

Higher education, police training, and police reform: a review of police-academic educational collaborations

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Higher Education, Police Training and Police Reform: A Review of Police-Academic Educational Collaborations

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Introduction

A shift from police training towards police education has long been advocated by international scholars as a mechanism for broader police reform (Bayley and Bittner, 1984; Roberg and Bonn, 2004). This educational shift seeks to bring police and academic communities together to work towards collaboratively designed aims and learning outcomes that support the evolution of professional policing. Yet, policy implementation remains uneven due to sustained resistance across international jurisdictions from academics and police officers at all levels of their respective hierarchies. This resistance can take the form of cynicism from liberal academics about the possibility of reform within policing agencies as well as suspicions amongst police officers about the motives and abilities of those within academia. A clear evidence-base outlining the ‘added value’ of police and higher education collaborations for police education would go some way to addressing these cultural obstacles that resist change. The key question raised during this process is what ‘added value’ do higher education institutions bring to police training and education. This chapter reviews the international literature on higher education, police training and police education, draws out key themes for analysis, and identifies areas where higher education adds value to police training and education. The final section looks at the policy implications of these findings.

Police Reform and Higher Education

Research on policing has consistently demonstrated that operational police work is only partially guided by legal precepts and, instead, is influenced mainly by the extensive discretion of police officers in how they enforce the law (Bittner, 1970; Manning, 2005). The impact of individual police officer perspectives on everyday actions and behaviors is therefore experienced by the

general public at the street-level where operational policing is practiced. The historical roots of policing agencies - within the blue collar traditions of working class communities and the hierarchical organizational model of the military – has produced masculine and conservative occupational subcultures that err towards homogeneity and hierarchy ahead of diversity. For the majority of police history, the public (and especially offenders) have appeared at the bottom of this hierarchy – as those with least knowledge about crime problems. The emergence of community policing as the dominant western model of policing has, to varying degrees, inverted this hierarchy and re-situated communities as sources of knowledge for the police at all levels of the hierarchical structure. The dominant reform agenda of policing organizations across western countries has subsequently revolved around the re-emergence of community policing and a languorous cultural shift from ‘rules’ to ‘values’ (Paterson and Pollock, 2013).

At the heart of this shift there is a conflict between a reflective emphasis on the underpinning ‘values’ of policing and a pragmatic emphasis on the common-sense ‘craft’ of police work. Police education is central to the process of cultural change and reform with officers encouraged to question the established hierarchical order that generates police organizational knowledge and to seek answers from empowered communities. Whereas police training taught officers how to deliver policing *to* the public, police education seeks to encourage more flexible values-based thinking from officers who actively engage *with* diverse communities. The absence of a police education program to support this cultural transition helps to explain the time lag between the introduction of community policing policy and its appearance within street-level policing (Cox, 2011).

The impact of the global economic downturn has provided added impetus to ongoing demand for reform in the structure of police recruitment and training rather than the more commonplace crises in public confidence that are followed by calls for improvements in recruitment and training (Roberg and Bonn, 2004; Holland, 2007; Wimshurst and Ransley, 2007). International debate already exists about the aims of practice-focused criminal justice degrees and the academic integrity of these qualifications. Critics have argued that the role of higher education is overly focused upon accreditation rather than education in criminal justice and policing (Farrel and Koch, 1995) and that the motives of institutions relate to income rather than educational standards. Therefore, a clear evidence-base is required for those who advocate a more significant role for higher education in the initial and ongoing training of police officers as well as clarification of the specific attributes that these degrees enable undergraduates to develop. Put more succinctly, what is the educational goal? The rest of this paper provides a review of international research to inform the debate about potential policy developments.

Methodology

This paper provides a review of the literature found on the following eight electronic databases: Directory of Open Access Journals, Emerald Management Xtra, Google Scholar, Informaworld, JSTOR, Sage Journals Online, Springerlink and Swetswise. The literature covers subjects such as criminology, psychology, education, criminal justice and policing. The literature review is not exhaustive and despite best intentions and rigorous examinations of bibliographies it has been impossible to include all relevant information. Most importantly, the literature review does not include research that has been conducted by police departments and not been made available to the public.

