that there was then enough evidence to bring criminal charges of manslaughter against the police officer responsible for the death. The officer was subsequently charged. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13516569>.

Initial police training as a critical factor affecting police officers' behaviour

Reliance has been placed by a number of working parties¹⁰⁵ on the ability of the revised training to produce appropriately trained police officers. However, events of large-scale public disorder have recurred as have instances of public disquiet about the professionalism of police investigations. Examples of each of these elements have recurred subsequent to each major change in training strategy, which may suggest that the aspirations for the revisions in the training programme, in part to promote the appropriate attitudes and behaviours in police officers, have not been realised. In this chapter, the evidence presented in previous chapters is reviewed in respect of the underlying premise that the training course will directly influence the attitudes and behaviours of student officers who undertake the programme. The training of police officers, following their appointment, has been the subject of a number of substantial reviews since the 1970s (Critchley, 1971). The directions taken as the results of recommendations emanating from reviews into public disorder and police malpractice, to inculcate the appropriate attitudes and behaviour, is considered for the impact and effectiveness it has had on the training of newly-appointed police officers. Additional commentary (Fielding, 1988; Young 1991; Jenkins, 2004; Stevens, 2005) has suggested that the reliance on training to achieve desired outcomes deserves serious reconsideration.

This concluding chapter considers:

- the historical perspective of police training as a context for changing behaviour
- the learning that can be derived from two empirical studies in the 1980s and the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century
- the implications for further research and future police recruiting and training

A historical perspective - meeting expectations

To understand why probationer training may have fallen short of expectations, it is necessary to recall the history, direction and, above all, the influences on much of what

105 Critchley, 1971; Scarman, 1981; MacDonald, 1987; Ryan, 1993; Field-Smith, 2002

has happened to the police initial training course over the years. In parallel with incidents of violent civil disorder and police malpractice in the three decades in the mid to late twentieth century, the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, but not directly as a result of it, the police service had been reviewing the training of newly appointed constables. The reviews culminated in a new training course, including for the first time, a series of lessons under the title 'General studies' (Home Office Circular 94/1973). This area of study was designed to equip the new police officer with the knowledge and understanding of the people they were to police and to provide a dimension to police work beyond seeing each incident they attended as one where they were present at the incident simply to enforce the law. The changes made to the initial training course following the Home Office Circular, in particular, concerned the interaction between the police and the public, as the Home Office Working Party (Critchley, 1971, p.1, para 4.iii) noted:

... the objects of the initial training course of police recruits [is] to give every recruit a sound understanding of the role of the police in British society.

Explicitly, the new initial training course would be designed:

...to build up a recruit's self-confidence and practical common sense in a way that should enable him to deal adequately and properly with members of the public. (ibid. para. 4)

The Working Party (*ibid.*) concluded that their recommendations would provide, '... a significant step forward in the training of police constables...' However, the radical changes emanating from the work of Critchley (1971) appeared not to have succeeded in bringing about the desired changes. In 1981, The Scarman Report made a series of recommendations in respect of the probationer training course. Among others, the report recommended that the initial training course should last for a period of six months (Scarman, 1981, para. 5.19). However, within the report, Scarman (1981, para. 5.18) provided no evidence to support his recommendation on the increased length of training for newly appointed police officers, but said:

...it cannot be right ... that young men and women of nineteen and twenty years are enabled to exercise the powers and responsibilities of the office of constable after ... training which lasts only fifteen weeks in the Metropolitan police and ...

ten weeks in... the provincial forces... Much of the evidence submitted to me has suggested that the present training arrangements are inadequate

A decade earlier, Critchley (1971, p.1) considered that the , ‘...initial training [for police recruits could be reduced] from 13 weeks to 10’, however Lord Scarman later considered such a period to be too short to achieve what was required by an initial training course. Although comment has been made about the far-reaching nature of the Scarman Report (Butler, 1988), no evidence was presented within it to support the suggested changes to the content and duration of the police probationer training programme. As one of the report’s major recommendations, the implementation of the changes to police probationer training, was intended to avoid a recurrence of large scale civil disorder (*ibid.*, para. 8.30). Critchley (*op. cit.*) had a very similar aim when one of the recommendations of the Home Office Working Party (1971) was to reduce the initial course to only ten weeks duration, for it set as one of the objectives of the newly-revised course that it should,

... build the recruit’s self-confidence ... in a way that enable[s] him to deal adequately and properly with members of the public.

Critchley had been explicit in what the revised curriculum should contain by content and duration, whereas similar details were absent from Lord Scarman’s report (1981). Despite the review and research that had formed part of the 1971 revision of probationer training, it appeared not to have been successful in the light of evidence presented to the Scarman Enquiry and the recommendations Lord Scarman made as a result.

Following the publication of the Scarman Report (1981) several conflicting views were expressed about the merits of Lord Scarman’s proposals for police training. (Raison, 1984; Oxford, 1984, and Griffiths 1984). Timothy Raison, (1984, cited in Benyon, 1984, p.247) Minister of State for the Home Department in 1981 said,

it would be unrealistic... to accept a target of six months without first knowing what [the training course] will contain.

Discussing the aftermath of serious civil disorder in London and elsewhere, the Chief Constable of Merseyside Police during the Toxteth riots pointed to the great improvement in police training in the previous twenty years describing it as having, 'increased and changed out of all recognition at national, regional and local level'. (Oxford, 1984, cited in Benyon, 1984, p.121). Griffiths, a police officer and vice chairperson of the Police Federation from 1978 to 1983 expressed a view in complete contrast with the one expressed by Oxford. Griffiths (1984, cited in Benyon 1984, p.132) thought that training, '... ha[d] not substantially changed from that which a policeman received thirty years ago'.

On the basis of evidence he had received during the course of the Enquiry, Lord Scarman appeared to be of the opinion that the earlier working party (Critchley, 1971) had erred in reducing the length of initial training for police officers, however there was not a consensus in support of the recommendations Lord Scarman had made to increase the length of the course. In addition to the differing views about the length of the course there was a disagreement between police officers, Oxford, the chief constable and Griffiths, the police inspector, as to whether the nature of training had changed at all during the period under review, the 1970s to the 1980s. There is evidence in Home Office Circular 94/1973 which supports the contention of Oxford that training had substantially changed. What is less certain and arguably not proven, in the light of Lord Scarman's report, is that the changes to probationer training implemented following the Home Office Circular brought about any meaningful changes in the way some police officers behaved in their dealings with member of the public.

Dating from the publication of the Scarman Report, other working parties were formed to review police training generally, and at the same time a second review of probationer training was taking place, the Stage I Review (MacDonald, 1987), which culminated in a revised package of social skills training for the police initial training course and a recommendation that the duration be increased to fourteen weeks.

The police initial training course was subjected to another substantial change in the late 1990s (Bray, A., *et al.*, 1995; Field-Smith, 2002), however the question remains as to whether it will prove to be any more successful in moulding or changing the attitudes

and behaviours of newly appointed police officers. Data gathered during this research tends to suggest that the current training course is no more successful than the previous police initial training courses in promoting the appropriate attitudes and behaviour for police officers, as defined by the various working parties previously cited in this thesis. Although substantial changes in the curriculum model and philosophy of probationer training had already occurred in 1971 (Critchley, 1971) and 1989 (MacDonald, 1987), at the same time, the attitudes and behaviour of police officers towards members of the community continued to be cited as evidence for serious concern when submissions were made by members of the community at a public enquiry held by Lord Macpherson, just as it had been almost twenty years earlier following the Brixton Riots (Scarman, 1981; Macpherson, 1999).

Although substantial changes had occurred to the police initial recruit training course, reasons were sought to explain why it appeared to fail in satisfying one of the course's major objectives; promoting the appropriate attitudes and behaviour for a police officer. Fielding (1988, p.71) noted, when considering the effectiveness of training:

... training has an impact on recruits but also its purchase declines as the corresponding impact of police experience increases.

Fielding's comments call into question the efficacy of relying on training as a sole or main curative strategy. He suggested that the process of occupational socialisation in an operational setting would be the more dominant influence on the behaviour of the actor notwithstanding what he or she had learned on their training course. Young (1991, p.66) gave some substance to this idea when he described how, in his early police career:

...he set out to meet the demands of [his] peers and fulfil the necessary qualifications for assessment as a real polis'¹⁰⁶

Being a 'real polis' required that Young was guided by the activities of the group of police officers with whom he worked to understand how police work was carried out and not by what he had learned at the training school.

106 *Polis*: in North East England dialect, a police officer.

Both Fielding and Young pointed to the eroding effect of operational police work, where the experience on the ground did not mirror the values and practices learned within the training school environment. Jenkins (2004, p.134) explained that process, in his discussion on institutionalisation following a shared pattern of behaviour. He described how:

...if it [an activity] persists for any length of time, [then] a pattern of activity acquires a history. People encounter it as “the way things are done”

This was what Young (1991, p.64) described as ‘real polising’ or, as Kelling and Coles (1996, p.85) described it, real police work, such as, ‘... riding in cars, responding to calls and arresting criminals’. Here the operational reality of how the work is carried out on the street has acquired a greater importance than that of the way the officer was taught to do the job in the training centre. The work of Fielding (1988); Young (1991); Kelling and Coles (1996) and Jenkins (2004) offers an explanation for the apparent failure of the work done by Critchley (1971); Scarman (1981); MacDonald (1987) and, potentially, MacPherson (1999). The evidence appears to show that training alone will not succeed in promoting the required attitudes and behaviours in police officers, as deemed by the police service and codified in legislation. When considering the impact on the individual of competing influences, Jenkins (2004, p125) commented:

...two motivations inspire conforming behaviour: the desire to be correct and the desire to remain in the good graces of others... When one is unsure of the local rules and customs, the behaviour of others may be the single most important source of information about the right thing(s) to do.

A police officer commencing operational duty on a shift¹⁰⁷ for the first time after arriving from a training establishment will be unaware of the mores of the workplace. The behaviour of the officer’s new colleagues when accompanied by the need to be accepted as part of the group may become the single most important source of information about how things are done at an operational level.

107 A shift is normally a group of police officers managed usually by a first line supervisor working as a regularly constituted team.

Lord Stevens, a former Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and a distinguished former police officer described his first days on the beat in London as follows:

... my new life was a revelation. I was working in an environment entirely different from Hendon [police training centre], with different disciplines and different ways of talking. This was life for real.

(Stevens, 2005, p.27)

A new form of normative behaviour replaces the detailed certainty of the officer's previous life which has been regimented within the training centre, by his or her reference to the behaviour of the colleagues on the shift that the newly-arrived officer has joined. For the newly-arrived police officer, what may be seen as deviant behaviour by the group he or she has joined, the shift, may have been labelled as exemplary when the officer was at the training school. The concept of 'deviant' is not fixed but depends on who views the behaviour and the standpoint, attitudinally, of the observer as to whether what has been witnessed will be accepted by the group or rejected as being deviant.

Alfandary (1992, p.2) expanded on the notion of deviancy, in reviewing Goffman's ideas about the total institution:

... the notions of deviancy and normalcy are directly related to what context that behaviour is seen or preformed within. Thus, the same behaviour will be deemed acceptable in one context and unacceptable in another.

This analysis contributes to understanding of the behaviour of the newly-arrived police officer. It offers an explanation as to why, when the officers face situations in which they should apply what has been learned although perhaps not internalised while undergoing the police probationer programme of training they may not do so. The officers are likely to be guided by the normative behaviour of colleagues in an operational setting rather than remember to replicate the behaviours learned at the training centre. The influence of the operational environment casts further doubt on the reliance on the initial training course as being capable of promoting values that will be robust enough to create long-lasting attitudes and behaviours appropriate to the role of a police officer. Goffman's description of a total institution, while based

on observations, in particular of inmates in an asylum, nevertheless, has been shown to apply to other institution, such as colleges (Gibbon *et al.*,1999) and naval recruit training establishments (Zurcher,1967) and provides support for applying the description to police training centres.

The evidence in this thesis has identified that although the police have reacted to the recommendations emanating from a series of public enquiries and changed the style and content of the PIRTC, nevertheless further evidence of inappropriate police behaviour emerged. The powerful nature of the sub-cultural influences exerted by longer-serving, operational police officers and the reducing influence of lessons delivered during the initial training course have effectively created an increasing redundancy for application by student officers of the attitudes and behaviours taught during the PITRC.

What has been learned from the study of Cohorts A and B?

The analysis of the data gathered from both cohorts has revealed a consistent failure of successive PIRTCs to be able to influence the attitudes and behaviour of course members as reflected in the responses the student officers provided to the research questionnaires before and after attending their training course. Historically, that failure has been underlined by the reviews of and changes to police probationer training referred to in this thesis.

The 1970s (Critchley, 1971) saw the police initial training course reduced in length and the introduction of training on the social role of policing. The 1980s (Scarman, 1981) saw the police initial training course being increased in length and an additional emphasis being placed on the social role of policing. The 1990s saw yet more changes to the PIRTC (Macdonald, 1987) with a complete change in the curriculum model and teaching methodology. The most recent major change to the PIRTC occurred in the early part of the twenty-first century. How the courses have influenced the student officers is examined in the next section.

The discussion is presented in a series of themes:

- why people want to become police officers
- understanding how the police service provides for police officers personal development and promotion aspirations
- the personal safety of operational police officers
- attitudes and behaviour of newly-appointed police officers
- elements of the process used to select police officers currently

Why do people want to become police officers?

A review of the data gathered from the two cohorts identified several reasons why people had chosen to become police officers. The main reasons people gave for wishing to join the police service remained fairly consistent over the research period though there were more men in the latter study who said they were attracted by the worthwhile nature of the job. It seemed to be, comparing the two studies, that applicants were motivated to join the police service for reasons that were complementary to the role they would perform. Generally, more men than women were attracted to the role by the prospect of gaining a promotion. That remained true even though the women applicants in the early part of the twenty first century were academically more highly qualified than their male counterparts, and that difference was maintained when the successful applicants were appointed as student officers.

There were more holders of a first degree within the female officers who secured an appointment. Comparing the applicant pool (Study B) with those officers who secured an appointment, it was clear that men who said they were ambitious and the women who said they were seeking a worthwhile job comprised the majority of successful applicants from within the respective gender groups. Though there were no comparative data for the applicant pool for the earlier research (Study A), the officers appointed still fell into the same differentiated gender groupings, where the differing reasons for selecting a career as a police officer were exaggerated to an even greater degree.

Because the research focussed on only the early probationary period of the police officers' service, there were no data gathered which would allow further analysis of the degree to which the differing reasons for wishing to become a police officer may shape the future careers of male and female police officers. However, if the motivation of the officer appears not to be in harmony with the ideals of the organisation, it may act to the detriment of the individual and affect his or her progress whether vertically, through promotion, or laterally, through the ability to secure specialist¹⁰⁸ posts.

Understanding how the police service provides for police officers' personal development and promotion aspirations

The purpose of the induction phase of police probationer training is to introduce the student officer to the police service, the relevant aspects of the officer's home force and, more generally, the initial training process. Data were gathered from each research group to identify whether the student officers appeared to be more knowledgeable after the training process. The data showed that neither of the cohorts (Study A and Study B) were substantially better informed after they had been trained in respect of the time it was likely to take to achieve promotion. This factor may be relevant to their individual progress. An officer who under-estimates the time it will take to secure promotion may become frustrated with his or her lack of progress in achieving supervisory status and may, as a result, become less productive or may even leave the service.

