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THE EDUCATION OF POLICE OFFICERS  
IN ENGLAND AND WALES

A THESIS SUBMITTED  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF EDUCATION

BY

A. J. CAMERON

NEVILLE'S CROSS COLLEGE

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THE EDUCATION OF POLICE OFFICERS IN ENGLAND & WALES

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## ABSTRACT

This work will first seek to sketch in the forces and circumstances which have led to the evolution of today's police officer and the force he serves in. It will deal principally with the vicissitudes of the ancient office of constable and with the movement, particularly over the last century-and-a-half, from small, local forces to larger, regional ones, all part of a unified and centrally guided service.

It will then examine the means by which cadets and constables are recruited, examined and trained, and how they are refreshed and prepared for specialized duties later in their careers.

The next section will study the means by which the middle echelons of the command structure, populated by sergeants and inspectors, are filled, and will continue with the problem of selecting and training those officers from these ranks who will rise to command. At this level, for the first time perhaps, education begins to take precedence over the training which has earlier been so important a part of a police officer's career.

The final part of the survey will attempt to assess the changing role of the police officer in modern society and how he can be educated (in the fullest sense of the word) to fulfil this role to the greatest effect.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the freely-given help of a large number of police officers. I should like to express my thanks to all of these, particularly, perhaps, those named below. In many cases I have had the privilege of an interview (often lengthy) and these are marked with an asterisk.

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 Chief Superintendents H. Bennett\*, H. Clarke\*,  
 A. Vickers\*, LL.B.  
 Superintendents H. Blenkin\*, W. Johnson.  
 Chief Inspectors A. Charlton\*, J. Cockerill\*.  
 Detective Inspectors T. C. Tipler\*, D. Stanwix\*.  
 Inspector T. Cundall\*.  
 Sergeant R. Atkinson.

WEST RIDING CONSTABULARY

Detective Superintendent E. C. D. Thorp, LL.B.  
 Chief Inspectors Midgeley and Armitage\*.  
 Inspector Woodcock\*.

ESSEX & SOUTHEND-ON-SEA CONSTABULARY

Superintendent Bird.  
 Chief Inspector Grey, B.A.\*  
 Inspectors Fuller and Page.

NORTHUMBERLAND CONSTABULARY

Superintendent T. Ritson.  
 Inspector J. R. Snowball.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE CONSTABULARY

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THE POLICE COLLEGE

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## CHAPTER I

### THE KING'S PEACE

The first statutory mention of the term "constable" occurs in the year 1252 but it would seem that the term began to be used in its familiar meaning about a century before this date. During the hundred years following the Conquest the office of constable sank in prestige from a high, military appointment to something analagous to the former Saxon tythingman.

In Saxon times families were grouped together in units of ten, or tythings, each headed by a tythingman.<sup>1</sup> The members of such a group accepted responsibility for one another. Groups of tythings were formed into hundreds, under a royal reeve, and in turn the hundreds were under the oversight of the sheriff (or shire reeve) who was responsible to the king for the maintenance of peace in the shire.

The Normans took over this simple system and tightened its administration under the name of frankpledge - a name derived from friborg, meaning full security. Hundred courts, held twice yearly, made sure that all men were enrolled in a tything and administered justice - often Draconian, for the Norman sheriffs were harsh, unscrupulous men holding down a rebellious conquered population.

By the end of the twelfth century, revulsion from the barbarism of many of these courts' sentences, coupled with intermarriage between Normans and Saxons, led to some degree of relaxation. The unpopular sheriffs' courts gave way to the manorial courts, and the unit of responsibility, under

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1 Helen M. Cam; The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, 1930.

feudalism, became the feudal manor. The manorial court not only took over the supervision of frankpledge, but appointed the principal officers of the manor - the ale-taster, the bread-weigher, the swine-ringer and - pre-eminent in this company, drawn from the most reliable and responsible men in the community - the constable.

'The superior position of these local leaders-cum-common-informers was acknowledged by the court lawyers of the time in dignifying them, in a statute of 1252, with the honourable Norman title of "constable" - having equal authority with mayors and bailiffs - a title which no doubt had been in general use for many years earlier.'<sup>1</sup>

His important Norman title, his recognition by the Crown and his responsibilities for the keeping of the King's Peace marked the constable out from the other local officers, and perhaps laid the foundation for the common-law duties and privileges of the modern police officer.

This first English police system, revolving around a constable with local standing, knowledge and responsibility came to an end with the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1285, which was to lay down the principles of policing for six hundred years.

'It preserved and codified well-tried features from earlier systems, and in particular it reaffirmed local responsibility for policing a district, underlining this principle by introducing, or reviving, three practical measures by which it was to be carried into effect.'<sup>2</sup>

The first of these three measures, the system of watch and word, introduced the idea of town watchmen to assist the constable. A watch gathered at each gate of a town during the

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1. T. A. Critchley; A History of the Police, 900-1966, 1967,

2. Ibid., p.5.  
p.6.

hours of darkness, and arrested all strangers within this period.

Should any stranger resist arrest he would be subject to the second measure, a revival of the Saxon hue and cry; he would be pursued and arrested by the efforts of the whole able-bodied population.

To back up these two measures the third one provided for an "assize at arms"; all males between the ages of fifteen and sixty were obliged to maintain 'harness' to keep the peace.

All of this activity was under the control of two high constables in each hundred, quasi-military officials who, amongst other duties, supervised the activities of the petty constable of each manor. It was the latter, however, who was the unpaid administrator of the scheme, who drew up the roster of watchmen, levied hue and cry when necessary, kept his finger on the pulse of his community, presented offenders at the court and oversaw everything. The whole community was involved in the fight against crime and every man had the power of arrest.

Thus, the three primary aspects of policing were secured by this statute; the preventive by watch and word, the repressive by hue and cry, and the punitive by presentment of the offender by the constable at the court leet.

These measures were collectively so successful for nearly a century that they were not fundamentally disturbed by the Justices of the Peace Act of 1361, though it did affect their application. Two important trends originated in this measure. The first was the process of centralising the means of law enforcement; the second saw the formal emergence of the justice of the peace. The latter were so dominant in their association with the petty constable that they began the decline of the latter office, which reached its nadir in the eighteenth

century. The office of High Constable still endured, uneasily placed between the justices and the unpaid village constables, but their supervisory function declined and their office became degraded and their duties became nominal, and totally removed from the keeping of the peace.

In contrast, the partnership of the justices of the peace and their subordinate constables set the pattern for the 'Old Policing' which endured almost everywhere until the reforming Bills of the early nineteenth century, and lingered on until the dawn of the twentieth century in pockets of reaction here and there.

As the parish superseded the manor as the unit of local government the constable became its servant, and it was through his person that 'the activities of this new civil unit were linked up and subordinated to the organised rule of the justices of the peace.'<sup>1</sup>

These new social conditions - so far removed from the serenity and stability of the old-time village or small market town - made the constable's responsibilities so onerous that he had little time for his own affairs, and to earn his own living. Besides the duties enumerated above he had to set the nightly watch, secure prisoners (often in his own cottage) until he could hand them over to a justice, pursue vagrants with ferocity, present offenders in great variety (brawlers, roisterers, whores, thieves, cheating tradesmen, dodgers of community duties) to the court leet, declare the state of the parish at each of the four quarter sessions in the year - the list seems endless. So unpopular was the office that it was only by a system of penalty provisions against the constable himself that it could be made to work at all.

However, the increasing prosperity of Tudor times led to

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1. W. S. Holdsworth; 'A History of English Law,' quoted by Critchley.

the emergence of a class of prosperous merchants and farmers who were reluctant to take their turn at these demanding and unpaid duties, and so paid deputies to take their turn. As these deputies often paid others to fulfil their acquired obligations the point was soon reached where the post was filled only by those who could find no other employment. While Coke was loftily listing the qualities a constable needed to carry out his task - 'Honesty ....; Knowledge ....; Ability ....' Bacon was saying that these deputies were 'of inferior, yea, of base condition ....'<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century the office of constable was in complete disrepute - a state of affairs aggravated by the contempt in which the corrupt 'trading justices' were held; the holders of the office tended to be 'at best illiterate fools, and at worst as corrupt as the criminal classes from which not a few sprang.'<sup>2</sup> In neither case were they able to deal with the explosion of which accompanied the growth of wealth and population, and the expansion of towns, as the Industrial Revolution got under way, pervaded by the doctrine of laissez-faire.

This virtual collapse of the 'Old Police' system led to efforts to patch it up (for the first measures could not be rated more highly than that) and, when this process was seen to be inadequate, eventually to reform it. This need for reform was felt in three different spheres - London, the newly expanded towns of the provinces, and the rural areas. The most serious problem existed in London, not only because of its wealth and size, but because it contained over 150 parishes, which jealously guarded their independence by refusing all co-operation with their neighbours. Malefactors could escape

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1. Critchley; p.10.

2. Critchley; p.19.

pursuit by stepping over a boundary line, and indeed there were, in many places, 'courts' - the original 'no-go' areas - stewards into which fugitives could retreat and no peaceofficer dare follow.

In 1663 the City's Court of Common Council provided for the employment of one thousand watchmen, or bellmen, to patrol from sunset to sunrise, and a subsequent Act of 1737 provided day police as well. However, this number was never reached. The number fixed by this Act for twenty-six wards was 747, but 'in practice, less than half, 353, were hired. In 1705 the wards 'pressurised the Court of Common Council to accept these lower figures, roughly half the number fixed by the 1663 Act, and caused them to pass an act to legalise the position.<sup>1</sup> But, as Critchley says,<sup>2</sup> '.... the wages paid to Charlies was derisively low; for the most part they were contemptible, dissolute, and drunken buffoons who shuffled along .... calling out the time and the state of the weather, and thus warning the criminal of their approach, while attracting to themselves the attentions of ruffians and practical jokers.' In spite of this, however, the City's policing was so far in advance of that in most other parishes, where usually but a handful of watchmen of no better calibre were employed, that it was held up as an example by a Parliamentary Committee of 1812.

Disgust with the system of voluntary - but often corrupt - Justices of the Peace had led to the appointment of a Chief Magistrate, salaried indirectly from public funds, at Bow Street. Henry Fielding succeeded to this post in 1748, and set about rescuing the administration of justice from the slough into which it had fallen. His outlook was humane, but

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1. Rumbelow; I Spy Blue, p.55.

2. Ibid., p.30.

conservative, and probably his greatest influence was as a propagandist, putting forward remedies for the social ills of the day, inveighing against self-defeatingly severe punishments, and so on. He did not seek to alter the old system of parish constables, but he did form, in 1750, a handful of 'thief-takers.' These men were actuated by a truly public spirit against thieves; they continued on duty after their prescribed year of duty had ended, and had many successes in breaking up gangs of criminals, and receiving the 'blood money' as reward. They wore no uniform, merely displaying the staff of the village constable.

This small body of men was eventually extended into the Bow Street Runners by John Fielding, who had succeeded his brother, on the latter's death, in 1754. He was enabled to do this by a Treasury grant of £400 per annum, which also allowed him to set horse patrols to combat highwaymen on the approach roads to the capital, and to employ four 'pursuers' who could operate anywhere in the country.

Public concern after the serious and prolonged riots instigated by the radical, Wilks, during the 1760's caused several Parliamentary committees to be set up to examine the problems of policing the capital. However, the English people not only felt no need for a police institution, but abhorred the very idea, so no fundamental change from the old system of watchmen was proposed, and the Fieldings' initiative languished.

As Sir John Fielding lay dying in the summer of 1780 the capital sprawled helpless in the face of the mob for the bloody week of the Gordon Riots. The watchmen were impotent, and only the intervention of the Army, through the initiative of the King, finally rescued the capital. Pitt's alarm at these happenings led him to introduce a Police Bill in 1785. This,

had it passed, would have anticipated Peel's Metropolitan Police Act by almost half a century, but it foundered against the entrenched opposition of the City and of the justices. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 fanned mistrust of the police, and so when a private member's bill, the Middlesex Justices Act, was introduced in 1792 it was a weak and watery thing. However, it did pass, and so established the principle of a paid constabulary force in London, though it only provided for an establishment of six full-time constables at each of seven stipendiary magistrates' courts.

Thus, by the turn of the century, London had only some 120 full-time police officers (including 70 or so Bow Street Runners); 'the main burden of maintaining law and order still rested on the elderly, ailing, or indifferent shoulders of isolated pockets of parish constables and watchmen ....'<sup>1</sup>

One of the first magistrates appointed in the wake of the above Act was Patrick Colquhoun, a self-made man of great energy and reforming zeal. In 1797 he published 'A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis,' which was immensely popular and - eventually - influential. He roundly declared that the end effect of a proper police system would be highly beneficial, and he insisted on a complete separation of judicial and police powers. For the first time in centuries the constable begins to move from the shadow of the Justices' control and superior status.

For various reasons all attempts at general reform foundered for several years, and it was a Marine Police Establishment which became the first regular professional police force in London. It was first formed as a private venture in 1798, and made into an official body two years later. Thus, the

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1. Critchley; p.38.

Thames river police became the first regular, professional police force in London, it being controlled by the Home Secretary via the Thames magistrates. Soon afterwards patrols, mounted and on foot, were appointed to guard the approaches to London. They wore blue coats with brass buttons, blue trousers, red waistcoats, Wellington boots and top hats; they formed the first uniformed police force in the country. A further patrol of 27 men was formed in 1822, as a preventive force against daylight robbery, and these men too wore uniform.

Thus, by 1828, on the eve of the formation of the Metropolitan Police, London already had a nucleus of some 450 professional police, under the control of the Home Secretary.

Several committees had deliberated without effect on the reform of the police during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, including one in 1822 chaired by the newly appointed Home Secretary, Robert Peel. He, a consummate politician, made haste slowly; he used his early years of office to reform the criminal law, and so it was not until 1828 that he initiated yet another committee on the policing of the Metropolis. This reported quickly, and recommended, inter alia, a single, unified police force for all of London, excluding the City, whose opposition was thus avoided.

In April 1829 Peel introduced his police bill;<sup>1</sup> after centuries of wrangling, it astonishingly passed with little debate. It referred to 'The Metropolitan Police District,' an area roughly extending in a seven-mile radius from Central London but leaving out the City. The new force was to be staffed by 'a sufficient number of fit and able men' and headed by two 'fit persons' - justices, later called commissioners. For the first time ever police administration in the Metropolis was separated both from the parishes and from

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1. Critchley; p.49.

the magistracy. The Metropolitan district was to be divided into seventeen divisions, each containing 165 men (nearly 3,000 in all). Each division was under the control of a superintendent, aided by four inspectors and sixteen sergeants. Each sergeant controlled nine constables. The blue uniform of tailcoat and trousers and a reinforced top hat was chosen to be as unmilitary as possible.

Three thousand volunteers were to be found. They had to be under thirty-five, of good physique, at least five feet seven in height, literate and of good character. The Bow Street patrol formed a useful source, but though the parishes were invited to supply lists of suitable men from the ranks of their watchmen, few were found to measure up. It was the policy from the first not to recruit 'gentlemen'; the new force was to have no caste system.

By May 1830 the Metropolitan Police was 3,300 strong, with a considerable waiting list. Turnover was high, at first mainly on account of drunkenness, but later because of the extremely low rate of pay of a guinea a week. Peel wrote that, out of this wage a constable 'should be able to find his (1) lodgings (2) medical attention (3) very comfortable subsistence at his mess (4) clothing and save ten shillings a week, if he was a single man.'<sup>1</sup> The fact was that, even single men found it difficult to exist on such pay, while married men (who might be thought to represent the more stable element in the force) lived with their families in real poverty. In consequence, within four years only a sixth of the original force of 3,000 men was left.<sup>2</sup> However, guided by its exceptional first commissioners, Colonel Rowan and Mr. Mayne, the force quietly set its house in order over the next few years, mollified the strong initial opposition and soon rode

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1. Rumbelow; p.148.

2. Ibid.

high in public favour.

Side-by-side with the development of the Metropolitan Police, Peel planned a national police force for the rest of the country. His intention was to proceed in stages. As a first step he, with the assistance of local members of Parliament, secured the enactment of the Cheshire Police Bill, which he hoped would provide a prototype for the rest of the country. This Act, and some others which closely followed it, were to some extent reactionary, as they gave a new (and final) lease of life to the office of high constable, and tended to use the parish as the responsible agency for policing. However, the greatest change was brought about by the radical Municipal Corporations Act of 1835,<sup>1</sup> which used the opportunity given by the general reform of local government to provide a new and much-needed machine for law enforcement to replace the old one, which had broken down under the pressure of changed social conditions. Applying initially to 178 boroughs in England and Wales, it required, inter alia, for a council to be elected, and for that council to appoint a sufficient number from their own ranks to form a Watch Committee, together with the Mayor, who would become a Justice of the Peace, ex officio. The Watch Committee had to appoint 'a sufficient number of fit men' to be sworn in as constables; unfortunately, the clean sweep which followed the formation of the Metropolitan Police was not followed in many of the corporations. 'The old gang of night-watchmen, day constables and the like'<sup>2</sup> were often re-employed for reasons of economy (and others), and so for many years progress was delayed.

Many important questions were left in abeyance, such as deciding who really controlled a borough force (The justices?

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1. Critchley; pp.61 et seq.

2. Ibid., p.64.

The Watch Committee? The Chief Constable?). This, and many other questions, were left in limbo until the passing of the Police Act, 1964, though many reforms were brought about by the passing of the Police Bill, 1856.

During this long and gradual process of change in London and in the Boroughs, rural policing had been almost completely neglected for almost a century. When, after three years of research, the Constabulary Commissioners made their monumental report in 1839, a horrifying story of neglect, incompetence, corruption and criminality was revealed. Where the old system had broken down completely, over five hundred voluntary associations had been formed for insurance and self-help, but many of these were themselves engaged in active crime. The Commissioners recommended that a national rural police force should be created after the lines of the Metropolitan, but fears of despotism arising from central control were too strong. The County Police Bill of 1839<sup>1</sup> was therefore an emasculated, merely-enabling measure, which allowed magistrates in quarter session to form a police force - but did not require them to do so. With the aid of the Home Secretary, several forces were formed (we read that he would not sanction the employment of two illiterate recruits as 'the ability to read and write is so essentially necessary to the performance of a constable's duties.') Concern over the cost of rural policing ensured that when the formation of County Forces were made obligatory in 1856, only half the administrative counties had already done so. Following a report by a Select Committee on Police in 1853, the third Police Bill (after two false starts) was finally passed in 1856.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp.80-88.

2. From the Home Office County Constabulary letter book 1837, quoted by Critchley.

3. Critchley; pp.118 et seq.

Uniformity was the aim, and was to be ensured by the use of Home Office grants (at first a quarter, but later a half of the cost), which were to be subject to certain conditions being met, and to efficiency being maintained. Many small forces were induced to amalgamate with larger ones, but a more complete rationalisation had been sacrificed to ensure the final passage of the Bill. Many small boroughs (with a population of less than five thousand), had refused to be rationalised; as they did not qualify for grant in any case; the Home Secretary thus had no weapon to use against them, however adverse the Inspector of Constabulary's report. The Inspectors of Constabulary, first appointed in 1856, had an important role to play, and they played it well, particularly in the early years. They (two were appointed in the first instance) divided the country territorially, north and south, took up residence in their domains, and soon established their independence of the Home Secretary's direct control.

They discovered many irregularities, anomalies and deficiencies, and were indefatigable in reporting these to the Home Secretary. They recommended that pay, pensions, discipline, et al, should be made uniform; that members of the liquor trade should not sit on Watch Committees, and above all, that very small forces should be abolished. However, powerful vested interests were involved, and reform was not always quick or easy - indeed, pockets of reaction exist to the present day.

Much further legislation was still necessary, not only to tidy up the creations of the Act of 1856, but also to move effective power away from the country gentry who had held it so long (by means of their role as magistrates) towards the new democratic organisations; this latter was accomplished by means of Standing Joint Committees. However, in all three

divisions of police organization - in London, in the Boroughs, and in the Counties, the 'old police' had for the great part yielded to the new, more noteworthy for their resemblances than for their differences, which mainly centred upon effective control.

All forces were composed of professionals, dedicated to their work for (in most cases) their whole career, with a clearly discernible control and rank structure. For the first time ever, the police, in the context of those hard days for the majority, offered a desirable career to an ambitious young man, with security, respectability, some measure of prestige, and the opportunity for self-advancement. With the structures of the three types of forces stabilized, some uniformity began to creep into recruitment (both of chief officers and of constables) and promotion.

The great variety in size of force (and in the mentality of the appointing Watch Committees and Justices) produced a correspondingly great range of salaries for chief officers. In the boroughs these varied from the £650 offered by Liverpool, down to the 5s.10d. a week paid to the senior man at Bewdley, with the majority in the range £40 to £200. The larger towns could attract able and ambitious men - often from the Metropolitan Police - but the smaller ones could only aim at promoting the least ineffectual of the old watchmen. The range in the Counties was less, being fixed between £250 and £500, and here the justices preferred social acceptability to proven police ability. Many Chief Constables in the counties were drawn from army and, less often, naval officers.<sup>1</sup> Even as late as 1908 only twelve per cent of county chief officers had risen from the ranks, as against 93 per cent in the

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1. Critchley; p.151.

boroughs. Chief officers of borough forces were often not called chief constables, but were given their rank instead - often superintendent. Their status was lower than the County Chief Constable, who, once appointed, was supreme commander of his force. In contrast, the chief officer of a borough force was probably accurately described as 'merely the superintending and executive officer of the watch committee.'

As has already been said, a career in the New Police held many attractions for young men, especially those from the labouring classes. There was a debit side to the account also; in return for the undoubted benefits the constable had to be prepared to work seven days a week, walk upwards of twenty miles a day (with no boot allowance before 1873) and live the life almost of an anchorite. Attendance at church was compulsory, personal appearance strictly regulated, voting in Parliamentary elections forbidden, social congress with 'civilians' (revealing phrase! - and still current) prohibited. Salary was generally fixed to be on a par with that of an agricultural labourer. Rest days began to come in during the eighties; a week's annual leave was usual, but was without pay. Discipline was both strict and arbitrary. It is not surprising that turnover was high.<sup>1</sup>

The standards required of recruits, both personal and educational, were prevented by the Home Office rules from falling as low in the counties as they had fallen in some of the boroughs. These rules specified an upper age limit of forty, and a minimum height of 5 ft. 7 ins., while the candidate had to be 'able to read and write, intelligent and active, and certified to be free from bodily complaint and of a strong constitution; and recommended as of irreproachable character

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1. Critchley; p.151.

and connexions.' Many counties were able to demand qualifications higher than these minima. Preference was given to candidates with previous police experience elsewhere - there was a great deal of cross-movement at this time with, it can be assumed, beneficial cross-fertilization of ideas. Second preference tended to go to those ex-soldiers, former parish constables, and the like, who were able to meet the requirements.

Apart from foot drill, little or no training was given in the new forces, though recruits were constantly reminded of their obligations to the public, and of the constant need to establish good relations; in the better forces, at least, a considerable esprit de corps and a pride in belonging soon sprang up. As late as 1879 in Liverpool the training consisted of being sent out for the first three or four weeks with an experienced constable, learning the whole town section by section, supplemented by visits to Court, and by the inevitable drill.