Police studies is dominated by western scholars and this means little reference to, or understanding of, other cultures is often demonstrated (India is an exception). English is the trading language of international policing debates and this sidelines the substantial bodies of literature that have not been published in English from comparative debate. The multitude of different approaches to police training and education that exist across the globe can also mean that abstract generalizations have little comparative significance. For this reason the paper focuses on the findings of English-language research from the US, the European Union, Australia and India with some supplementary commentary on other countries. The paper does not attempt to provide a detailed evaluation of the objectives and content of police training and education across a multitude of jurisdictions. The countries that have been selected, aside from India which has been included for comparative distinction, demonstrate similarities in democratic structure, socio-economic status, experiences of crime and globalization, plus the process of police professionalization.

The United States (US)

There is an extensive body of research on the relationship between higher education and policing in the US which has been built up over the last 40 years. From the late 1960s onwards the US government played a key role in funding criminal justice personnel to attend university and this encouraged the establishment of criminal justice programs for police officers. The rapid rise in the number of criminal justice courses raised questions about their quality and academic rigor, some of which remain today, but reductions in funding for criminal justice courses during the 1970s and 1980s ensured that only the stronger survived (Roberg and Bonn, 2004).

Police personnel in the US were initially reluctant to embrace the idea that a college education adds value to the training of police officers (Regoli, 1976). This view came from a perceived gap between academic knowledge and the practical application of rules while on the academic side mistrust related to concerns that subjects such as criminal justice and policing were ‘intellectually shallow and conceptually narrow’ (Sherman, 1978). Critics of criminal justice degrees in the US questioned their academic integrity and pointed to their rising popularity as indication of ‘the willingness of higher education to surrender to market demands for relevant, practical courses that provided credentials’ (Flanagan, 2000:2). Most scathingly, applied criminal justice degrees were referred to as descriptive introductions to the structure and function of criminal justice systems, thus compromising academic integrity in order to attract business (Williams and Robinson, 2004).

Research evidence on the benefits of higher education for police officers in the US is equivocal and can be split into two distinct bodies of literature. A body of research on the impact of higher education on police attitudes was built during the 1970s that demonstrated that university educated police officers were less authoritarian than non-university educated police officers (Parker, Donnelly, Gerwitz, Marcus, and Kowalewski, 1976; Roberg, 1978), less cynical (Regoli, 1976), and that the higher the level of education attained, the more flexible the officers’ value system became (Guller, 1972). In particular, this evidence pointed to improved attitudes towards minority groups (Parker et al., 1976) as well as more ethical and professional behavior (Roberg and Bonn, 2004). The research also made the important point that it was not criminology or criminal justice courses that cultivated this more ethical and culturally aware

attitude but the overall university experience (Roberg, 1978). Sherman (1978) argued that police education should be focused on new recruits and not those already employed by the Police Service. This is due to the potential resistance that the occupational perspective of in-service police officers and police trainers could have on the impact of higher education teaching. Less conclusive evidence was provided on the impact of higher education upon police performance which is, at least partly, due to the atheoretical nature of police studies and the absence of agreement about how performance should be measured (Chapman, 2012).

A second body of literature emerged during the 1990s which questioned the reforming zeal of the new university-educated police recruits. This literature pointed towards questionable attitudes towards female recruits (Austin and Hummer, 1994), increasingly negative perceptions of the public (Ellis, 1991), and reinstated questions about the value of higher education beyond the legitimacy and credibility provided to the police by accreditation. A recent comparative study (Owen and Wagner, 2008) provided further support for this contention and indicated that criminal justice students demonstrated higher levels of authoritarianism than graduates from other disciplines. These research findings emulated those of Austin and O'Neill (1985) and Bjerregaard and Lord (2004) who questioned the value of education in influencing attitudes towards criminal justice ethics. The Owen and Wagner study also found that students in the earlier stages of a degree demonstrated higher levels of authoritarianism than those in the latter part of a degree and this has been supported by Hays, Regoli, and Hewitt (2007) who identified a correlation between higher levels of education and an increasingly flexible value-system.

It has been argued that the potential strengths of higher education are undermined in the

US by an absence of relevant benchmarks (Bufkin, 2004) and a lack of clarity about the objectives of practice-focused degrees (Owen, 2005). Yet, it is acknowledged that police officers who undertake criminal justice degrees gain great value from them (Chronister et al., 1982). Police officers in the US reported that criminal justice degrees improved their knowledge of criminal justice as well as their ability to make sense of conceptual and managerial issues, though similar responses also came from police officers educated in other academic disciplines (Carlan, 2007). Research also demonstrates that higher education has the ability to improve officer knowledge, skills and problem-solving techniques and to utilize non-coercive strategies to resolve a situation (Chapman, 2012). This improves police-citizen relations and police legitimacy (Paoline and Terrill, 2007). The extensive literature on police education and training in the US has had a significant influence on the police research agenda elsewhere in the world, although it retains critics, in particular Manning (2005) who accuses it of rampant empiricism and a general absence of explanatory value.