Data gathered during Study A showed that a substantial minority of all officers who had attended the police initial training course hoped to aspire to the intermediate rank of inspector. Although the number aspiring to reach that rank was fewer than before attending the training course, the number still represented an over-estimation of the probability of achieving their desired supervisory role. Data gathered during Study B showed that officers were following a similar trend and were no better informed about the prospects of being promoted or showed an improved understanding of the time scales involved. The likelihood of promotion by rank and number of post to be filled was identified nationally. The data (Clegg & Kirwan, 2006) showed that, within the

108 The opportunity to move from regular foot patrol to a role in a different department, perhaps necessitating specialist training. Criminal Investigation Department would be one such example.

forty three police forces in England and Wales, less than one officer in ten would achieve the rank of inspector. Although promotion was not an element that the student officers would be able to consider until they had completed two years police service, the responses they provided suggested a substantial minority had no better understanding of the basic promotion framework of the police organisation than they had prior to being trained.

The personal safety of operational police officers

The issues surrounding the personal safety of operational police officers were examined in respect of the views expressed in earlier chapters by student officers recruited from Study A and Study B. The purpose of providing training in personal safety is to equip each student officer with sufficient knowledge and ability to defend themselves by proper use of the equipment with which they have been issued. The training is also provided to create an appropriate level of self-confidence to permit officers to operate effectively when on operational duty, particularly if they are patrolling alone. Officers from both studies expressed the view that they were concerned about their personal safety when on operational patrol. In some cases, the level of concern, which did not show signs of having decreased after receiving training, made officers significantly more likely to resign.

Of those officers who did not resign from Study A, none of the women and few of the men said they were confident of being able to deal with physical assault. It may be considered entirely normal that someone whose work presents the probability of having to deal with violent situations should maintain an awareness of that potential, in order that they are prepared to act appropriately should such an event occur. If the PIRTC has been effective, the thoughts of being assaulted on duty should not have become a dominant issue for some student officers, each of whom has been specially trained and equipped to respond to such situations, to the degree that those individuals actively try not to think about the potential occurrence.

Despite the advance in the level of protective equipment available to officers who currently join the police service, they do not seem to leave the initial training course confident in their ability to manage potentially violent interactions with members of

the public. This is a situation that has persisted over the period covered by the research and none of the developments in the content of the training or the manner of the delivery have apparently succeeded in eradicating the officers' fears of being assaulted on duty or, in the case of some of the student officers, removed the concern from one of substantial proportion where they actively try not to think about it. The concerns of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary (HMCIC) about police behaviour including the excessive use of force, emanating from a review of the behaviour of some police officers during the protests held by members of the public during the G20 Summit in London in April, 2009 were clear:

We are in an age where consent [of the public] cannot be assumed and policing, including public order policing, should be designed to win the consent of the public.

(O' Connor, 2009)

If police officers feel insecure and do not feel properly equipped to respond to incidents of physical violence, their behaviour may not replicate the training they have received. However, if the officer's personality-type is predisposed to violence or, alternatively, creates the potential for the officer to be more susceptible to accepting violence as normative behaviour for police officers when exhibited by more experienced colleagues, then the training the officer has received is not likely to produce the desired outcomes. The formation of attitudes and the behaviours that result from them was discussed in Chapter 1 and the implications for training and resultant police behaviour is explored in the following section of this chapter.

The foregoing examples of personality traits were two of five typologies identified by Scrivner (1994), all pre-disposed to using physical force inappropriately. Scrivner identified that the normal psychological screening processes used at the time of selecting and appointing officers in the US may not be capable of identifying those applicants with inappropriate attitudes and behaviours. Though outside the remit of this research, the degree to which the officers' apparently excessive concerns about being assaulted on duty may influence the way they behave towards members of the public and the efficiency with which they may discharge their duties as police officers

is one area warranting further investigation, given the persistent theme of inappropriate police behaviour creating public concern.

Attitudes and behaviour required of an officer by the police service

For newly-appointed police officers, the police initial training course provides introductory, though very specific information about the attitudes and behaviours required of police officers and forms part of the process of the student officers' occupational socialisation. The information they are given takes two forms; firstly, the training provided explicitly as part of the lesson content on the training syllabus, and secondly, as part of the hidden curriculum (Myles *et al.*, 2004) where the teaching is implicit in the attitudes and behaviours portrayed by the police training staff and observed by the student officers.

One of the major elements of the police initial training course in all of the models reviewed during this research (Critchley, 1971; Scarman, 1981; Macdonald, 1987; Field-Smith, 2002) has been to create a better understanding on the part of the student officer of the multi-cultural nature of the communities where the officers will perform their operational duties. Field-Smith (2002) stated that the course should provide officers with an understanding of the complex nature of the communities within which they were to work and how the officers would need to respond to be effective in meeting the demands of such communities. Critchley (1971) had made a similar claim in respect of the revisions to the police initial training programme more than thirty years earlier.

Data gathered from both cohorts (Study A and Study B), identified that neither of the relevant police initial training courses had been entirely successful in achieving their declared major aim, to inculcate the appropriate attitudes and behaviour into police recruits. Whereas almost half of students officers (45.9%) in Study B felt police could better relationships with young people by obtaining a better understanding of the youth culture the figure supporting that point of view had decreased (37.1%) following the IPLDP and the comparative analysis showed no significant statistical relationship between the two sets of data. When the consideration of better community relations with youth focussed on police relationships with Black youth, there was a difference

between the results from the two studies. The data from Study A showed an increase in the number of student officers who indicated relationships would be improved by a better understanding of youth culture (33.9% to 43.5%) nevertheless, there was no statistically significant relationships between the two sets of data pre and post training course. When the Study B data were reviewed, there was a greater initial (56.7%) appreciation of the benefit of understanding youth culture as indicated in the respondents' selections but a smaller movement when the data were examined before and after training, with the post-IPLDP data revealing that fewer student (55%) officers had selected that item. As with the Study A cohort, there was no statistically significant relationship between the two sets of data, pre and post IPLDP.

The data from Study A and Study B showed that, over a period of twenty years, despite the considerable changes in content and pedagogy that has been visited upon the police initial training course, the aspiration of Scarman, Field-Smith and others, discussed elsewhere in the thesis, have not been realised in respect of that training course inculcating the attitudes thought to be essential for a police officer to work effectively in a diverse, multi-racial, multi-ethnic community. The implications for policing, particularly a model that places a heavy reliance for success on police-public relations, are likely to be evidenced in yet more disparity between the wishes of the communities and the conduct of the police officers. It is unlikely to create a harmony between community and police officer, when the latter holds the view that an arrest strategy is the most productive way to better understand society.

The selection process current at the time of the IPLDP

The discussion about attitudes and behaviour, in the previous section, has identified that the police initial training course appears unable to reliably and consistently produce student officers with the attitudes and behaviour appropriate to their role as police officers. The earliest that the police service is able to make a judgement about the suitability of an applicant is during the assessment centre process. It is a system that has been implemented nationally. However, if the process of initial training is unable to guarantee that officers completing that course will have reached the required standards in respect of their attitudes and behaviour, it is necessary to consider if any other methods of the recruiting and selection processes employed outside of the police

service may be utilised and be more effective in identifying the, ‘core competencies relevant to the role of the police constable’ (CENTREX, 2005, appendix A)¹⁰⁹. The primary competency is an understanding by the student officers of the communities that they will serve and an, ‘active commitment’ (*ibid.*) to provide a service that reflects the communities’ needs and concerns.

The Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) is the UK national professional organisation, incorporated by Royal charter, for those people who are involved in the management and development of personnel. It has over 130,000 members, some of whom are police officers. It conducts a number of annual surveys to establish human resource practices employed by its members. A survey conducted by the CIPD in 2007 identified a hierarchy of methods used to recruit and select candidates. The range of data gathered on the selection methods employed is presented in Table 6.1. The table does not reproduce every category of method identified by the CIPD survey but maintains the statistical hierarchy of the source document, showing a selection of the reported methods used to select personnel for a variety of occupations across a range of employers (N=843).

Evidence gathered from Study A and Study B appears to show that neither of the respective recruiting systems was entirely satisfactory as, in both instances, student officers were appointed who appeared not to have the attitudes and behaviour appropriate to their role as represented by the selections they made when providing responses to the surveys. This element assumes increased importance if the subsequent training programme is unable to identify the officers concerned or does not provide an affective training programme to promote the necessary training outcomes. An effective recruiting system would need to identify those applicants whose attitudes and behaviour were not appropriate to the role they sought.

Many student officers said they were not satisfied with the current recruiting process. The views about the interview processes were expressed both by applicants who had been appointed as police officers and those whose application had proved unsuccessful. Police trainers commented that the current recruiting system was less

109 Please see Appendix 4 for schedule of core competencies.

effective than it might be. How would the strategy used currently by the police at a national level to select new police officers compare with the recruiting practices used by member organisations of the CIPD?

Table 6.1 Methods Used by CIPD Member Organisations to Select Applicants
N=843

Selection method used	Used in some way %	Not Used %	Rarely Used %	Occasionally used %	Frequently used %
Interviews from contents of CV/ application form (biographical)	92	8	5	10	77
Structured interviews by a panel of interviewers	88	12	9	21	58
Competency-based interviews	86	15	6	17	63
Tests for specific skills	80	20	14	37	29
Literacy and/or numeracy tests	70	30	16	29	25
Assessment centres	47	53	12	19	16

The CIPD data show that a minority of their members frequently use the assessment centre method for recruit selection though almost half used it in some way as part of the selection process. By comparison, the top three selection methods used by the CIPD members all incorporate an interview process in some way. More than three quarters of the CIPD members made frequent use of the biographical interview followed by nearly two thirds who used the competency based interview with more than half who used the structured interview.

The role of the interview by a panel of police officers as part of the recruiting process

There is an argument in support of re-introducing the interviewing of applicants by a panel of police officers as part of the recruiting process. In Chapter 5, training officers referred to the beneficial effects they had observed with such a re-introduction. The data presented by the CIPD and research done by Schmitt (1976), also support the contention that the panel interview can be effective.

Although previous research had found unfavourable evidence about the efficacy of the interview as a valid way to select student officers (Wagner, 1949; Ulrich and Trumbo, 1965; Schmitt, 1976), evidence had emerged subsequently (Schmitt and Chan, 1998) to show that it had merit as a method for recruit selection. Schmitt identified the important elements inherent in an effective interview; the interview needed to be structured; the content needed to focus on the job competencies; evidence needed to be weighted against a pre-designed matrix, and a standardised set of questions should be employed for each candidate. When using a panel to interview, the evidence gathered should be reviewed contemporaneously and a consensus reached on its interpretation. He saw that method more effective than using only a single interviewer.

Additional research (Schuh, 1978) also identified the important aspects of how the evidence from the interview should be gathered, and identified the need to collect and record it contemporaneously, rather than when the interview was concluded.

For some time, the use of the structured interview has been a facet of the recruiting system used by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and it has formed an integral part of the recruit selection process (Loo and Meredith, 1986). The RCMP currently provides applicants for appointment with information about the interview process, its content and duration and the important role the process plays in their selection. Writing elsewhere, Munroe (2009, para 7) states that it requires the applicant to, '*Succeed in the Regular Member Selection Interview*' if they are to be offered an appointment.

Prior to the change to the police national recruiting model, which occurred progressively across the forces in England and Wales during the years 2004 and 2005,

the host force employed an assessment centre process but also made specific use of a structured, competency based interview. Following the adoption of the national model for recruit selection, the host force now follows the prescribed national procedure, which includes the competency based interview. However, as was revealed in Chapter 4, some of the student officers appointed also provided evidence that their attitudes and behaviours were not appropriate to the role of being a police officer, yet they had been interviewed by a panel of police officers.

One explanation for such an apparent dichotomy may be found in the way the compendium of recruiting processes was employed, and the relative weight given to each of the constituent elements. To be meaningful, the interview must be purposeful. Where it produces contra-indicators of an applicant's suitability, if the evidence obtained does not assume a substantial element in the decision-making process when deciding whether or not to appoint an applicant, the deficiency, where one exists, is most probably found in the application of the process rather than the weakness of one of its elements.

The data from Study A and Study B do not appear to support the efficacy of the current method used to select student officers for the police service. The recruiting process has not been shown to be capable of consistently identifying people who are suitable for appointment with the attitudes and behaviour determined by the police service as being appropriate to the role. The PIRTC in the 1980s and in the case both of the IPLDP and the recruiting process in the early part of the twenty-first century, have not been shown as being able to provide the training outcome desired by the police service or the public.

Further, evidence gathered from the training centre staff has tended to support the view that the re-introduction of the structured panel interview, in addition to the assessment centre process, has served to improve the standard of student officers being appointed by that police force, as identified in Chapter 5. The belief that employing the structured interview has a beneficial effect in selecting appropriate candidates has also been demonstrated earlier in this chapter in respect of both civilian (CIPD) and police organisations (RCMP). The implications for the police service in the UK in the twenty-first century, following the furore emanating, in 2009, from the policing of the G20

Summit are clear. The police service must establish an effective system for recruiting and training police officers if further examples of inappropriate police behaviour are to be minimised.

The strategic emphasis on the training the police officers is re-visited

Successive enquiries (Critchley, 1971; Scarman, 1981; Macdonald, 1987, Field-Smith, 2002) have produced evidence to show police training had been unable to affect the attitudes and behaviour of police officers and data cited earlier in this chapter and elsewhere in the thesis has supported this contention (how attitudes are formed, Chapter 1; police training systems, Chapter 2; student officers in the 1980s, Chapter 4; student officers in the 2000s, Chapter 5).

Despite police training having been demonstrated in this research as being likely to be unsuccessful in effecting appropriate police behaviour, training featured prominently when, in 2009, HMCIC, then Sir Ronnie Flanagan, reported on the state of the police service and made recommendations for the way ahead. In part, his recommendations called for better training. Junior managers, he suggested, must be supported through training. He also considered the way personnel are recruited and trained should be reviewed and recommendations about aspects of pre-employment education for people wishing to become police officers. In the field of probationer training, Sir Ronnie found that the administrative system to record the development of competencies was laborious and took three times as long to complete as the system it replaced.

Throughout his report, Sir Ronnie pointed, on 34 occasions, to the need for training or better training or different training to resolve, manage or prevent the problems with the then current-day policing. It is crucial, therefore, to the development of the police service, that the method of delivering training and the manner in which the effectiveness of the process is measured are appropriate to the needs of the twenty-first century. The strategic emphasis on the efficacy of training police officers was highlighted on 65 occasions by the current HMCIC (O' Connor, 2009), in his report on the policing of the G20 Summit. It is not the relevance of the training intervention that has implications for policing in the UK in the twenty-first century rather it is the reliance placed upon the intended outcomes of the training proposals that is

questionably misplaced. As has been discussed earlier in the thesis, the power of the influence of workplace mores in shaping the behaviour of police officers must be understood and be central to the consideration of curriculum development and teaching methodology. If that does not occur, the research set out in this thesis points to the potential for the aims of the Reports by Flanagan and that by O' Connor not achieving the positive outcomes they intended.