Things had progressed somewhat, but not much, by 1902, even in the forward-looking Metropolitan force. A former officer in that force<sup>1</sup> says in a memoir, 'On .... my twentieth birthday I went into Scotland Yard and offered my services as a Constable in the Metropolitan Police. I was taken upstairs to be vetted by Sir William Allen, Chief Constable. He was a really nice man, (he) asked me many questions .... He then asked me if I could attend next day for a medical examination and education test .... I attended with about 84 others, passed the Doctor and then had a test I could have passed when I was ten years old. They took up my references and, about a fortnight later, was directed to report to the yard on the

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1. Ex-Sergeant A. J. Cameron, 1972.

following Monday. I duly reported and a whole batch of us were billeted at the Candidates' Lecture House at Kennington Lane, where we were to stay for three weeks' drill and instruction in the Duties and Powers of the Police Force.

'Each day we walked to Wellington Barracks where we engaged in foot drill by three police sergeants. But for the whole three weeks we did not have one hour of instruction. We were paid 15/- per week, 8/- of which was stopped for our board and lodging. At the end of three weeks we reported to the Yard and were fitted with our uniforms, sworn in, then posted to our divisions. I went to G Division, King's Cross Road Station, where we had to report each morning for instruction and to attend Clerkenwell Police Court to listen to the cases, and know how to give evidence before going into Court. We were issued with our Instruction Book which we were to read from 9.00 to 10.00 each morning. We were seen by the Chief Inspector for Instruction, which consisted of "What would you do in the case of a collision between a pair-horsed covered van and tramcar?" The same question each day, only varied by whether it was a single or pair-horsed van and a tramcar or 'bus. At the end of three weeks I was posted to Hoxton. I lodged at a house kept by a constable. There were seven H Division men lodging there and occasionally a question on police duty was discussed. During the next fortnight I was learning the beats. I went with a different man each four hours of duty. This lasted for two weeks. I once asked the P.C. that I was patrolling with a question on what I should do in a certain circumstance and his bright reply was, "I am not going to tell you, because you might have a job like that and make a mistake and you would say that was what I told you to do, so find out for yourself." I decided that in future I

would stand on my own feet and learn by trial and error.

'A fortnight touring beats and I was posted to a beat by myself, as well informed as to why I was in the street as (I was) the day that I was born .... so I carried on and made a few mistakes. When I was on night duty there were a few who were in the same boat as me, so we used to ask each other questions that we had thought up during the day, and that was the only instruction that I ever received.'

Lord Normanby's<sup>1</sup> rules relating to promotion were borrowed, like most of the others, from the Metropolitan force, and reiterated the principle 'when vacancies occur in the office of superintendent, inspector or sergeant, it is desirable that encouragement should be given to meritorious men serving in the subordinate station by their promotion to the higher stations, when they are qualified.' Generally speaking, promotions went by seniority as much as merit; there seems little evidence of dissatisfaction with promotion policies in the counties, where they were under the direct control of the Chief Constable, but abuses and irregularities were not uncommon in the boroughs, where unscrupulous members of Watch Committees would seek favours from the police in return for promotion.

The rank of sergeant had a lower status then that it has now; the qualifications were the same as for a constable, the pay differential was small and the sergeant often had to walk a beat as well as supervising the work of his 'section' of six or eight constables. To qualify for promotion to sergeant a man 'had to be able to drill his constables and to ride a horse.'

After many years of service as constable and sergeant a man could hope to be promoted to the rank of inspector.

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1. Lord Normanby, Home Secretary from 1839.

According to a book of 1889,<sup>1</sup> quoted by Critchley, an inspector at that time was 'looked upon as a guide, guardian and referee by those whose unpleasant business causes them to seek police aid. In contrast with bygone days an inspector must be a man of education and capable judgement; the public must feel a firm reliance in him as such.'

The inspector took charge of a sub-division containing several sergeants, and spent much of his time in court. For the rank of superintendent the Rules laid down that the holder 'must be a man of general intelligence, able to read and write well, and to keep accounts.' Zeal and ability were the principal qualifications for promotion, and by the 1860's formal promotion examinations were coming in. The syllabus for the promotion examination to the post of superintendent in Dorset, in the year 1867 was:<sup>2</sup>

- 1st. Multiplication and division of money. Rule of three, Tables of Weights and Measures used by Inspectors.
- 2nd Making out a Superintendent's Journal, Pay, Charge and Summons Sheet.
- 3rd Classification of Offences.
- 4th Answering written Questions as to the duties of a Superintendent and as to general knowledge of the County, with names of the principal towns and means of communication by railway and telegraph.
- 5th Such a knowledge of drill as to be able to put a squad through the simplest movements of a company drill.

At the same time the Dorset Constabulary also devised a

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1. Clarkson and Richardson; 'Police!'  
 2. Critchley, p.156.

syllabus for the examination for promotion from constable to sergeant or inspector. It comprised:

- 1st Reading
- 2nd Writing neatly and correctly out of the Instruction Book.
- 3rd The first four rules of arithmetic with addition and subtraction of money.
- 4th Making out a Sergeant's report.
- 5th Answering written questions as to a Sergeant's general duties.

Even the most enlightened forces gave little assistance towards studying, and even as late as 1908 an aspiring constable of the Metropolitan Police could write,<sup>2</sup> 'When I had about three years' service, I was invited to join the Education Class that was run by a local school-teacher and for which we paid 2d. per week. The class met for two hours on two evenings each week and we had to attend in our own time. Still no police instruction. I then made an effort to study the Instruction Book and General Orders and derived great benefit from them. When I had about seven years' service I put my name down to attend a Preliminary Exam. for Promotion. Nine men from each of the three stations attended and I came out top and was told that the next batch that was called for Examination proper, I would be the first to go. I had not long to wait. I crammed every hour that I could. It came at last. About eighty men from the whole force were locked in a room at the Yard and were called out in threes alphabetically according to our names. It came at last and to my surprise I was quite cool and unworried. A Chief Constable was in charge and four Superintendents gave marks on the answers each man gave

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1. Ex-Sergeant Cameron.

to the questions. I got through O.K. and on the 22nd March 1910 I reported to Hackney Police Station as a Police Sergeant, still no instruction as to my duties, so I muddled on in my ignorance. On arrival at Hackney I still had to muddle through and find my way .... from the day I joined, I never had one hour of instruction, the only wonder to me is that there were so few failures.'

The Metropolitan Police set up its first tiny detective squad in 1842, but it had to contend with public hostility and suspicion. This was converted to the Criminal Investigation Department, on the lines of French practice, in 1877, in the wake of a considerable scandal.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the century many of the provincial forces had followed suit, and set up their own detective departments, but nowhere was the efficiency high, there was little liaison between forces and scientific aids were few. It was to be many years before detective departments were scientifically based and organized.

Conditions gradually improved as the old century gave way to the new one. Pay was improved (but not greatly), policemen were allowed the vote, a weekly rest day was awarded, a pension became a right to be earned by long and faithful service. However, the lack of firm, positive leadership from on high (for the Home Office had not yet assumed this role) and the absence of means whereby legitimate grievances could be ventilated affected morale and reduced efficiency. Legislation became more complex (between 1900 and 1908 eighteen Acts of Parliament affected the duties of the police), and for the first time the concept of the policeman as a social worker began to blossom. The Chief Constable of Manchester probably

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1. Critchley; p.160.

summed up accurately when he said:-

'Police duty in 1908 bore little resemblance to that of twenty or thirty years ago. Then, the policeman dealt largely with the criminal; now he was rendering a public service to all classes, and this demanded higher standards of intelligence and personal conduct than even before.'<sup>1</sup>

A Royal Commission reporting in that year said:-

'The Commission noted with surprise the somewhat rare combination of mental and physical powers required of the constable, and how much more difficult and demanding his work was than that of the private soldier or artisan.'<sup>2</sup> However, taking the rough with the smooth, the police during the first years of the twentieth century stood high in public respect. Their overall conditions were such as to make them a cause for envy amongst the working-class young men from whose ranks so many of them had raised themselves. The motor car had not yet driven a wedge between the respectable public and the police. Although weaknesses of leadership and communication lay just below the surface they were to stay hidden until the stresses imposed by the Great War brought them to view in 1918.

In this rather long, but nevertheless condensed and selective account the status of constable has been seen to fall from its original honourable position to its nadir in the eighteenth century, and then to climb again to gain further recognition in a modified role. The keeping of the peace, after generations of ineffectiveness caused by the failure of the available machinery to react quickly enough to the rapid social changes of the industrial revolution, had been put on a generally sound basis, though outside pressures and the resulting compromises had caused some diversity of form. Taking

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1. Critchley; p.174.

2. Ibid., p.178.

the best possible view, it could be said that the Metropolitan police were professional in their organization and outlook, and gained more than they lost by being responsible only to Parliament, through the Home Secretary. The best borough forces emulated the Metropolitan, but could suffer from corrupt or narrow-visioned control by the Watch Committees, while many boroughs were simply too small to be at all effective.

Though the leadership of County forces tended to go by social status rather than professional ability, in the best of them things were run with a pleasant paternalism, which was in accord with the general social climate of that time.

In all types of force instruments of reaction abounded, so that by the end of the War the police service in England and Wales was, on balance, old-fashioned in outlook - especially in the field of human relations and 'man management.' Perhaps it needed the shocking events of 1918 to galvanize the service into modernity.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MAKING OF THE MODERN POLICE SERVICE, 1918-1972

When the trend of events during the first dozen years or so of the twentieth century is examined in retrospect, it appears that enlightened opinion at the top was already moving to redress the two principal failings in the direction and organisation of the police service. The Home Office more and more was beginning to assume the roles of leader, initiator and co-ordinator, while Parliament was gingerly circling round the other area of dissent, which centred upon the lack of channels of communication for police officers to make their voices heard and, particularly, to ventilate their grievances.

The advent of the Great War in 1914 checked this liberalising trend. The Government had always been averse to the very notion of a Police Union, but as the war progressed their attitude hardened even more, for fear that any concession in this direction would lead to demands for a Soldiers Union. Many constables left their forces to join up, leaving their colleagues to deal with a deteriorating situation with reduced numbers. The Police Weekly Rest Day Act of 1910 had not been fully implemented in some forces by the outbreak of war, and efforts to do so were dropped for the duration. Leave was severely limited or stopped altogether, especially for senior officers. Many duties had been added to the normal round - the registration of aliens, enforcement of the black-out, protection for vulnerable points, and so on. Police pay generally was frozen during a period when wage rates overall rose rapidly, and inflation gathered pace. Many policemen and their families

knew real hardship. Membership of the Police and Prison Officers Union, though illegal, grew rapidly.

Even though some forces paid non-pensionable cost-of-living rises there had been no general, centrally-inspired attempt to raise the pay of the police; perhaps odious comparisons were being drawn, consciously or unconsciously, between the policeman's lot and that of the serviceman of the time, badly paid, living under abominable conditions and often facing constant danger. The Home Office did convene a meeting of police authorities in the Home Counties early in 1918 to discuss the men's pay, but the Police Union felt that no progress would be made unless the rank and file were represented.

Matters came to a head in the Metropolitan Police, because of its size and relative compactness, and also because it had probably suffered most from the adverse consequences of the war. On Tuesday, August 27th, 1918 (when dramatic and perilous events were taking place across the Channel) a policeman was dismissed for Union activities. The Police Union sent the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary an ultimatum forthwith; the police would strike unless three demands were met: reinstatement of the dismissed man, an increase in pay, and recognition of the Police Union. By ill fortune the leadership at the top was in the hands of substitutes, who were not of sufficient status to parley or treat, and who, in any case, underestimated the Union's backing and its resolution. By the end of the week 6,000 Metropolitan policemen were on strike. Consternation spread in the Government; the Prime Minister swiftly returned and took up the reins again. He agreed to see a deputation from the Union (but only, he later claimed, in their private capacities and as non-union representatives of their comrades) and ended the strike by conceding two points

but refusing the third; a Police Union could not be allowed in war time. The police contended that this meant that recognition would be given after the war, and when this was later found not to be the case the seeds of future dissension were sown. By the spring of 1919 protests were beginning to grow as it became clear that the Union was not going to be recognised. However, by this time the Desborough Committee had been set up to enquire into the pay and conditions of service of the police. This committee moved swiftly (though not swiftly enough for many hundreds of misguided policemen); its effect was great and long-lasting, and yet it seemed to contain a paradox. The Committee realised that 'the advantages of greater economy, efficiency and uniformity could only be gained by a greater measure of centralisation,'<sup>1</sup> and so, while rejecting outright nationalisation, nevertheless recommended that the whole of the police service should come under the effective control of the Home Secretary. Variations in conditions of service, housing, allowances, leave, hours of duty and pay were all to be ironed out - the latter by means of a great increase which, for the first time in history, put the ordinary bobby on the street into the category of semi-professional men. The paradox? This took some years to be revealed, but by the 'thirties it was plain to see; in spite of the splendid (for the day) conditions, the quality of men coming forward did not seem to improve in general - certainly not as far as education was concerned. In granting these great concessions, the Committee recognised that the police officer needed now to be a man of parts; indeed, they seemed to have accepted almost completely the evidence of one witness<sup>2</sup> who said, 'In the past a policeman has been paid no more than an ordinary labourer;

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1. Critchley; 1967, p.191.

2. Sergeant A. Miles, in Minutes of Evidence, Command 874 (1920)

consequently, he has been respected and valued accordingly. He has been looked upon as one who, for a tip or a free drink, could be made to neglect his duty. Unfortunately, his continual fight against poverty has only too often made him susceptible to bribes and tips. There is no doubt we are now suffering from our lowly origin. There is no comparison between what is expected from the policeman of today and the policeman of old. Our predecessors were invariably big, illiterate men, from whom little was expected. Nowadays a policeman must be as brave as a lion, as patient as Job, as wise as Solomon, as cunning as a fox, have the manners of a Chesterfield, the optimism of Mark Tapley, must be learned in criminal law and local by-laws, must be of strong moral character, able to resist all temptations, be prepared to act as a doctor, be a support to the weak and infirm, a terror to evil-doers, a friend and counsellor to all classes of the community, and a walking encyclopaedia.'

From the Committee's recommendation that the police authorities and all ranks of the police themselves should be given the opportunity to make their opinions known came two bodies of great importance. One, the Police Council, was to act as an advisory body to the Home Secretary, and was composed of representatives of the authorities and of the forces themselves, sitting under the chairmanship of the Home Secretary (or his appointee). The other body which came into being was the Police Federation - 'the joker with which the Government trumped the Police Union.'<sup>1</sup> While the enabling Bill was passing through Parliament the Police Union, in desperation to save itself, called another strike. Though over two thousand men supported their union, the ground was cut beneath their feet by the generosity of the terms; the strike did not find general

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1. Critchley; p.192.

support, it collapsed, and all the strikers were dismissed, never to be re-instated, in spite of the considerable sympathy felt for them as individuals. The results of Desborough included the building of a new and better relationship between the police and the public at large. This became evident during the General Strike of 1926, and may have been a potent factor in its peaceful conduct and termination. During Victorian days strikers generally saw the police as their oppressors; at Tonypany in 1910 the atmosphere improved, in 1926 the police, good-humoured, impartial and reliable gained the confidence of a large proportion of the nation. As for the police themselves, they basked in the sun of public esteem and their self-confidence blossomed accordingly.

Desborough had wrought so much for the police service that the 'twenties and 'thirties, in retrospect, must have seemed like a Golden Age to those who served them. Well paid, highly esteemed, stringently selected, the police of those decades saw themselves, with reason, as a corps d'elite. Most of the 'twenties were occupied in the implementation of the Desborough reforms, especially in moving towards amalgamation and centralisation. Immediately previous to the Second World War about forty forces maintained their own training schools for recruits. The numbers in attendance at any one time varied from about two hundred at Peel House, the Metropolitan Police School, down to single classes of twenty or so in smaller forces. Very small forces came under the wing of some larger force for training. Few of these schools were residential, and the methods and quality of tuition varied greatly. Three timorous committees testified to the value of women police, but few forces used their services, and the number employed actually dropped between the wars. The Home Secretary did urge forces, in 1930,

to see if they could utilise the services of women officers, and produced draft regulations for their service, but could not disturb the general apathy.

Stronger steps were taken to put the detective service on a scientific footing, and to improve its communications. In 1933 a committee was set up to enquire into the whole field of detective work, under the chairmanship of Sir Arthur Dixon, an influential (if, at that time, still junior) civil servant, who had been secretary to the Desborough Committee in 1919, and who had taken charge of the newly created Police Department at the Home Office later that year.

It cast its net wide and deep, and five years went by before it published its final recommendations.<sup>1</sup> It became clear that inter-force rivalry must finish, that inter-dependence and communication were the key to success.

Wireless links were pioneered, forensic laboratories established, and a standard syllabus of instruction for detectives drawn up. Eight-week courses for detectives were introduced at Hendon and at Wakefield in 1936, and more advanced courses for higher ranks started the next year. Two more detective training schools were opened shortly afterwards, but these developments were interrupted by the war.

One of the deepest and most fundamental grievances of the police had been the fact that chief officers (except in Boroughs, where they were merely executive agents of the Watch Committee) were often appointed from outside. Desborough had said (as a compromise) that such appointments were, in the future, to be made from the ranks, unless some other candidate had exceptional qualifications or experiences. This clause operated to the detriment of the career professional between the wars, with 65 chief constables coming from outside the home

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1. Critchley; p.210.

police service out of 240 appointed, or over 27 per cent. This irritating principle was supported by a Royal Commission in 1929, but in the face of mounting dissatisfaction it became clear that steps would have to be taken to enable the police service to produce its own leaders.

In 1929, the Dixon Scheme<sup>1</sup> - called after its author, already met - proposed the establishment of a national police college. Though the scheme appeared modest, in an attempt to conciliate the Police Federation, its author had ambitious plans for it, visualising it developing eventually as a university teaching Colquhoun's 'science of policing.'

It was to have offered a two-year course in general and police subjects to policemen with at least five years service, who had already passed the examinations for the rank of sergeant, and who were (normally) under the age of thirty-five. Successful attendance at the college was to provide a staircase to the higher ranks of the police service. The Police Council gave the scheme a qualified approval, but both the County Councils and the Police Federation rejected it - the former because of its cost (the great slump was just gathering momentum), the latter because of the discontent it felt would be generated. Although this stillborn plan would have anticipated many of the features of the Police College as eventually formed, it did not die in vain. In the long run, it must have affected the thinking of those planning the Police College of the 1950's, but more immediately it helped to bring the Hendon Police College into being. The successes and shortcomings of this body have been long remembered, and they too had their influence. Sir Arthur Dixon, soon after the rejection of his plan, was discussing it with Lord Trenchard, who had recently (and

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<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 7070 Report on the Setting up of a Higher Training Establishment, 1930. P59 Table (ii), P.59.

somewhat inexplicably) been appointed to be Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. Dixon suggested that though a national police college could not arise in the foreseeable future, there might be a need and an opportunity for one for the Metropolitan Police.

Trenchard - the 'old man in a hurry' - had already been dismayed by the lack of 'officer material' in the ranks of his force. Almost no recruits offered themselves from public schools or universities, while the relatively small number of bright boys from the grammar schools looked for other roads in life, promising more financially and socially. Trenchard pointed out these dismaying facts in his report in the year 1932, published in the spring of the following year. '.... the very great improvement in the status and pay of the police after the Desborough Committee's report had not led to much change in the type of men entering the service.' His proposals for reform, including the formation of a Metropolitan Police College, appeared in a White Paper a week later; they were accepted, planning swiftly followed, and the college opened on May 31st, 1934.

The first course was of thirty-two men, twenty from within the force and twelve direct entrants from civilian life. Students were selected from those who had passed well in a competitive examination of about the standard of the old School Certificate, though this latter requirement could be waived, either for especially promising candidates from within the force, or for those from outside who held higher educational qualifications. The syllabus followed the lines set out in the 'Dixon' proposals of 1929; the course covered fifteen months at first, later extended to two years. Successful candidates were appointed as Junior Station Inspectors, a new

rank between inspector and chief inspector.

The Home Office, though foster parent to the plan, had misgivings about two aspects of it; firstly, its divisiveness, cutting the force into two parts, officers and other ranks (and this in a service where it is often openly said that nearly all 'real' police work is done by sergeants and constables),<sup>1</sup> and secondly, the proposal that all ranks higher than that of inspector should be filled in future only by College graduates.

The hostility of the Home Office was as nothing compared with the hostility of the Police Federation. The scheme was loathed and derided, as were 'Trenchard's young men,' and this bitter hostility must be borne in mind when considering the creation of a national police college after the war. The start of this caused the Metropolitan Police College to be closed abruptly (and, one feels, thankfully in some quarters) in 1939. Before this happened, however, Trenchard had been replaced, in 1937, by Sir Philip Game, who introduced important reforms. He placed more emphasis on pure police work in the syllabus, only six men a year were to be accepted directly (and they had to serve a year on the beat first) and some of the places thus freed were thrown open to men in provincial forces.

Almost two hundred students attended the College in its short life; a study of their careers - many highly successful - could be used to support almost any viewpoint as to the success or otherwise of the experiment, bearing in mind that the chosen few who went there would doubtless have risen in the service in any case.

But when the Hendon experiment is looked back at over an

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1. See Chapter II.

interval of many years, it becomes plain that any success it might have had could only have been at the expense of the police force as a whole. No price would have been worth paying that engendered suspicion and resentment in the breast of the ordinary constable, and, eventually, to a deterioration in his quality. The Home Office summed this feeling up in 1948, in a memorandum to the Oaksey Committee - 'The police service in this country depends for its reputation and efficiency on the character and ability of the ordinary constables who walk the beat. No matter how brilliantly qualified a cadre of officers produced by a Police College might be, this would be no compensation for any falling off in the quality of the constable, and it is, therefore, fundamentally important that any scheme of higher training, designed to pick the best qualified men for the senior posts, should be recognised by the rank and file as fair, and not involving any suggestion of favouritism based on social qualifications or even academic attainments.'

The outbreak of war led to an expansion of the police in various ways, but when the expected air attacks did not materialise, and as man-power became shorter, the size of the service was allowed to fall again. However, the number of women employed - both regular, and members of the Women's Auxiliary Police Corps - rose spectacularly from 226 in 1939 to over 400 regulars and 3,700 auxiliaries by the end of the war. Thus was the prejudice against women police broken down, and the door opened to a much larger employment of women in the post-war years.

As in the Great War, the second war led to a larger degree of central control, and to some degree of regionalisation, in which forces (especially in sensitive areas such as the South coast) were merged for the duration. Once again, the pay of

policemen was eroded by the effect of the war, so that they fell behind other workers. In spite of this, police morale was high at the end of the war, as was their standing with the public. It was not long before this pleasant state of affairs was damaged by the social and political events of the late 'forties and 'fifties. Shortages of food and of goods of all descriptions, combined with the erosion of moral principles caused by black marketing, led to a serious increase in crime. As the number of vehicles grew they began to clog the inadequate road system, and hard feelings developed between motorists and the police. Rowdy political demonstrations involving clashes with the police became a feature of the late 'fifties. By 1960, the Police Federation said in its evidence to the Royal Commission - '(The constable's) status in the community is declining and respect for his office is lower than it was before the .... war.' Pay trailed dismally behind continual price rises, and formed a sombre contrast with the halcyon days of the 'Desborough' scales. However, half-hidden in this gloomy morass, reforms were taking shape.