The European Union (EU)

Any attempt to identify common developments in police training and education across the EU undoubtedly encounters obstacles presented by the different social, political and cultural contexts of the 28 member states. Police training and education in the EU is in a process of transition from systems that focus on experience, skills and competencies to research-based collaborations with institutions that are tied into international networks (Jaschke, 2010). In part, this transition has been driven by the 1999 Bologna declaration which encourages the reform of higher education systems in order to improve the transferability of knowledge, students and lecturers around the EU. The Bologna process aims to promote university programs as internationally

compatible learning modules and this strategic objective is increasingly driven by the European Police Academy (CEPOL) which was formally established as an EU agency in 2005.

Pagon et al. (1996) differentiate developments in Europe from those in the US by focusing on the police educational institutions that evolved out of police training institutions. Debate about the constitution of a police studies or police science discipline, as well as its role in the development of police education, has gathered pace in a number of European countries, most obviously Germany and the Netherlands (Jaschke and Neidhard, 2007; Jaschke, 2010). The demands made upon European police forces for a much broader focus on police management, policing strategies and ethics has resulted in a proliferation of police studies degrees. The multi-agency focus required by the pluralization of policing at the local, national and international levels has also made partnership work increasingly important. The police focus on professionalism emphasizes the importance of academic qualifications to undertake the police role and research to underpin policing strategies. This focus on academic understandings of developments in policing has resulted in the reform of police training programs and, in some cases, institutions. Police academies have gained university status in the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Greece, Slovakia, Norway, France, Spain and Italy.

The shift to community policing in Northern Europe is being followed by similar reforms in police training and education that emphasize this change in strategy and aim to improve the quality of policing. The Dutch use a dual system of education and training in order to facilitate links between theory and practice (Peeters, 2010). Feltes's (2002) work in Germany emphasizes the importance of communication and conflict resolution skills alongside the traditional focus on

the law for community-oriented police. Feltes also stresses the emphasis placed upon criminological theory within German institutions. Both Feltes and Peace (2006) indicate that the key to success is clear objectives, the identification of core curriculum content and the adoption of an appropriate method to facilitate the transition from a law enforcement focus to a community focus. For example, the development of police studies in Germany was justified by the value it offered to the police and society to; increase professionalism, develop a research-based approach to crime reduction, develop a portfolio of police programs for different levels, and to encourage a comparative approach that makes the most of developments in other countries (Jaschke and Neidhart, 2007).

The proliferation of higher education courses in police studies across the United Kingdom (UK) has not, as yet, been met with equal enthusiasm in articulating the added value that these degrees provide to the Police Service, to students, and to the public. Peace (2006) and Heslop (2011) note the lack of fit between the community policing philosophy espoused by the UK government and the methodology employed in police training which has led to a lack of confidence in police studies and a theory-practice binary (Heslop, 2011; White and Heslop, 2012). As in the US, Lee and Punch (2004) note that the value of higher education lies in a range of undergraduate courses that develop police officers' critical thinking skills and not just the police studies courses that have proliferated across the country.

Jaschke (2010:303) acknowledges that policy developments in the EU are leading towards the establishment of a 'modern police science', an integrative academic discipline that draws from a range of knowledge-bases with the aim of enhancing police professionalism. This

mixture of professionalization (underpinned by academic qualifications), research-based policing strategies and the reform of police training institutions is being implemented across Europe (Jaschke and Neidhart, 2007). The police discipline adds value to police training by enabling senior police officers to make sense of developments in transnational crime, social exclusion, terrorism, public demand for transparency, and a shift to proactive intelligence-led policing supported by an international research agenda. Yet, while research has demonstrated the value of higher education upon officer attitudes (Lee and Punch, 2004), challenges remain in demonstrating the impact of higher education on behavior and police performance (Feltus, 2002; Jaschke, 2010; Wood and Tong, 2009) as well as the re-production of negative facets of police culture within academic environments (Heslop, 2011).