Training is not a panacea, as the Eighth Report National Police Commission (1981) into the state of policing in India found when it commented, '... traditional attitudes and values stubbornly survive while the environment has changed completely'. The persistence of the attitudes and values occurred in an environment where, 'As soon a police officer reaches the police station he has first of all to unlearn what he had been taught in the training institutions' (para. 62.6). The Indian experience was something alluded to when Young (1991) pointed to the need to conform to the way things were done locally rather than replicate training school practices, as did Lord Stevens (2005).

Maintaining public confidence in the police service

The question of public confidence in the police, a focal point for many of the reviews of police training, has been the subject of a series of research programmes. However, it is essential, if the police service is to implement recommendation emanating from research, the data gathered must reflect the views of the society it seeks to represent.

Research undertaken in 1997 (Bland; Chatterton *et al.*) established that the gaps between perception and reality of the police service delivery and the data were capable of being used to develop strategies for improving aspects of police work and the merits of using quality of service surveys to establish public satisfaction with the police were identified. The studies established that there was no single effective strategy for managing consultation or receiving feedback. The best methods were those that were relevant to the circumstances at the time when the data were gathered, taking into account the circumstances of the study, its purpose, and the data required and how it was intended the data were to be used. It was established that an accurate assessment of the attitudes of the public towards the behaviour of police officers could be reliably gathered.

The major changes to the police initial training programme have followed expressions of public disquiet about police behaviour (Scarman, 1981; Macdonald, 1987), or suggestions that the police officers were not trained appropriately to meet the needs of the diverse communities in which they worked (Critchley, 1971; Field-Smith, 2002). While the work done by Bland (1997) and Chatterton *et al.* (1997) has shown that it is possible to gather data that are relevant to employ as a basis for making changes to a training programme, the review of the data gathered during this research, makes it probable that the changes will not produce the effect desired. However reliable the data are in reflecting accurately public disquiet, the subsequently-changed training course appear unlikely to be able to bring about changes to the police officer's attitudes and behaviour.

Is it possible for training to assist the police in their relations with the public?

The major revisions that have occurred to police initial recruit training during the last forty years appear to have been cyclical rather than linear, in that they appear to have revisited recurring problems, that of the inappropriate attitudes and behaviour of operational police officers. The partial exception to the cyclic nature of developments in police training was the work of MacDonald (1987) which did produce innovative strategies for delivering the police initial recruit training programme. However, Macdonald's report (*op. cit.*) was as an adjunct to Lord Scarman's enquiry and, therefore, was providing a supplementary response to the question of police behaviour identified in the Scarman Report (1981).

There is evidence to show that meaningful data about police performance are capable of being captured, and that public enquiries into police practices can produce influential evidence to inform subsequent police training methods and course content. However, what evidence exists to suggest that creating focused training, as a result of the data or information, will produce the outcomes anticipated? When researching the policing of racially motivated incidents, Maynard and Read (1997) found that specialist training for police officers to prepare them to deal with incidents of that nature produced different responses from the police officers attending.

The lack of a consistent outcome, following a training intervention, has been demonstrated in respect of this research, when the training outcomes in the 1980s were discussed. A similar set of training outcomes, when student officers, recruited some twenty years after the first research cohort showed similar levels of inconsistency in how the training process had affected them. Maynard and Read's overall assessment was that the training process, which involved providing both knowledge of the relevant legislation and multi-cultural awareness training had probably been beneficial. They suggested that those police officers who had been hostile to the training programme would have been hostile when dealing with incidents of the nature covered by the specialist training course even without the training. However, police officers who had approached the training process with an open mind would have received a benefit.

Spencer and Hough (2000) researched the policing of Lambeth, London and concluded, amongst other findings, that community and race relations training for police officers was valuable but should not be used as the sole or primary means of attempting to change officer behaviour. Their conclusion suggests that a reliance on training courses as the dominant method of creating specific outcomes is probably unlikely to be successful, in respect of the changes made to the PIRTC. The community's perception of police attitudes and behaviour were reviewed in research conducted in 2000 (Miller *et al.*) when the police practice of stop and search was examined. Public confidence was lowered by the process and the perception of those stopped was that the police were impolite and did not follow the required procedure when carrying out the stop and search process.

Most of the officers who participated in the study and, consequently, most of the officers whose behaviour had given rise to complaint, had recently received training following the implementation of the Macpherson Report (1999) recommendations. Miller's (2000) findings support the comments made regarding the strategies used to employ police-public relations in Lambeth (Spencer and Hough, 2000) when they suggested that while training did have benefits it would be unwise to allow the process to assume the sole or major element of any strategy aimed at altering attitudes and behaviour. The data gathered during this research, has identified that training is unlikely to be able to bring about a relatively permanent change to an officer's attitudes and behaviour.

The continued importance of police recruitment and training

Flanagan (2008) suggested that a sound move would be a one towards making police officers responsible for their pre-appointment education. He cited other professions where this is the case. He considered that the current training provision tended to be based around a single product rather than one which is tailored to meet the differing needs of individual police officers. If there is a body of knowledge that a person could acquire prior to their application to be a police officer then perhaps Flanagan's idea would have merit. Unlike in education and social work, two exemplars provided by Flanagan, there is no readily-available and recognised body of knowledge for the police or about the police service. Currently, some universities¹¹⁰ offer two-year foundation degree courses in police studies incorporating aspects of criminal law, criminology and sociology. In some instances, the courses are directed towards people wishing to become police officers. In others, they are open only to those persons who are police officers.

Self-study and the recruitment process

While there is merit in the notion of a potential police officer providing themselves with the requisite skills and knowledge prior to appointment, further or higher education courses may not be the most purposeful way to achieve the necessary outcome. In many States in the USA, applicants undergo a rigorous mental and physical assessment process to gain admission to a training college, of which there are in the region of six hundred and which offer a police training programme among other non-police related courses.

In major US cities, the police department recruits and trains its own personnel but the recruiters undertake a detailed and extensive process of background checks of each applicant who has to undertake written, oral and psychological test and they must also produce evidence of academic attainment before being eligible to complete the remainder of the recruiting process. However, as identified earlier in this chapter, there was some doubt about the efficacy of the work done by the psychologists (Scrivner,

110 The universities of Northampton and Plymouth are two such institutions.

1994), which is an integral part of the recruiting process employed by many US police departments.

Whether there is an element of self-preparation or not on the part of applicants for the UK police service, unless that police service makes a detailed assessment of the potential recruit, there are unlikely to be any changes in the next twenty years that would distinguish the candidates and their views from those who preceded them in Study A or Study B. Some elements of the detailed investigation undertaken by the training providers in the USA and elsewhere need to be incorporated into the recruiting process in the UK.

The assessment process requires additional research to establish a more effective way of screening potential applicants. The process needs to identify applicants who are not only suitable to manage generically-relevant tasks but are specifically tested to enable the applicants to provide evidence that they do possess the necessary skills, abilities, attitudes and behaviours to make them suitable for appointment as police officers. The comments made by some applicants, both those successful and those unsuccessful, in Study B, in respect of their experiences as participants in the current UK assessment centre process were concerned about the lack of relevance to police work and the lack of fairness to the applicant in the way some of the processes were employed.

Rehearsing the appropriate persona and the assessment centre process

When applicants are able to undertake preparation for a recruitment process prior to attending the assessment centre, the recruiting procedure employed needs to be sufficiently robust to ensure the selection of appropriate applicants. In order to establish the attitudes and behaviour of applicants, an examination of the evidence gathered during the assessment centre process must be capable of distinguishing between one of two presentations by the applicant. Those styles of presentation have been described by Goffman (1959)¹¹¹ as back-stage or the front-stage images. The evaluation is necessary in order establish whether the applicant is revealing to the

111 Goffman used the analogy of the performance to identify the back-stage area as being one away from public view where the actor is able to relax as their performance is removed from public scrutiny. The opposite is true of the front-stage situation where the actor must perform as required else the audience will detect his or her deviation from the what is expected in the performance.

recruiters their true attitudes or behaviours or whether they are presenting what they have learned are the appropriate responses without necessarily having internalised the values implicit in the views they have expressed. The greater the degree the views expressed by the applicants accord with the values of the organisation, the less will be the dissonance (Festinger, 1959) between the two elements and the greater the probability that the applicant will be successful in being offered an appointment as a police officer for the applicant will appear to embody the attitudes and behaviours appropriate to the role he or she seeks..

The recruitment process must be culture and gender fair and offer equal opportunity to a range of candidates. While it will be required to include a range of people who wish to join the police service, there should be a singularity of purpose and a sole model of acceptability determining the favourable outcome or otherwise for each applicant who attempts to become a police officer. One element demonstrably absent from the national recruitment model for police officers in the UK is the police interview, where applicants are interviewed by a panel of police officers (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) or a panel of police officers and community members (Queensland Police).¹¹² Unlike the experience reported by some applicants undertaking the assessment centre process conducted by the host force, and reported earlier, the interview needs to be interactive with the interviewers permitted to ask supplementary questions to clarify or explore in greater detail the answers provided by the applicants. Study B officers mentioned the unnatural atmosphere of the interview where the questioner was required to pose the question but not engage in any other discourse outside the strict repetition of the words in his or her script, creating an unnatural dialogue where the candidate was unable to pursue what they considered a more normal interview process.

The training course

Once appointed, police officers need to be trained in a way that allows for their cognitive development to be measured but equally importantly, there must be some means in place to measure their attitudinal development. When interviewed during this research, police training staff said that there were no specific measures in place to test whether a student officer possessed or was developing the attitudes and behaviour

112 Queensland, New South Wales, Australia.

considered to be necessary for a police officer. As Kushner *et al.* (2003, p. 15) identified, it was necessary to ensure:

That a robust and effective evaluation process [was] in place to determine the extent to which the learning experiences provided match[ed] the needs of the service and communities it serves.

Research is needed to establish how this might be measured and how the process might be incorporated into the police initial training course. As this current study has demonstrated in respect of previous interventions, changing the police initial training course once more without incorporating measures to address the development of the student officers' attitudes and behaviour required of them by the police service is unlikely to be any more effective in the future. Unless the subsequent training developments have at their core an appreciation of the powerful force exerted by occupational police culture, the probability will exist for the benefit derived from training interventions to be quickly diluted if not extinguished once the police officer is involved in operational police work.

The cost of providing policing has risen substantially in the last decade and cited as a key elements of expenditure are, 'salaries, pensions and other... expenses (for example training...)' (Mills *et. al.*, 2010, p.33). In a time of fiscal constraints, with the police service being required to make substantial savings to their budgets (Merrick, 2010) it will be essential that the revenue used to pay for the training of police officers is appropriately targeted and the officers on whom the expenditure is outlaid are likely to possess the qualities required to be efficient police officers. To increase the potential for the appropriate targeting of expenditure, the police service may need to ensure the use of more reliable methods of selecting student officers than those currently employed.

Further potential for structural change in the police service

Policing in the twenty first century is unlikely to become any less arduous. The advent of the Coalition Government in May 2010 and the consequential appointment of a new Home Secretary have already seen the probability of more structural changes for the

police service, with a broad remit from levels of accountability to working practices apparently likely to be reviewed and redesigned. Irrespective of the outcomes of government consultations about the structure and function of the police, the public to whom the police provide a service are likely to expect a police service that is responsive to their needs in a supportive, timely and professional manner. As Graef (2010) has commented, myriad conflicting demands will continue to be placed on the police, as will the dilemma of maintaining public satisfaction with the service provided. To cope with all the competing and conflicting demands, the police officer of the twenty first century needs to be a person who actually wants to do the job. He or she needs to provide evidence that they possess the competencies, set out in the ACPO Behavioural Competency document. The process of recruiting and training must produce sufficient relevant information to allow police managers to accurately identify suitable candidates for appointment as police officers. To do otherwise will be to continue to appoint people to the police service some of whom are unsuitable and whose unsuitability may do immense damage to the relationship between the police service and the communities for which it provides a service.

Creating and maintaining a stable community within which members of the public are able to live in reasonable harmony as well as maintaining a police service in which the majority of the communities trust and have faith in is essential to the continuation of the way of life that we recognise as British. If we cannot maintain that balance and a law enforcement strategy is entertained that does not rely to a major degree on the consent of the people and an acceptance by them of the integrity with which the police dispense their service, it is possible that the relationship between the police and the public will be radically different from the one that has prevailed in principle since the inception of the modern police service in 1829. Police officers may no longer enjoy the consent and forbearance of the public without which the nature of policing in the UK would be fundamentally different.

The Secretary of State for the Home Department, in setting out the Coalition Government's aspirations for the new model of police accountability (May, 2010, p.3),

recognised the need for a local dimension to accountability and considered it would be best achieved by:

[the] transfer [of] power back to the people – by introducing directly elected Police and Crime Commissioners, representing their communities, understanding their crime and anti-social behaviour priorities and holding the Chief Constable to account for achieving them, and being able to fire her or him if they do not.

It does not appear, from the recently-issued document (May, 2010) setting out a framework for local consultation and accountability, that the Coalition Government intends to continue the current statutory requirement placed upon the police to consult local communities as required by Section 106, Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984 (S.106 meetings), as no reference to those current statutory requirement to consult locally appear within the paper. The S.106 meetings provided a forum on each occasions they were held for members of the local communities to meet with their local police managers and discuss matters that were causing local residents a concern and for the local police manager having the statutory responsibility to be cognisant of those public demands when he or she was drawing up local policing plans. Whether the S.106 meetings were effective in bringing about change, the local community had the right to be heard regularly and the home secretary had the power to require local chief constables to ensure such meeting took place and provided access to local communities to influence policing in their communities.

Changes to police recruit training have not prevented further complaints from members of the public about police attitudes and behaviour.

The course designed for the training of newly-appointed police officers has been subject to a number of reviews and revisions in the past, from Critchley (1971) to Field-Smith (2002). The resulting recommendations have been largely directed to ensuring that the police initial training course produced police officers who were aware of the needs of a diverse, multi-ethnic community and how they should properly address those needs. Succeeding reviews of the training programme, frequently emanating from public enquiries following serious civil disorder or instances of police

malpractice, have commented that the then-current training package was not suitable. This process appears to have been perpetuated despite there being little if any evidence to support the view that altering the training course would resolve the issues identified as then being wanting.

Changes to recruit training, of both major and minor proportion, appear not to have prevented the behaviour of police officers being criticised by large numbers of members of the public, particularly in the way the policing of major public demonstrations are carried out. However, it has been identified that relevant data are capable of being gathered from the public to inform the direction for training and the training can play a role in altering behaviour but the caveat to such a proposition was that training should not be the sole nor major element used to affect the attitudes and behaviour of police officers.