The Police Act of 1946 brought about many mergers, and forty-five borough police forces ceased to exist as separate entities. As retirement from the police service was generally forbidden during the war years a large number of officers retired soon after the end of hostilities; to train their replacements a parallel centre to Peel House was established at Hendon for the Metropolitan Police, and eight district training centres<sup>1</sup> were set up in strategic locations throughout the country to train all other recruits. These centres were organized and financed by the Home Office (who later drew back half the costs by means of contributions from the various

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1. At Bruche, Pannel Ash, Newby Wiske, Ryton-on-Dunsmore, Sandgate, Chantemarle, Bridgend, and Eynsham Hall (Oxon.).

police authorities), and their operation accounted for over sixty per cent of the total costs of training. Driving schools, detective training centres, forensic science courses, and so on, were organised under the aegis of the Home Office, who again paid half the cost. Though total costs rose sharply, the actual cost per man-hour of training increased remarkably little in a period of inflation, while the quality (and the uniformity) of the instruction given rose considerably. These centres were managed by committees representing the authorities in the catchment area. The Commandants and other senior officers were appointed by a Chief Constables' Committee. The initial instruction lasted for thirteen weeks, and was followed later by two refresher periods of a fortnight each, interspersed with training in the parent force.

To improve tuition in the forces potential instructors were encouraged to attend courses on teaching method, without charge to their forces.

These changes were initiated by the reports of the Post War Committee of 1946; this committee consisted of some thirty members, all Chief Officers of police, H.M. Inspectors or officials of the Home and Scottish Offices.

This committee also recommended the formation of a national police college, though, remembering the vexation caused by the Hendon experiment, they, like Agag, trod delicately. In particular, they were careful that no accusation could be levied that a privileged 'officer class' was being established; the aim was to 'broaden the outlook, improve the professional knowledge, and stimulate the energies of men who have reached, or are about to reach the middle and higher ranks of the service.'

The Government accepted these recommendations, and in

1948 the Police College opened at Ryton-on-Dunsmore, near Coventry, moving to its permanent home at Bramshill House, Hartley Wintney (just south of Basingstoke) in 1960. The situation of this gracious old red-brick building is not ideal; it lies to the south of London, and so it is not highly accessible to officers from the North and the Midlands - though the development of motorways is easing this situation. It is managed by a Board of Governors, half composed of nominees of the Home Secretary (Home Office officials, an Inspector of Constabulary and members of police associations) and half of representatives of local authorities. This important and essential innovation will be discussed more fully later.

The Oaksey Committee presented two reports during 1949. The first<sup>1</sup> deal with pay, pensions and conditions of service; though the committee hoped that its recommendations would provide for a long, stable period of contentment, the increases they recommended (which fell so far short of what the police, harking back to Desborough, had hoped for) did nothing to check the torrent of wastage, or to stimulate a flow of suitable recruits. Between the implementation of Oaksey and the setting-up of a further Royal Commission in 1960, five pay awards were made; none repaired the situation, and each one widened the rift between the police and their employers. One consequence of this dissatisfaction was that the men lost confidence in the Police Council as constituted in 1919; accordingly a reformed council was set up in 1953 as a negotiating body, and was given statutory recognition by the Police Act of 1964. A contributory factor to the severe wastage (which was a more serious cause of police under-staffing than failure to recruit in the first place) was the old-fashioned and auto-

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1. Cmd.7674

cratic attitudes of some senior officers. To counteract this, and to increase efficiency, 'man-management' began to appear in the senior police officer's curriculum. A great increase in the number of women officers employed took place, and 'civilianisation' was resorted to more and more to free policemen for the essential jobs that only they could do.

The structure of command also came under examination, and this too will be dealt with later, as will the system of promotion.

These liberalising and modernising measures had benefited the police service in many ways. Efficiency had improved with centralisation and because of better communication, conditions of service had greatly improved, and the reforms to the promotion system had removed many rankling grievances. Nevertheless, all was clearly not well; the police still had a high rate of wastage, they had lost a considerable amount of public confidence (following a number of incidents which had shown the police in a bad light), and, most serious of all, crime was increasing sharply without the police being able to check it.

Early in 1959 the then Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler, presented these discomfiting facts to Parliament in a White Paper, and it was resolved to set up a Royal Commission on the Police, with wide terms of reference which the Commission itself widened further in due course. The prime reason for the setting-up of this Commission was to look into the question of control over the police, and how they could be made accountable for their actions (it will be remembered that the Home Secretary's control over the provincial forces was not direct, but based on a series of sanctions, financial and otherwise), but the opportunity was taken to survey the broader field at the same time.

Its Interim Report<sup>1</sup> appeared in November 1960; it dealt principally with the pay of the police service, and the considerations by which this should be assessed. Large increases in pay were recommended (which delighted the police, if not the other parties involved), which were justified by quoting the Desborough and Oaksey Committees' assessment of the difficult and demanding nature of a constable's role, and adding on their own account:

'Our conclusion is that police duties and responsibilities, though essentially unchanged, have unquestionably increased in their range and variety during the past two decades and that they are now exercised in increasingly difficult circumstances.'<sup>2</sup> They did not quote, but were probably influenced by, a passage from the report of the Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police four years before, which said, 'The police are expected to know more than was necessary (a few) years ago; the public expect them to achieve higher standards in the application of their knowledge; their duties have increased; and they are required to discharge these duties in circumstances which are probably as difficult as at any time since the police were first established ....'. The evidence of the County Councils Association<sup>3</sup> (whose members would have to finance any increases awarded) strikes a somewhat jarring note. It commented sourly on the poor educational background of recruits (see Table ii), and compared the entrance requirements and responsibilities of police officers with other occupations, particularly teachers. It pointed out that a high rate of wastage was not confined to the police service alone, and it claimed that a policeman's gross remuneration, all factors considered, was much better than the base pay scales seemed to indicate.

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1. Cmnd.1222.

2. Ibid., para.52.

3. Memorandum of Evidence by the County Councils Association on the fourth of the Commission's terms of reference (M.E.C.C.)

On the positive side, however, the memorandum of evidence urged that strong steps should be taken to increase the proportion of entrants with good educational qualifications. It suggests (paragraphs 54-58) that efforts should be made to attract graduates and boys from the sixth forms by putting before them the prospect of 'opportunities of competing for appointments offering interest, promotion and status which will reconcile them to the first few years of basic police duty which, to the trained mind, offer boredom and repetition rather than the excitement of responsibility.'<sup>1</sup> (Paragraphs 54-56). It goes on to suggest a speeding of promotion where appropriate, and financial recognition of educational qualifications. (Paragraphs 56, 57). It concludes this section of its evidence by urging that not only should arrangements be made for the police service to recruit its due share of the country's graduates, but that all suitable officers should be encouraged to study for degrees (internally or externally), or for other, more specialised qualifications of a comparable standard. (Paragraph 58).

The Commission's Final Report appeared in May, 1962.<sup>2</sup> It rejected nationalisation (seemingly in the face of its own views, and strongly advocated by Dr. A. L. Goodhart in a memorandum of dissent), but nevertheless pressed for further regional integration of forces. It urged standardised educational tests for recruits (paragraph 298), to be devised by some such body as the National Institute of Industrial Psychology to the Civil Service Commissions (paragraph 304). Not only would uniform standards thus be applied to the whole police service, but eventually the Home Office would build up a corpus of statistics which would indicate whether or not the

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1. Ibid., para.33.

2. Cmnd.1728.

service was getting its fair share of the educational cake. Specifically it recommended the following seven points (paragraph 306).

306. To give precision to these general suggestions we recommend as follows:-

- (1) That the present regulation about the examination of recruits be rescinded.
- (2) That the same standardised tests be given to all recruits.
- (3) That a professionally qualified member of the chief education officer's staff give the standardised tests and report on them to the chief constable.
- (4) That a short continuous composition on a subject within the candidate's range of experience and interests continues to be set in all cases, not however to assess writing, spelling or grammar, but to show whether the candidate can judge what is relevant and important in a statement. The educationist assisting the chief constable should mark the composition.
- (5) That in the interviewing of candidates, the chief constable have with him as an assessor the chief education officer or a senior member of his professional staff, or an experienced headmaster, to help in resolving such doubts and difficulties as must arise where the scholastic records of the majority of candidates have to be judged mainly or wholly from their school reports.
- (6) That at some point in his probationary period the recruit be tested in the basic educational skills. To give such tests when a man seeks entry to the police service is ill-advised and often unfair. But once a candidate has been accepted, it would be wholly reasonable to point out to him that a good standard in writing, spelling, grammar,

punctuation and arithmetic is essential in the job he has chosen; that he will be given guidance towards becoming more proficient in these skills; and that before the probationary period ends he will have to satisfy his chief officer as to his proficiency in them by passing tests. These tests should be set and marked by the Civil Service Commissioners.

- (7) That, despite the heavy demands on police probationers, an effort be made to improve and extend their general education, either by having them share in the work of day-release groups or by the provision for them of classes arranged specially to meet the exigencies of the service. Such a development would be in line with the great expansion of further education planned for the nation as a whole, and we are confident that education authorities, co-operating regularly with chief constables in the ways we have envisaged, would show great interest and helpfulness in promoting the continued general education of young constables.'

It<sup>1</sup> then dealt with the recruitment of men who could become the future senior officers (paragraphs 308-314). It gave some telling statistics concerning the poor educational qualifications of recruits (paragraph 308),<sup>2</sup> 'In our Interim Report we expressed our concern at the lack of well educated recruits to the police service. The facts may be summarised as follows. We have come across no recent instance of a university graduate entering the service; only about one per cent of recruits have two or more G.C.E. passes at Advanced Level; a further ten per cent have five or more G.C.E. subjects at Ordinary Level; and in addition, some twenty per cent have one to four

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1. Cmnd.1728.

2. See Table II, page 59

G.C.E. subjects at Ordinary Level. These figures relate to recruits accepted in the usual way at 19 plus. Boys entering the service as cadets tend to possess rather higher educational qualifications. On the basis of these figures we commented that, while the police service attracts a substantial number of grammar school boys, most of them belong to the lower half of those who leave the grammar school at the age of 16,' and went on to discuss the proposals which led to the present 'Special' course at the Police College (paragraph 310,) 'Under the Government's proposals a new course for constables, of twelve months' duration, is to be established at the Police College. Entrants will be selected from those who have obtained the highest marks in the examination in police subjects for promotion to sergeant; and an officer who successfully completes the course will receive automatic promotion to sergeant in his force. Similarly, it is proposed to reserve, for sergeants who qualify by examination, a proportion of the vacancies on the present six months' course which prepares sergeants for promotion to inspector. (At present all the sergeants admitted to this course are nominated by their police authority or chief officer of police.)' It went on to recommend the setting up of a senior staff course, 'of a primarily professional nature, designed to equip officers of the rank of inspector or above for the highest posts in the service.' This course was to be of six months' duration. Quoting the White Paper,<sup>1</sup> the Commission said,<sup>2</sup> 'It is therefore important, if the Service is to produce enough leaders of the right calibre, that training of the right sort should be made available to those who have demonstrated that they are suitable for higher rank. It is also important that the Service should be seen to

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1. Cmnd.1450.

2. Cmnd.1728, para.311.

offer attractive prospects for the recruit of good quality and that he should feel that he will be given the opportunity to use his talents to the best advantage. The working out of the new schemes outlined above will have to be carefully watched; but it is believed that they will improve the ability of the Police Service to attract and train its own leaders, and enable the Police College to make an even greater contribution than at present to the efficiency of the Service.' and then went on to say,<sup>1</sup> 'We are extremely concerned that the conditions of entry and promotion prospects of the police service should be such as will attract a sufficient number of recruits who are likely to make good chief constables and other senior officers twelve, fifteen or twenty years hence. In the past, many men with distinguished careers lacked a university education, but this situation is rapidly changing: young men of ability now tend in increasing numbers to proceed to the universities. Consequently a system of police recruiting which shows no evidence of success in attracting a sufficient proportion of entrants of graduate standard endangers the future leadership of the service. Improvements in pay and new training arrangements will not by themselves cure this defect. The police play a vital part in our national life and well-being and it is deplorable that they, to a far greater extent than any of the other public services, law, commerce, industry or indeed any major branch of our national life, should for years have been failing to recruit anything like their proper share of able and well educated young men. We do not suggest that graduates are necessarily more likely than others to make effective chief constables: our concern is simply that the police today are not securing a sufficient share of the better educated section of the community.

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1. Ibid., para.312.

'The reason for this failure is not .... that the police service is inherently unattractive as a career .... It lies in the neglect of those responsible to adjust the opening stages of a police career, in the way that other professions have found it necessary to do, so as to attract able candidates.'

To accomplish this it was recommended that promotion should be speeded up for outstanding candidates.<sup>1</sup> 'Our first recommendation concerns the minimum period of service before promotion to sergeant. At present a constable must, save in exceptional circumstances, serve three years after probation - a total of five years' service - before he can be promoted. The period of five years must normally include two years' "ordinary outside duty." We do not accept that initiation into the duties of a constable or preparation for the rank of sergeant need always take so long. No doubt in most cases the period is not inappropriate, but we see no sufficient reason why a chief constable should be fettered, to a degree unparalleled in any other occupation, in the exercise of his own judgement as to when a man is ready for greater responsibility. Moreover, from the point of view of a graduate considering the service as a career, a delay of five years, which cannot be altered to take account of his age, and gives him no chance to prove maturity and aptitude above the average, must appear an intolerable obstacle. We accordingly recommend that the minimum qualifying period for promotion to sergeant be reduced from five to three years, and that suitable modification be in the length of service before a candidate may offer himself for the qualifying examination,' and it also suggested a change in the title of sergeants to reflect their true status and responsibilities more accurately.<sup>2</sup> 'Our next proposal involves

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1. Ibid., para.314.

2. Ibid., para.315.

only a change of nomenclature, but one which some of us regard as not unimportant as a further means of improving the attractiveness of a police career. In our first report we stressed the unusual nature of the constable's responsibility compared with others of a subordinate rank. By the same token the police sergeant performs duties which are not to be compared with those of the Army non-commissioned officer from whom his title is borrowed. We heard evidence to the effect that the title "sergeant" is an honoured and popular one within the police service. But his name and his badge of rank are against him in the eyes of a potential entrant, who may be misled into thinking that the equivalent of commissioned rank in the police is not attained until the third rung in the ladder. A number of us think that consideration should be given to changing the title of sergeant to some such title as sub-inspector, with an appropriate modification of the badge of rank.' (It is noteworthy that this particular recommendation did not find favour then any more than it did with the 1972 committee which dealt with the rationalisation of the rank structure, even though some such change would probably have found general favour in the police service).

A breach in the principles of local autonomy with regard to promotions was made by the suggestion that a number of places on the "Special" course should be reserved for young officers who had come high on the list (on a national basis) for the examination for promotion to sergeant, and who would, under the proposals, receive automatic promotion upon the successful completion of the course. (A proportion of the places were still to be reserved for constables nominated by their chiefs). So that Chief Constables did not have to employ promoted officers in whom they lacked personal confidence,

transfer between forces was to be made easier, and, indeed, encouraged, to produce the benefits of cross-fertilization.

It was suggested that the status of Cadets - now becoming an increasingly important source of recruits - should be regularised;<sup>1</sup> this suggestion led to the establishment of a Working Party on Cadets, which published its report in 1965.<sup>2</sup> Three members of the Commission, Lord Geddes, Sir George Turner and Mr. H. A. Hetherington in a Note of Reservation recommended an increase in the size of detective forces, and an improvement in the method of selection of would-be detectives. They suggested that up to half of all detectives should be recruited from men with 'A' level passes, and from graduates; these men should undergo the normal recruit training, and then perform ordinary police duties for a year. At the end of this time they would be transferred to the detective establishment with the rank of probationary sergeant, as would any constables who were making the transition after having been recruited in the normal way. With the lowest detective rank thus becoming that of sergeant, all other ranks would be lifted one step. It was pointed out that the additional costs of such a scheme should easily be recouped by a diminution of crime. In spite of the superficial benefits of this scheme, its authors were unable to carry the other members of the Commission along with them. Most of the Commission's recommendations were accepted, and incorporated in the Police Act, 1964. This superseded the hotch-potch of legislation which had built up over the years, attempted to define and give form to many functions of the police, clarified and codified the status of the constable for the first time, gave statutory recognition to the many 'common service' arrangements which had sprung up during the

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1. Paras.192-194.

2. Command 7831; see Chapter IV.

past half-century, and gave the Home Secretary greater powers and responsibilities vis-a-vis the provincial forces.

The old Police Council of 1919 was replaced by a Police Advisory Board, and the new Police Council for Great Britain was recognized as the negotiating body.

Apart from the 1965 report on Cadets, already mentioned (which will be discussed more fully later) the next investigation into the work of the police was made by a committee sitting under the chairmanship of Dick Taverne, Q.C. It issued two reports in 1967; the first, 'Police Manpower, Equipment and Efficiency' broke little new ground as far as the present enquiry is concerned, though it did emphasise the need for 'man-management,' and gave details of forces already applying this technique. The second report was entitled, 'The Recruitment of People with Higher Educational Qualifications into the Police Service;'<sup>1</sup> its findings and recommendations are outlined below, and will be discussed in more detail in due course. It drew attention to the fact that the police service was not getting a fair share of the greatly increased number of young people proceeding to higher education, and suggested that 'public relations' techniques should be used to draw attention in the sixth forms to the advantages of a police career.

It recommended that the minimum period of service necessary before sitting the 'sergeant's' examination be reduced from three years to two, that successful completion of the Special Course at Bramshill should carry exemption from passing the promotion examination from sergeant to inspector, and that all successful graduates of this course should become Acting Sergeants during the course (if not already holding that rank) and should then serve for a further year as in that rank before

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1. Taverne, Educ.

automatically becoming an inspector. It had three suggestions to make about graduates - the founding of a police university scholarship scheme for up to twenty selected sixth-formers a year, special terms of service for up to twenty graduates entering directly each year, and, lastly, to explore 'sandwich' courses as a means of allowing serving officers to graduate.

Most of these recommendations have been tried, with (as will be seen) varying degrees of success, and amongst them they have fixed the present-day pattern for recruitment and training in the police service, with a clear statement of the fact that the higher echelons of the service (in particular) need a broad, liberal education as well as a purely police training. This needed to encompass current affairs, sociology and industrial psychology, public relations and the conduct of meetings, and so on. Modifications to the Bramshill schemes were made at all levels in 1970 and again towards the end of 1972, and during the latter year the command structure of all forces was rationalised and made uniform. This brief summary has left many items to be discussed in detail at the appropriate times, but it is clear already that though the police, as a body, now recognises the need for intelligent and well-educated men in their midst, and are taking steps to secure them, the implementation of these necessary reforms is being delayed by hostility both inside and outside the police service.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Chapter XI.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE MAN-POWER REQUIREMENTS OF THE PRESENT-DAY POLICE SERVICE

The authorised establishment of all male police in 1971 was 104,109; the actual number serving was given as 89,620 - an apparent deficiency of 14,589.

County and Borough forces were about 10,000 men short of their authorised figure with 68,654 serving,<sup>1</sup> while the Metropolitan Police were about 4,500 short of their 'largest' figure with 25,399 men in the service.<sup>2</sup> The Metropolitan Police operates within a radius of some fifteen miles from the centre of London; this area contains about one quarter of the population of England and Wales, so that the numbers in the Metropolitan and in the provincial forces can be seen to be roughly in proportion to the population served. The actual number of women police available for duty was 2,972; this number was well below establishment.

The minimum height for a police officer is five feet eight inches, and as this figure almost exactly coincides with the mean height of men in England and Wales it effectively bars half the male population from service in the police on this ground. Of the half of the population remaining; only a small proportion falls within the age span for joining the police, and if further subtractions are made for men who fall short in respect of general physique, education, eyesight, personal character, etc., the pool of manpower which is left for the police service to recruit from is relatively small.

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1. Report of H.M. Inspector of Police, 1971.

2. Report of the Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police for 1971.

Thus, in 1965, the actual recruitment was about 6,500 men from a theoretical 'pool' of 1.6 millions,<sup>1</sup> or about 0.4 per cent of those eligible. The problem facing the service is that of persuading a due proportion of this pool (incorporating its fair share of ability and intelligence) to apply for appointment as constable.

Of those men who apply to become recruits (and appear at first sight to meet the requirements), some seventy per cent are rejected for various reasons. From the minority accepted several present and future demands must be satisfied. First of all, the day-to-day policing of the country, with all that this involves, has to be carried out, for the most part by constables on the beat. Quite a substantial proportion of these men will in due course gain promotion to a more or less degree, but it is doubtful whether the police service could continue to operate without the services of that majority of constables who are content with (or resigned to) the prospect of performing all their service in the basic grade. The next group of officers which an intake will have to provide in due course is that of sergeants and inspectors, who between them exercise most of the day-to-day supervision of the force. Above them, and under the immediate control of the Chief Constable, his deputy and a number of assistant chief constables, is a body of superintendents, who provide the overall supervision and control of their departments. Over the country as a whole, the proportions of the various ranks are as follows:-<sup>2</sup>

Constables	about 75%
Sergeants	15-16%
Inspectors (all grades)	6-7%
Superintendents	1.0-1.15%
Chief officers and assistants	0.3%

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1. Police Manpower, Equipment and Efficiency, Report of Working Party, 1967. (Taverne P.M.E.E.).
  2. Martin and Wilson; The Police; a Study in Manpower.

Up until the present time the rank structure and the responsibilities and duties attached to each rank has varied slightly from force to force, with the Metropolitan Police the most idiosyncratic. From the middle of 1972 a new, rationalised rank and duty structure, recommended by a Working Party<sup>1</sup> (see below) will slightly alter the promotion prospects in the higher echelons. Promotion prospects up to the rank of Inspector are not expected to change much, but promotion to Chief Inspector will become easier at the cost of reduced opportunities to become Superintendents. On the other hand, promotion to Chief Superintendent will become slightly easier. In future there will be but one grade of Superintendent and one grade of Chief Superintendent in all forces; in addition, the rank of Station Sergeant (rather bitterly nick-named 'Cut-price Inspector') will disappear from the Metropolitan Police. This new rank structure, and the duties attached to each rank, will now be as follows:-

#### UNIFORM BRANCH

Officer in charge of a division	- Chief Superintendent
Deputy to above, officer in charge of a sub-division with authorised establishment of 100 plus	- Superintendent
Deputy in charge of sub-division with authorised establishment of 100 plus, officer in charge of sub-division with authorised establishment of 25-99	- Chief Inspector
Deputy to officer in charge of sub-division with authorised establishment of 25-99, officer in charge of sub-division with authorised establishment of 1-24, officer in charge relief	- Inspector
Foot patrol sergeants Sergeant in charge U.B.P.* Section Sergeant	- Sergeant

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1. Report of the Joint Working Party on the Rank Structure of the Police, Part I (April 1972).

\* U.B.P. - Unit Beat Patrol.

UNIFORM BRANCH (Contd.)

Beat Constable (foot patrol)		
Motor Patrol Officer (U.B.P.)		
Resident Constable (U.B.P.)		
Beat Constable (detached beat)	-	Constable

C.I.D.