Australia

Two distinct models of police education emerged during the 1990s in Australia; one based upon a traditional model of liberal education where students studied social science subjects, the other focused upon the professionalization of policing where universities and the police worked in partnership but the police controlled the development of the police discipline. This poses a problem for the relationship between higher education and policing with university-based educators having different perceptions about the aims of police education when compared to their police academy counterparts (Mahony and Prenzler, 1996). A number of research studies came out of Australia during this period that highlighted minor improvements in attitudes and values of graduate recruits but, more worryingly, a clear and rapid deterioration of these attitudes and values during the early years of work (Cox, 2011). Wimhurst and Ransley (2007) argue that the reasons for these findings and the lack of identified value of higher education to policing lies

within the dominance of the professional policing model which has limited the impact of education on organizational reform.

As in the US, the findings of the Australian literature on the added value of higher education for policing are mixed. The main objective of incorporating higher education into police education in Australia had been to improve public support for the police and to drive organizational reform in a police environment that was perceived to be conducive to corruption (Wimhurst and Ransley, 2007). The introduction of the advanced certificate in policing in Queensland in 1991 was followed by significant improvements in public attitudes towards the police though the program itself was abandoned only three years later. This leaves a lack of clarity in the contribution of Australian studies with clear benefits identified for individual recruits but no clear empirical support for added value to the Police Service aside from an improvement in image and legitimacy (Wimhurst and Ransley, 2007:113). Cox (2011:4) goes further and argues that the approach to training and education in Australia is intellectually redundant with a need to focus more on capability ahead of competence.

India

Police training in India has not encouraged police officers to engage with the humanities and the social sciences. Verma (2005), who is highly critical of India's police training, comments that calls for reform have generally been ignored. The value of the social sciences in India has been understood through its contribution to technical skills rather than a broader understanding of criminology. Khan and Unnithan (2008) note that the development of criminal justice education in India has been driven by central government. They also comment on the lack of integration of

academic criminology and criminal justice in both the US and India. Research on the impact of higher education on police constables in India produced generally negative results and indicated that police officers who had been through higher education had more rigid value systems, were less interested in protecting the rights of citizens, and were indifferent towards legal boundaries (Scott, Evans and Verma, 2009). These findings contradict those from western countries and highlight the limitations of perspectives that directly link higher education with improved police attitudes without an appreciation of the importance of socio-cultural context when considering policy transfer from one jurisdiction to another. There are contradictory findings from other developing democracies with some evidence of improvements in police professionalism and legitimacy (Lino, 2004) particularly as part of the process of political reform and the pursuit of democratic police legitimacy (Veic and Mraovic, 2004).

Discussion

The themes in this section are drawn from Marenin's (2005:109) requirements of democratic policing which emphasize the importance of professionalism, accountability and legitimacy. These categories will be used to identify the 'added value' higher education brings to police training and education. Policing in democratic societies takes place within a political landscape that acknowledges the importance of social justice, social cohesion, fairness, equity and human rights. Bayley and Bittner (1984) argue that these values can be taught to police recruits. Roberg and Bonn (2004) take this further and state that education is necessary for the development of these values and the effective use of discretion that maintains both police performance and professionalism. Thus, there is a clear link between the professional use of discretion, understood as making appropriate situational judgments (Marenin, 2004:109), and the broader issues of

public accountability and police legitimacy. These categories provide the framework for the following discussion.

Professionalism

The first category looks at three areas: organizational reform, training and job satisfaction. Firstly, higher education is most commonly incorporated into police training and education as part of the process of organizational reform. In western democracies organizational reform is geared towards community-oriented policing which embodies a core set of democratic values and a shift from a technical focus on competencies towards a more reflexive appreciation of the complexity of the police role, officer capability within changing contexts, and the importance of lifelong learning. This process mirrors long-established developments in the fields of medicine, law and social work. Schein's (1996) work on organizational culture points to the value of recruiting graduates who have the critical thinking skills to challenge managers. This is important in an environment where the constraints of occupational culture are widely documented and have an impact on public perceptions of the police (Hough et al., 2010). An academic education encourages flexibility in orientation to competing demands whilst also generating transferable skills that help individuals to develop competence in a number of areas (Jaschke and Neidhardt, 2007).

Teaching officers how to operationalize their values and beliefs in a way that co-exists with the different values and beliefs of other citizens is a formidably complex challenge, particularly in an organization that can resemble a paramilitary institution during times of social conflict (Waddington, 1998). International evidence indicates that giving priority to an

educational focus on critical thinking over an emphasis on control can aid the development of more flexible value-systems suited to the demands of community-oriented policing (Paterson, 2011; Paterson and Pollock, 2013). This can benefit public confidence and perceptions of police accountability. Research demonstrates that university educated police officers; are less authoritarian than non-university educated police officers (Roberg and Bonn, 2004), demonstrate improved attitudes towards minority groups (Chapman, 2012), are less supportive of abuses of authority (Telep, 2011), and take a more humanistic approach towards members of the public (Roberg and Bonn, 2004).