In 2009, police practice and officers' behaviour gave rise to yet another example of public dissatisfaction in the aftermath of the G20 Summit protests in London. In 2011, as part of the police response to civil disorder, a twenty one year old black man recorded a police officer racially abusing him and further complained that the officer allegedly used oppressive conduct in the way the police officer dealt with the arrest (Lewis, 2012). It should be remembered that research undertaken into the causes of the disorder, and reported earlier in the thesis cited distrust and apathy towards the police as a major factor for the disorder occurring.

Student officer ideals and recruit training outcomes

Officers who were appointed to the police service in the early part of the twenty first century (Study B) shared many of the ideas and ideals of their colleagues (Study A) who were appointed some twenty years earlier. Neither group of police officers appeared to have satisfied one of the aims of the training course which required that they should have developed a sound understanding of the communities they would serve. Both cohorts of police officers identified tendencies to support law enforcement strategies as opposed to enhancing their understanding of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural communities in which they would work as a better way of improving police-community relations. The comments the officers made about dealing with the varying

needs of communities also reflected differences of opinion. The training courses were not producing a consistent standard as represented by the views expressed by the police officers who participated in the research. The research has shown, however, that it is possible to influence the attitudes and behaviour of people who undertake training courses, while pointing to the limitations of the process and identifying a mechanism for achieving the desired outcomes.

Writing in 1988, Southgate identified past attempts to reform police probationer training had been by inserting blocks of learning materials about social skills or, thereafter, by placing elements of social skills at strategic points during the course. He went on to identify that the previous experience of compartmentalising the material had shown that social skills could not be taught or learned in that way. What was needed, he reported, was an integrated approach, where the learning materials were interwoven within the police law and procedure lesson material. The research question for this thesis set out to examine whether there was evidence to show either of those methods were consistently effective and identified that they were not.

Writing about police probationer training in 2005, Peace revisited the idea of experiential learning as a positive way forward in ensuring that the training of probationer constables was both effective and affective. Stressing the importance of the initial training of police officers, Peace (p.336) commented:

The importance of police training in determining the future of the police service cannot be overstated. In these times of transition and transformation for the police forces of England and Wales, the cornerstone of the success of the community-oriented neighborhood policing strategy must now rest with the foundation training provided to neophyte officers.

To achieve the desired outcome¹¹³ of highly-trained neighbourhood constables, Peace considers that the learning must assume a role of greater importance in the process of training. He considers that there is only marginal adherence to a student-centred approach in police probationer training and, further, that trainers are not adequately

113 Home Office (2005), *Neighbourhood Policing: Your Police; Your Community; Our Commitment*, Home Office, London

equipped through training and professional development to fulfil the requirements of delivering a facilitative support to adult learners. Police probationer training will not achieve the aims and objectives of turning out police officers who understand the complex nature of the communities in which they are to work nor will it equip police officers with the skills to deal with the complex problems they will be called upon to resolve. One weakness in the proposition encapsulated in what Peace decrees as apposite is that he considers the opportunity to make a fundamental move ahead is afforded by the inception of the IPLDP. This evidence amassed during this research suggests that the IPLDP may not have

Is it reasonable to expect police training to be able to achieve the aims and objectives of inculcating appropriate attitudes and behaviour?

As Barton (2003, p.356) stated, ‘It is clear that given the deep-rooted occupational culture of the police it is always going to be difficult to implement wide-scale reform’. Fielding (1999) pointed to the problems surrounding occupational police culture. He identified that, in respect of the MPS, it was not the deficiency in the human awareness training programme nor the professionalism of the training centre staff that failed in achieving the aspirations of the programme rather it was the power of operational policing experience, the, ‘prevailing culture of the station and the squad car’ (*op. cit.*, para. 1.10), which Skolnick (1975) describes as an occupational solidarity almost akin to clannishness. As has been shown in the evidence gathered during this research, the expectations of Peace for the benefits that would accrue from the IPLDP have not been fully realised.

The remarks of Fielding in respect of the professional manner in which training was delivered are not limited to the MPS. The learning theory of Kolb (1984) was a dominant feature of police training methods in provincial police forces in the latter period covered by this research. The implementation in police training was to assist the student to learn from concrete experience and included reflective practice. The formulation of concepts, it was intended, would flow from the experience and reflection and then the testing of those concepts in new encounters or experiences. However, the experiential element employed in training student officers was also the element identified by Fielding as being the most powerful influence in determining

how police officers behaved in an operational setting. The experiential experiences encountered during the training course, either in the classroom or during controlled external visits, were less powerful than that experienced when the police officers undertook operational duties as newly-arrived members of the shift with their new colleagues. Schon (1987) provided a strategy for the reflective practitioner, a process of self-assessment and development. This is a strategy that has also been employed in police training (Field-Smith, 2002) with limited success, as subsequent public disquiet with police behaviour has identified.

Barton (2003, p.355) concludes his review of occupational police culture by identifying the considerable efforts that the police service has made, 'with its emphasis on adopting the correct attitude, when dealing with members of the public'. His view is, 'the failure of successive attempts at police reform would appear to result from a combination of a deeply rooted occupational culture, suspicious to the purpose of reform.' (*op. cit.*, p.357). Fielding (1999, para. 1.27) adds, 'While this assertion [that recruiting more officers from ethnic minorities is more likely to bring about change than changing the attitudes of white officers] is speculative its likelihood is enhanced by what we know about twenty years of effort to change the practice of policing by changing the attitudes of police officers.

Key themes emerging from the research

The research process was designed to identify whether the initial training course for newly-appointed police officers was able to inculcate the attitudes and behaviour considered by the police service to be appropriate to their role. The process of recruiting and training are of substantial importance in preparing police officers for their work within the communities they will serve, in some instances for a period of thirty five years. The following are the key themes that have emerged during the research:

1. Evidence gathered during this research has pointed to the fact that the most important aspect in ensuring police officers exhibit the attitudes and behaviours required of them by the police service is that of ensuring the selection of the appropriate candidates initially. Some of the police

officers who were appointed during the period when this research was being conducted and some of the training officers working at the training centre have commented on elements of the recruiting process. Several officers who had attended the assessment centre were clear that some of the systems employed as part of the recruiting process did not allow them to present evidence of their suitability for appointment.

2. The training officers felt that the absence of a panel interview was a deficiency in the current recruiting process and pointed to an improvement in the standard of student officers when one of the constituent police forces had reinstated the practice. Evidence gathered from outside the police service supported the use of an interview in the fashion envisaged as a purposeful element of a compendium of recruiting strategies. However, evidence gathered from recruits appointed in the 1980s and subjected to the panel interview process identified that it was still possible for student officers to be appointed who did possess the appropriate attitudes and behaviours. An explanation of the phenomenon was provided and a framework for the future use of the strategy suggested.
3. The recommendations made by a recent HMCIC about policing and police practice (Flanagan, 2008), the aftermath of the policing of the G20 summit in London (O' Connor, 2009) and the consultative paper issued by the Coalition Government, (May, 2010) have, in each case, put the nature of policing once more at the forefront of public consideration and highlighted the role of police training as an important element in achieving the outcomes required. How police officers are trained for the role they are required to fulfil is as important now as it has been at any time since the inception of the New Police, so called, in 1829.

4. The relationship between the public and the police is not as consistent as it once was, nor as high, with more than 60 per cent¹¹⁴ of people nationwide in March 2009 registering a lack of faith in the police service being able to deal with crime and disorder. A measure of the change in the way some members of the public regard the police could be found in 2010 in the support for an alleged murderer who also shot and seriously injured a police officer and, in a separate incident, a woman. Tributes have appeared on social networking sites on the internet where several thousand people have apparently spoken up in support of the person and lauded the crimes he committed.

5. This study has provided the opportunity to establish the nature of the influence on attitudes and behaviour that the PIRTC is able to exert and has shown for the first time that police training systems for newly-appointed recruits are processes unlikely to be affective. Writing in 2010, Neyroud identified, when discussing what is effective in training and development of police officers, that there had been no systematic review of police training to determine what was effective and what was not in bringing about changes to attitudes and behaviour. Evidence from research done in healthcare suggested that a multifaceted approach to changing attitudes and behaviour was more likely to be effective and that a classroom-based, single facet approach was unlikely to be effective (Kushner *et al.*,2003; Neyroud, 2010).

Can the research findings be applied to police training outside the host force?

The potential limitations to the research are balanced by a number of elements that ought to allow the conclusions to be considered more widely than the location in which the research was set:

114 Data are available at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1159764/Only-38-faith-police--Jacqui-Smith-promising-scrap-targets.html> [accessed Jul, 2010]

- Applicants to the host force were assessed and selected using the national police recruitment model
- The recruiting process used by the host force is regularly externally assessed to ensure it complies with the national requirements
- The IPLDP is a national police training course
- The IPLDP is externally monitored to ensure it complies with the national model
- Trainers used on the IPLDP have to conform to national requirements to secure appointment
- Demographic data relevant to this research were gathered for the area covered by the host force, for the north east of England region and nationally and were compared to establish whether there was any evidence to support the selection of the host force as being a comparable and suitable locus for the research

An analysis of the demographic data identified the potential for a wider application of conclusions drawn from the research with the student officers in the host force, by virtue of the attributes they held in common with other potential student officers elsewhere in the UK, and the national processes for both applicant selection and initial training.

The way ahead

There are three clear strands to creating and maintaining a police service that is in tune with the needs of the majority of the communities within which it will operate. By the nature of the role, there can never be total harmony. There will always be a tension between those people who wish to behave in a manner prohibited by law and those whose role it is to prevent them from doing so or deal with their offending behaviour where prevention has been unsuccessful. Occupational police culture, police training and the recruitment process are the areas that must be inter-related and interdependent if meaningful change is to occur.

Police culture

It is unlikely that any training or recruiting intervention will enjoy major success without an understanding and appreciation of the power of occupational police culture. The demands of central government, soon to be replaced by elected police commissioners are likely to place requirements on senior police managers that need responses and create competing demands. Quick (2012) as former senior police officer giving evidence to a government enquiry expressed the view that senior police officers had reacted to pressure from central government in amending operational policy.

The police officers of the twenty first century will need to feel that they inhabit a supportive, caring organisation if they are to develop the skills they learn within the training environment. Skolnick's 'operational solidarity' is likely to impede the transfer of training to an operational setting unless police officers feel confident that they are supported and their professional development is being actively pursued. The Police (Efficiency) Regulations, 1999 added a new sanction. Where an officer fails to work efficiently there are a number of actions managers are able to take to enable the officer to achieve and maintain a satisfactory performance. The measures are not unreasonable. However, in an organisation seen by police officers holding the rank of inspector to chief superintendent as bureaucratic, impersonal with rules and procedures strictly adhered to (Southgate, 1988) it is unlikely to be perceived as being supportive. The responsibility for changing police culture does not rest with the police alone. Central and local government have a role to play and the police commissioners whose influence and impact are currently unknown will have a major role to play.

Police training

Peace (2005) has pointed to andragogy¹¹⁵ as the way to ensure newly-appointed police officers are effectively trained, especially for the demands of neighbourhood policing which, by its nature requires a more person-centred delivery rather than a strict law enforcement model. He has cited the lack of student-centeredness to police recruit training and the benefits from reversing that trend and incorporating the experiential

115 Peace is utilising the model for adult learning created by Malcolm Knowles

aspect of learning as embraced by Knowles and, particularly, Kolb. The reflective practitioner model (Schon, 1983) which involved the learner a self-directed learning process, in part, Knowles' andragogy, is likely to produce a positive learning environment. However, self-directed learning and re-evaluating existing personal cognitive frameworks need a learning environment that is supportive to the process. The elements of the training centre need to change from resembling a total institution (Goffman, 1961) if such a learning environment is to be created and sustained. There may be an overarching tension between the occupational police culture and the need to change the learning environment for police training. The former made up of rules and adherence to policy and directive while the latter requires openness and freedom by the learners to make discoveries about themselves.

Police recruiting

This research has revealed, in the comments made by applicants for the police service who were successful and those who were not, that the recruitment process is not without some elements that appear not to be providing evidence of suitability. To be an effective filter, the process needs to have a mechanism for identifying whether or not an applicant possess the appropriate behavioural competencies¹¹⁶ and what, if any evidence exists of contra-indicators of suitability for appointment to the police service. In an attempt to be seen to be scrupulously fair to all applicants, it may be the case that the national police recruiting system has lost sight of the need to focus on the skills and abilities required to be a police officer. Some applicants who attempted to join the host force between 2005 and 2007 did not feel their skills had been properly identified. That comment held both for successful and unsuccessful candidates.

Training centre staff interviewed during the course of this research pointed to the disadvantage, as they perceived it to be, of not incorporating an interview of applicants by a panel of police officers as part of the recruiting process. They cited examples of where they considered the introduction of the interview had given rise to students officers of a higher calibre¹¹⁷ attending the initial training course. Therefore, the

116 See ACPO Behavioural Framework, Appendix 4.

117 They explained 'higher calibre' as meaning the candidates were of a better academic standard and had a greater appreciation of what being a police officer required of them.

benefit of introducing a panel interview needs to be given serious consideration. A review of the working practices of the CIPD has shown that a substantial majority of their membership use the interview as part of the recruiting process.

The future for policing in the UK

The way ahead involves three strands. Each one will require determination to ensure that it has a chance of succeeding. Without each element forming an integral part of the process of developing training, there is little by the way of improvement in the attitudes and behaviour of police officers. The occupational culture of the police service has been shown to have a pervasive influence. The structure and management of police officers needs to be one which guides and counsels as well as directs and disciplines. What has emerged from this study is that to simply rely on further changes to police training without, at the same time, addressing recruiting and occupational culture will not bring about the changes desired. The dilemma facing the UK police service, with several officers in the MPS suspended from duty in early 2012 for alleged oppressive or racist conduct might be stated as:

What are the defects in the existing recruitment procedures which result in the induction of personnel with improper behaviour, outlook and responsiveness into the police community at various levels? What are the special measures that can be introduced during training, both initial as also the later in-service training to inculcate in a police officer the proper attitudes to his work and conduct towards the public?

The question related not to UK policing. It was written by C. V. Narasihman, Member Secretary to the National Police Commission, New Delhi, India in December 1977 about the problem being experienced in part in recruiting and training police officers for the Indian police service. The problems expressed by Narasihman are akin to those identified by this research. The thesis has sought to provide considerations as to how the problem for the future of UK police might be addressed.

Appendix 1

A Commentary on Routine Operational Police Patrol Duties

Extract from Pocket Note Book

Wednesday 14th June 1972

6.00am 2.00pm¹¹⁸ Fine¹¹⁹
5.55am Parade Sgt 123, PC 456, 789
Posted Panda¹²⁰
7.00am Parkwell
8.30am Priestpopple
9.00am Police Office
Refreshments
9.45am Resume duty
10.55am Received lady's gold ring from Mrs EBC [address recorded], Hexham found by her at Priestpopple near West Cumberland Farmers.
11.00am Received com-plaint from Mrs TR [address recorded], Hexham that persons, possibly children are going into her garden and causing damage while she is at work between 6pm and 12mn daily. Visited scene. Slight damage to garden furniture. Attention promised.
11.30am Police Office – entering details of F.P¹²¹. and complaint
12 noon New Road Sgt 123¹²²
12.15pm Checked vacant house [address recorded]. In order
12.20pm Firearms' enquiry. [address recorded], Hexham. Interviewed ER re his [type of firearm described] Weapon checked and verified correct. Mr R. has no real reason for requiring [type of weapon]. Is attempting to sell same today to firearms' dealer.
12.30pm [commercial premises] Battle Hill, Hexham checking blood stained clothing handed in by a Mr G [address recorded]. G stated he had been involved in an accident over weekend. Details passed to Prudhoe CID to check and confirm.