Officer in charge (force level)	-	Chief Superintendent
Officer in charge of division (sub-division, Metropolitan)	-	Chief Inspector
Detective Inspector } Detective Sergeant } Detective Constable }	-	Responsibilities as at present.

TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT

Officer in charge (force level)	-	Chief Superintendent
Officer in charge of traffic area	-	Chief Inspector or Inspector

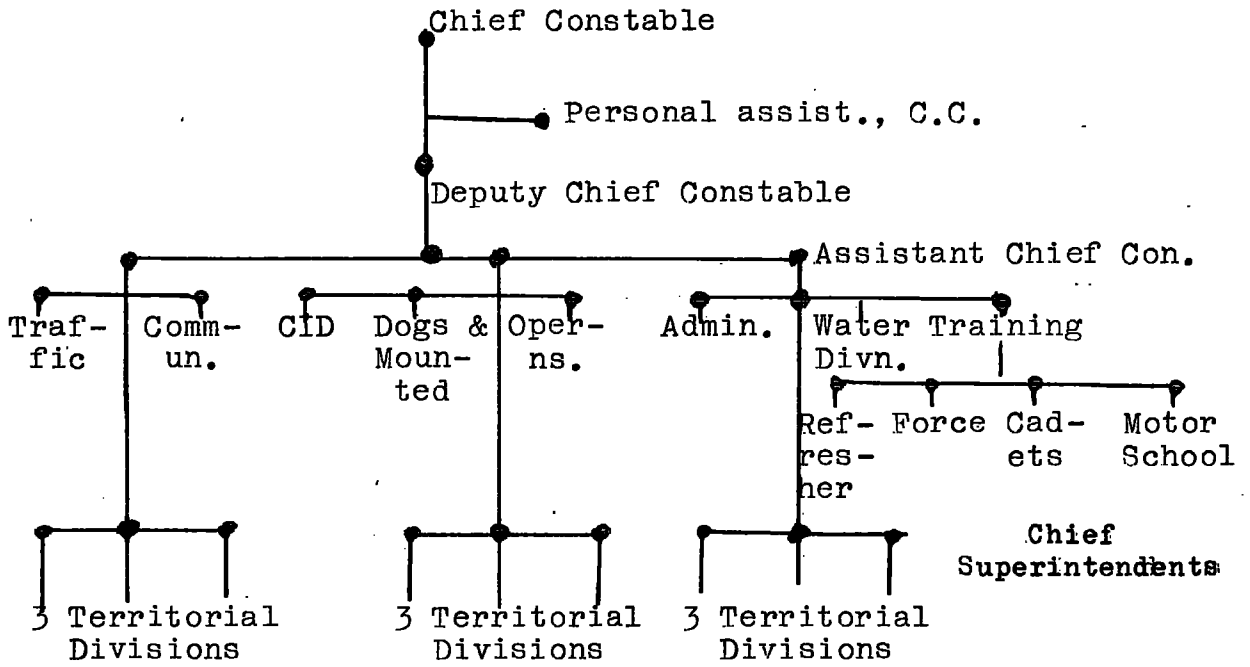
The rank structure of a typical force is shown on the next page. The chief constable and his deputy head the pyramid. Next would normally come a row of Chief Superintendents, with responsibilities either for territorial divisions or for administration, training, etc., but in a large force assistant chief constables may take overall charge of an important division or of a group of divisions. Further down the pyramid come the superintendents, the inspectors, the sergeants and, finally and most essential of all<sup>1</sup> - come the constables.

A favourite apophthegm in the police is, 'Every officer is a constable, and every constable is an officer.' The first phrase states the legal situation; no matter what his status, every police officer is legally a constable, with all the responsibilities and rights arising. The second phrase may seem to embody a simple striving after status, but the truth is probably more sophisticated and creditable than that. The essence of the British police system is that most general

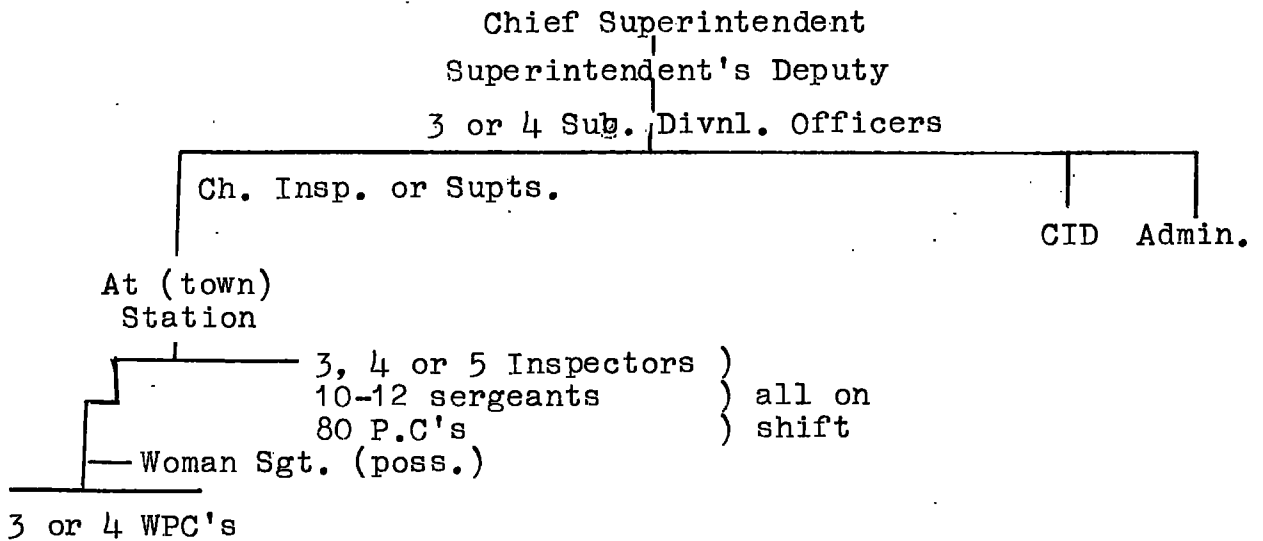
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1. 'All real police work is done by sergeants and constables' - from an interview with an A.C.C.

STRUCTURE OF A TYPICAL FORCE\*



STRUCTURE OF A DIVISIONAL COMMAND



\* Durham.

police work is in direct contact with the public, and so is performed by the ordinary constable, who has therefore to use his specialised knowledge and impose his will (by force of personality, if at all possible) at the point of action and without any pause for thought or consultation. Over the years there has arisen a tacit recognition of the fact that, without specific sanction in law, the effective operation of the legal system in this country depends in practice on the police officer's use of his discretion,<sup>1</sup> and this adds a considerable responsibility to a constable's burden.

Much of a policeman's work must be of an ad hoc nature, reacting to outside stimuli; immediate events (e.g., a major crime) or trends over a period of time (e.g., the growth of traffic). However, the basis of his duties has been defined from time to time.

Peel defined his constables' duties and their relations with the public, at the inauguration of the Metropolitan Police, in these terms, 'It should be understood at the outset that the (principal) object to be obtained is the prevention of crime. To this great end every effort of the police is to be directed. The security of person and property .... will thus be effected better than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing crime.'<sup>2</sup> Peel went on to admonish his men to be civil and obliging, not to make a display of their authority, never to lose their temper or self-control, so that by these means they could eventually count on public support for their actions.

Even after the lapse of almost a century-and-a-half it would be difficult to quarrel with these principles. The

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1. See Chapter XII.  
2. Critchley, p.52.

Royal Commission, in 1962, attempted to express a constable's duties more specifically against the background of modern conditions. It said:-

'First, the police have a duty to maintain law and order and to protect persons and property.

'Secondly, they have a duty to prevent crime.

'Thirdly, they are responsible for the detection of criminals and, in the course of interrogating suspected persons, they have a part to play in the early stages of the judicial process, acting under judicial restraint.

'Fourthly, the police in England and Wales (but not in Scotland) have the responsibility of deciding whether or not to prosecute persons suspected of criminal offences.

'Fifthly, in England and Wales (but not in Scotland) the police themselves conduct many prosecutions for the less serious offences.

'Sixthly, the police have the duty of controlling road traffic and advising local authorities on traffic questions.

'Seventhly, the police carry out certain duties on behalf of Government departments - for example, they conduct inquiries into applications made by persons who wish to be granted British nationality.

'Eighthly, they have by long tradition a duty to befriend anyone who needs their help, and they may at any time be called upon to cope with minor or major emergencies.'

The interim report of the Royal Commission<sup>1</sup> referred to personal qualities. It divided a constable's work into two categories, obligatory and discretionary. As soon as an officer is informed that some serious incident has occurred - a body found, a house broken into, a haystack afire - he is

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1. Cmnd.1222 (1960).

'expected to act with authority, common sense, courage and leadership. He rises to the demands made on him. Physical toughness, mental alertness, a long-established reputation for honesty and fair-dealing, tact, kindness, courtesy and a sense of humour.'<sup>1</sup> It may be thought that a formidable battery of qualities is needed to deal with 'obligatory' situations such as are discussed above, but these have to be supplemented by other powers (of observation, good memory, etc.) and by a strong sense of personal obligation to deal with 'discretionary' duties. A successful officer will develop a 'nose' for things that are not quite right in some nebulous way, and so may surprise a housebreaker, apprehend a car thief or save a desperate soul from suicide.

A constable must at all times operate within the framework of the law, and be prepared to justify his actions to his superior officers, or before a court. This means that he has to know a large amount of law, recollect it and apply it, often in circumstances which do not allow placid reflection.

When a considerable measure of physical courage is added to the catalogue, and a willingness to tolerate the exasperations and ennui of police life, it becomes clear why the police have difficulty in filling all their vacancies in a satisfactory manner.

Through the constable on his beat is the classic and fundamental expression of policing, his ambit embraces many other diverse duties.

In the year 1965-66 an investigator<sup>2</sup> looked into the average distribution of duties; 22.8 per cent of the total time available was spent on traffic duties, 28.6 per cent on

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1. Para.35.

2. Martin and Wilson; Table VI.8.

crime, 39.1 per cent on civil order and 9.5 per cent on internal order. Suitable men needed to be found and given training to cope with these specialised duties. The difficulties of covering these varied responsibilities adequately is compounded by the fact that, at any given moment, only some sixty per cent of policemen are available for duty. Of the 'lost' time, leave absorbs 60-70 per cent.<sup>1</sup> This non-available time represents a formidable handicap to the efficient carrying out of the wide spectrum of police duties, even though civilians (who average some ten per cent of all forces) increasingly alleviate the situation, as Table i overleaf shows.<sup>2</sup>

From the ranks of the constables must arise the future sergeants, inspectors and higher officers of each force. If a figure of five thousand be taken to represent the number of new entries to all forces in a typical year, by applying the figures given on page 50 it is clear that these men, before any allowance is made for wastage, will have to supply at some time in the future some fifteen chief officers, seventy or so superintendents, about four hundred inspectors and eight hundred sergeants. To qualify for selection to the latter two ranks examinations on police matters must be passed with appropriate grades, but all higher appointments are by selection only. For the police service not to go into a disastrous decline it is obviously necessary that it should recruit, and keep, its fair share of the country's brains. The figures in Table ii tell a rather disturbing tale. Two-thirds of all entrants in 1970 (weighted figure) had no G.C.E.s at all, only about 14 per cent had five or more passes at 'O' Level, and about 2.6 per cent had two or more 'A' Level passes. More

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1. Ibid., 143.

2. H.M.I's Report, 1970.

Table i

Summary of changes in establishment and strength since 1961

Year  1	Regular Police				Strength						
	Establishment		Increases/ decreases over previous year		Civilian Staff		Cadets		Traffic Wardens		
	Men 2	Women 3	Men 4	Women 5	Men 6	Women 7	Youths 8	Girls 9	Men 10	Women 11	
Year ended 31st December,											
1961 ... ..	58,243	2,367	1,064	38	2,053	4,799	2,459	112	89	26	
1962 ... ..	60,095	2,420	1,852	53	2,328	5,128	2,570	139	154	37	
1963 ... ..	62,367	2,496	2,272	76	2,593	5,498	2,698	160	338	41	
1964 ... ..	65,737	2,563	3,370	67	2,862	5,895	2,926	225	547	60	
1965 ... ..	69,965	2,918	4,228	355	10,535		3,028	331	908	192	
1966 ... ..	75,523	3,413	5,558	488	11,946		3,116	375	1,452	503	
1967 ... ..	77,864	3,617	2,341	211	13,110		3,377	521	2,048	897	
1968 ... ..	78,442	3,651	578	34	13,726		3,018	447	1,973	927	
1969 ... ..	78,238	3,638	-204	13	14,722		2,945	525	2,044	1,030	
1970 ... ..	78,710	3,641	472	3	15,135		2,975	615	2,229	1,229	
<b>Increases over 1961</b>	<b>20,467</b>	<b>1,274</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>8,283</b>		<b>516</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>2,140</b>	<b>1,203</b>	

Table ii

Educational Qualifications of Recruits Starting their Initial Training in 1959, 1965 and 1970<sup>1</sup>

	No. G.C.E.s			1-4 G.C.E. 'O' Levels			5 or more G.C.E. 'O' Levels			2 or more G.C.E. 'A' Levels		
	1959	1965	1970	1959	1965	1970	1959	1965	1970	1959	1965	1970
PROVINCIAL FORCES												
Ordinary entry	70.5	62.8	60.2	19.3	25.2	24.9	9.3	11.6	12.1	0.9	1.6	2.8
Cadet entry	51.2	20.9	16.6	39.1	56.2	56.5	9.7	22.0	24.8	-	0.9	2.1

(The Metropolitan figures were very similar,  
but slightly better)

1. Taverne; Education, and H.M.I's Report, 1970.

discouraging is the fact that little improvement seems to have taken place in a decade which has seen a vast increase in the number of school leavers with such qualifications. If it is assumed that, generally speaking, only men with five or more passes (a modest enough accomplishment in itself) will be educationally and intellectually suitable for filling posts at the inspector level or above a depressing conclusion arrives. With a wastage rate at this level of educational ability of about twenty per cent, and allowing for the fact that many of these men will simply not have the other qualities required for high rank, there will certainly not be enough men from this intake to fill future vacancies for officers of the rank of inspector or above at the appropriate time. Looking at the figures for 1970,<sup>1</sup> some small comfort is gained. Of a total entry of 4,640 male recruits, 717 had five or more 'O' Levels, or about 15½ per cent. On the other hand, ~~no~~ only 26 per cent of this intake (all presumably with at least five 'O' Levels in addition) had two or more 'A' levels - less than 2½ per cent. The number of graduates the service gains each year is derisively small, and will be discussed later.<sup>2</sup>

Paradoxically enough, though the situation with women officers is just as difficult, with many senior posts remaining unfilled at the present time, it is for different reasons. The women's service gets an excellent supply of well-qualified and able women, but they refuse promotion because they (especially the married ones) want neither the extra responsibility nor the prospect of being posted upon promotion.<sup>3</sup>

It is obvious that the overall manpower situation in the police is quite alarming: forces are seriously understaffed,

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1. Report of H.M. Inspector of Constabulary, 1970.

2. See Chapter X.

3. Ibid., p.14.

the general level of recruits, educationally speaking, is too low for the considerable responsibilities of a constable, and the future prospects for filling satisfactorily the higher ranks of the service poor. In the past educational opportunities were so restricted that the police forces gained many men of good intellectual calibre, who have risen by their native wit and other sterling qualities, and are now (generally speaking) able and efficient senior officers. Nowadays so many opportunities arise for educational advance and for subsequent appointment to attractive posts that the police is no longer getting even its fair share of able men. As the County Councils Association put it,<sup>1</sup> 'Urgent steps will need to be taken in the near future if disaster is to be avoided;' some of those now being tried will be discussed in later chapters.

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1. M.E.C.C., 1960.

## CHAPTER IV

### CADET RECRUITMENT, EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Like Topsy, in many respects the Cadet system in the police 'just grewed.' It had its origins long before the Second World War, in the 'Boy Clerks' who served in a good proportion of forces, both Metropolitan and provincial. There was no formal scheme of training for these boys, who were employed partly as junior clerks (Local Government Officers, in fact, except in the two London forces) and partly to 'reserve' them for later service in the police.<sup>1</sup> In the 1930's jobs were scarce, and most Grammar School boys left after taking their School Certificates.<sup>1</sup> The forces could, generally speaking, pick and choose their 'Boy Clerks' under such conditions; the consequence was that they were able to take youths of good qualities, many of whom now occupy senior positions in present-day forces.

The war saw the formation of the Police Auxiliary Messenger Service, composed of youths between sixteen and eighteen years of age, some full-time, some part-time. In those days most fit young men could expect to enter one of the armed services on attaining the age of eighteen years, and so some forces began to give their clerks and messengers a certain amount of training, in the hope of inducing them to join the police after leaving H.M. Forces.

For a considerable period after the war no fresh developments on a national scale took place, though many forces played a pioneering role. The Oaksey Committee in its 1949 report remarked that it thought that 'forces which did not yet employ

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1. Critchley; p.307.

a cadet class would have been well advised to give the system a trial ....' but it went on to voice some apprehensions about the possible narrowness of view of men who had known no other adult life but the police - even though National Service at that time did give most young men a break from their previous experience. Following this, the Home Office in 1951 circularised all forces, saying that it would have no objection to the employment of cadets, but pointing out the limited sphere of employment for them within the service. The Home Office recommended such basic, ancillary training as first-aid and life saving, as well as familiarisation with police routine by attachment and other methods. However, it soon became apparent that the police service was suffering from this casual attitude, and so it was no surprise when the Final Report of the Royal Commission on the Police<sup>1</sup> recommended the setting up of a Cadet organisation. It said, 'It is in our view important, at a time when increasing reliance is being placed on the cadet system as a source of recruitment to the police that cadets should enjoy a proper standing as junior members of the police force .... It is equally important that they should be placed directly under the supervision of the Chief Constable, who is obviously the right person to be in charge of their selection, training and discipline.'

To give force and form to this recommendation, a Working Party on Police Cadets was set up, and made its Report<sup>2</sup> in 1965. This report was a comprehensive one, and its recommendations have been largely followed in all forces. However, it is fascinating to see how the philosophy of the parent force has modified the original, basic concepts, so that today, seven years after, cadet forces vary greatly in their ethos and their

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1. Command 1,728; paras.192-194.

2. Report of a Working Party on Police Cadets, 1965

objectives. In some forces a strong whiff of 'Boy Clerks' can be detected; some have taken (the better class of) Public School as their ideal, while yet others are clearly seeking (albeit haltingly as yet) a broader and more rewarding philosophy.

The Working Party had some interesting things to say about the educational qualifications of cadets, in spite of pointing out that these were absolutely subservient to other qualities more important to the aspirant policeman, such as character, background, physique, health, etc .... It said, '.... the recruitment of men of high educational standards is undoubtedly a desirable aim, although high scholastic attainments are not of themselves a sufficient, or even a necessary, qualification for a good police officer.' Although youngsters with good 'O' and 'A' Levels are needed, yet '.... in the police service qualities of character, too, are of the utmost importance, and a good police officer (whether he be a constable or a chief constable) is essentially a good all-rounder. That is .... the potential which should be sought in a cadet and which it should be the aim of his training to develop.'<sup>1</sup>

This latter paragraph embodies an attitude of the police which strikes an onlooker strongly on first acquaintance; this belief in the ability of the good policeman to tackle anything, and to make a good job of it, while a source of confidence and pride, may also lead the police service away from necessary specialisation and higher efficiency. It may be that the Working Party is on safer ground when it goes on to say, 'It would be unacceptable for the cadet system to become the recognised training ground for a future corps d'elite, but it goes without saying that in a service where all promotion is

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1. Cadets, 1965; para.18.

from the ranks it is vital to recruit, in one way or another, enough men with the capacity to reach senior rank and to provide future leadership. There can be no doubt that the cadet system will bring into the service some recruits with the special qualities needed who otherwise would not join the police at all.'<sup>1</sup>

However, bearing in mind what has already been said about the need to provide the police service with its essential foundation of men who will serve the whole of their time in the basic rank of constable, it is important that the report goes on to say, 'It is right that (the cadets) should come from a good cross-section of the community,'<sup>2</sup> and goes on to commend the (then) new Certificate of Secondary Education examination as one which might 'constitute a useful standard .... to judge the merits of the less academic boy who could nevertheless have in him the makings of a good police officer.'<sup>3</sup>

The report continues by examining the basis of the cadet's training, which - from the Working Party's point of view - has to be primarily directed towards the future benefit of the police service. When it deals with education as a facet of this, after pointing out that law, and so on, would be important to the future officer, it goes on to say, 'But educational training is important not only because it will be useful to the cadet in his future career, but also on the general principle that "Reading maketh a full man." A cadet's training should be designed to make him into a good citizen first; and thereby provide the makings of a good police officer, with some insight into the social roots of police work.'<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid., 1965; para.19.

2. Ibid., para.24.

3. Ibid., para.25.

4. Ibid., para.31.

To broaden the cadet's outlook, and to allow him to align himself in relation to the human background of his future work the report recommends, inter alia, attachments to social service work, industry and the like; some form of 'adventure training' was also recommended.<sup>1</sup> After discussing the various patterns of training, education and supervision available, the report dismisses the use of hostels in which the cadets would live with little supervision (venturing forth to their local police headquarters or to the appropriate college of further education) as not giving the requisite degree of social and moral guidance necessary for young men, often unsophisticated and liable to find freedom heady.<sup>2</sup> It then suggests that the arguments are nicely balanced between 'the fully residential school where all training is on the premises, and the part-residential school where the cadets go out to colleges of further education for their academic studies.'<sup>3</sup> 'From the point of view of avoiding segregation the part-residential system is preferable .... but on the other hand .... in a fully residential school the syllabus and time-tables can be designed solely to meet the needs of the cadets.'<sup>4</sup> It suggests that each force should weigh the pros and cons, and adopt the method best suited to its needs and circumstances.

The mundane matter of cost is an important one at that time the Working Party thought that the annual running costs per cadet would be in the order of £500; in 1972 this figure is just about doubled, making the cost to the community a total of some £3,000 for a full course of training, extending over three years.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid., paras.39-41.

2. Ibid., para.58.

3. Ibid., para.61.

4. Cadets, 1965, para.61.

5. Ibid., para.63.

The Working Party thought that the case for recruiting girl cadets was less strong (mainly because its members foresaw 'wastage' from marriage!) but said that the same basic training would be suitable.

On the last day of 1964, the year previous to the publication of this report, the total number of cadets in service was 3,806, composed of 3,615 boys and 191 girls. Six years later, the number of boys in service had dropped to 2,975 (probably because of the trend towards staying on at school to take 'A' Levels) but the number of girls had increased significantly to 615 - more than three times as many. At about £1,000 per year, per head, plus capital charges, this represents a large investment in the cadet system.

Durham County Constabulary is a good example of a modern, efficient, forward-looking police force. The operation of its cadet scheme<sup>1</sup> can perhaps be taken in some detail as being broadly representative of other forces in general, leaving the way clear for a briefer examination of other interpretations of the mandate given by the Police Act of 1964 and the Working Party's Report of the following year. Durham is a county whose prosperity was built on coal mining and heavy industry; as these have declined, so has the prosperity of the county. The working folk have a dislike for authority and are proud of their origins and background; one manifestation of this attitude is a quite widespread dislike and mistrust of education. This has meant that fewer boys and girls go on to further education than in more favoured parts of the country, and so restricts the choice available to any organisation selecting from the county's young people.