Secondly, Conti and Nolan (2005) point to the similarities between police training structures and total institutions where recruits are separated from society to live a structured lifestyle that is geared towards identity transformation. Conti and Nolan argue that the focus within police training upon law enforcement runs contrary to the acknowledged goals set out in models of community policing. Thus, current police structure acts as an inhibitor to organizational reform and is unlikely to counteract the authoritarian tendencies that often provoke crises in policing. Here, the university environment potentially adds value to the training and education process. The didactic approach that has dominated police training for new recruits focuses upon law and procedure to the detriment of community-oriented, problem-solving skills that are learnt through self-directed, interactive processes. To further development in this area both Birzer (2003) and Peace (2006) advocate a dual strategy with teacher-centered tuition for programmed instruction related to law and procedure and humanistic, student-oriented strategies (andragogy) for the exploration of the affective issues related to community policing. White and Heslop (2011) posit a warning about the generation of a theory-practice binary where this

process separates vocational (essential) and educational (add-on) study.

The ability to utilize the adult learning theory of andragogy (the theory that experience is the source of learning for adults) rather than traditional didactic models of teaching is central to the process of organizational reform. The theory of andragogy encourages collaboratively determined objectives between students and trainers that produce more positive learning outcomes. Peeters takes this further and advocates collaborative frameworks for police training and education with police institutions articulating the occupational requirements of different policing functions whilst educational institutions identify the curriculum and learning requirements that correspond to the occupational role (Peeters, 2010).

Finally, there is substantial empirical support for improvements in job satisfaction through university study from the US, Australia and Europe. The most valued educational components are mind improvement, learning about law enforcement, leadership skills and an appreciation of the complexity of social problems. Although some criminal justice graduates do not regard their degree as highly relevant to their policing duties they recognize it is a platform for future employment (Carlan, 2007). The UK literature highlights personal benefits to graduate police officers such as confidence, self-esteem, broadened outlooks and greater tolerance that are also associated with enhanced professionalism (Lee and Punch, 2004).

Accountability

It can be argued that university education helps develop skills that improve community-orientation and local accountability. Community policing requires police officers to make

decisions and solve problems (rather than incidents) using skills that can be developed as part of higher education courses. Research from the US indicates that trainers focus on law enforcement functions that only take up approximately 10% of an officer's time (Palmiotto et al., 2000), a situation that Peace (2006) acknowledges is also evident in the UK. The educational literature on policing guides us towards a focus on community policing through the use of andragogical strategies that achieve deeper learning that remains with new recruits beyond the classroom and combats cultural issues. It can also be argued that this teaching strategy builds a more flexible value system that enables the police organization and individuals to change as society changes (Marenin, 2004; Cox, 2011).

The second area where higher education can improve accountability is in police officer attitudes and behavior. International research has shown that higher education can have a positive impact upon police behavior, particularly when it is combined with job experience (Roberg, 1978; Paoline and Terrill, 2007) to encourage the better use of discretion which improves public perception of police fairness (Roberg and Bonn, 2004:474). Understanding the value of higher education within the context of police officer performance is difficult. There is a lack of consensus in the literature on which personality traits can be understood as characteristics of a good police officer as well as defining and measuring police officer performance according to these contested characteristics. This means that the empirical evidence on the added value of higher education does not provide clear and consistent empirical support for mandatory higher education for police officers to improve police performance.

Legitimacy

The findings from the previous section also impact upon police legitimacy through improvements in public confidence in the police. A key area of concern for all democratic countries involves the quality of the relationship that the police have with civil society. Indeed, Marenin (2005:101) argues that the provision of effective and equitable policing services is a precondition of a democratic political structure. Ivkovic (2008) has demonstrated that public confidence in the police across jurisdictions is related to the quality of governance in each country as well as the contact individuals have with the police. As outlined earlier, universities are in the best position to provide education in areas such as learning strategies, diversity and the complexities of crime causation as well as enhancing police legitimacy through the accreditation of police training and education. Yet, the strategic shift to service-oriented, community policing remains accompanied by an uneven shift in the provision of police officer training and education (Cox, 2011).