¹¹⁸ Tour of duty

¹¹⁹ Reference to the weather condition at commencement of duty

¹²⁰ Allocated role

¹²¹ Found property

¹²² Met patrol sgt. at that location

12.40pm Market Place, Hexham. Land Rover [VRM recorded] parked on west side in second bay from Garden Garth. Drawing trailer. Land Rover on pavement trailer on road causing obstruction. Two lamps, amber colour, placed in roadway on south side of trailer. Road reduced to one way traffic flow. Pavement reduced by 50%. Following measurements taken:- width of pavement on north side of vehicle 10' 3"- on south side 10' 4". Front of Land Rover 5' 1" on pavement on north side and 5' 2" on south. Overall length of Land Rover and trailer combined 29' 2". Parking bays delineated by white lines. Length 15' 11" width 8' 2" distance from end of south side of bay to kerb 4' from north side of bay to kerb 5' furthest danger lamp 8' into roadway from kerb South side of trailer 5' into roadway from kerb- north side 4'. No obstruction caused by width of vehicle.

12.55pm Person returned to the vehicle and said, 'I'm the driver, is something up?' Cautioned and asked him if he had parked the vehicle there. R. 'Yes. I've driven round the town twice and I couldn't find anywhere. I wanted to go to the gas board.' Asked him if he had placed the yellow lamps in the roadway. R. 'Yes'. Pointed out to him that he was obstructing the roadway with the lamps and the trailer. R. 'I've only been parked here five minutes'. Pointed out to the defendant that I had observed the vehicle for 15 minutes in that position. No reply. Informed the defendant that the front of the Land Rover was 5' onto the pavement reducing the width to half. R. 'I didn't know. I felt a bit of a drag but I thought it was the trailer'. Asked the defendant if he was say (sic) he did not know that the front of the Land Rover had mounted the kerb and travelled half way across it. R. 'No. I didn't know'. F.C¹²³. and told that he would be reported for unnecessary obstruction. R. 'I'm sorry. I didn't mean to cause obstruction'. Driver [personal details and address recorded]. HORT1 issued for production of driving licence and certificate of insurance at Whitley Bay Police Office.

1.30pm Market Place Sgt 123, PC456

2.00pm Off duty

¹²³ Formally cautioned as a preliminary to reporting the driver for summons

Appendix 2

The Discipline Regulations for Police Officers

The Police (Discipline) Regulations 1965

1. Discreditable conduct
2. Insubordinate or oppressive conduct
3. Disobedience to orders
4. Neglect of duty
5. Falsehood and prevarication
6. Breach of confidence
7. Corrupt practice
8. Unlawful or unnecessary exercise of authority
9. Malingering
10. Absence without leave or being late for duty
11. Uncleanliness
12. Damage to clothing or other articles supplied
13. Drunkenness
15. Entering licensed premises
16. Lending, borrowing or accepting presents
17. Conviction for a criminal offence
18. Being an accessory to a disciplinary offence

Police (Discipline) Regulations 1985

1. Discreditable conduct
2. Misconduct towards a member of a Police Force
3. Disobedience to orders
4. Neglect of duty
5. Falsehood or prevarication
6. Improper disclosure of information
7. Corrupt or improper practice
8. Abuse of authority
9. Racially discriminatory behaviour
12. Damage to police property
13. Drunkenness
14. Drinking on duty or soliciting drink
16. Criminal conduct
17. Being an accessory to disciplinary offences as set out above

Police Conduct Regulations 1999

1. Honest and Integrity
2. Fairness and impartiality
3. Politeness and tolerance
4. Use of force and abuse of authority
5. Performance of duties
6. Lawful orders
7. Confidentiality
8. Criminal Offences
9. Property
10. Sobriety
11. Appearance
12. General Conduct

The Police (Conduct) Regulations, 2008

Honesty and Integrity

Police officers are honest, act with integrity and do not compromise or abuse their position.

Authority, Respect and Courtesy

Police officers act with self-control and tolerance, treating members of the public and colleagues with respect and courtesy. Police officers do not abuse their powers or authority and respect the rights of all individuals.

Equality and Diversity

Police officers act with fairness and impartiality. They do not discriminate unlawfully or unfairly.

Use of Force

Police officers only use force to the extent that it is necessary, proportionate and reasonable in all the circumstances.

Orders and Instructions

Police officers only give and carry out lawful orders and instructions. Police officers abide by police regulations, force policies and lawful orders.

Duties and Responsibilities

Police officers are diligent in the exercise of their duties and responsibilities.

Confidentiality

Police officers treat information with respect and access or disclose it only in the proper course of police duties.

Fitness for Duty

Police officers when on duty or presenting themselves for duty are fit to carry out their responsibilities.

Discreditable Conduct

Police officers behave in a manner which does not discredit the police service or undermine public confidence in it, whether on or off duty. Police officers report any action taken against them for a criminal offence, any conditions imposed on them by a court or the receipt of any penalty notice.

Challenging and Reporting Improper Conduct

Police officers report, challenge or take action against the conduct of colleagues which has fallen below the Standards of Professional Behaviour.

Appendix 3

The Survey Instruments

**Survey of Probationer Constables
1985 to 1987**

The purpose of this questionnaire is to discover how you feel about certain aspects of your period of initial training. I am also attempting to discover whether your ideas change in several specific respects during your period in training.

This study will take several months to complete, but I will eventually be able to speak to you personally and let you know my findings about yourself.

I have allocated you a serial number which only you and I know. In every other respect, your responses are entirely confidential but I need to be able to relate several pieces of data to individual respondents.

P Mather

RING ANSWER APPLICABLE - ONE ONLY IN EACH CASE

Q1. What are your reasons for joining the police service?

- a) Good career prospects
- b) Good job security
- c) Worthwhile job
- d) Good pay
- e) Good pension
- f) None of these

If you answered f) please give your reason for joining here

Q2. What thoughts do you have about the possibility of your being assaulted whilst on duty?

- a) I can take care of myself
- b) I will be happier after my self-defence training
- c) It worries me but I try not to think about it
- d) It doesn't happen very often so I'm not concerned
- e) I have accepted the possibility. In some ways I wish I could get the first one over with
- f) None of these

If you answered f) please give your reason for joining here

Q3. On average, how long do you think it takes for a police officer to become a:-
Sergeant 5yrs; 8yrs; 10yrs; 15yrs; 20yrs; total service
Inspector 5yrs; 8yrs; 10yrs; 15yrs; 20yrs; total service
Ch/Inspector 5yrs; 8yrs; 10yrs; 15yrs; 20yrs; total service

Q4. What rank in the police service do you ultimately hope to be promoted to:-

Q5. Which of the following areas do you feel that you will be best able to influence in the rank you have chosen in answer to Q4.

- a) public disorder
 - b) Police dishonesty
 - c) Police inefficiency
 - d) Street crime
 - e) Public disquiet about crime
 - f) None of these
-

If you answered f) please give your answer here

Q6. How do you feel minority groups are treated by the remainder of the community?

- a) Fairly
 - b) The same as everyone else
 - c) Unfairly
 - d) It depends on the group
 - e) Better than it treats other people
 - f) None of these
-

If you answered f) please give your answer here

Q7. List at least five minority groups. Please use enough detail to enable each group to be identified.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Q8. How do you believe that it is possible for the police to improve their relationship with black youths?

- a) If the youths obeyed the law
- b) If the youths didn't antagonise the police
- c) If the youths didn't all congregate in one area.
- d) If the police gained a better understanding of the youths culture.
- e) If parents took more care of the youths
- f) None of these

If you answered f) please give your answer here

Q9. There have been suggestions that coloured (sic) people should be sent home. Where do you think 'home' is for many of those people?

Q10. Do you think it is reasonable or unreasonable to 'send people home' - please state your reasons.

- a) Reasonable
- b) Unreasonable

Q11. What is your view on the various Race Relations Acts?

- a) They create problems

- b) They cause discrimination rather than prevent it
 - c) There isn't any need for them
 - d) They make black people believe that they are special
 - e) They are necessary to prevent unfair treatment
 - f) None of these
-

If you answered f) please give your answer here

Q12. What is your view on treating people who have disadvantages more favourably than others?

- a) The only fair way is to treat everyone equally
 - b) To treat everyone equally in unfair unless everyone starts off equally
 - c) Everyone starts off equally, therefore there is no need to treat them differently
 - d) This is merely another way of excusing unlawful behaviour on the part of minority groups
 - e) If they worked harder at school, they would not be disadvantaged
 - f) None of these
-

If you answered f) please give your answer here

Q13. Racism is a problem for black people to sort out

- a) Yes they tend to be too sensitive
 - b) There are a few problems but black people exaggerate them
 - c) Racism is a problem for white people
 - d) Racism is a name for what is really only a piece of humour
 - e) If the name 'Racism' had never been seen we would not have a problem now
 - f) None of these
-

If you answered f) please give your answer here

Q14. Words like 'sunshine' and 'coon' may not be professional for police officers to use but they are not offensive

- a) Strongly disagree that they are offensive

- b) Disagree that they are offensive
- c) No opinion
- d) Agree that they are offensive
- e) Strongly agree that they are offensive

Q15. If my colleagues tell jokes against minority groups, I will:-

- a) Probably ignore the joke
- b) Probably join in but inwardly wish that they didn't
- c) It is only harmless fun
- d) Probably tell them not to say such things
- e) Probably tell them one of the jokes I know similar to theirs
- f) None of these

If you answered f) please give your answer here

Survey of Police Recruits

And

Probationer Constables

2005 and 2006

UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE



Newcastle Centre for Family Studies

18 Windsor Terrace
University of Newcastle
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU

The Research

My name is Percy Mather. I retired from Northumbria Police in 1999, having completed thirty years police service.

I started researching Initial Police Training in 1985, looking at the effectiveness of the Police Probationer Initial Training programme. This research project is focussed on the same area though the recruiting and training processes are substantially different from those applying to potential police recruits in 1985 and the parameters of my research have also expanded since then.

The purpose of the research

The aim of the research is to gather information about the attitudes and beliefs of those people who wish to join the police service and identify any differences between those applicants who are appointed and those who are not. The next element of the research is to establish what if any changes occur in their attitudes and beliefs, as a result of the officers attending the initial training programme.

The research process

This research is being carried in three phases. The first phase involves gathering data from people who are invited to attend the assessment centre, in the case of potential Northumbria police recruits. Everyone invited will have the opportunity to be involved. It is important to remember that participation in this research project has absolutely no bearing on any aspect of the recruitment process being operated by Northumbria Police. Durham officers will be invited to complete the questionnaire shortly after they arrive at the NECPS following appointment.

The questions in the first section of the questionnaire are about you and where you live together with information about your educational attainments, employment and aspects of the process of applying to the police force you selected. The second section of the questionnaire asks for your views or opinions on a number of issues. Answering this questionnaire does not require any specialist knowledge. In particular, it does not require any knowledge of the criminal law. There are no 'right' answers to the questions.

The second phase of the research will involve gathering data from officers after they have attended the Foundation Training programme. The final phase will involve interviewing a randomly selected sample of the people who participated in the initial phase of data gathering.

The Questionnaire – important information about how and when to return it

Please answer the questions without seeking the views of anyone else. When you have completed the questionnaire, check to ensure that you have **answered all of the questions and signed and dated the declaration on page 5.**

Returning the questionnaire

A Police applicants

Using the pre-paid envelope, please return the questionnaire in order that it arrives with me **before you attend the assessment centre.** Exceptionally, the completed questionnaire may be brought to the Assessment Centre where it will be collected by me.

B Constabulary officers

Using the pre-paid envelope, please return the completed questionnaire within seven days.

The only part of your questionnaire to be seen by anyone other than myself is a photocopy of the authority you signed on page 5.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research

Percy Mather

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Please read the following important information about your personal data

This research is being conducted in three phases. The first phase focuses on applicants who attend the assessment centre. The second phase follows up those persons, after appointment and completion of their initial training programme. Finally, some people who have participated in the first two phases will be invited to participate in phase three which involves a further interview. Your participation in this research has no bearing whatsoever on any aspect of the police recruiting and training process.

The data you give will be held on computer or paper based records, in accordance with the Principles of the Data Protection Act, 1998, in particular, Section 33, which deals with research, history and statistics. None of the questions in the survey requests you to divulge sensitive personal data. No subsequent disclosure of data will be made in a way that can identify you.

The following page requests your name, address and telephone number together with your Candidate URN, if you are attending the Recruit Assessment Centre. If you are completing this questionnaire after appointment you should supply your Force number. This will enable me to contact you to see if you are willing to participate in phase three of the research.

To confirm that you agree to me recording your answers to the survey on computer and retaining the papers records identified above, please sign the following declaration.

Declaration

I agree that the data recorded as a result of my participating in any of the phases of this survey may be held on computer and as a paper record in the terms and condition required by the Data protection Act 1998. I understand that:

- **No data will be disclosed in any form that could identify me.**
- **Data supplied by me as a result of participating in this survey will be held on computer in accordance with Section 33 Data Protection Act 1998**

(See over for further details of the relevant contents of the Act)

Further, I agree to either Northumbria Police or Durham Constabulary as it applies in my particular case

- **Releasing information concerning the outcome of my application**
- **Releasing information as to when and why I have resigned or retired from the force insofar as the release of information does not involve releasing sensitive personal data**

Signed

Date

This page is left intentionally blank

Data Protection Act, 1998

33. - (1) In this section-

"research purposes" includes statistical or historical purposes;

"the relevant conditions", in relation to any processing of personal data, means the conditions-

(a) that the data are not processed to support measures or decisions with respect to particular individuals, and

(b) that the data are not processed in such a way that substantial damage or substantial distress is, or is likely to be, caused to any data subject.

(2) For the purposes of the second data protection principle, the further processing of personal data only for research purposes in compliance with the relevant conditions is not to be regarded as incompatible with the purposes for which they were obtained.

(3) Personal data which are processed only for research purposes in compliance with the relevant conditions may, notwithstanding the fifth data protection principle, be kept indefinitely.

(4) Personal data which are processed only for research purposes are exempt from section 7 if-

(a) they are processed in compliance with the relevant conditions, and

(b) the results of the research or any resulting statistics are not made available in a form which identifies data subjects or any of them.

(5) For the purposes of subsections (2) to (4) personal data are not to be treated as processed otherwise than for research purposes merely because the data are disclosed-

(a) to any person, for research purposes only,

(b) to the data subject or a person acting on his behalf,

(c) at the request, or with the consent, of the data subject or a person acting on his behalf, or

(d) in circumstances in which the person making the disclosure has reasonable grounds for believing that the disclosure falls within paragraph (a), (b) or (c).

