RESEARCH ARTICLE

'Adding value?' A review of the international literature on the role of higher education in police training and education

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Introduction

A significant body of research has been developed over the last four decades in the United States that examines the relationship between higher education and policing. Similar developments are now taking place elsewhere. Analysis of the relationship between higher education and policing gathered pace in Australia during the 1990s and has since developed in parts of Europe and, more recently, India. This paper starts with analysis of developments in England and Wales where the structure of police education and training is currently under review. As part of this review higher education institutions are advocating a shift from police training to education that will create formal links between initial training, career progression and academic qualifications to further the police professionalization agenda. The key question raised during this process is what 'added value' do higher education institutions bring to police training and education. The paper reviews the international literature in this subject area, 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.

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Methodology

This paper provides a review of the literature found on the following nine electronic databases: Directory of Open Access Journals, Emerald Management Xtra, Informaworld, JSTOR, Sage Journals Online, Elsevier, Springerlink, Swetswise and Google Scholar. 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 United States, 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.

Higher Education and Policing in England and Wales

The impact of the global economic downturn has provided added impetus to ongoing demand for reform in the structure of police recruitment and training in England and Wales. This was evident in a recent London Metropolitan Police Authority report (2010) which called for a fundamental restructuring of the initial recruitment and training system, and which aims to act as a model for future reform and cost-savings across England and Wales. This is unusual as demands for police reform across the globe are most commonly driven by 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). This presents an opportunity to look at the international debate that surrounds the role of higher education in police training and education. The proliferation of higher education courses in policing and police studies across England and Wales has not, as yet, been met with equal enthusiasm in articulating the added value (aside from cost-savings) that these degrees provide to the Police Service, to students, and to the public. This paper seeks to fill this gap.

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 wish to 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? This paper provides a review of international research to inform the debate about potential policy developments.

The international focus on research-based strategies in policing has not yet transferred itself to a detailed program of research on the value of higher education to the Police Service in England and Wales. Indeed, only one thematic inspection of training provision for police probationers has ever taken place within the Police Service (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2002) and little systematic evaluation of whether training meets its objectives has taken place elsewhere. For example, Peace (2006) notes the lack of fit between the community policing philosophy espoused by the British government and the methodology employed in police training whilst 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. The regionalized structure of the police in England and Wales has made it difficult to develop a coherent national strategy for police learning and development, resulting in a fragmentation of training provision, little oversight of training delivery, and the absence of a clear evidence-base to support policy developments (Peace, 2006).

Part of the reason for the lack of reform is the resistance from police officers to academic study in what is regarded as a practice-focused vocation. Yet, it is acknowledged across the globe that traditional policing functions have extended beyond the role of peace-keeping and law enforcement to incorporate problem-solving, technological innovations, transnational crimes and crime prevention strategies. This paper makes a distinction between police education and police training. Kratcoski (2004:103-104) defines education as 'developing the ability to conceptualize and expand the theoretical and analytical learning process' whereas training involves 'gaining the skills needed to accomplish the immediate tasks and goals of police operations'. This definition is contested and illustrative of the different perspectives that exist on the subject.

4

The United States

There is an extensive body of research on the relationship between higher education and policing in the United States which has been built up over the last 40 years. From the late 1960s onwards the United States 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 United States 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' (National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers, 1978). Critics of criminal justice degrees in the United States 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 United States 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. This was due to a lack of agreement about how performance could be measured as well as the problem of providing accurate measurement of often contentious criteria (Sanders, 2003).

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) and 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. More recently, Hays, Regoli, and Hewitt (2007) have provided additional empirical support for 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 United States by to an absence of relevant benchmarks (Bufkin, 2004) and a lack of clarity about the objectives of practice-focused degrees (Owen, 2005; Southerland, 2002). Yet, it is acknowledged that police officers who undertake criminal justice degrees gain great value from them (Chronister, Gansneder, LeDoux, and Tully, 1982; Carlan, 2007). Police officers in the United States reported that criminal justice degrees improved their knowledge of criminal justice as well as their ability to makes 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 (Worden, 1990). This improves police-citizen relations and police legitimacy (Paoline and Terrill, 2007). The extensive literature on police education and training in the United States has had a significant influence on the police research agenda elsewhere in the world, although it retains critics, most prominently 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 27 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 encouraged 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, Virjent-Novak, Djuric, and Lobnikar (1996) differentiate developments in Europe from those in the United States 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. Hanak and Hofinger (2006) note that police academies have gained university status in the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Greece, Slovakia and Norway whilst Brodeur (2005) notes the existence of police universities in 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 clear 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).

Jaschke (2010:303) acknowledges that policy developments in the EU are already 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), little empirical research has been conducted on the impact of higher education on behavior and police performance (Feltes, 2002; Jaschke, 2010).

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 (Christie, Petrie and Timms, 1996). 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 United States, 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 (Ibid., 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 (Ibid., 2007:113).