A clear relationship has been identified between the way policing is carried out and experienced by the public and levels of public trust and confidence in the police (Hough et al., 2010). The introduction of higher education certificates in Australia led to increased public support for the police. Similarly, in the US Paoline and Terrill (2007) found that officers with higher levels of education received fewer complaints and worked in areas with higher citizen-satisfaction. Public mistrust of the police in India provides a useful point of comparison here, with the low status and limited education of police officers being cited as two reasons for a lack of public confidence. This can be compared with the UK and the US where over three quarters of respondents to public confidence surveys stated that they thought the police did a good job (Ivkovic, 2008). The other area that influences public confidence is the representation of diverse

communities. There remains concern that the inclusion of mandatory higher education could have a discriminatory impact upon the employment of minority groups (Decker and Huckabee, 2002) although Roberg and Bonn (2004) contend that any potential discriminatory effects could be off-set by an aggressive recruitment strategy.

Collaborative relations with higher education coupled with evidence-based policing provide a platform for agreement about what the core police mission is, how this mission can be achieved, and the values that the police service should embrace (Sherman, 2011). This agreement can be conveyed to police officers of all ranks and to the wider public. As Cox (2011) acknowledges, reform in police education and training requires a clear conceptualization of police ‘values’ that can be operationalized across the different strata of police culture. Marenin’s (2005, 109) requirements of democratic policing (*professionalism; accountability; legitimacy*) provide a potential framework for understanding how a focus on police education can contribute to the learning and development of police officers at all levels of the police hierarchy and an appreciation of the practical use of ‘values’ as drivers of police reform. The final section brings together the findings of this literature review to identify three key policy implications; understanding the transnational context, the development of police training and education, and the role of government and other stakeholders.

Policy Implications

Firstly, higher education adds value to the training and development of police officers and enhances the ability of officers to carry out their role. Therefore, degrees in criminal justice and police studies can be designed to incorporate a generic set of core skills and competencies and

also meet the demands of different police organizations. The broader benefit of other degrees must not be sidelined. Higher education promotes creativity and critical thinking ahead of control and the potential to counteract the cultural instincts of criminal justice institutions through flexible value-systems that are more suited to the demands of community-oriented policing and an enhanced focus on ethical and professional behavior.

Secondly, Bradley and Nixon's 'dialogue of the deaf' (2009) recognizes the problems that occur when taking research into the policy environment and the importance of acknowledging the different social, cultural and political factors that feed into the complexity of the international policing mission. Research is but one component in a myriad of factors that influence policy. The lessons from the US, EU, Australia and India emphasize the importance of governmental support in developing collaborative relationships between the police and higher education institutions. Organizational reform in the EU is most clearly embodied in the dual model of training and education and the recognition of police academies as equivalent to university standard that has been driven by the 1999 Bologna agreement. This highlights the importance of support for organizational reform from governing agencies at the local, national and supra-national levels.

Finally, higher education provides police officers with an appreciation of the importance of global issues and their impact upon crime at the local level. The broad processes of globalization have impacted upon the nature of crime and the demands of policing, thus making a focus on transnational crimes and international co-operation increasingly important. These social changes have produced new demands for police officers, increasing the complexity of the

police role and requiring a more advanced skill-base. Higher education promotes international co-operation by enabling the transfer of knowledge on key global issues such as human rights and transnational crimes and an appreciation of the transnational context that police officers work in.

Yet, within the academic sphere there remain contested perspectives on police and higher education collaborations. Across the US, Europe, Australia and India criminological research has split into two schools of police research with *critical criminologists* questioning the role and function of the police within society and *police-friendly* researchers focusing on policy, strategy and performance (Manning, 2005; Paterson and Pollock, 2011). Both schools would claim to represent the wider public, yet their generation of knowledge and its subsequent use remain fiercely contested along different theoretical lines.

Conclusion

This chapter has pointed towards the benefits for the public, police officers and the police institution in improving police professionalism, accountability and legitimacy through collaborative relationships between the police and higher education. This involves the police identifying how higher education can help improve police learning through the construction of competencies and role profiles while universities identify the relevant teaching strategy to meet the police's identified objectives. A model that integrates training and education through a content focus on communication and conflict resolution as well as law and procedure and a method of delivery based on the theory of andragogy is supported by the educational literature. The added value of higher education involvement lies within the role of designing and

implementing a learning strategy that is underpinned by a clear evidence-base to meet identified targets.

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