THE DATA PROTECTION PRINCIPLES

PART I

THE PRINCIPLES

1. Personal data shall be processed fairly and lawfully and, in particular, shall not be processed unless-

(a) at least one of the conditions in Schedule 2 is met, and

(b) in the case of sensitive personal data, at least one of the conditions in Schedule 3 is also met.

2. Personal data shall be obtained only for one or more specified and lawful purposes, and shall not be further processed in any manner incompatible with that purpose or those purposes.

3. Personal data shall be adequate, relevant and not excessive in relation to the purpose or purposes for which they are processed.

4. Personal data shall be accurate and, where necessary, kept up to date.

5. Personal data processed for any purpose or purposes shall not be kept for longer than is necessary for that purpose or those purposes.

6. Personal data shall be processed in accordance with the rights of data subjects under this Act.

7. Appropriate technical and organisational measures shall be taken against unauthorised or unlawful processing of personal data and against accidental loss or destruction of, or damage to, personal data.

8. Personal data shall not be transferred to a country or territory outside the European Economic Area unless that country or territory ensures an adequate level of protection for the rights and freedoms of data subjects in relation to the processing of personal data.

Case				
In	No		F/Up	
	Yes			
Stage 2	Yes		F/Up	

For Office Use Only

Section I

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Please complete the following personal details

First Name Last Name

Address

Address

Town/City

Post Code Telephone Number

Candidate URN

(Please insert, if applicable, otherwise please insert your Force number in the box opposite)

Force Number.

Date of Birth
(dd/mm/yyyy)

Male

Female

Marital status

Married or living as married

Separated or divorced after being married

Single (never married)

Other
(Please insert details e.g. widowed)

Ethnic Origin

White
British
Irish
Any other white background

Any other Asian background

Mixed
White and Black Caribbean
White and Black African
White and Asian
Any other mixed background

Black and Black British
Caribbean
African
Any other black background

Chinese or other ethnic group
Chinese
Any other (please specify)

Prefer not to state

Asian or Asian British
Indian
Pakistani
Bangladeshi

Education

1. What is the **highest** educational qualification you have obtained?
(Please tick **one box** only)

1 Higher degree (masters, doctorate)

2 First degree

3 Higher education, below degree

4 A level or equivalent

5 O level or equivalent

6 CSE or equivalent

7 Foreign or other qualification

8 No qualification

2. Age on completing continuous full time education

3. Have you obtained any of the following qualifications?

(Please tick all that apply)

Modern apprenticeship completed

Other recognised trade apprenticeship

RSA/OCR: Certificate

First Diploma

Advanced Diploma

Higher Diploma

City & Guilds Part I

Part II

Part III

Part IV

NVQ/SVQ Level

Level 2

Level 3

Level 4

Level 5

ONC/OND

HNC/HND

Teacher Training Qualification

Nursing Qualification

Other technical or business qualifications

(Please insert details)

Other recognised academic or vocational qualifications

(Please insert details)

ployment

The following questions are about your current occupation.

4 Are you currently employed? Yes No Never worked
 Go to 5 ← Go to 14 ←

5 What is the title of your current or most recent job? Service personnel should include *rank*

6 Describe what kind of work you do or did most of the time. Include sufficient details to enable someone unfamiliar with your role to understand what you do or did. Say what you sell or manufacture where appropriate

7 What training or qualifications are needed for that job? If you require **only** on-the-job training insert **On-the-job** in the box

8 Do or did you directly supervise or be directly responsible for the work of other people as their line manager? Yes No
 Go to 9 ← Go to 10 ←

9 How many people? Include only those for whom you assume a line manager's responsibility.

10 Indicate if you are or were Self employee Employed

11 Including yourself, how many people are or were employed at the place or office you usually work or worked from?
 1 – 24
 25 – 499
 500 or more

12 If not self-employed, which type of organisation do or did you work for?
 Private sector firm or company
 Nationalised industry or public corporation
 Local Authority or Local Education Authority including universities
 Health Authority or hospital
 Central Government, Civil Service or government agency
 Charitable or voluntary sector
 Armed Services
 Other

- 13 Please tick one box to show which **best** describes the sort of work you do, or did in your last job, if not working now.

(Please tick **one box only**)

Modern professional occupations

such as: teacher - nurse - physiotherapist - social worker - welfare officer - artist - musician - police officer (sergeant or above) - software designer

Clerical and intermediate occupations

such as: secretary - personal assistant - clerical worker - office clerk – call centre agent - nursing auxiliary - nursery nurse

Senior managers or administrators

(usually responsible for planning, organising and co-ordinating work and for finance)

such as: finance manager - chief executive

Technical and craft occupations

such as: motor mechanic - fitter - inspector - plumber - printer - tool maker

electrician - gardener -

train driver

Semi-routine manual and service occupations

such as: postal worker - machine operative - security guard - caretaker - farm worker - catering assistant - receptionist - sales assistant

Routine manual and service occupations

such as: HGV driver - van driver - cleaner - porter - packer - sewing machinist - messenger - labourer - waiter / waitress - bar staff

Middle or junior managers

such as: office manager - retail manager - bank manager - restaurant manager - warehouse manager - publican

Traditional professional occupations

such as: accountant - solicitor - medical practitioner - scientist - civil / mechanical engineer

Only answer Question 14 if you have **NEVER** worked

- 14 How many **months** is it since you left full time continuous education?

Decision making processes in applying to become a police officer

15. In preparing yourself to apply to the police service, did you do any research?

Go to Question 16 Yes Go to Question 17 No

16. Which if any of the following did you do to gain information about the police service?
(Please answer 'Yes' or 'No' for **each** item)

	Yes	No	
a. Spoke to a serving police officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	If 'Yes' insert rank ()
b. Spoke to a retired police officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	If 'Yes' insert rank ()
c. Read the Force's Annual Report	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d. Looked on the Force's web site	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			Yes No
e. Read local newspapers to become/remain up to date with local discussions on crime and policing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
f. Read national newspapers to become/remain up to date with national discussions on crime and policing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

17. Have you discussed your intention to join the police with a family member or spouse/partner?

Yes No

Go to Q18

Go to Q20

18. Of the persons listed below, please indicate in respect of each category whether you have discussed with them your intention to become a police officer.

Only tick 'not applicable' if that person is deceased or otherwise permanently unavailable to you.

(You should tick **one** box in **every** row)

	Discussed with and supported by	Discussed with but not supported by	Not discussed with	Not applicable
Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spouse/Partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other <input style="width: 200px; height: 15px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Please insert relationship to you)

19. a. Thinking of those persons to whom you spoke, whose views were most influential to you in making your decision?

(There may be only slight differences in levels of support. if you cannot identify anyone who you consider was most influential, you should select 'Unable to choose')

*(Please tick **one** box only)*

Father		<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother		<input type="checkbox"/>
Siblings		<input type="checkbox"/>
Spouse/Partner		<input type="checkbox"/>
Other		<input type="checkbox"/>
	(Please insert relationship to you)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unable to choose		<input type="checkbox"/>

↙ If you **did not** select 'unable to choose' please go to 19b otherwise go to Q20

- b. In making your decision to join the police service, how important to you was it that the person you indicated above supported what you wanted to do?

*(Please tick **one** box only)*

Very Important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Not important	Not at all important
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. People sometimes belong to different kinds of groups or associations. The list below contains different types of groups. For each type of group, if you belong to it, please tick a box to say how often you have taken part in the activities of this group **in the past 12 months**, otherwise tick the box in the 'Don't belong...' column.

*(Please tick **one** box for each row)*

	Three or more times	No more than two times	Belong to such a group but have never taken part	Don't belong to such a group
a. A political party, club or association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. A trade union or professional association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. A church or other religious organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. A sports group, hobby or leisure club	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. A charitable organisation or group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. A neighbourhood association or group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Other associations or groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Thinking of the job your father had when **you were 16** would you say that the level or status of a constable is

*(Please tick **one** box only)*

- a. Much higher than the job your father had when **you were 16**
- b. Higher
- c. About equal
- d. Lower
- e. Much lower than your father's
- f. Can't choose or does not apply

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Section II

Attitudes and Opinions

22. Please indicate whether any of the following were influential regarding your decision to apply to join the police service

(Please tick 'Yes' or 'No' in each case)

	Yes	No
a. Career prospects	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Job security	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Doing a worthwhile job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Pay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Pension	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Of your answers above which **one** factor did you consider was most influential in helping you decide to apply to join the police service?

(Please tick **one** box only)

a b c d e

24. From the following list, please tick **one** box for each item to show how important you think this is in a job

	Most important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Least important
a. Job security	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. High income	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Interesting work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Doing something that is useful to society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Bearing little risk of injury or damage to one's health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. What is most important to your decision to be a police officer the work or the salary?
(Please tick **one** box only)

a. Work	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Salary	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Both reasons	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. Please select **one** box to indicate how you feel about being assaulted on duty

a. I am not concerned because I believe I can take care of myself	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. I have some concerns but will feel more confident after my self-defence training	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. I am concerned but try not to think about being assaulted	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. I am not concerned because it doesn't happen very often	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. I am concerned but have accepted the possibility as being part of the job	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. Thinking of your answer to Question 26, please indicate how concerned you are about the thoughts of you being assaulted on duty.

- a. Very concerned – think about it often
- b. Fairly concerned – think about it now and then
- c. Not very concerned – think about it infrequently
- d. Not at all concerned – never thought about it other than when it was discussed in class or other similar setting

28. On average, how many years of service do you think an individual will have completed before he or she is likely to be promoted to each of the following ranks:
(Please circle **one** choice in **each** row)

- a. Sergeant 5yrs 8yrs 10yrs 15yrs 20yrs 25yrs
- b. Inspector 5yrs 8yrs 10yrs 15yrs 20yrs 25yrs
- c. Superintendent 5yrs 8yrs 10yrs 15yrs 20yrs 25yrs

29. What rank do you hope ultimately to attain? Please ignore any specialist rank titles. For example, if you hope to be a detective sergeant, you should tick the 'Sergeant' box.

(Please tick **one** box only)

- a. Remain a constable
- b. Sergeant
- c. Inspector
- d. Chief Inspector
- e. Superintendent
- f. Chief Superintendent
- g. Assistant Chief Constable
- h. Deputy Chief Constable
- i. Chief Constable

30. What level of priority do you feel the police should give in dealing with each of the following
(Please tick **one** category **in each row**)

	The highest priority	A high priority	Not very high priority	Not at all a priority
a. Public disorder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Police dishonesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Police inefficiency	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Crimes committed on the street	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Public fear of crime	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. Thinking about your answer to question 30, which **one** would you consider should be afforded the greatest priority by the police? *(Please tick **one** box only)*

a b c d e

32. How do you think that the police could enjoy a better relationship with young people?
*(Please tick **one** box **in each row**)*

The relationship would be better	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. the young people obeyed the law	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b. the young people didn't antagonise the police	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c. the young people didn't tend to congregate in one area	<input type="checkbox"/>				
d. the police gained a better understanding of the young people's culture	<input type="checkbox"/>				
e. more parental control was used	<input type="checkbox"/>				

33. Of your answers to Question 32, which **single factor** do you consider to be the most important in assisting the police to enjoy a better relationship with young people?
*(Please tick **one** box only)*

a b c d e

34. Thinking now specifically of Black and Asian young people, how do you think that the police could enjoy a better relationship with them?
*(Please tick **one** box **in each row**)*

The relationship would be better if	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. the young people obeyed the law	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b. the young people didn't antagonise the police	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c. the young people didn't tend to congregate in one area	<input type="checkbox"/>				
d. the police gained a better understanding of the young people's culture	<input type="checkbox"/>				
e. more parental control was used	<input type="checkbox"/>				

35. Of your answers to Question 34, which **single factor** do you consider to be the most important in assisting the police to enjoy a better relationship with Black and Asian young people?
 (Please tick **one** box only)

a b c d e

36. The various Race Relations Acts were enacted to prevent discrimination on racial grounds. 'Racial grounds' includes colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins. Based on your own experiences and what you have heard and read, please tick one box in **each** row to show whether you agree or disagree with the statement.

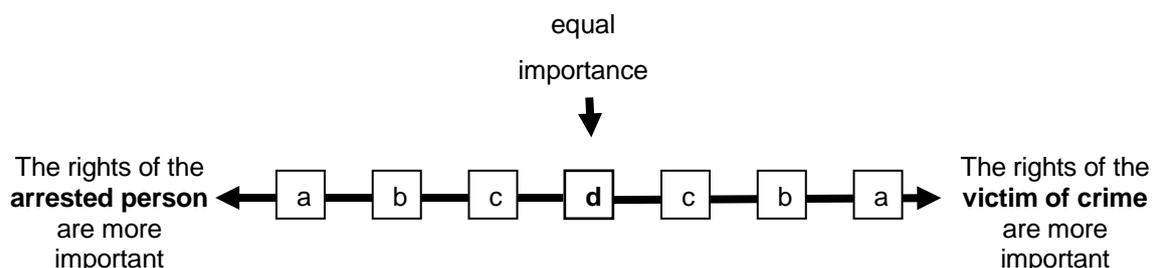
(Please tick **one** box **in each row**)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. The Acts have created problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The Acts cause discrimination rather than prevent it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. There isn't any need for race relations laws	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The Acts make those people covered by them believe that they are special	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The Acts are necessary to prevent unfair treatment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. Thinking of the safeguards provided to everyone by the Human Rights Act, please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

(Please tick **one** box only **in each row**)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. The rights of an arrested person are important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The rights of the victim of crime are important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Comparing the human rights of the arrested persons with those of the victim of crime, circle one box only on the scale to indicate whose human rights <i>you believe</i> should be treated as more important.						



38. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

(Please tick **one** box only **in each row**)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. There are only a few people I can trust completely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Most of the time you can be sure that other people do want the best for you	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. If you are not careful other people will take advantage of you	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. Would you rather live in an area where most people own their homes, where most people rent, or where there is a mixture?

(Please tick **one** box only)

a. Where most people own	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Where most people rent	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Mixture	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Don't mind either way	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Can't choose	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. Please tick one box for each statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with it.

(Please tick **one** box only **in each row**)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. It is just too difficult for someone like me to do much about improving my local area	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. There is no point in doing my best to improve my local area unless others do the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. It's a disgrace that people around where I live don't do more to improve the local area	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. Do most people around where you live own their homes, do most people rent, or is it about equal?