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1. The present writer is extremely grateful for the considerable assistance and kindness he has received at all times and from all ranks of the Durham County force.

As other employment is scarce for young people (youths in particular) this means that the choice is large, but circumscribed. Thus, no fewer than 650 lads applied to become cadets, commencing in September 1972, but of this large number only some 35-40 could expect to be chosen. The system is humane and fair. Each and every one of these applicants was called for interview and to attempt a test.<sup>1</sup> The interview and test eliminated the great majority, leaving about 80 to have a second, more searching, interview. These survivors were invited in batches of about 20 to attend the Cadet School at Aykley Heads (the Durham Headquarters) accompanied by a parent.<sup>2</sup> The Commandant of the Cadet School - tall, impressive, athletic, very 'Public School' in voice and manner, an ex-Army officer - spoke to boys and parents for almost an hour. He set the situation out clearly and fairly, explained the nature of the course and its implications, and emphasised that, as the course involved some risk and required a considerable degree of dedication, it would be necessary for parents to surrender some of their rights in their sons, leaving the Commandant himself 'in loco parentis.' After an opportunity for putting questions, the candidates were interviewed again, accompanied by their parent, by the Commandant (a superintendent)<sup>3</sup> and by the Chief Superintendent of the Training Division. The latter officer was typical of the younger senior officers now coming to the top in the police service. A law graduate, tall and powerfully built, exuding personality and confidence, he gave the impression that he would have risen to the top in almost any walk of life. The scene was slightly formal (perhaps in preparation for a possible later interview by the Chief Constable).

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1. A paraphrase of this test is to be found in the Appendix.

2. In July, 1972.

3. This officer was almost the youngest superintendent in the whole of the police service.

The Chief Superintendent initiated the questioning, in a pleasant, slightly informal manner at first, beginning with routine questions designed to put the lad at ease, but progressing at times to the edge of sharpness at any fancied equivocation in the face of questions which at times were keen and probing. He eventually turned the questioning over to the Commandant, who dealt with the narrower issues of would-be cadets and the cadet school. As has been said, the Commandant's ethos (and manner) is clearly public school, and he was obviously pleased and charmed when a candidate not only confessed to playing golf, but knew that the Open was taking place that day, at Muirfield, and agreed vigorously that Nicklaus would win.<sup>1</sup>

Two 'good' candidates (including the golfer) were told immediately by the Chief Superintendent that they could expect to be called for a final interview before the Chief Constable the following week, but the weaker ones (both later rejected) were merely told that they would be informed of the result within two days.

Because of the generally poor educational background of the aspirants, of the 80 chosen for a second interview from the original 650, only some 35-40 were sent forward to the Chief Constable's interview; from these he would select about 25-30. In spite of this ruthless decimation the general educational level of the successful cadets was not high - two or three 'O' Level passes, supplemented by a C.S.F. pass or two would be a representative performance.<sup>2</sup> Only some fifteen girls applied for about ten vacancies, but their general standard was high, and the places were easily filled. Fortu-

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1. He came second.

2. It should, however, be noted that the rejection rate is artificially high at this stage; many of those rejected would, in time (and if they were still of the same mind) stand a good chance of selection as a constable at the age of nineteen plus.

nately, other forces (often with less to offer) have a far wider choice, and gather better-qualified candidates. (See Table iii, page 86).

Cadets already at the school are drawn from three other police authorities besides Durham; in addition, a number of Junior Firemen are also usually in training. The organisation they live under can best be described, perhaps, by extracts from the Cadet Training Schools 'Office Note,' and by a detailed syllabus of the full three-year course.

'The School is commanded by a Superintendent assisted by an Inspector, four Sergeants, five Police Constables and one Policewoman. The Cadets now reside in the new Cadet block at Aykley Heads, Durham. There is individual accommodation for 182, any overflow can be accommodated in the P.Cs' Hostel, and as well as living and feeding accommodation, there is a large amenity block comprising a gym, music room, table tennis, judo, weight training, a library, shop and television lounge.

'As far as possible the School is organised on similar lines to a public school, and consists of five separate "Houses" each one supervised by a Sergeant/Housemaster. They are assisted by Cadet House Captains, Vice Captains and Prefects; one of the House Captains is appointed Captain of the School and he assists the Commandant in such things as introducing visiting lecturers and thanking them, attending Careers Conventions and generally acting as a link between the instructional staff and the Cadets. There are 37 Cadets in each House and sporting activities are organised on a competitive House system.'

'During the first two years of their training Cadets attend the local Technical College in Durham City for full-time educational training from September until the following Easter. The College system includes a General Police Cadet

Course, specially designed to cater for our needs. The Cadets on this course attend five days per week for two terms in the year and this culminates in a College Assessment Certificate and a voluntary G.C.E. 'O' Level in General Studies and English Language. The syllabus covers a wide range including Electronic Communications, Government, World Geography, Man and his Environment, Drama, Science, Mathematics, Physical Education and Tutorial. The second year of this Course deals with such things as Internal Combustion Engine, English Communications, Map Work, Building Construction and Drama. For the better educated Cadet, courses are also run at the Technical College for full-time G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' Level. These courses are five days a week and cater for Cadets who wish to sit these examinations or re-sit them having previously failed. Those on the 'O' and 'A' Level Courses attend the Technical College for three terms in the year and together with those on the General Course, after finishing Technical College each day they return to the Training School where they participate in evening activities of Judo, First Aid, Swimming and all types of sport.<sup>1</sup>

'To assist in the liaison between the School and the Technical College a full-time Tutor has been appointed by the Technical College with direct responsibility for the Cadets.'

'During the period from Easter to September the General Course Cadets participate in, amongst other things, Community Service work and Civic Trust, clearing derelict sites and helping the community in general to make County Durham a better place to live in. All Cadets participate in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and during this period they are engaged on a fortnightly summer camp in the Weardale area for

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1. Time is organised for the cadets from reveille to after 9.00 p.m. but weekends are free, apart from a commitment by which each house has a duty weekend every fifth week.

their Silver Expedition and in the Lake District for their Gold Expedition.'

'In the final year, or when they become eighteen years of age, and in the summer time for those on the General Course, Cadets cease their attachment at the Technical College and attend various industrial attachments throughout the County. These are at General Hospitals, Mental Hospitals, Homes for the physically disabled, at the Fire Brigade Headquarters, Children's Homes, and other places of interest. All these attachments, and others, are designed to give the Cadets an insight into other people and their respective ways of life and to help them learn what makes people "tick" and thus, we hope, assist them to prepare for the time when they eventually become Police Officers and have to deal with these people in their everyday life. Boy Cadets attend fortnight's training with the Army at local Army Camps. Girl Cadets also attend a W.R.A.C. Camp during the same period. A course is also arranged each year at the Houghall Agricultural College near Durham where Cadets obtain an insight into, amongst other things, the problems of disease of animals, farm accidents and agriculture generally. As well as these local attachments arrangements have been made for Cadets to attend a three month Community Service Volunteer attachment arranged by the Organisation in London and these are at various places in the country such as Remand Centres, Youth Centres and Handicapped Children's Homes. Under the auspices of the Bridge in Britain Cadets have volunteered for service for two-monthly periods in Israel assisting in the Jewish Community Kibbutz. Each year the Police Authority approves the attachment of three Cadets to Voluntary Service Overseas. Cadets so far have served in Borneo, Malaya, Aden, Bechuanaland, Nairobi, Hong Kong, Ethiopia and Jamaica. At

present one Cadet is serving in Jamaica and another in the New Hebrides.'

'So far as all these attachments are concerned the Police Authority have drawn up an Agreement which indemnifies the various establishments in relation to accidents caused to Cadets whilst performing such duties.'

'Apart from the fact that all the staff in Cadet Training are policemen the only contact the Cadets have with the Force itself is during their brief attachments in the final year to Divisions, Headquarters (Control Room, Accident Prevention, Crime Prevention, Scientific Aids, etc.) at the Force Training Centre and on driving courses. This comes as a surprise to many people but basically we are not training Cadets to be policemen - we are trying to strengthen their academic background, their physical ability and their moral courage and thus we hope to turn them into better citizens and be more able to cope with the increasingly difficult and exacting tasks that lie ahead of them as police officers.'

This lengthy extract from the Commandant's exposition shows clearly the nature of the course, and the liberal intentions behind it. A cadet spending three years at the Training School can expect to work his way through the following programme<sup>1</sup> - educational activities (in the fullest sense, but excluding work which is primarily police-orientated) are given in capitals; it represents nearly half the available time,

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1. Cadets are taken at any age up to 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ , but late entrants do not normally study for examinations, but take selected portions of third year activities.

Training arrangements in detail<sup>1</sup>

		<u>No. of weeks</u>	<u>Venue</u>
<u>First Year</u>			
September	Initial Course	2	Cadets' School
Sept./Dec.	ACADEMIC STUDIES	14	DURHAM TECHNICAL COLLEGE
December	Leave	1	-
January	Practical Police Work	2	Divisional Police Stations
Jan./April	ACADEMIC STUDIES	13	DURHAM TECHNICAL COLLEGE
April	Leave	1	-
April/July	Practical Police Work	14	Divisional Police Stations
July/Aug.	'Outward Bound' Training	3	Summer Camp
August	Annual Leave	2	-
<u>Second Year</u>			
September	Practical Police Work	2	Divisional Police Stations
Sept./Dec.	ACADEMIC STUDIES	14	DURHAM TECHNICAL COLLEGE
December	Leave	1	-
January	Practical Police Work	2	Divisional Police Stations
Jan./April	ACADEMIC STUDIES	13	DURHAM TECHNICAL COLLEGE
April	Leave	1	-
April	Practical Police Work	2	Divisional Police Stations
May/June	Practical Police Work	8	Force Headquarters
July	Motor Cycling Course	3	Force Driving School
July/Aug.	'Outward Bound' Training	4	Summer Camp
August	Annual Leave	2	-

1. Extract from Cadet Training School Brochure.

		<u>No. of</u> <u>weeks</u>	<u>Venue</u>
<u>Third Year</u>			
September	Law Course	3	University Extra Mural Department
Sept./Dec.	INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER OUTSIDE ATTACHMENTS	4	(M) LOCAL INDUSTRIES (F) LOCAL AUTHORITY CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT
		4	COUNTY HOSPITAL
		1	DIVISIONAL FIRE STATION
		2	DEEP SEA TRAWLER
		2	OVERSEAS (EDUCATIONAL CRUISE)
December	Leave	1	-
Jan./April	Practical Police Work	14	Police Headquarters
April	Leave	1	-
April	Junior Leaders' Course	1	Cadet School
May	AGRICULTURAL COURSE	1	AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
May/June	Practical Police Work	7	Police Headquarters
June/July	Motor Driving Course	5	Force Driving School
July/Aug.	'OUTWARD BOUND' TRAINING	4	SUMMER CAMPS
August	Annual Leave	2	-

Cadets without 'O' Levels will generally try to get them during their time at the Technical College, while those who have them already study for selected 'A' levels - including sociology and general studies. The syllabus has its liberal aspects too; the students study to appropriate levels Current Affairs, an Introduction to Philosophy, Art and Pottery, Music and Woodwork, as well as Typewriting, Liberal Business Studies, Central and Local Government, and the Commercial and Financial

## Structure of the United Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

In the past the cadets, who always wear uniform at the Technical College, have been isolated from the general courses, partly by accident, partly by design, but efforts are now being made to integrate the cadets' courses as far as possible with those for the general public.<sup>2</sup>

This course has been devised by men who, with their jobs at their fingertips, have known what they wanted, and have known how to get it. In spite of 'little local upsets' the sense of esprit de corps is strong, and the impression is gained that everybody concerned - administrators, instructors and cadets are working harmoniously together for an agreed and worthwhile end. However, excellent though the whole of this course is, there are other points of view regarding objectives and the way they should be reached. In Gloucester, for example, it was thought that cadets (who have to possess a minimum of three 'O' Levels to be accepted in the first place) tended to think of similar and higher studies as being too reminiscent of school work, and therefore unworthy of their new and adult status. Accordingly a new scheme was drawn up by staff members of the local College of Technology in conjunction with police training staff; it seems to move some way on the road to liberal and broader-based studies. It is described in some detail by Chief Inspector R. A. Parker, the Force Training Officer.<sup>3</sup>

'As from September 1971 Cadets in the junior phase of training in Gloucestershire have embarked upon a re-designed course of academic studies.

'For some years Cadets have attended the North Gloucestershire College of Technology for two mornings and two afternoons

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1. Interview with the Cadet Tutor, Durham Technical College.

2. Ibid.

3. The Police Review, 18th February, 1972.

each week, where they have studied for G.C.E. 'O' Levels in British Constitution, Social Economics, and General Studies. The new syllabus, designed by members of the Department of Social Studies at the College, after discussion with Police training staff, occupies the same period of time but includes subjects considered more appropriate for potential Police officers than those within the more restrictive limits of a particular 'O' Level syllabus.

'In Gloucestershire Cadets are not accepted unless they have obtained passes in at least three G.C.E. 'O' Level subjects (one of which must be English Language) or good passes in at least three subjects in C.S.E. (one of which must be English) and the new course is designed to achieve a balance between vocational and general studies at a post O-certificate level.

'The one-year course includes instruction under the following headings:-

1. Economic and public affairs

Surveys of central government, local government (including the new structure to come into effect in 1973), the judicial system, the British economy, and international economic and political relationships.

Essentially this is a study designed to familiarise students with the growth and organisation of responsible national and local government. More specifically there will be a concentration upon the British system including the various political and judicial processes.

In the economic sense there will be a survey of the British economy and its relationship with international commitment. Emphasis will be placed on topical economic and political developments.

## 2. Local studies

Industries. Areas designated for development. New towns. Feasibility studies. Motorways.

Students will work in pairs and draw on historical, geographical, and economic sources in local libraries. They will be encouraged to write to industry, local government offices, and central government agencies for additional material. During the year they will be required to complete at least one project in each of the following spheres:-

(a) England and Wales - Industry, transport, areas of outstanding natural beauty.

(b) Regions - Geographical features of Gloucestershire and neighbouring areas.

(c) Roads - Detailed study of all roads in Gloucestershire and surrounding counties.

(d) Special study of Cheltenham including traffic problems, shopping, residential and industrial areas, parks and other amenities, architectural treasures.

## 3. Science and technology

Growth and range of the sciences. Influence of science on human progress. The social responsibilities of the scientist. Scientific method and outlook. Science in everyday life. Interpretation of information given in a graphical or tabular form. Technology.

The purpose of this study is to give students information of techniques which will enable them to be constructively critical of scientific and technological aspects of the world around them and of any future developments. It is also important that they appreciate what problems could most effectively be tackled by scientific method and yet understand its limitations.

#### 4. Arts studies

Growth and range of arts. The artist in society. The artist as a creator. Media and techniques of the arts. Application of art (e.g. the design aspect of town planning). Mass communication.

The purpose of this is to expand students' knowledge, critical faculties, and enjoyment of the arts. Teaching will be mainly through the study of examples of the various fields in an attempt to draw more general conclusions from them.

Active discrimination is the aim, but tolerance of other people's likes and dislikes is important.

#### 5. Special study; crime and punishment

Development of punishment system. Crime; motivation; environmental factors. Sentencing procedures. Corrective institutions. Rehabilitation. International aspects.

It is not intended that this is to be a study of law but rather a related study embracing a social scientific approach to crime and punishment, with psychological, motivational, and environmental factors being introduced.

Students will be encouraged to develop an analytical approach to the field of criminology.

#### 6. Man in society

(a) Perception and frames of reference. Categorisation and attitudes. Socialisation and learning; the family. Groups and conformity.

(b) Hereditary and environmental factors. Adolescence; generation gap. Permissive society. Morality.

(c) The individual's responsibilities to his family, friends, colleagues, society and himself.

The aim of this section of the course is to help students understand and cope with the behaviour and reactions of them-

selves and others both as individuals and in groups.

#### 7. Background to current affairs

Survey of the people and events, at home and abroad, that have shaped and coloured life in Britain since the turn of the century; the roots of present trends and problems.

#### 8. Communication

Difference between spoken and written English; slang; colloquial language; jargon; standard English, practice in speaking and writing.

Considerable stress is laid on style; personal versus impersonal; subjective versus objective; emotive words; propaganda; advertisements; presentation of facts.'

#### 'Assessment

Cadets will be required to complete and submit a number of individual assignments on each subject and to prepare group projects in local studies. It is felt that these will assist in enabling continuous assessments to be made.

Assessments will be made by members of the college staff and will be externally moderated by an examiner appointed by the College. Cadets will be required to satisfy the examiner in all studies and must obtain not less than forty per cent in any one study. Each Cadet who satisfies the examiner will, at the completion of the course, be awarded a certificate which will be recognised by the Constabulary.

In addition to this academic training junior cadets also receive lectures on Police subjects by Police officers and other qualified speakers.

The time allocation for classroom work and physical activities is equally divided at two and a half days of each, per week.

Experience has shown that Cadets regard 'O' level work as schoolwork which they feel they should have left behind them. This feeling has an obvious adverse effect upon their motivation and it is hoped that the new syllabus will eradicate this.

Senior Cadets will continue to be attached to Police offices, departments, and stations in order to gain practical experience of all aspects of Police work. Attachments to industry, community service and Outward Bound courses will remain as important features of senior cadetship as will the continued participation in some physical activities with junior Cadets.'

The Sussex Police, on the other hand, favour an approach similar to that of Durham; the one important modification is that during their first year, for alternate periods of three weeks, the cadets (both boys and girls) live in a hostel at the College of Further Education at Chichester, where one observer described them as 'the most liked group in the college.' A brief outline of their first year training is given in an article by Miss K. Gibberd:-<sup>1</sup>

'It is the cadet's potential that counts, both mentally and morally, as far as this can be assessed by experienced training officers. What they do not want is future "big heads," and the introvert is often a better bet than the extrovert.

'As a junior cadet the Sussex boy or girl does a sandwich course for the first year; three weeks at the police training school in Lewes alternating with three weeks at the College of Further Education at Chichester. It is mainly an alternation between tough physical activity and mental slogging. Quite early in the course the new cadet may one day be walking fifteen miles over the Downs with pack on back, after a cold night

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1. Times Educational Supplement; 17th March, 1972.

under canvas, and the same day the following week be working from nine to five at the British Constitution, social studies, spoken English and conversational French. Half the whole contingent will be at Chichester at one time and while there will live alongside engineering apprentices and other students.'

Second year training is based on the same principles (though only a minority now continue their G.C.E. studies) but getting tougher and tougher as time goes on. 'Back at Lewes "adventure training for character building" gets progressively stiffer. Fifteen miles over the South Downs becomes eventually fifty miles on Dartmoor; safe sailing gives place to a schooner trip round the northern isles. The real test is whether you can keep going. That way you learn about yourself. But cadets also have to learn to plan and write reports on their exploits, and to learn how other people live they spend several weeks helping in some institution for the physically or mentally weak - possibly a children's home or a home for the mentally handicapped. Logically enough they enter for the Duke of Edinburgh's awards and some of them join Outward Bound courses. But, equally important, there are weekly discussions on current topics.'<sup>1</sup>

On his eighteenth birthday the cadet reaches senior status, and is posted to observe and assist at a police station, to await his next birthday and enrolment in the force proper. Miss Gibberd sums up her feelings about the course:- 'My own feelings when my Police visits came to an end was that for boys and girls straight from school, whether with 'O' or 'A' levels, the first stages of police training are as good a training in citizenship as one could find anywhere, and carried on in a civilized atmosphere.'

The West Yorkshire police also felt that any cadet training

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1. Ibid.

course which whiffed too strongly of the classroom would be unlikely to satisfy. Their solution lay in devising simulated exercises to supplement the conventional fare. In one such<sup>1</sup>, police and technical college lecturers together produced a training exercise which involved dividing the class into two halves, one to represent the Police, who were to see to the security of a Royal visit to a local hospital, and to control a peaceful demonstration against the 'Prince of Scotland.' The 'police' group had to research into the police role in previous real demonstrations, and devise an organisation which could contain the situation. The 'students' had to produce a structure containing a chairman, marshalls, recruiting officers, rank-and-file demonstrators, etc. All communication on both sides was indirect. The demonstration was deemed, later in the exercise, to have escalated so that violence broke out, and the leaders of both sides had to adjust their plans accordingly. The tutor<sup>2</sup> responsible for devising this and similar plans summed up by saying, 'The amount of enthusiasm shown by Cadets for these schemes has been very rewarding. Groups met for planning and discussion in their own time. I feel certain that a great deal of useful information was learned as a result of the planning processes involved. The discussions were extremely lively and so were the analyses of the exercises afterwards. How often in reality does the moral point take a poor second to the winning of the demonstration?'

Another college's solution to providing wider horizons comes from the Charles Keen College of Further Education in Leicester. In a letter<sup>3</sup> the principal, and the lecturer in charge of the cadet course say that they felt that 'introducing

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1. J. Bolter; Simulation Techniques in Cadet Training; Police Review, 9th July, 1971.

2. Mr. J. Bolter, Police Cadet Tutor, Wakefield Technical and Art College.

3. T.E.S., 30th April, 1971.

"a flavour of the social sciences" in the first two weeks of a two-year course is more of a gimmick than a genuine educational exercise,' and go on to outline the course they devised for the students' first year.

'The basic aims of our course are to stimulate the student's ability to seek out information and to assess its significance; to encourage an appreciation of the development of urban society and its attendant problems and to impart a body of knowledge which will be of practical use to the cadets in their police service. These objectives find expression in the study of a particular urban community.

'The cadets each have to produce a six-thousand to eight-thousand word thesis upon related aspects of urban growth and development. We provide lectures in sociology, urban geography, economic history, criminology and the British political system. We also have the services of a research sociologist who lectures on the subject of ethnic sub-cultures in an urban setting. Finally, in an effort to serve the local community and to provide practical training in statistics and the use of computers, we are undertaking a survey of the urban centres of Leicestershire to determine precisely how far their influence extends into the neighbouring rural areas. The results of this survey will be of considerable interest both to private businesses and to public bodies, particularly in view of the proposed changes in local government boundaries.'

This would seem to be a most valuable development, for not only does it expand the cadets' horizons by introducing sociological studies but it also allows them to relate these studies to their own situation (both geographical and sociological) which in a few years will be the scene of the majority's life work.

This brief survey of attitudes to the education, as opposed to the mere training, of cadets is unbalanced, as it has dealt with a few forces, 'on the side of the angels,' which all have as a common factor a strong desire to implement the Report of the Working Party on Police Cadets so as to benefit the cadets by developing their personalities and potentialities - to the ultimate good, of course, of the police service itself. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that although the general standard is high, there are forces which regard cadets as a necessary evil, and use them as cheap labour without much thought as to their development as people and as future police officers.

The cadet system is expensive; not only does it absorb several million pounds every year, but it also makes considerable demands on the further education system of the country. More important, it also ties up the services of many officers of all ranks who could, in most cases, be freed for active policing.<sup>1</sup> However, the majority of cadets do transfer to the regular police service when the time comes, and their rate of wastage is noticeably lower than that of men recruited directly, so one objective of the cadet system is being realised. Furthermore, recruits from the cadet forces should be better educated (both from the liberal and the police service points of view), as they were more highly selected in the first place, and will have had the benefits of further education while their direct-entry counterparts were, in most cases, busy earning a living. The table overleaf shows the disparity in 1970, the last year for which figures are available.