India

Police training in India has generally 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 recent 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 United States and India. Recent research on the impact of higher education on police constables in India produced generally negative results (Scott, Evans and Verma, 2009). The research 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. These findings contradict those from western countries and point towards the limitations of perspectives that regard education as being beneficial to police attitudes. Most importantly, these findings point towards the importance of socio-cultural context in making sense of any police reform and the danger of simplistic strategies of policy transfer from one jurisdiction to another.

Findings from Brazil paint a slightly different picture, where improvements in police education have been part of an attempt to improve police legitimacy in a country with a recent history of military rule. This has been done by improvements in police professionalism and the construction of new links between police training academies and university research centers (Lino, 2004). Other sources from emerging democracies have also pointed towards

the value of police education 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. These values can be taught to police recruits (Bayley and Bittner, 1984). Roberg and Bonn (2004) take this further and argue 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. This was evident in the United States in the late 1960s, Australia in the 1990s, and more recently in emerging democracies such as Croatia and Brazil. Organizational reform is geared towards community-oriented policing which embodies core democratic values (Marenin, 2004). This provides a significant progression towards the professionalization of police learning through a shift from a technical focus on

competencies towards a more reflexive appreciation of the complexity of the police role and the importance of lifelong learning. This would mirror long-established developments in the fields of medicine, law, social work and probation. 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 particularly important in an environment where the constraints of occupational culture are widely documented and have a clear impact on public perceptions of the police (Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill and Quinton, 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).

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 (the training school) 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 dominates 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 rather than a trainer acting as an authority figure. 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.

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. England and Wales, like the United States, is yet to complete the transition to this model (Peace, 2005) and because of this a gap between theory and practice remains. The theory of andragogy, which has been successful in EU institutions, 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 United States, Australia and Europe. The most valued educational components were mind improvement, learning about law enforcement, leadership skills and an appreciation of the complexity of social problems. Although some criminal justice graduates did not regard their degree as highly relevant to their policing duties they felt that it prepared them for future employment (Carlan, 2007). The British literature highlights personal benefits to graduate police officers such as confidence, self-esteem, broadened outlooks and greater tolerance (Lee and Punch, 2004) that are also associated with enhanced professionalism.

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. Substantial parts of the literature note that traditional police training still focuses upon law enforcement functions ahead of community policing. Research from the United States indicates that trainers focus on law enforcement functions that only take up approximately 10% of an officer's time (Palmiotto, Birzer and Unnithan, 2000), a situation that Peace (2006) acknowledges is also evident in England and Wales. 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).

The second area where higher education can improve accountability is in police officer attitudes and performance. Research from the United States has shown that higher education can have a positive impact upon police performance (Roberg, 1978), particularly when it is combined with job experience (Paoline and Terrill, 2007). This includes the impact on officer attitudes and behavior (reduced complaints) and the better use of discretion which improves public perception of police fairness as well as police performance (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 civic society. Indeed, Marenin (2005:101) argues that the provision of effective and equitable policing services (or the perception thereof) 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. The strategic shift to service-oriented, community policing that has taken place over the last 20 years has not yet been followed by a similar strategic shift in the provision of police officer training and education. As outlined earlier, universities are in the best position to provide education in areas such as learning strategies, theories of community, diversity and the complexities of crime causation as well as enhancing police legitimacy through the accreditation of police training and education.

The introduction of higher education certificates in Australia led to increased public support for the police. Similarly, in the United States Paoline and Terrill (2007) found that officers with higher levels of education received fewer complaints and worked in areas with higher citizen-satisfaction. A clear relationship has been identified between the way policing is carried out and experienced by the public (procedural justice) and levels of public trust and confidence in the police (Hough et al., 2010). 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 countries such as England and Wales and the United States where over three quarters of respondents to public confidence surveys stated that they thought the police were doing a good job (Ivkovic, 2008). The other area that influences public confidence is the

representation of diverse communities. There has been some concern in the United States 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. The final section brings together the findings of this literature review to identify four key policy implications; understanding the transnational context, the development of police training and education, the role of government and other stakeholders, and the regulation and training of non-state policing agencies.

Policy Implications

Firstly, higher education adds value to the training and development of police officers in a number of areas and enhances the ability of officers to perform 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. This benefits both police performance and police ethics with efficiency being directly linked to perceptions of fairness and police legitimacy (Brodeur, 2005).

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 United States, Australia and India point to 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.

Thirdly, 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.

Fourthly, the creation of core principles that underpin police education and training in democratic societies provides a potential model for the development of personnel in the many non-state policing agencies that contribute to the provision of security. The standardization of training at higher education level would provide a means of separating the public police from an increasingly competitive and expanding private security industry. This could also generate opportunities for police-university collaborative partnerships to provide training, education and accreditation for the private sector as is already the case in Germany (Jaschke, 2010). In a

mixed economy of policing this presents the opportunity for the police to define a distinctive role in service delivery and the accreditation of policing functions that separates them from non-state policing agencies.

Conclusion

Recent developments in police education and training in England and Wales do not seem to have been guided by a clear research-base, as has been the case elsewhere in the EU and in the United States. This article 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. In conclusion, it is essential to articulate clear objectives for all modes of police training and education for both students and the Police Service. 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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