(Please tick **one** box only)

- a. Most people own
- b. Most people rent
- c. About equal
- d. I am unsure

42. Please tick **one** of the boxes **in each row** to show how much you trust each of the following:

- | | A great deal | Quite a bit | Not much | Not at all | Can't choose |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. private fee-paying schools to spend their money wisely for the benefit of their pupils? | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. local councils to spend their money wisely for the benefit of local people? | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. private pension companies to invest their money wisely to benefit their pensioners? | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. the state pension scheme to invest money wisely to provide adequate state pensions | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. police forces to spend their money wisely for the benefit of local people? | <input type="checkbox"/> |

43. Please tick one box for each statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with it.
(Please tick **one** box only **in each row**)

- | | Agree strongly | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Disagree strongly |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Schools should teach children to obey authority | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Laws should always be obeyed, even if a particular law is believed to be wrong | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

44. Some words, when used to address or describe members of the public, may be considered by them to be offensive. Thinking of the following words, please say whether you agree or disagree with the statements (*Please tick **one** box only **in each row***)

i. The use of the word '**Sunshine**'

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
a. I believe that word is <u>meant to be offensive</u> when used to address black or Asian people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. I believe that it is not an acceptable word for a police officer to use when talking to or about anyone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

ii. The use of the words '**Coon**'

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
a. I believe that word is <u>meant to be offensive</u> when used to address black or Asian people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. I believe that it is not an acceptable word for a police officer to use when talking to or about anyone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

45. If you were a police officer and heard a colleague tell a joke about a minority group or a member of such a group, please indicate how you feel that you would react in each of the three instances. (*Please tick **one** box only **in each row***)

i. If the joke was about **ethnic origin** or **race**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
a. Ignore the joke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Join in but, inwardly wish they didn't say such things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Consider it as harmless fun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Tell them to stop	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Tell a similar joke myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

ii. If the joke is about **disability** or **infirmity**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
a. Ignore the joke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Join in but, inwardly wish they didn't say such things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Consider it as harmless fun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Tell them to stop	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Tell a similar joke myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<i>iii. If the joke was about gender or sexual orientation</i>		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
a.	Ignore the joke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Join in but, inwardly wish they didn't say such things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Consider it as harmless fun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Tell them to stop	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Tell a similar joke myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46. Some books or films offend people who have strong religious beliefs. Should books and films that attack religions be prohibited by law or should they be allowed
(Please tick **one** box only)

a.	Definitely should be prohibited	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Probably should be prohibited	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Probably should be allowed	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Definitely should be allowed	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Can't choose	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. The police receive reliable information that a person is planning to burgle a warehouse. In each of the two situations below, which of the following do you think the law should allow the police to do without the need for them to go to Court for additional authority?
(Please tick **one** box **in each row**)

Situation No. 1

The person has a criminal record		Definitely should	Probably should	Unable to say	Probably should not	Definitely should not
a.	Arrest the person and keep them in custody overnight for questioning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Intercept their telephone calls (Tap their telephone)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Intercept and open their mail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Put the person under surveillance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Situation No. 2

The person does not have a criminal record		Definitely should	Probably should	Unable to say	Probably should not	Definitely should not
a.	Arrest the person and keep them in custody overnight for questioning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Intercept their telephone calls (Tap their telephone)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Intercept and open their mail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Put the person under surveillance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

48. How much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

(Please tick **one** box **in each row**)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. A lot of false benefit claims are a result of confusion rather than dishonesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The reason that some people on benefit cheat the system is that they don't get enough to live on	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. Which, do you believe, is it more important for the government to do?

(Please tick **one** box only)

a. To get people to claim benefits to which they are entitled	OR	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. To stop people claiming benefits to which they are not entitled		<input type="checkbox"/>
c. I can't choose		<input type="checkbox"/>

50. In 1994, central government removed the duty that required local authorities to provide official camp sites for Gypsies and Travelling people. Since then, some local authorities have not provided any facilities. Suppose that the following statements related to the **area where you live**. Please tick **one** column **in each row** to show whether you agree or disagree with each of the statements.

	Agree	Disagree	Can't Choose
a. Gypsies and Travelling people should be allowed to stay on unofficial camp sites when no official sites have been provided	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The local authority should have a duty to provide official camp sites for Gypsies and Travelling people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The local community should respect the customs and cultures of Gypsies and Travelling people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Central government should compel the local authority to create an official camp site for Gypsies and Travelling people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. An unofficial camp site for Gypsies and Travelling people will most probably result in an increase in litter and other refuse.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

51. In your opinion, should your local council spend ...

(Please tick **one** box only)

a. more money in the poorer parts of the district compared to other parts	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. more money in the better off parts of the district compared to other parts	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. its budget equally across the district?	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Can't choose	<input type="checkbox"/>

You have now completed the questionnaire.

- Please make a final check to ensure that you have answered every question AND signed and dated the declaration on page 5.
- Please follow the guidance on page 3 for returning your completed questionnaire.
- Participating in this research has no bearing on any aspect of your application to join the police service

Thank you for taking the time to assist with this research.

Percy Mather



Newcastle Centre for Family Studies

18 Windsor Terrace
University of Newcastle
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU

Director
Professor Janet Walker

Dear Applicant,

Research Questionnaire.

I am enclosing a questionnaire which I am requesting you to complete and return to me before you attend the forthcoming Assessment Centre. *Please make sure that you place your completed questionnaire in envelope that is addressed to the Newcastle Centre for Family Studies when you return it to me.*

Northumbria Police has agreed to me carrying out this research. However, it is being conducted independently and, therefore, no-one from Northumbria Police will see what answers you have given when you complete the questionnaire. What you say, therefore, cannot influence any decisions about your application and can have no bearing on the success of your application to join the police service.

I have included information in the questionnaire that tells you the purpose of the research and how your involvement will help me.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter and completing and returning my questionnaire.

In closing, I wish you good fortune with your application to join the police service.

Yours sincerely,

Percy Mather

The following questions are designed to gather data about how you see your role as a police officer and the degree to which you consider your attitudes, values and beliefs match those of the police service. There are no correct answers to any of the questions.
Thank you for taking part in this survey.

Please show how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by placing ONE X in each row	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
The personal cost to me associated with my work as a police officer sometimes seems too great					
Given the problems I may encounter as a police officer I wonder if I will get enough out of it					
Given the problems I may encounter as a police officer, I wonder if the family and/or relationship difficulties will be worth it.					
If I had all the money I needed without working, I would probably still work as a police officer					
I expect to work as a police officer until I have completed the necessary service that allows me to retire					
I am willing to put a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help the police force that appointed me be successful.					
I speak to my friends of the police force that appointed me as a great one to work for					
I would accept any type of posting in order to keep working for the police force that appointed me					
I find that my values and the police force's values are very similar					
I am proud to tell others that I am part of the police force that appointed me					
The police force that appointed me really inspires the very best in me in the way of job performance					
I am extremely glad that I chose to be a police officer over other occupations I was considering at the time I joined.					
I really care about the fate of the police force that appointed me					
For me this is the best of all possible police forces for which to work					
I definitely want a career for myself in the police service					
If I could do it all over again, I would still choose to be a police officer					

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
I like this vocation too much to give it up					
This is the ideal profession for a life of work					
I am disappointed that I became a police officer					
I spend a significant amount of time reading police related journals, books or magazines					
I talk down or avoid mentioning the police service in conversations with people outside the organisation					
I will take promotion courses or seminars in police work only if they allow me to do so in duty time					
The police force that appointed me is committed to developing a culturally and gender diverse workforce					
I am always happy to do something extra outside my routine duties					
The police force that appointed me values gender and cultural diversity					
Women and people from an ethnic minority background are given a fair go in the police force that appointed me					
My life is going nowhere at the moment					
I would readily defend the general reputation of the police service to people outside of the organisation					
I am proud to be a police officer and to be seen in uniform by the community where I work					
My knowledge, skills, and abilities match or fit the requirements of being a police officer					
My values, goals and personality match or fit the requirements of being a police officer					
I do not believe that my work as a police officer should influence what I am allowed to do in my private life					
All in all, I am satisfied with my job as a police officer					

The following questions are designed to gather data about how you see the role of a police officer and the degree to which you consider your attitudes, values and beliefs match those of the police service. There are no correct answers to any of the questions. When you have completed the questionnaire, I shall ask you some questions about yourself. based on your answers here and those you have previously given me. Thank you for taking part in this survey.

Please show how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by placing ONE X in each row

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
I believe that my employer should not be able to control what I do or with whom I associate when I am not at work.					
Given the problems I may have encountered as a police officer I now wonder if I would have gotten enough out of it					
Given the problems I may have encountered as a police officer, I wonder if the family and/or relationship difficulties would have been worth it.					
If I had all the money I needed without working, I would probably still wish to have worked as a police officer					
I would have continued to work as a police officer until I had completed the necessary service to retire					
I would have been willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help the police force that I wished to join.					
In previous employments, I have been willing to do work outside my specific job description to ensure work flowed either smoothly or efficiently					
I would have been happy to accept any type of posting in order to keep working for the police force					
My values and the values of the police force are very similar					
I would have been proud to tell others that I was a police officer					
I have never been in an employment when I have felt truly inspired to give my very best					
I am extremely disappointed that I did not succeed in becoming to be a police officer.					
I really care about the fate of the police force to which I applied					
I consider the force to which I applied to the best of all possible police forces for which to work					
I definitely would still like a career in the police service					
Police work is the ideal profession for a life of work					

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
I consider whether my technical or professional skills are appropriate when I apply for a job rather than moral or ethical issues					
I spent a significant amount of time reading police related journals, books or magazines before I applied to join the police service					
I talk down or avoid mentioning the police service in conversations with people					
I would never take promotion courses or seminars related to my work unless the company paid me for my time					
I believe that the police force I wished to join is committed to developing a culturally and gender diverse workforce					
I would always have been happy to do some extra duty outside my routine duties as a police officer					
I do not consider whether my employer values gender and cultural diversity when applying for a job					
During the time I worked for them, I never thought about how my previous employers treated women and people from an ethnic minority background					
My life is going nowhere at the moment					
I would readily defend the general reputation of the police service to people with whom I talk					
I did not make any adjustments to my attitudes or behaviour in preparation to join the police service					
My knowledge, skills, and abilities match or fit the requirements of being a police officer					
My values, goals and personality match or fit the requirements of being a police officer					
I do not believe that work as a police officer should influence or affect what officers are allowed to do in their private life					
All in all, I think I would have been satisfied with my job as a police officer					

Follow-Up research

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project.

I have a short questionnaire grid that I would like you to complete before I ask you some questions about joining the police service and this initial phase of your training.

There are no correct or more acceptable answers. The questions are framed to obtain your views and thoughts.

May I remind you that all your answers are treated anonymously? Apart from me, no-one will know your identity in relation to this research project.

Follow up Interview Questions

1. Tell me what first attracted you to the idea of being a police officer?
2. Would you tell me all the things you did to prepare yourself when you applied to be a police officer?
3. What information can you recall now from any publications you read or websites you visited as part of the preparatory process?
4. To what degree do you consider that the tests and exercises used to recruit you gave you the best opportunity to provide evidence of your competence to be a police officer?
5. How realistic did you find the interview process with the role players?
6. How appropriately did you feel that the role player reacted to what you said to him or her?
7. In what ways do you consider that being a police officer may bring about changes to your social life and free time outside of police duty?
8. How do you feel about being a police officer now that you have been appointed and started your training?
9. Did you make any changes to the things you do or the persons you associate with after you decided to become a police officer and, if so, can you tell me what they are?
10. Do you think more carefully now about what you do and if so please say why?
11. Now that you have been appointed to the police service and are training, have you continued to socialise with your friends who are not members of the police service?
12. Do you foresee any potential conflict of interest arising between your role as a police officer and your relationship with your friends?
13. Do you imagine it would be more emotionally challenging to you to report a friend for an offence than a stranger?

I am interested in whether you think that your attitudes have changed or been reinforced in any way as the result of this initial phase of training. The next series of questions looks at that aspect of your training

14. Would you give me a brief summary of the material you have covered during the diversity training
15. Do you consider the content of the diversity training to be too detailed, just about correct or had it too little detail and can you please give me the reasons for the response you selected?
16. Tell me how you think that the content of the diversity training corresponds with things you believed before you attended this course.

17. As the result of your training, have you found that you have reconsidered any beliefs you held when you joined the police and, if so, please give me an example?
18. Have you found any of those beliefs challenged by the any aspect of your initial phase of training and, if so, please give me an example?
19. Have you found any of those beliefs reinforced by any aspect of your initial phase training and, if so, please give me an example?
20. How have you altered your attitudes or beliefs as a result of the diversity training, if at all?
21. How have you altered your attitudes or beliefs as a result of the training excluding the diversity element, if at all?
22. Can you give me an example of something you would now reflect upon before saying or doing compared with the period before your training course?
23. If someone said or did something that is at odds with things you believe or value how would you react?
24. Would that reaction (at 23) be different now, following the training you've received?
25. What other training have you received that you consider relates to having the correct attitude as a police officer?
26. How effective do you consider the other training about attitudes has been for you ?
27. From all the training about attitudes and behaviour, what specifically have you been told about how to challenge inappropriate conduct by colleagues?
28. Imagine that you have recently arrived as a new probationer on a shift. As a result of the diversity training you've received how confident would you feel in challenging sexist comments made by an long-serving member of the shift?
29. Have you ever challenged that type of behaviour and if you have briefly tell me the circumstances without identifying the parties involved?
30. Do you believe that someone can attend this course (the IPLDP) and still hold inappropriate beliefs and values without fellow students or staff ever being aware of it?
31. Do you think it would be possible for a person to attend this course (the IPLDP) and gives answers to questions that don't truthfully reflect what the officer thinks or believes?
32. Have you experienced it happening during this course?

I'd like to ask you some questions now about the value to you of being promoted and how you would consider your success as a police officer in a number of situations that I will outline.

33. You mentioned that you hoped to reach the rank of (mention rank included in initial survey) tell me why you chose that rank.
34. How long would you give yourself in the police service if you considered that you had no prospect of attaining the rank you've selected?
35. If you would remain regardless of promotion what other thing or things would you consider being signs of success in your chosen career?
36. Do you see any negative aspects to failing to reach the rank you hoped to reach?
37. Overall, if you were to retire as a constable would you consider your service to have been a success, supposing that everything other than promotion had been positive for you throughout your period of service?

Now, I'd like to ask you some general questions about this part of the your Phase 1 training and about the dynamics of becoming a new member of a shift.

38. What have you enjoyed the most and why?
39. And the least and why?
40. Tell me how you see the material covered in the diversity lessons affecting your daily work as a police officer.
41. Prior to joining the police service did you ever witness the affects of peer pressure?. If you did, would you elaborate on the circumstances?
42. How much impact do you imagine peer pressure will have on how a member of a shift behaves?
43. How easy do you think it is for a police officer to speak out against something he or she believes to be inappropriate behaviour?
44. How do you think that the new member of the shift should avoid being subjected to inappropriate peer pressure?
45. Have you heard the phrase 'politically correct' when it is used to mean an over-emphasis in the way we name or speak about things?
46. Some people might say that we have gone too far as a country in respect of the way we speak about things and the way we are required to describe things. What would you say?

And, finally, I would like to ask you some questions about the degree of attention the community pays to the off duty activities of police officers

47. Do you believe that a police officer's behaviour is watched by the community more critically than they watch the behaviour of other persons?
48. Do you consider the degree of critical attention you have described to be too little, too much or just about right and why?
49. Do you consider it reasonable that a police officer should have to accept being subjected to that degree of critical attention and why?
50. Police officers are supposedly representative of a cross section of the community. When the officer is off duty, is it reasonable that the community expects a higher standard of behaviour from the officer than it is prepared to tolerate from the rest of society and why?
51. From the police officer's perspective, should he or she expect to be just like the rest of the community when the officer is away from work and off duty?

Follow-Up research - Not appointed

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project.