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1. This may seem to be more of a disadvantage than it actually is. Some of the instructors need a quiet billet for health reasons, while perhaps even fit officers need a break in the routine of their days at some time or the other during their careers.

Table iiiEducational Standards of New Recruits, 1970<sup>1</sup>

Type of entrant/ Educnl. qual.	1-4 'O' levels	5 or more 'O' levels	2 or more 'A' levels	No 'O' level	Total No. Officers
Ex-cadets %	56.5	24.8	2.1	16.6	3,388
Direct Entrants %	24.9	12.1	2.8	60.2	1,232
All Entrants (Weighted) %	33.4	15.5	2.6	48.5	4,620

Although these figures certainly indicate that ex-cadets, so far as 'O' level passes in the G.C.E. are concerned are much better equipped than direct entrants, it seems probable that no really significant degree of intellectual difference emerges; it seems quite probable that most direct entrants could have put up at least comparable performances in most cases, had they been given the chance of further education.

Does this mean that the basis of recruitment of the cadet force should be re-thought and re-organised? Could it take boys with, say, seven plus passes at 'O' level, let them take their 'A' levels in the cadet service as an alternative to doing so in their VIth forms (with their pay and amenities making up for any disadvantages), all with the implicit promise of speedy progress along the smoothed road of promotion?

Although some such scheme might seem to solve the police service's 'brain-power' problem, it could never work, for two related reasons. The first is the Police Federation's deep-rooted hatred of any scheme which might be thought to produce a privileged, 'officer' class. The second - which lies behind the Federation's objection - is more fundamental. The Police

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1. After H.M. Inspector of Constabulary's Report, 1970.

service can only function if it has a high proportion of men who will in the event serve as constables all their careers, men perhaps not of exceptional intelligence, but men of probity and common sense. If the cadet service were re-organised so that it supplied most of the higher officers from sergeant upwards, men such as these would feel that even the meagre prospects of promotion they had before had been quenched, and would not join the service; the police service as we know it would collapse.

With this avenue closed, and bearing in mind the very satisfactory standards found in most forces, how could the cadet service be improved? Three possible ways suggest themselves.

First: all possible steps should be taken to recruit a true cross-section of boys (and girls) of the appropriate age group, to include the appropriate small proportion of very able boys and girls.

Second: Cadets should be encouraged to be more self-reliant. The Working Party's report mentions the danger of young people getting into mischief if not adequately supervised, but perhaps a few more risks should be taken, as the benefits in the way of personal maturation and self-reliance would justify the occasional unfortunate incident.

Last: education should, in many cases, become broader based, and more closely related to the needs of the future policeman. It is perhaps self-evident that only a mature man can ever become a good policeman, at whatever level. A well-planned, truly liberal education which would force the cadet to look deep into himself, to face and overcome his personal weaknesses and to realise the privilege which lies in the giving of service, would do much to turn the boy into the man, the girl into the woman.

CHAPTER V

THE RECRUITMENT AND TESTING OF CONSTABLES

Under a large headline 'The Police Service rightly refuses to lower its standards', the Police Review<sup>1</sup> approvingly quotes a passage from H.M. Chief Inspector of Constabulary's Report for 1971, 'By the retention of the requirement for men and women of a certain height, physical fitness, sound education and good character the traditional high standards have been maintained.' These sentiments in isolation are unimpeachable, but coming as they do in the middle of a discussion upon the difficulties of recruitment they may raise doubts about the whole basis of present-day police recruitment. Are all these requirements all absolutely inviolable? If maintained, what will happen in the future? Is it better to have a constant shortage on the authorised establishment figures, or would it be better to lower standards in some way? In what ways can every policeman recruited be made more effective in his fundamental function of peace officer? Does the answer lie in a 'tiered' system of police,<sup>2</sup> more use of machinery, increased 'civilianisation,' or perhaps in various combinations of these? What is certain is that the problem will get worse in the future. The number of the country's police will need to increase faster than the population increases, because more of the extra people will live in bigger and bigger towns which become progressively harder to police with size. It may be helpful to examine, one by one, the five Home Office regulations which must be satisfied before a constable is appointed. The first

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1. 23rd June, 1972.

2. This solution was assessed and rejected in Taverne, P.M.E.E.; para.16.

one defines age limits; at present, for a man, these are from nineteen to thirty years. These limits seem reasonable; few men have achieved enough maturity of appearance or character to do a constable's job at eighteen years of age or less, while any raising of the upper limit would create great difficulties with regard to fitness after twenty-five or thirty years of service. The second regulation specifies a minimum height, at present 5 feet 8 inches, which accords closely with the median height of all adult males in England and Wales. The 'pool' from which future officers may be drawn is 1.6 millions with this parameter, but the Home Office Police Research and Planning Branch have calculated that a drop to 5 feet 7 inches would increase the 'pool' to two millions, or, if this were thought too extreme, a figure of 5 feet 7½ inches would produce a potential of 1.8 millions.<sup>1</sup> It may be that a slight reduction in permissible height would have no serious effects - especially in certain branches - but a remark of Banton's comes to mind, when he comments that a huge police officer, 6 feet 2 inches tall and weighing 230 lb. seemed to have no difficulty at all in making an arrest, '.... he had only to say to someone, "Come on, get into the back of the car," to be obeyed quietly - it scarcely took half a minute.'<sup>2</sup> However, there seems little justification for a force which is short of its establishment still insisting on a minimum height above 5 feet 8 inches. For example, in 1958-59, the County of Hereford required a minimum height of 5 feet 10 inches for its recruits, in spite of being 11 per cent short of its establishment.<sup>3</sup> The last three regulations concern matters of opinion; rather than (somewhat arbitrary) fact. Good character and a previous

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1. Taverne, P.M.E.E.; para.21.

2. M. Banton; The Policeman in the Community, p.61.

3. M.E.C.C., 1960; para.27.

satisfactory record are necessary (although a minor previous conviction need not debar). The fourth says 'Physically and mentally suited to perform the duties of a constable,' and the fifth, 'Sufficiently well educated.' These latter two regulations are difficult to implement; physical attributes can be measured, but mental ones can only be assessed. Generally this has been done by means of the interview, but this is a notoriously fallible method of selection, and would, in the long run, tend to produce a force stamped in the interviewer's image. The educational requirements have again tended to be cast in a mould of a bygone day, and by failing to take note of the changes in educational priorities have too often caused basically suitable men to be rejected. As will be seen, efforts have been made to improve the assessment in the last two categories.

As has been seen already, the police service recruits either via the cadet service, or directly from civilian life. To recruit both cadets and constables the Home Office and the individual forces use a variety of means. Schools liaison officers visit schools and try to attract boys (and a few girls) to the cadet service, but some observers feel that they appeal too much to a sense of adventure, rather than to a vocation to serve. The 'image' of the police as a profession is not good, and few Sixth Form or Careers Masters can be imagined as steering their best pupils towards the police. Furthermore, 'more than one case has been known where the adverse reactions of form-mates have prevented a bright child from following up his rashly announced intention of joining the police.'<sup>1</sup> Advertisements, both national and local, and inserted at an annual cost in the order of a million pounds often give false pictures, and

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1. Whitaker; p.116.

'appear to be designed to appeal to the immature. Emphasis is on the "spirit of adventure" rather than the "spirit of service."<sup>1</sup> No hint is given of the enduring satisfactions to be found, even at the humble (but, as has been seen, fundamental) level of the policeman on the beat.

Although the pay of a constable, as has been seen, is better than it appears to be on a straight comparison with other workers, it does not seem to be enough to compensate for the manifold disadvantages of a policeman's life, especially in a time of full employment, as most of the years since the War have been. Perhaps another reason exists (besides those already discussed) to make every effort to recruit well educated, able men into the service. Traditionally the police have been drawn from the social classes II and III<sup>2</sup> in the Registrar General's classification, tending to the former in towns and to the latter in the country.<sup>3</sup> In quite recent times a working-class man considered that he had risen in the world when he joined the police, but this is no longer so. It is the high-flyers who set the standards in any occupation; once the police becomes the chosen vocation of many able and talented men it will immediately become attractive to others of lower calibre, but still of good ability. Former cadets have been educationally assessed previously (and so should find little difficulty in passing the recruits' examinations) and their characters have also been assessed, and moulded too. The result is that the ex-cadet tends to be slightly better educated than the direct entrant, and also less likely to retire prematurely, but on the other hand are the fears of producing too much of a

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1. Ibid., p.117.

2. Class III - skilled manual and low-grade non-manual workers;  
Class II - "white collar" and semi-professional.

3. Ibid., p.118.

'police' mentality if there has been no previous civilian experience, and of creating a corps d'elite, the bane of the Police Federation. For these reasons the Home Office wished to restrict the proportion of cadets in any force to a half and the Police Federation did not wish for more than one third (though a recent Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police stated he would like two thirds!)<sup>1</sup>; in the event, the average is just under a quarter, with only one force (West Riding) taking more than thirty per cent.

Would-be direct entrants fill in a form, which enables discreet enquiries to be made into their background, and their general suitability assessed, and this is followed by a medical examination. About one third survive these stages, and are given a stiffer medical, an educational test and an interview. Of those who originally apply to join the Metropolitan Police, about one in eight succeed.<sup>2</sup> This system can, and does, sometimes allow qualified but temperamentally unsuitable men to pass through the net; most are detected during their basic training (but only after about £750 has been spent on them) and the rest during their two-year probationary period.

In the past police educational tests were notorious for wild differences in standards, although the introduction of Area Recruiting Boards, soon after the war, probably improved matters. Tales are heard of keen would-be policemen, of marginal education, hawking their talents around the country until they found a force sufficiently liberal (or indiscriminating) to take them. This system further meant that as no national criterion applied, it was impossible to detect whether standards were rising or falling in the country as a whole over the

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1. Whitaker; p.124.

2. Laurie; p.34.

years. Because of these considerations the Final Report of the Royal Commission on the Police<sup>1</sup> in 1962 said, 'We submit that the educational tests administered to police recruits should satisfy the three-fold condition that they are reasonably uniform for the country as a whole, that they are expertly conducted and that they are appropriate to the age and scholastic background of the candidates. In our view the existing practice fails on all three counts.' The Report went on to recommend that uniform tests should be introduced, on the lines of those already used for the selection of personnel by the Services, the Civil Service and much of industry. 'To give precision to these general suggestions it recommended specifically:-<sup>2</sup>

- '(1) That the present regulation about the examination of recruits be rescinded.
- (2) That the same standardised tests be given to all recruits.
- (3) That a professionally qualified member of the chief education officer's staff give the standardised tests and report on them to the chief constable.
- (4) That a short continuous composition on a subject within the candidate's range of experience and interests continues to be set in all cases, not however to assess writing, spelling or grammar, but to show whether the candidate can judge what is relevant and important in a statement. The educationist assisting the chief constable should mark the composition.
- (5) That in the interviewing of candidates, the chief constable have with him as an assessor the chief education officer or a senior member of his professional staff, or an experienced headmaster, to help in resolving

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1. Command 1728; para300.

2. Ibid; para.306.

such doubts and difficulties as must arise where the scholastic records of the majority of candidates have to be judged mainly or wholly from their school reports.

(6) That at some point in his probationary period the recruit be tested in the basic educational skills. To give such tests when a man seeks entry to the police service is ill-advised and often unfair. But once a candidate has been accepted, it would be wholly reasonable to point out to him that a good standard in writing, spelling, grammar, punctuation and arithmetic is essential in the job he has chosen; that he will be given guidance towards becoming more proficient in these skills; and that before the probationary period ends he will have to satisfy his chief officer as to his proficiency in them by passing tests. These tests should be set and marked by the Civil Service Commissioners.

(7) That, despite the heavy demands on police probationers, an effort be made to improve and extend their general education, either by having them share in the work of day-release groups or by the provision for them of classes arranged specially to meet the exigencies of the service. Such a development would be in line with the great expansion of further education planned for the nation as a whole, and we are confident that education authorities, co-operating regularly with chief constables in the ways we have envisaged, would show great interest and helpfulness in promoting the continued general education of young constables.'

This report seemed to bring some degree of uniformity to the tests set throughout the country, but this was probably more apparent than real, as many forces did not in practice fulfil

all the points specified. Furthermore, as there was still no national standard there could be no national collation and analysis of data to see what was happening to the quality of recruits as time went by. However, many - or even most - forces took great care with the preparation of their tests, and made a real effort to devise a battery which would effectively sift their candidates educationally and (to some degree) psychologically. The outline given below indicates the lines on which the better tests ran.

The following is a resumé of the Educational Tests set for applicants to the Northumberland Constabulary.

After an initial application is received, a preliminary test is sent out from the Recruiting Department, and is taken by the applicant at his local Police Station, under supervision of the Divisional Training Officer. This is a test covering arithmetic, punctuation, vocabulary, and accuracy of description.

The total marks obtainable are 150, and the pass mark is 100. If he makes a reasonably good attempt at this test he will be called to the force headquarters to take further medicals, be interviewed (by now his background will have been looked into) and he will be asked to do a more searching educational test. A typical example of such a test will be found in the Appendix.

The results of these tests are calculated on a scale and are adjusted to allow for difference in age of the candidates. The total marks obtainable in these tests is 480. If a candidate has less than 90 on English, it is an indication that he is weak on this subject and would in all probability be rejected, unless he had some redeeming feature. Overall, under 290 marks is a doubtful total and under 275 are automatically

rejected.

Emphasis is put on the standard of a candidate's English, as a considerable amount of his time is spent compiling reports and taking statements about incidents with which he has dealt.

If an applicant has certain academic qualifications, he is exempt from the entrance examination. These qualifications are as follows:-

- (a) Any University Degree.
- (b) Two or more passes in the G.C.E. at 'A' Level, or in the Grammar Schools' Senior Certificate of the Ministry of Education for Northern Ireland, or two passes in the higher grade of the Scottish Leaving Certificate, or the Scottish Certificate of Education. The passes should be in subjects which are considered by the Chief Constable to be acceptable for the purpose of conferring exemption.
- (c) Four passes at 'O' Level in the G.C.E., the Grammar School Senior Certificate, Northern Ireland, or the Lower Grade of the Scottish Leaving Certificate or the Ordinary Grade of the Scottish Certificate of Education, passes in English Language and Mathematics being mandatory.
- (d) Army Certificate of Education 1st Class, Royal Navy Higher Educational Certificate, or R.A.F. Education Test Part II, Class 'A'.

However, no matter with what care and thought a force devised its tests, it could never have the resources to analyse scientifically the relative effectiveness of each part of the test in providing good constables. Furthermore many forces began to feel that the purely educational parts of the battery were rejecting men who would otherwise have made excellent

police officers. (We may remember that the Royal Commissioner's Final Report in 1962 was recommending that recruits who fell somewhat short of the absolute educational standards required could, if otherwise satisfactory, be accepted and then given coaching in basic English and Arithmetic within their force). These considerations led the Police Advisory Council in 1967<sup>1</sup> to say, 'Research by the Home Office Research and Planning Branch has shown that there is a wide variation in the rejection rates between forces on the ground(s) of education .... The inference is that there is a variation in the standards applied, and further research is to be undertaken into this. Meanwhile the Home Office is considering, in consultation with the Civil Service Commission, the possibility of introducing standardised education tests ....'

Research began almost at once into this project; even with the resources of the Home Office Psychological Unit it turned out to be a difficult assignment, and so it was not until five years later that satisfactory tests had been devised and validated, ready to go into operation during the second half of 1972. The progress of the research<sup>2</sup> began with a series of Job Analysis visits to five typical forces, such as the Metropolitan, Plymouth (a borough force) and Durham (a county force). Six psychologists, in pairs, followed constables on all their activities for periods of three to four days. Although some useful background information was gathered, this approach proved not to be fruitful, as the policeman's job turned out to be too complex for such analysis - especially in view of the constable's dual function as crime preventer and detector, and as social worker.

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1. Taverne, P.M.E.E.; para.25.

2. Interview with Dr. Beaumont, Senior Psychologist, Home Office Research and Planning Branch, April 1972.

A new approach - dignified with the title of Concurrent Validation - was therefore tried. It applied a battery of thirteen psychometric tests<sup>1</sup> to some 1,200 policemen, all constables of between two and ten years' service. These constables were assessed as good, average or weak by their Chief Constables, and the correlations between the assessment of a man's efficiency, related to particular types of duty, and the results of each one of the tests was analysed statistically. This analysis showed that six of the thirteen tests had superior discriminatory power in the situation.

The Metropolitan Police agreed to use all thirteen of these tests for a trial period of about a year for initial selection, beginning in September, 1969: Under the direction of Dr. J. Jones-Lloyd, senior psychologist at Scotland Yard, the predictions of these tests were compared with the end-of-course reports of some 550 recruits: once again, the original six best tests emerged as most effective. Because of the length of time taken to complete the whole battery of six tests (about two hours) Dr. Beaumont is now seeking to eliminate one more of the tests, if this can be done without great loss of validity. Once this has been concluded, the tests will be used throughout the country, with either a national pass mark, or a notional one (which could be varied according to local demand), both based on the current performance of the original 1,200 policemen investigated.

The original thirteen tests tried out were grouped into two batteries, A (Cognitive), and B (Personality).

Battery A comprised:-

- (1) Verbal Intelligence Test - rearranging mixed sentences.
- (2) Test of vocabulary - words were given shorn of their

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1. Dunnett; Based on Personnel Selection and Placement, Wadsworth Publishing Company Inc., & Tavistock Publications Ltd. (London), 1966.

first and last letters, which had to be replaced, aided by a definition.

e.g. (a)griculture:(e).

- (3) Spelling - the correct spelling of forty words had to be selected from a choice of five in each case. (This test was included at the specific request of the police, who place great store upon correct spelling).
- (4) Mixed words, 'anagrams.' Three lists of mixed words were to be unravelled - well known birds, unusual animals and well known flowers. This test was introduced to see if it could be used to measure the subject's reaction to frustration, but it was found that a five-minute test was too short for this purpose, and it was accordingly dropped.
- (5) Observation - based on four pictures, and leading to questions such as, 'Which way is the wind blowing?'
- (6) General Information - this test was in two parts. In both the subject had to match names and descriptions of well-known people, historic or contemporary. So ephemeral is fame that the latter version became rapidly obsolescent and had to be dropped.
- (7) Arithmetic, in two parts -
  - (i) A series of simple sums, based on the four rules, and
  - (ii) Problems, basically simple, but framed in words.

(The arithmetic tests were not found to discriminate to a useful degree, and so have been replaced by more problems).
- (8) Checking Test, to see if the subject's approach is meticulous - based on checking names and addresses for accuracy

against a master copy.

(9) Verbal Comprehension - phrases to be completed from a multi-choice list.

Battery B, Personality Tests, though largely original, benefited from Cattell's pioneer work, especially his 'Sixteen Personality Factor' profile.<sup>1</sup> The work of Dr. Edgar Anstey, shortly after the war, on 'Annoyances' was also thought promising. The eleventh test in the series, 'Personal Preferences' was very quickly realised to be useless, and so was discarded.

The twelfth test was for authoritarianism - because this trait relates highly with racial prejudice. The 'Adorno F' scale was used at first, but was found not to be useful, and was replaced by an original test, based on a seven-point, cumulative scale, with test items designed to show liberal views or vice-versa. After considerable work the 'Annoyances' test was found to be not satisfactory, and was discarded.

As a preliminary to the creation of the final test in the battery Cattell's 16 P.F. was applied; eight of these factors seemed to be promising, though the test as a whole was not found to be suitable. An original test of eight items was therefore devised, and it is hoped that five of these will, with modifications, be suitable by themselves in producing a kind of 'mini-profile' of the basic personality which is suited to police work. These five factors are being subjected to factor analysis against both the average divisional training marks gained by each man, and the marks gained on the 'refresher' course after fifteen months, and furthermore on the assessment (on a five point scale) of a number of qualities, such as professional ability, report writing, manner with the public, etc.

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1. Raymond Cattell considers that personality can be assessed on the basis of sixteen traits, which can be illustrated graphically to give a 'profile' of the subject's personality.

as well as on the overall assessment of each man. (In view of the generally accepted public image of the policeman, it is interesting to see that good policemen were found to be slightly less authoritarian than their less highly rated colleagues).

These personality tests will be used not on an accept/reject basis, but merely as interview aids.

The cognitive tests one to three (verbal intelligence, vocabulary, and spelling) and six to eight (general information, arithmetic problems, and checking) were found to be the most useful, and so have been adopted. The verbal comprehension test was also useful, but practical difficulties were encountered in its application. These tests have now been used by the Metropolitan Police for some time; the Scotland Yard psychologists, besides constantly validating the tests, are attempting to refine them and devise new ones, and are experimenting in particular with tests of Social Attitudes.

It will be seen that these tests contain much in common with the tests that some of the forces, at least, used to give, but have the advantages of uniformity, and of having been validated. A noteworthy omission, to the lay observer, is any test for creativity, but perhaps this quality is not thought necessary for the man on the beat, and may hopefully be found as a sort of bonus amongst the officers who gain promotion. If all goes well, it may be that these tests will accept more additional recruits on the one hand than they reject on the other, but, even if the net rejection rate did increase, the final effect surely can only be beneficial to the police service.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE TRAINING OF RECRUITS

If a would-be policeman has successfully overcome all the obstacles in his path he will be offered an appointment to the force of his choice. Shortly afterwards he will usually be required to attend its Headquarters for a one-week course. This is used as a 'settling-in' period when the recruit is introduced to the Police Service. General talks are given on the organisation of his own Police Force, the C.I.D. and the Traffic Departments. Other subjects cover the Police Federation, Force Standing Orders, the use of dictaphones, the care of uniform and equipment and the checking of student lesson notes. Time is allowed for the issue, fitting, and alteration of uniforms, the taking of driving tests, being photographed for record purposes, being sworn-in and for an introduction to foot drill. This preliminary insight into the Service has been found advantageous, and of great help when students arrive at the Home Office Training Centre.<sup>1</sup>

The basic pattern of the training he will undergo was set as long ago as 1946 in the Second Report of the Police Post-War Committee, and continued with no substantial changes until 1967, when the 'Taverne' Working Party on Manpower, Equipment and Efficiency published its report, details of which are given below.<sup>2</sup> The principal difference between this report and the earlier one is that the later one realised that it takes considerable time 'on the job' to make a policeman, and so recognised formally that the new recruit is really under training

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1. Report of Working Party appointed by Central Conference of Chief Constables' Training Centres Committee, Appendix 'A'.
  2. Taverne P.M.E.E.; Appendix 3.

during the whole of his first two years of service. The Working Party gave the following syllabus for induction training -

1. Every probationer must be regarded as in training for the whole of the term of his two years probation. This is the guiding principle behind the whole scheme for the training of probationers. Until completion of his probationary period the probationer must not be regarded as an effective police unit, and duty carried out by him is to be regarded mainly as a training commitment during which he must be instructed and supervised by senior officers. All officers with supervisory functions must see to it that these principles are firmly adhered to, and must make it their personal responsibility to ensure that the future efficiency of the force is safeguarded by attention to the training of young men even if this involves a temporary shortage of manpower at the present time.

2. Probationer training will be divided into two phases:  
PHASE 'A': this will last a period of approximately sixty weeks, and will be designed to combine theoretical and practical instruction, and at the same time to give each probationer an insight into the various branches of the force and the resources available to help him in his work. During this phase the probationer will be formally part of headquarters strength, although he will be attached to a division as his 'normal place of duty.' One of the objects of this procedure is to enable a true picture to be obtained by senior officers of the effective strength of trained men in each division, and thus enable an accurate assessment to be made of the need for reinforcements, for working overtime, etc., without the picture becoming blurred by the inclusion in divisional figures of untrained probationers who are a commitment and a liability

rather than an asset while they are in training.<sup>1</sup>

PHASE 'B': this will last approximately forty weeks. During this phase the probationer will be posted and fully attached to a division, and in this period he will be expected to take more and more responsibility, and to utilise his initiative in his work with gradually lessening supervision. It will of course be necessary for more than normal supervision to be given, but training should take the form of timely correction during or after the accomplishment of some piece of police work, rather than detailed instruction beforehand.

3. STAGES OF TRAINING IN PHASE 'A': the assignment of probationers to the various stages of training will be a matter for the Force Training Officer, particulars being published in General Orders. Neither the duration of each stage nor the order in which stages are completed must be regarded as rigidly laid down; it is important that the Training Officer should be in touch with the progress of each individual probationer and should where necessary vary the training of the probationer according to the particular needs of the individual. Stage 1 (13 weeks); basic training at district training school: this stage needs little comment except that officers having anything to do with probationers must realise that the scope of the district training school is limited. It is not possible, for a variety of reasons, to introduce all the practical work that is desired: it should not be expected, therefore, that the probationer on emerging from the school has any more than a basic knowledge of the fundamental and elementary theory of police work. This basic knowledge must be regarded as merely the framework upon which practical experience and the police

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1. This proposal was not implemented and the probationary constable is still placed in the strength of the division to which he is appointed. It is recognised, however, that most of his first two years' service will consist of training.

outlook is to be built, and care should be taken that probationers are not so handled or instructed that they lose confidence in the knowledge acquired at the district training school. Stage 2 (1 week); local procedure course: this will be held at headquarters as soon as possible after probationers return from the training school, and will be designed to familiarise probationers with force instructions and procedures and local byelaws.

Stage 3 (16 weeks); working of town beats: the object of this attachment is to get the man used to wearing his uniform in public, to familiarise him with the sort of knowledge he requires in working the town beat, to get him used to addressing the public and answering questions, and generally getting the feel of this type of work.

- (i) For the first eight weeks the probationer must always be accompanied by another officer who ideally should be a man of considerable experience, but in any case should not be another probationer.
- (ii) For the second eight weeks the probationer will not be given a beat to work, but may be allotted part of a beat which is already completely allotted to an experienced constable. In this way there will be considerable periods in which the two officers are patrolling or conferring together, while for the rest of the time the experienced constable will be fairly easily available should the probationer require assistance. The goodwill of experienced men towards the probationers in the passing on of local knowledge, experience and tradition is fundamental to the whole concept of probationer training.
- (iii) The role of the probationer during the whole of this

time must essentially be that of watching and learning. He should not be given the complete responsibility for any particular enquiry or incident, even under the supervision of his more experienced companion but his services should be utilised in the taking of simple statements, and acquiring elementary information which will assist in the compilation of a report. Simple reports can also be prepared by him, but they should be the subject of careful scrutiny and instruction.

- (iv) Duty times during this stage will be divided as far as possible between early turn, late turn and night duty. He should also be given the opportunity to do traffic duty, subject to his being carefully supervised, and provided the traffic points used for training are not too complex in operation.

Stage 4 (2 weeks); traffic patrols: the purpose of this attachment is twofold. Firstly the probationer should see how the traffic patrol system works, and should learn the methods of communications available. Secondly he should be given the opportunity for widening his experience in the reporting of persons in simple cases of process, the compilation of summons reports, attending and giving evidence at court, etc. After the first few days the probationer may be utilised as observer in the car.

Stage 5 (2 weeks); divisional headquarters: the probationer should be given an insight into the various functions of a divisional headquarters. He should be afforded facilities to see the work of the divisional office, and he should serve in the enquiry office and be allowed under supervision to deal with simple enquiries from the public. Experience should also be made available in the charge room, and he should be present

at the preferring of charges and allowed to search prisoners, take fingerprints, etc., under supervision. He should see all the books and forms in use in the normal day-to-day work of the divisional office, and the enquiry and charge offices, and he should be permitted to make entries in these books as soon as he has been adequately instructed.

Stage 6 (2 weeks); divisional C.I.D.: the object of this attachment is to give the man an insight into the organisation and working of the C.I.D. While some period will be necessary in the C.I.D. office in order that he may become familiar with the books and forms, record systems, etc., in general use, he must not be utilised as a low grade clerk. It must be the responsibility of the senior detective officer to ensure that the probationer is attached to selected detective officers while making enquiries, and again he may from time to time take simple and straightforward statements from witnesses, be present when arrests are being made, and should be permitted to watch the whole process of the various cases in which he becomes involved.

Stage 7 (6 weeks); working on rural beats: for this purpose each probationer will be attached to a rural station, and will ideally work for the whole period with a really experienced country constable. It will be the responsibility of the section sergeant to see that the constable is first of all introduced to the general working of the section and the method of working rural beats. This instruction must include a thorough grounding in books and forms used, methods of submitting reports, etc. When working with the rural constable he will accompany that constable in all the work, day and night, which the officer undertakes, and here again it is essential that attachments should be made to experienced officers who

have the goodwill and the ability to impart the maximum information and guidance. After the first six weeks the probationer may be used for relieving men in the country section on rest days and during periods of sickness, but he must be under the careful supervision of the section sergeant. During such periods he should be given the opportunity of undertaking such enquiries that come his way during the course of his relieving. Every effort should be made to give the probationer a complete insight into the working of rural beats, and if properly organised this stage of his training can be made one of the most valuable of his probationary period.

Stage 8 (1 week); headquarters C.I.D. and Stage 9 (1 week); headquarters administration: the purpose of these two attachments is to give the probationer a thorough insight into the working of headquarters and the various services and departments which are available to officers who have to do work on the ground.

Opportunities should be given of seeing reports and papers referring to the sort of cases with which they have been dealing, and the processes applied to these papers at headquarters. They should see the various recording systems and should be instructed on the use that can be made of these systems to provide information to men on the beat. There should be an attachment to the information room, and the probationer should be made thoroughly conversant with the purpose and scope of the police communications system. Here again it is most important that officers should see that the probationer is trained and not merely used as an office boy.

Stage 10 (2 weeks); intermediate continuation course at district training school.

#### 4. SUPPLEMENTARY TRAINING DURING PHASE 'B'

During phase 'B' the probationer will attend a short course on diseases of animals at headquarters, and will be required by examination to demonstrate his knowledge of the subject. He will also attend the final continuation course of two weeks at the district training centre.

#### 5. GENERAL

Emphasis is again placed on giving probationers an insight into every aspect of police work during their various stages of training. The points set out in this syllabus for the various stages must be regarded as minimum requirements and are not intended to limit flexibility.

#### 6. SUPPLEMENTARY TRAINING DURING BOTH PHASES 'A' AND 'B'

(a) Each probationer will attend a full training day on one day each month. These training days will be organised at two or three divisional headquarters or at force headquarters, and the probationer will attend the centre which is most convenient.

The object of these training days will be to complete the training of the probationer in the theory which is necessary before he can be regarded as an efficient constable, and every effort will be made to link up the practical work which he is doing with the theory in which he is instructed. Without being too precise on the programme for a training day, as a general guide it may be said that the morning of a training day will be devoted to lectures and direct instruction while the afternoon will be devoted to discussion led by the training staff of the force. The subjects for discussion will be notified a month in advance when a prepared agenda will be issued, together with a list of references to the subjects for discussion which the probationer will be expected to study for himself.

(b) Generally speaking, on each training day a short period not exceeding half-an-hour will be devoted to foot drill in order to maintain the standard of smartness and physical fitness achieved during basic training at the district training school.

(c) A probationers' library will be set up at each division, and from this library elementary books on police work may be borrowed by probationers.

(d) From time to time probationers will be directed to attend quarter sessions and assizes, and in addition superintendents should ensure that probationers under their control (either in phase 'A' or phase 'B') get every opportunity for attending petty sessional courts, juvenile courts and licensing courts.

(e) Any probationer who fails his first aid examination at the district training centre will be required to pass the examination during his probationary period.

(f) Superintendents will ensure that probationers under their control have an opportunity of seeing any special police work which is going on in their division. For example, probationers should be allowed to participate in police work at major incidents, events involving major traffic schemes, raids in connection with licensing offences, etc.

## 7. RECORDS AND REPORTS

The Training Officer will maintain a separate file for every officer which will be known as his training file. The cover of this file will record all attachments of the probationer and the training received, and inside the file will be placed reports on his progress which will be supplied by superintendents or officers in charge of departments as follows:

Phase 'A' - at the conclusion of each stage of training.

Phase 'B' - upon the completion of 17 months service,  
and upon completion of 23 months service

Additional reports may be required from time to time if the progress of the probationer seems to require such a course.

Reports will be submitted on special forms supplied from headquarters. It is important that reports should be as full and frank as possible; formal or trite expressions should be avoided. The officer submitting the report in the first place should be the one who has had the closest association with the probationer during the appropriate stage of his training, and supervising officers higher up the scale should amplify the reports by their personal experience of the probationer, and should in particular comment on his personality and potential.

Training files will be submitted to the Chief Constable at the end of six months, twelve months, seventeen months and twenty-three months service, or more frequently if adverse reports are made at any stage of a probationer's training.

The training file will also be used as a record of all other training given and examinations taken as long as an officer remains in the force.<sup>1</sup>

The recruit will thus be sent to a District Training Centre for thirteen weeks to begin his education and training for his future professional career. There are eleven District Training Centres in England and Wales. The Metropolitan Police have Hendon, housed in shabby buildings that once were an aircraft factory, while the provincial forces are allocated - geographically as far as possible - to one of the others - Bruche, Newby Wiske Hall, Pannal Ash, Ryton-on-Dunsmore, Eynsham Hall, Sandgate, Chantemarle, Bridgend, Nutfield and Dishforth - the latter not having its own defined catchment area, but acting to absorb any overflows of recruits. The centres are housed in a variety of buildings: many of them

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1. See Chapter VIII for a sample of such a form.

have taken over armed services former accommodation; some seem rather bare and minimal to present-day eyes. The recruits sleep on iron beds in dormitories and they are taught in classrooms which sometimes are Nissen huts or the like; their leisure is slight, as is the provision for it in many cases - a bar, sports facilities, a television room, sometimes a reading room with a rudimentary library. It might be felt that young soldiers would expect nothing better, but it would be quite certain that, say, trainee Tax Officers would repudiate such accommodation indignantly. Such accommodation cannot advance the thesis that police work is quasi-professional. However, it is pleasant to be able to record that improvements are being made as circumstances allow - blocks of new study bedrooms here, a swimming pool there, a new administrative block and some staff houses somewhere else, while completely new centres are at (and in some cases beyond) the planning stages.

The District Training Centres account for over sixty per cent of all training in the police: though this includes a month's continuation course at a later date as well as the initial training this is a very high figure, accounted for in part by the considerable wastage of recruits during their first two years of service.

In 1970 4,433 men and 533 women began their initial training at one or the other of the provincial centres;<sup>1</sup> 555 men and 157 women left without completing the course, so that about 79 per cent of men and 72 per cent of women survived to return to their forces as probationers.<sup>2</sup> Most of those who drop out do so because they realise that the police service is not for them; no doubt others are encouraged to depart, but this seems to be done humanely in general; one Commandant<sup>3</sup> said that he

1. See table overleaf.

2. Hendon will take about one third as many again as recruits for the Metropolitan force. - 880 in 1971, 1047 in 1970.

3. W. S. Ord, Esq., M.B.E., B.E.M., former commandant of Dishforth.

had never had to use any means stronger than persuasion to get the misfits in over 3,000 recruits to seek other opportunities.

Table iv  
Police Training Centres, 1970<sup>1</sup>

PTC	Basic training course (13 weeks)						Continuation course (4 weeks)	
	Completed the course		Left with- out com- pleting course		Under instruction 31.12.70		Men	Women
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Bruche	806	119	24	7	197	35	1,082	148
Newby Wiske Hall	382	69	15	-	86	10	115	15
Dishforth	197	26	5	-	87	14	838	112
Pannal Ash	580	78	28	5	134	21	-	-
Ryton-on- Dunsmore	670	263	32	9	172	76	219	119
Eynsham Hall	574	-	14	-	131	-	-	-
Sandgate	504	-	9	-	129	-	-	-
Chantmarle	438	-	16	-	88	-	256	-
Bridgend	282	-	13	-	73	-	172	-
Nutfield	-	-	1	-	-	-	1,035	-
Totals	4,433	555	157	21	1,097	156	3,717	394
Totals for 1969	4,078	496	127	20	1,236	136	4,193	432

The cost is great, and growing; in 1950 it was £415,000; in 1960 it was £623,000; by 1965<sup>2</sup> it had risen to £1,004,000 and by 1970 to some £1.8M, plus a proportional amount for Hendon's recruit training function. The time taken up, and the loss of officers to police duty proper is substantial; in 1965 training accounted for 8.7 per cent of all duty hours, which means that somewhat over 5 per cent of the police services nominal

1. H.M.I.'s Report, 1970.

2. Martin and Wilson.

working time was spent in the training of recruits in District Training Centres alone. By far the greatest part of the thirteen-week course deals with law. Some eighty per cent of class-room time is spent on the study of law, and its applications, not in broad outline alone, but with a bewildering mass of detail. The fundamental aim of the training school is not so much as to produce a finished policeman as one who knows his legal limitations. 'Frankly, these boys are a liability to us in their first years. They can walk out of the nick and make a decision in thirty seconds that might keep the House of Lords arguing for two years and cost more than they'd earn in five lifetimes,' said an instructor.<sup>1</sup> Another substantial proportion of the time is used to deal with the practical aspects of the constable's day-to-day work, and with matters of police organisation, the internal structure of a force, its relations with other bodies, matters such as First Aid and Civil Defence and with various forms of physical training. The whole course contains 429 lesson periods, and the precise topics to be covered in each one of these periods is set down in detail, with instructions as to the method of teaching to be adopted from a list of seven - Lecture, Lesson, Discussion, Demonstration, Practice, Exercise or Examination - every one defined.<sup>2</sup> The new recruit's first two periods will be occupied by Assembly and Registration and by a personal interview; his first real instruction (A 'Lesson' - 'a period of instruction during which visual aids (blackboard, film strip, diagrams, charts, etc.) are introduced. When necessary notes are dictated, other references made to text books, and questions asked to ensure that the lesson has been assimilated') comes in Lesson number 4, 'Standing Orders, Fire Drill.' The first

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1. Laurie; p.36.

2. Home Office; Synopsis of Methods of Instruction.

week, as may be imagined, is untypical as it forms part of the introductory period. A more typical week's work chosen at random is given below.

<u>Lesson No.</u>	<u>Method</u>	<u>Subject</u>
199	<u>Lesson</u>	<p><u>Outline of Current Week's Work and Definitions</u></p> <p>The Instructor will give a review of the syllabus for the week, and point out anything in which research or preparation is required and anything of particular interest.</p> <p>He will explain the definitions which are to be included in the week's work, giving practical interpretations.</p>
200	<u>Lesson and film strip</u>	<p><u>Game Laws</u></p> <p>Poaching offences and police powers. Game laws, offences and powers. Fishery laws briefly. Protection of wild birds.</p> <p>Exhibit film strip.</p>
201	<u>Practice</u>	<p><u>Swimming and Life-Saving (11)</u></p> <p>See Appendix 'A'</p>
202	<u>Practice</u>	<p><u>Foot Drill (12)</u></p> <p>See Appendix 'D'</p>
203	<u>Lesson and film strip</u>	<p><u>Diseases of Animals</u></p> <p>Description of main diseases and dangers arising from them. Police responsibilities and general explanation of steps taken on suspicion of outbreak of disease. Restrictions on movement which apply.</p> <p>Exhibit film strip.</p>
204	<u>Lesson</u>	<p><u>Movement of Animals</u></p> <p>Movement of animals. Licences, records, vehicles, etc. Police duties and powers.</p>

- 205 Lesson                    Law Relating to Dogs  
and and film  
206 strip
- Licensing of dogs, exemptions and offences. Dangerous dogs and orders for destruction. Wearing of collars by dogs, exemptions. Cruelty to dogs. Unburied carcasses. Police action in connection with stray dogs.
- Exhibit film strip.
- 207 Practice                    Physical Education (7)
- See Appendix 'E', Table 3.
- 208 Practice                    First Aid (Practice) (6)
- See Appendix 'B'
- 209 Lesson                    Duties of Police at Fires
- Essential knowledge required and general responsibilities of police. Police action and rescue hints. Legislation dealing with fires.
- 210 Lesson                    Sudden Deaths, Suicides  
and  
211
- Duties and responsibilities re suicides. Police action, practical points. Attempted suicide, the law and police action.
- 212 Practice                    Sudden Death, Report
- The Instructor will explain the contents and purport of a sudden death report and then each student will make out a report under the guidance of the Instructor.
- 213 Lesson                    Coroner's Court Procedure
- The authority for coroners' courts. Functions of the court. Cases where inquests must be held and place of holding. Coroner's jury. Police procedure.
- 214 Games                    Physical Education  
and  
215

- 216 Lesson            Cruelty to Animals  
                          Offences of cruelty, definitions, Police powers. Slaughter of animals. Pet animals. Operations on animals. R.S.P.C.A.
- 217 Lesson            Statutory Preventive Measures  
 and  
 218  
                          Prevention of crime is primary police duty. Keen observation and vigilance necessary. Suspected persons and reputed thieves. Night offences and others akin. Found on premises. Offensive weapons. Police powers.
- 219 Practice            Self-Defence (7)  
                          See Appendix 'C'
- 220 Practice            First-Aid (Practice) (8)  
                          See Appendix 'B'
- 221 Demonstration and Practice    Suspected Persons. Pocket Book Entry and Report  
                          The Instructor will demonstrate circumstances leading to the arrest of a suspected person. The exercise is best staged out of doors on a road with several buildings to represent shops or warehouses.
- Specimen Equipment  
                          Classroom set out as charge office. Several name boards of shops and warehouses.
- Cast  
                          Instructor in charge. Instructor as patrolling constable. Instructor as suspected person, one or two students to act as pedestrians.
- Action  
                          The patrolling constable is on night duty (imaginary) when he sees the offender loitering in the vicinity of various shops and warehouses.

The constable's suspicions are aroused and he keeps the man under observation during which time the offender is seen to peer into the windows of various warehouses and try the doors of several shops. When anyone approaches, the offender ceases his activities and stands on the footpath edge as if waiting for somebody. After keeping observation for some minutes the constable leaves his point of observation, and goes towards the man. The man starts to walk away eventually breaking into a run and the constable loses sight of him. The constable completes a pocket book entry describing the circumstances and including as detailed a description of the suspected person as possible. The constable then continues his patrol. Later the same night he sees the same man under similar circumstances. keeps him under observation until he sees the man climb on to the window sill of a warehouse adjacent to the road, goes to him and arrests and searches him. The action then moves to the police station where the prisoner is thoroughly searched, charged and cautioned. The students will make a pocket book entry from which they will subsequently make out a report.

#### Points

1. Evidence making the offender a suspected person.
2. Evidence showing the suspected person loitering with intent to commit a felony.

3. In a place within the section.
4. Pocket book entry of first suspicious circumstances including a description of the suspected person.
5. Thorough search of prisoner at police station.

- 222 Lesson      Assaults, Common, Aggravated, Actual Bodily Harm
- To cover stages from common assault to aggravated, including actual bodily harm. Essentials to be explained. Defences and evidence. Assaults on police. Police powers and action. (Incident assaults and woundings dealt with in separate lesson).
- 223 Demonstration and Practice      Beat Incidents (Handling, Noting and Reporting) (5)
- 224 Lesson      Prostitution
- Definition. Object of the legislation. Loitering or soliciting. Disorderly or indecent conduct. Places of public resort and refreshment. Trading in prostitution. Definition of 'brothel.' Police action.
- 225 Practice      Swimming and Life-Saving (12)
- See Appendix 'A'
- 226 Practice      Foot Drill (13)
- See Appendix 'D'.
- 227 Lesson      Indecency
- Covering conduct, language and exposure. Offences and police powers explained in each case. Exhibitions and literature.
- 228 Practice      Magistrates' Court Procedure
- Recruits to give evidence in previous cases.

229 Revision Revise Film Strips of Week's Work

230 Lesson Woundings. Grievous Bodily Harm

Explanations of "wound" and "grievous bodily harm." Outline and nature of offence. Police action and powers.

231 Revision Review of Week's Work

This will be dealt with in the form of oral questions to students, and recapitulation of subjects as found necessary.

Questions by students will be invited and answers discussed.

The Instructor will keep a record of the progress of each student, and enter remarks about their general aptitude for the work, and other characteristics.'

It will be seen that the week begins with an outline of the syllabus for that week, and concludes with a review and resumé. 'Practical' lessons comprise two each of swimming and life-saving, foot drill and first-aid, and one each of physical education, self-defence and games. Three of the lessons are supported by film strips, which are shown again as a refresher during a fourth period. The demonstration and practice detailed in paragraph 221 is very characteristic of police instructional methods. A little drama is framed and played out, usually with the instructors taking the roles of suspects and witnesses (and obviously enjoying their histrionics) and the recruits taking the part they will eventually be required to play in real life. All the above activities help to leaven the lump of undiluted law studies. Each student has a copy of the Students Lesson Notes<sup>1</sup> (produced by the Home Office) and one of 'Moriarty'<sup>2</sup> -

1. Published by the Home Office and consisting of 285 foolscap pages of typescript. The index to topics alone occupies twelve pages of foolscap, double column.

2. Moriarty's Police Law.

the Policeman's Bible' - a digest of essential legal knowledge. At this stage the greatest difficulty lies in the pupil's lack of practical experience. The 'give-and-take' discussions which are a feature of later instruction are missing, while there is a danger that 'the training is so interesting that it encourages recruits to have too high an expectation of what they will have to do in the police,'<sup>1</sup> so that they may later come to feel cheated and disappointed and so perhaps resign prematurely.

One of the lessons seen dealt with PSV's - Passenger Service Vehicles. The classroom was adequate, furnished with tables and chairs, blackboards and an overhead projector. Sergeant R. took the class of thirteen methodically through the material, point by point. The material was well organised, and presentation and delivery were good. A large area was covered in fifty minutes - definitions of PSV's (stage, express, contract) certificates and licenses requires, qualifications of drivers and conductors, necessary equipment (fire extinguisher, first aid kit, jack), conditions under which a passenger can be ejected (and by whom), duties of driver and conductor, found property, etc., concluding with a section on Public Hackney Carriages. At the end of each section questions were posed and invited. Recruits rose whenever they spoke. Though the lesson was good, the amount of material was daunting, especially when it is remembered that it can happen that there are five such sessions in a working day, plus revision in the evening.