I have a short questionnaire grid that I would like you to complete before I ask you some questions about your interest in joining the police service. There are no correct or more acceptable answers. The questions are simply to obtain your personal views and thoughts.

May I remind you that all your answers are treated anonymously? Apart from me, no-one will know your identity in relation to this research project.

Follow up Interview Questions- not appointed

I would like to start by asking you some questions about the recruiting process

1. When did you last attend the [Police Force] Assessment Centre?

Thinking specifically of the last occasion when you attended the assessment centre –
2. Would you tell me what types of research you undertook to prepare yourself for the assessment process?
3. What information can you recall now from any publications you read or websites you visited as part of the preparatory process?
4. To what degree do you consider that the tests and exercises used to recruit you gave you the best opportunity to provide evidence of your competence to be a police officer? I will deal with them in turn:
 - a. The four-question structured interview
 - b. The numerical reasoning test
 - c. The verbal logical reasoning test
 - d. The two written exercises
 - e. The four interactive exercises
5. How relevant did you find the four question structured interview?
6. How did the interviewer respond to your answers during the structured interview?
7. How realistic did you find the interactive exercises?
8. How appropriately did you feel that the role actor reacted to what you said to him or her during the interactive exercises?
9. Did you consider that being a police officer may have brought about changes to your social life and free time outside of police duty and, if so, in what way or ways?
10. Did the way you behave change in any respect following your decision to apply to become a police officer?
 - a. If 'Yes': Have you maintained that change in behaviour?
11. Did you foresee any potential conflict of interest arising between your role as a police officer if you had been appointed and your relationship with your friends and, if you did, can you tell me how you thought it may arise?
12. Do you imagine it would be more emotionally challenging to you as a police officer to report a friend for an offence rather than a stranger ?

The next series of questions looks at aspect of diversity and attitude and behaviour

13. What do you think diversity training is trying to achieve?
14. Broadly speaking, what topics do you imagine diversity training would cover?
15. Tell me how you think what you have described corresponds with things you already believe.
16. Did you alter your attitudes or beliefs about any of the issues you mentioned relating to diversity when you were attempting to join the police service?
17. If someone said or did something that is at odds with things you believe or value how would you react?
18. Would that reaction (at 17) be different now, since you have thought about diversity issues with intending to be a police officer?
19. Imagine that you have recently arrived as a new employee at the company where you work or last worked. How confident would you feel in challenging sexist comments made by an long-serving member of staff?
20. Have you ever challenged that type of behaviour and if you have briefly tell me the circumstances without identifying the parties involved?

I'd like to ask you some questions now about the value to you of being promoted and how you would have considered your success as a police officer in a number of situations that I will outline.

21. You mentioned that you hoped to reach the rank of (mention rank included in initial survey) tell me why you chose that rank.
22. How long would you have given yourself in the police service if you considered that you had no prospect of attaining the rank you had selected?
 - a. If you would have remained regardless of promotion
What other thing or things would you consider being signs of success in your chosen career?
 - b. Do you see any negative aspects to failing to reach the rank you hoped to reach?
 - c. Would you have thought of yourself as having a successful career to have retired as a constable?

Now, I'd like to ask you some general questions about the role of a police officer

23. Tell me what first attracted you to the idea of being a police officer?
24. Did you have any hopes of specialising and if so in what branch?
 - a. What attracted you to that line of work? **OR**

b. Why did you wish to remain as a beat officer

25. Have you heard the phrase 'politically correct' when it is used to mean an over-emphasis in the way we name or speak about things?
26. Some people might say that we have gone too far as a country in respect of the way we speak about things and the way we are required to describe things. What would you say?
27. Thinking now about a police officer's general behaviour and demeanour, do you pay more attention to them than you do the behaviour of other people?
28. Compared to your friends and colleagues, would you say that you pay more, about the same or less attention to the behaviour of police officers?
29. Do you consider it reasonable that a police officer should have to accept being subjected to that degree of critical attention and why?
30. When the officer is off duty, is it reasonable that the community expects a higher standard of behaviour from him or her than it is prepared to tolerate from the rest of society and why?
31. From the police officer's perspective, should he or she expect to be just like the rest of the community when the officer is away from work and off duty?

Conclude – invite questions if any and thank for time and help given

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Percy Mather. I am a post graduate research student at Newcastle University. I am conducting research into initial police training and how effectively it inculcates in police recruits the appropriate attitudes and behaviour. I would like to ask you some questions about your role here and the officers you teach.

1. What is your work background, prior to working at NECPS?
2. How many years have you been teaching probationer constables?
3. How would you describe the main aims of the current course?
4. Are you familiar with the course that preceded it
5. How would you say that the two courses differ if at all?
 - a. What types of formal or informal assessment do you make of the officers in your class
 - b. Formal, first of all
 - c. Informal
6. How do you feel that the assessments contribute to the development of the officers?
7. Thinking specifically of attitudes and behaviours, what assessments do you make in respects of those areas of officer development?
8. Is there any particular part of the current course or a particular lesson that is specifically designed to allow assessment of attitudes and behaviour?
9. (If 'Yes') How effective do you consider it is in helping you assess those elements of the officer's development?
10. Is there anything you would like to see included in the course that would
 - a. Assist the assessment process
 - b. Assist specifically assessment of attitudes and behaviour

11. In the time you have been involved in teaching probationers, have you noticed any differences in the standard of recruit?
 - a. What are they (If not volunteered)
 - b. Specifically about attitudes and behaviour (If not volunteered)
 - c. What do you consider is the cause of the changes you have described?
12. Do you think that probationers act out a role when they are in class, providing what they believe the organisation expects?
 - a. (If yes) How do you establish the real identity
 - b. (If no) How do you ensure that the attitudes and behaviour you observe are genuine?
13. If you could change on aspect of the current IPLDP what would it be?
14. Why (If not volunteered at 13)
15. And if you could change on thing in the recruiting process that you feel would improve the quality and standard of recruits you have to teach what would that be?
16. Why (If not volunteered)
17. Is there any aspect of your work that relates to the training of probationers and impacts on attitudes and behaviour that you haven't mentioned but would like to add now?

Thank you for giving up your time to talk with me.

Participant Contact Details Record Sheet



UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

Survey of Police Recruits and Probationer Constables 2005 to 2007

Please complete the following contact details (in BLOCK CAPITALS please)

First Name	<input type="text"/>	Last Name	<input type="text"/>
Address	<input type="text"/>		
Address	<input type="text"/>		
Town/City	<input type="text"/>		
Post Code	<input type="text"/>	Telephone Number	<input type="text"/>

Appendix 4

ACPO Behavioural Competency Framework

competency

a framework for the police service



Behavioural Framework

Version 8.0

01/06/2003



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Community and customer focus

Focuses on the customer and provides a high-quality service that is tailored to meet their individual needs. Understands the communities that are served and shows an active commitment to policing that reflects their needs and concerns.

- Presents an appropriate image to the public and other organisations.
- Supports strategies that aim to build an organisation that reflects the community it serves.
- Focuses on the customer in all activities.
- Tries to sort out customers' problems as quickly as possible.
- Apologises for mistakes and sorts them out as quickly as possible.
- Responds quickly to customer requests.
- Makes sure that customers are satisfied with the service they receive.
- Manages customer expectations.
- Keeps customers updated on progress.
- Balances customer needs with organisational needs.

Negative Indicators

- Is not customer-focused and does not consider individual needs.
- Does not tell customers what is going on.
- Presents an unprofessional image to customers.
- Only sees a situation from their own view, not from the customer's view.
- Shows little interest in the customer – only deals with their immediate problem.
- Does not respond to the needs of the local community.
- Focuses on organisational issues rather than customer needs.
- Does not make the most of opportunities to talk to people in the community.
- Slow to respond to customers' requests.
- Fails to check that customers' needs have been met.

Effective communication

Communicates ideas and information effectively, both verbally and in writing. Uses language and a style of communication that is appropriate to the situation and people being addressed. Makes sure that others understand what is going on.

- Deals with issues directly.
- Clearly communicates needs and instructions.
- Clearly communicates decisions and the reasons behind them.
- Communicates face to face wherever possible and if it is appropriate.
- Speaks with authority and confidence.
- Changes the style of communication to meet the needs of the audience.
- Manages group discussions effectively.
- Summarises information to check people understand it.
- Supports arguments and recommendations effectively in writing.
- Produces well-structured reports and written summaries.

Negative indicators

- Is hesitant, nervous and uncertain when speaking.
- Speaks without first thinking through what to say.
- Uses inappropriate language or jargon.
- Speaks in a rambling way.
- Does not consider the target audience.
- Avoids answering difficult questions.
- Does not give full information without being questioned.
- Writes in an unstructured way.
- Uses poor spelling, punctuation and grammar.
- Assumes others understand what has been said without actually checking.
- Does not listen, and interrupts at inappropriate times.

Personal responsibility

Takes personal responsibility for making things happen and achieving results. Displays motivation, commitment, perseverance and conscientiousness. Acts with a high degree of integrity.

- Takes personal responsibility for own actions.
- Takes on tasks without having to be asked.
- Uses initiative.
- Takes action to resolve problems and fulfil own responsibilities.
- Keeps promises and does not let colleagues down.
- Takes pride in own work.
- Is conscientious in completing work on time.
- Follows things through to a satisfactory conclusion.
- Shows enthusiasm about own role.
- Focuses on a task even if it is routine.
- Improves own job-related knowledge and keeps it up to date.
- Is open, honest and genuine, standing up for what is right.

Negative indicators

- Passes responsibility upwards inappropriately.
- Is not concerned about letting others down.
- Will not deal with issues, just hopes that they will go away.
- Blames others rather than admitting to mistakes or looking for help.
- Is unwilling to take on responsibility.
- Puts in the minimum effort that is needed to get by.
- Shows a negative and disruptive attitude.
- Shows little energy or enthusiasm for work.
- Expresses a cynical attitude to the organisation and their job.
- Gives up easily when faced with problems.
- Fails to recognise personal weaknesses and development needs.
- Makes little or no attempt to develop self or keep up to date.

Problem solving

Gathers information from a range of sources. Analyses information to identify problems and issues, and makes effective decisions.

- Identifies where to get information and gets it.
- Gets as much information as is appropriate on all aspects of a problem.
- Separates relevant information from irrelevant information, and important information from unimportant information.
- Takes in information quickly and accurately.
- Reviews all the information gathered to understand the situation and draw logical conclusions.
- Identifies and links causes and effects.
- Identifies what can and cannot be changed.
- Takes a systematic approach to solving problems.
- Remains impartial and avoids jumping to conclusions.
- Refers to procedures and precedents, as necessary, before making decisions.
- Makes good decisions that take account of all relevant factors.

Negative indicators

- Doesn't deal with problems in detail and does not identify underlying issues.
- Does not gather enough information before coming to conclusions.
- Does not consult other people who may have extra information.
- Does not research background.
- Shows no interest in gathering or using intelligence.
- Does not gather evidence.
- Makes assumptions about the facts of a situation.
- Does not notice problems until they have become significant issues.
- Gets stuck in the detail of complex situations and cannot see the main issues.
- Reacts without considering all the angles.
- Becomes distracted by minor issues.
- Leaves others to solve problems and does not see it as part of the role.

Resilience
Shows resilience, even in difficult circumstances. Prepared to make difficult decisions and has the confidence to see them through.
• Is reliable in a crisis, remains calm and thinks clearly.
• Sorts out conflict and deals with hostility and provocation in a calm and restrained way.
• Responds to challenges rationally, avoiding inappropriate emotion.
• Deals with difficult emotional issues and then moves on.
• Manages conflicting pressures and tensions.
• Maintains professional ethics when confronted with pressure from others.
• Copes with ambiguity and deals with uncertainty and frustration.
• Resists pressure to make quick decisions where full consideration is needed.
• Remains focused and in control of situations.
• Makes and carries through decisions, even if they are unpopular, difficult or controversial.
• Stands firmly by a position when it is right to do so.
Negative indicators
• Gets easily upset, frustrated and annoyed.
• Panics and becomes agitated when problems arise.
• Walks away from confrontation when it would be more appropriate to get involved.
• Needs constant reassurance, support and supervision.
• Uses inappropriate physical force.
• Gets too emotionally involved in situations.
• Reacts inappropriately when faced with rude or abusive people.
• Deals with situations aggressively.
• Complains and whinges about problems rather than dealing with them.
• Gives in inappropriately when under pressure.
• Worries about making mistakes and avoids difficult situations wherever possible.

Respect for race and diversity
Considers and shows respect for the opinions, circumstances and feelings of colleagues and members of the public, no matter what their race, religion, position, background, circumstances, status or appearance.
• Sees issues from other people’s viewpoints.
• Is polite, tolerant and patient when dealing with people, treating them with respect and dignity.
• Respects the needs of everyone involved when sorting out disagreements.
• Shows genuine concern and sensitivity to people’s problems, vulnerabilities and needs.
• Deals with diversity issues and gives positive practical support to staff who may feel vulnerable.
• Makes people feel valued by listening to and supporting their needs and interests.
• Uses language in an appropriate way and is sensitive to the way it may affect people.
• Identifies and respects other people’s values within the law.
• Acknowledges and respects a broad range of social and cultural customs and beliefs.
• Understands what offends others and adapts own actions accordingly.
• Respects confidentiality, wherever appropriate.
• Delivers difficult messages sensitively.
• Challenges attitudes and behaviour which are abusive, aggressive and discriminatory.
Negative indicators
• Does not consider other people’s feelings.
• Does not encourage people to talk about personal issues.
• Criticises people without considering their feelings and motivation.
• Makes situations worse with inappropriate remarks, language or behaviour.
• Shows little understanding of the cultural and religious beliefs of different cultures.
• Is unsympathetic to differences in social and cultural customs and beliefs.
• Is thoughtless and tactless when dealing with people.
• Is dismissive and impatient with people.
• Does not respect confidentiality.
• Unnecessarily emphasises power and control in situations where this is not appropriate.
• Intimidates others in an aggressive and overpowering way.
• Uses humour inappropriately.
• Shows bias and prejudice when dealing with people.

Team working

Develops strong working relationships inside and outside the team to achieve common goals. Breaks down barriers between groups and involves others in discussions and decisions.

- Understands own role in a team.
- Actively takes part in team tasks in the workplace.
- Is open and approachable.
- Makes time to get to know people.
- Co-operates with and supports others.
- Offers to help other people.
- Asks for and accepts help when needed.
- Develops mutual trust and confidence in others.
- Willingly takes on unpopular or routine tasks.
- Contributes to team objectives no matter what the direct personal benefit may be.
- Acknowledges that there is often a need to be a member of more than one team.

Negative indicators

- Does not volunteer to help other team members.
- Is only interested in taking part in high-profile and interesting activities.
- Takes credit for successes without recognising the contribution of others.
- Works to own agenda rather than contributing to team performance.
- Allows small exclusive groups of people to develop.
- Plays one person off against another.
- Restricts and controls what information is shared.
- Does not let people say what they think.
- Does not offer advice or get advice from others.
- Shows little interest in working jointly with other groups to meet the goals of everyone involved.
- Does not discourage conflict within the organisation.

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