Soon the last week arrives; final written tests are set, and an assessment made of each recruit's practical ability. This is done by means of a little dramatic situation, and would seem to simulate effectively a real-life incident, judging by

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1. J. M. Hart; The British Police, p.158.

the reaction of the examinees. In one such playlet, two men are discovered quarreling beside a car; one accuses the other of stealing a map from the car, and appeals to the constable for help. With the benefit of many previous rehearsals, the sergeant taking the role of the chief cleverly adapts developments to exploit the recruit's weaknesses, hectoring a timid (girl) constable, sneaking away from a careless one, and arousing a short-tempered and insecure young constable to genuine rage and frustration. However, the paternal inspector who did the assessing did his best to put the examinees at ease, and (if he thought that things were getting too difficult) would quietly suggest the next course of action. The Commandant interviews every man, general information (on such topics as the Police Federation) is passed on and then follows a final address by the Commandant, usually at the conclusion of a paramilitary passing-out parade.

The standard of instructions is high in general<sup>1</sup> (astoundingly so, when everything is taken into account) - no doubt assisted by the detailed break-down of the syllabus. Much of the learning is (and must be under present conditions) mechanical in nature, and is assisted by mnemonics and strange litanies. Thus Laurie<sup>2</sup> tells how the Hendon instructors use P. MARINERS for a street accident. Position, mark or note; Medical aid; Absent from beat - note in pocket-book; Remove vehicles; Information to Local Authority; Names and addresses of people involved and witnesses; Expenses; Road signs needed? Station Officer informed, or how they learn to fill in their note-books correctly with the aid of ELBOWS: no Erasures, no Leaves torn out, no Blank spaces, no Overwriting, no Writing

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1. See Chapter VII for the training of instructor officers.

2. Laurie; p.27.

between lines, Statements to be in exact words. They learn a chant, 'How I Put a Prisoner in the Cells':

'I get the key  
 I go down to the cells  
 I unlock the outer door  
 I lock it behind me  
 I unlock the cell  
 I check the lavatory  
 I check the blanket  
 I go back and unlock the outer door  
 I lock it behind me

I get the prisoner  
 I unlock the outer door  
 I take him through and lock it again  
 I put him in the cell  
 I unlock the outer door  
 I go out and I lock it again.'

Laurie also gives a flow chart which is intended to help an officer to find his way through the complexities of the 'Breathalyser' legislation, as applied to a suspected drunken driver. This chart has nearly forty branches to it, and is of a formidable complexity; it becomes immediately apparent why so many guilty motorists escape charges of drunken driving on technicalities.

When the newly-qualified constable rejoins his parent force the next phases of his training begin. These again are somewhat rigidly controlled from the Home Office, though local modifications do occur. Supervision of his training will be carried out by (probably) a Chief Superintendent at Headquarters and by a divisional training officer - an inspector or (more

often) a sergeant. The responsibilities of these officers is defined below:

### '8. Functions of the Training Officer<sup>1</sup>

As far as probationers are concerned, the Training Officer (and his staff) at headquarters will be responsible for:

- (a) The general implementation of this training scheme and the administrative work necessary to ensure that the scheme runs smoothly.
- (b) Additional visiting and supervision for probationers, particularly during phase 'A'.
- (c) Organisation of local training courses, diseases of animals courses and examinations and training days as envisaged in paragraph 6.
- (d) The provision of suitable text books for probationer's libraries.
- (e) Maintenance of training records and for their submission to the Chief Constable as required.
- (f) General supervision of all probationers, and bringing to the notice of the Chief Constable any matter affecting the training of probationers or the progress of any particular man.

### 9. Divisional Training Officers

Superintendents will nominate one or more divisional training officers in each division - these officers should be inspectors or sergeants who have passed (both)<sup>2</sup> examinations for promotion to inspector.

The functions of divisional training officers will be:

- (a) To act as links with the training department.
- (b) To take a personal interest in probationers temporarily

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1. Taverne, M.P.E.E.; Appendix 3, paragraphs 8 and 9.

2. The 'Civil Service' part of promotion examinations is now abolished.

or permanently attached to their division.

(c) To ensure the prompt supervision of reports on probationers.

(d) To assist as required at training days.'

The two periods of a fortnight each formerly devoted to continuation training have been replaced by a single period of a month's duration, which takes place near the end of his second year. By this time the pupils have had a fair experience of police work, and so the lessons begin to take a discussion form, guided by the instructors, who once again have the benefit of a 'Continuation Course' Synopsis of Methods of Instruction,<sup>1</sup> which details how each single lesson period is to be utilised over the four weeks of the course. As in all forms of teaching, the personality, knowledge, and professional ability of the instructors determine the nature and the effectiveness of each lesson. From observation of many lectures it would appear that the latter two qualities of instructors is generally high, and although both material and method are so tightly controlled there still seems ample opportunity for the instructors to display their (often considerable) teaching ability, per se.

Sergeant H. claimed to be the best instructor in the centre - a claim that was gleefully repeated (and tacitly conceded) by his colleagues of all ranks. His class consisted of nineteen officers, including two women P.C's. The classroom was a Nissen hut, shabby but well lit, furnished with school-type desks and chairs. There was ample blackboard space, and an overhead projector was set up ready for use. The class was already assembled when Sergeant H. entered; the class rose as he came in. The subject of the lesson was 'Theft'; the

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1. Prepared by the Central Planning Unit (q.v.).

instructor enunciated the relevant section of the Act, and then began to examine the implications. Each member of the class in turn was asked to comment on one point or another, being called out by name - P.C. so-and-so - and rising to answer, which most did with confidence. Few answers were rejected out of hand, but were skilfully modified by question-and-answer until the sense was extracted and the meaning made clear. At the end the section was recapitulated, salient points emphasised and the various panalties enumerated. The overhead projector was used at this stage, but was not very effective as the transparencies, not very skilfully produced in the first place, had suffered with age and use.

Sergeant H. was possessed of a much more extrovert personality. His classroom was a former dormitory, equipped much as the other classroom, but with tables instead of desks. There were twenty-three in this class, and the subject dealt with Section 8 of the Theft Act, 'What is robbery?'

The atmosphere in this class, though basically authoritarian, was quite relaxed and democratic. Nobody rose to speak, discussion was informal and argument between members of the class was common. Some of the class smoked. Sergeant H. invited members of the class to contribute their experiences, and quite skilfully used them to point out particular aspects of the Act. He used mnemonics freely: for example, burglary is aggravated if 'WIFE with man.' (Weapon, Imitation weapon, Firearm, Explosive). Many students had difficulty in grasping the nuances of abstract ideas, but nevertheless the lesson was an effective one on balance.

In contrast, a 'P.T.' lesson seemed old-fashioned and rather inappropriate.<sup>1</sup> The class consisted of twenty-one men

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1. It should, however, be remembered that the activities for this (and every other) lesson is prescribed in detail.

and three girls; eight or nine of the men, though still young, had distinct 'pots' already - testimonial perhaps to the Northern dedication to beer. The instructor, though quite a pleasant and sympathetic character basically, nevertheless displayed signs of the rather overweening attitude characteristic of professional athletes when dealing with lesser fry. He arrived twenty to twenty-five minutes late, but made no apology or explanation to the class - who did not seem either to expect one or object to the long wait in sparse clothing. The lesson took a familiar course - running in file ('Hup, hup, hup'), spring; four rows, sideways springing, cyclic arm movements; forward bend, arms press (one man splits his pants and provokes a roar of laughter); hopping on the spot on bended knees, arms folded; and so on. The exercises were continuous and vigorous, but most of the class seemed fit (in spite of the afore-mentioned pots!) and carried on well. Group work followed, on benches in pairs. No distinction was made in any way between men and women ('Come on lads!'), though the class tacitly allowed some leeway to the girls in a concluding session of bench ball. Spirits were high throughout - perhaps a reaction from the dull, demanding classroom work; there was much horseplay, all in a spirit of rough good humour. The girls were treated in a rather pleasant, teasing, fraternal manner. The overall impression was that the lesson had been enjoyed by all, but that it could have easily been made much more effective by the exercise of a little thought by those responsible.

Whatever the virtues of the training scheme detailed above there can be no doubt that it has many faults too. The first thirteen-week course seems to be especially vulnerable to criticism on several counts; it is too long, too intensive, not

related to any practical experience~~d~~, old-fashioned in its syllabus. A former police officer in his contribution<sup>1</sup> to *The Police and the Public* (C. H. Rolph) says of the Training Schools' syllabus, 'So through the recruits' heads the information must go; hundreds of pages of it ranging from how to deal with an injured horse .... what to do about Peeping Toms, what not to do about incestuous fathers .... wild bird encaged .... aeroplane flying below regulation height .... what to do with anything found .... or lost. Kafka has nothing on the world you inhabit when you plunge into the Police Instruction Book. And after three months you accept this impossible world as though it were the real one. The public, you infer, are not the fortuitous collection of more or less rational beings you've lived among all your life; they're a crowd of bumbling eccentrics, malicious psychopaths, or sexual perverts, whose only coherence and stability is the thin blue line of the .... Police force.'

Of the same course, Whitaker says,<sup>2</sup> 'This system of training has not been examined for ten years. During that time related social sciences have developed considerably. Would it not be wise to incorporate some of the knowledge they contain into the recruits' training? Criminology and penology are obvious candidates for inclusion .... a rudimentary knowledge of social psychology would give a young policeman some insight into the problem with which he will have to deal .... and some understanding of the nature of his reactions to these situations. Group discussions about .... the policeman's role .... could be of value.' Whitaker goes on to suggest that a good-sized pocket book on law would obviate the need for learning huge gobbets of undigestible law; since his book was published

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1. Edwin Brock; 'Idle and Silly Remarks will be Disregarded.'  
 2. Whitaker; p.135.

(1964) pocket radios have become universal, and could provide a direct link with a source of information at the station or at headquarters. To deal with these and many other criticisms a working party was set up<sup>1</sup> in 1969. It suggested a course of probationer training of the same overall length, but with a different distribution of time. There would be three stages, Stage 1 Basic course of ten weeks at a Home Office Training Centre.

Stage 2 Force Training

- (a) Local procedure course of two weeks immediately following Stage 1.
- (b) Divisional training to be undertaken from the end of the local procedure course to the start of Stage 3.

Stage 3 Final course of seven weeks at a Home Office Training Centre.

Twenty-four subjects were to be taken from the initial training course to allow it to be completed sooner, and made the responsibility of Divisional training. To allow for flexibility in a larger course it was suggested that divisional training should be cyclic, so that each batch of recruits leaving the Training Centres could join it forthwith. There would be twenty-two parts, each taking three weeks to complete. The final stage of seven weeks at the District Training Centre would be intensive and practical, making use of the knowledge which the students would have gained by that time.

Unfortunately, these proposals found little favour in any quarter. As far as the syllabus was concerned it was the

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1. Working Party appointed by central Conference of Chief Constables' Training Centres Committee. Chairman W. J. O'Keefe, QPM.

'recipe as before'<sup>1</sup> while the Police Federation nursed the suspicion that it was the thin end of the wedge to reduce training and save money. Over a year passed before the new scheme was tried out at a single training centre, Pannal Ash, Harrogate. The influential Police Review said,<sup>2</sup> 'At (this) centre recruits are being made ready for the beat in ten weeks - a reduction of three weeks on the basic course which recruits have attended for the last twenty-six years. The Home Office Working Party has decided that some subjects can be dropped from the training programme and that there can be a drastic reduction in the time spent on others, particularly the more theoretical studies of criminal law. There will be no more instruction for recruits on the law relating to homicide, abortion, diseases of animals, and coinage. Drill will be reduced from twenty-two periods to ten, first-aid from twenty to eleven and there will be only one period a week allocated to P.E. and two for organised games .... There is a good case for cutting out much that had become irrelevant but it is a mistake to cut the length of the course. There is every reason .... to introduce much more instruction on the social problems which Policemen encounter, to teach something of the special situation of immigrants, gypsies, and the permanently unemployed, to give more practice in the writing of reports and how to talk to people, to learn something about liaison with the social and welfare agencies. In any case the young recruit needs more time to assimilate all he is expected to learn and to settle into his new vocation. At the end of ten weeks he will still be in a thick fog ....'

This sums it up; it is clear that the time is overdue for

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1. Contrary to what might be expected, the majority of police officers think highly of sociology and psychology in relation to their work - see Chapter XI.
  2. 30th June, 1972.

a long look at the syllabus for recruit training, to fit it better to present-day needs. So much for the content of the course; what about method? The selection and training of instructor officers<sup>1</sup> will be looked at in detail later, but though they do amazingly well under the circumstances the extreme brevity of their training and the shortness of their secondment (two years) militate against high achievement.

Could technology assist more than it is doing at present? The most frequently used device in this field at present is probably the overhead projector, which projects a brilliant reproduction onto a screen of whatever is inscribed (in full colour, if desired) on a sheet of transparent plastic. The value of this apparatus depends on two things: the nature and arrangement of the original material, and the ability of the instructor to use it. Few police instructors have any specialised expertise, so often the material is unsuitable in nature and crudely set out, while the possible techniques of use - such as a progressive build-up using some system such as the 'Flipatran,' or the selective use of colour - are not known and so are never tried. Perhaps this is a suitable case for 'Central Services' to deal with.

Film strip and slide projectors are used to some extent; there is usually enough photographic expertise at a police headquarters or training centre to produce suitable transparencies, but here again some central agency could produce them more economically, and probably more educationally satisfactory.

Cine cameras and cinema projectors have given valuable service in the past, but their use has been restricted by the high cost and difficulty of producing suitable films in the specialised field of police training, especially as frequent

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1. Chapter VII.

updating is often required. Some authorities have managed to find funds in devious ways (for example, a large motor company subsidised a Road Safety film made by a certain force) but generally speaking the films shown are those made for a more general market and thus not completely suitable for police use. Fortunately, a new development, now coming rapidly into use, will overcome most of the disadvantages of film, while retaining all the advantages, with some of its own as a bonus. This is CCTV (Closed Circuit Television) linked with VTR (Video Tape Recording). Small, light, easy-to-operate video cameras record on a special magnetic tape. Several forces have taken this up, and have found many used for it, particularly in the field of training. One force, Sussex, had made great use of this technology; the story of their efforts was told recently by one of their senior officers.<sup>1</sup> To separate and service the two aspects of the technology, a Steering Committee was set up to decide on uses and priorities, and a production unit was formed to produce the recorded programmes. Links were formed with a nearby college of further education which happened to have considerable experience in CCTV and VTR, while several officers were sent on short courses at the National Audio Visual Aids Centre in London. Equipment includes a small studio, two FP 100 Shibaden studio cameras, a 625 line receiver/monitor and a simpler TV camera which is used for captions and for recording from film, slides or photographs. There is a control console with several monitor tubes of various sizes, a hand-held portable TV camera, a small 16 mm. ciné camera and all the usual accessories. Its advantages are great; VTR equipment can obviously be used to fulfil most functions at present covered by ciné film, at enormously decreased running costs, and without

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1. Superintendent D. Bevon, Sussex Constabulary; Police Review, 30th July, 1971.

fuss. The only processing involved is any necessary editing. Indeed, for many purposes, even this is unnecessary; a tape may be played back immediately, and as soon as a recording has served its purpose, or has been transferred to an edited version, or needs up-dating, the tape can be used again, exactly like a tape recorder. Once the equipment has been bought, the use of VRR is thus freed from that bugbear of film production - the ultimate market no longer has to be big enough to justify the high cost of material, production, processing, copying and the like, before the making of a record can be justified.<sup>1</sup>

The force is enthusiastic about the value of this situation in the training field. To quote Superintendent Bevon again, 'For normal classroom teaching VTR fulfils whatever functions can be fulfilled by ciné film. But because of the ease and cheapness of operation it can do this much more readily. Local training staff can make and remake their material until it meets their requirements, with the expenditure only of time, and, with suitable editing equipment, they are able to amend the record to meet changing circumstances. Thus the record need never be out of date - an aspect which rapidly destroys the value of the finest training film continued in use because of the capital invested in it. And one must not overlook the value of the "action replay" facility which the apparatus provides so easily; points can be hammered home by repetition, or the action stopped in its tracks while questions are dealt with, without difficulty.

'But the value of the equipment is not confined to the normal material prepared for the classroom. Recordings made during actual operational activities can serve a valuable training purpose, whether of the post-mortem type, directed

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1. Ibid.

towards the officers actually engaged in a particular operational activity, or for the general dissemination to all members of a Force of the lessons in that operation.

'Indeed the use of training material of this kind is by no means confined to training itself. For example a fairly complete VTR record was made of the Sussex section of last year's Veteran Car Run from London to Brighton. This has been of considerable help to the supervisory officers planning this year's event, supplementing as it does their own necessarily spasmodic observation of what went on. But the record was also used to show the R.A.C., who organised the event, that allegations made the previous year that Police officers unnecessarily interfered with the progress of vehicles were unfair and unjustified, since the record substantially supported the argument by the Police that some participants disregarded the interests of other road users and flouted traffic regulations.

'Deliberately planned training material can, of course, embrace a variety of different approaches. A centrally prepared lecture on, say, law, or an aspect of Police duty, can be copied and shown simultaneously at several places, without expense other than the original cost of the spool. The local instructor retains his personal contact with the students during the question and answer period that follows the showing of the record.

'Similarly the VTR is the ideal vehicle for the staged incident. For instance, the Department of the Environment vehicle testing station at Botley in Hampshire recently cooperated with the Sussex Constabulary to produce a comprehensive demonstration of the procedures adopted in relation to vehicle testing and plating.

'In much the same way the two Force driving schools are

compiling a useful collection of driver-training films aimed at various levels. This could, of course, be done with ciné film, but the absence of the processing complication inherent in ciné work enables a complete record of the driving of the target car to be made, and subsequently transferred, if an editing machine is available, onto the final tape without expense or delay.

'But classroom use is by no means confined to material deliberately prepared for training or operational purposes. CCTV with VTR has, in Sussex, proved invaluable in connection for example, with training in interview techniques. Each student in turn can conduct his "interview" in the privacy of a separate room, without an audience of fellow students, who can watch his efforts on the classroom monitor. He can then rejoin his colleagues and watch the replay. The same applies to training in lecture techniques. Many students have conceded that no other form of comment or criticism could ever have brought home their defects to them half as convincingly.

'It is plain that the use for training purposes of operational sequences need not be confined to actual experienced incidents. Any Force which practises regular tactical training would find a VTR of the planned exercise to be quite invaluable in ensuring that all concerned in the exercise, whether directing staff or trainees, get the maximum training benefit from the exercise - once again, with the comforting thought that, when this has been done, the same tape can be used again for another purpose.'

Quite obviously, here is a teaching aid of enormous potential in the future; if EVR<sup>1</sup> overcomes its present difficulties and lives up to its early promise there could be a considerable

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1. Electronic Video Recording, whose development has been held up by financial and other difficulties.

increase in the use of recording for television reproduction.

The use of teaching machines is attended with peculiar difficulty when dealing with the law, the staple ingredient of police courses. This is because it is changing continuously, not only because of new legislation but because of the constant accumulation of case law. Several experienced instructors have been heard to say that this fact poses an insuperable difficulty with respect to the use of teaching machines; if this be so, it will be a pity, for recent experiments indicate that great economies of time and effort can be achieved by this means when applied to the teaching of selected topics. In November 1968 Dr. N. E. Hand published the results of his experiments in this field.<sup>1</sup> He began his investigations at No.4 District Training Centre; his experiments proved to be promising enough to continue and expand the operation. He used the Duncan and Foster method for assessing the necessary weightings due to differences in previous knowledge, intelligence and reading comprehension; age differences were found to be negligible, and henceforth ignored. Intelligence was measured by Heim's AH.4 test, and reading comprehension by Black's Reading Comprehension Test for Training College Students.

Two centres were chosen for the tests, and the recruits at each divided into groups. At Bruche group 1 were to be given conventional instruction, group 2 were to have a program<sup>2</sup> supplemented by a twenty minute discussion, while group 3 had the program alone.

At Chartmarle there were only two groups, corresponding to the first two groups at Bruche. After the courses the subjects were given immediate tests on what they had just

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1. Home Office Police Research and Development Unit, Report No.11/68. (P.I., 1967).

2. So spelt, in this context.

learned, (First Post-test) and a further test (Second Post-test) four weeks later. They were also required to complete questionnaires giving their views on the various methods of instruction.

The experimental programs were:

- (a) Elementary laws of evidence; this program was linear.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) Powers of arrest at common law: a branching program.
- (c) Larceny; a general outline; mainly linear with a small amount of branching.

The results are summarised in the tables which follow. It appears that either pure programs, or programs plus discussion, lead to a considerable increase in retention and comprehension as far as 'Laws of Evidence' is concerned immediately after the courses, a difference which endured (though not so strongly) at the time of the re-test. The topic 'Powers of Arrest' derived noticeable benefit from a 'pure' program, though both teaching machine methods led to benefit after a month. The machines had little effect upon performance relative to the third topic, 'Larceny,' either immediately or four weeks later.

At the conclusion of the tests, analysis of the questionnaires completed by the subjects indicated that almost all people preferred to be taught by means of a program followed by a discussion. They were fairly evenly divided as to which method led to easier learning, and were almost equally divided on the question of whether programmed learning was faster, the same speed as, or slower than conventional methods.

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1. To summarise briefly; LINEAR programs take the student along the path of truth by steps so tiny that he can scarcely go wrong; his reward is the knowledge that he is getting the answers right. A BRANCHING program is more sophisticated; a student presses a button to indicate his choice of several answers offered at each stage; if he is right, the machine proffers another bit of information, and sends him to the next question, but if he is wrong it either sends him back some way, or sends him on an explanatory loop before returning him for re-examination on the original point.

Table v

Summary of Mean Scores of Comparative and Criterion Tests

Laws of Evidence

Group	No. in Gp.	Comparative Tests		Pre-test	1st Post-test			2nd Post-test			
		AH.4 (Intell.)	Black (Reading Comp.)		Observed	Adjusted	Comparison of Gps. 2 & 3 with Gp. 1	Observed	Adjusted	Comparison of Gps. 2 & 3 with Gp. 1	Change with respect of Post-test
<u>Bruche</u>											
1. Conventional	22	79.27	22.36	24.36	47.73	43.88	-	56.82	57.02	-	+ 29.9%
2. PI + discussion	36	84.81	23.90	18.19	68.33	65.77	+ 49.89%	69.42	68.75	+ 20.58%	+ 4.3%
3. PI alone	40	82.08	21.80	8.23	59.13	63.55	+ 44.83%	63.25	63.74	+ 11.80%	+ 0.4%
<u>Chantmarle</u>											
1. Conventional	16	86.31	33.44	28.75	64.13	60.05	-	71.81	68.89	-	+ 14.7%
2. PI + discussion	18	84.78	23.56	21.44	74.83	78.45	+ 30.64%	77.67	80.26	+ 16.50%	+ 2.3%

Table vi

Summary of Mean Scores of Comparative and Criterion Tests

Powers of Arrest

Group	No. in Gp.	Comparative Tests		Pre-test	1st Post-test			2nd Post-test			
		AH.4 (Intell.)	Black (Reading Comp.)		Observed	Adjusted	Comparison of Gps. 2 & 3 with Gp. 1	Observed	Adjusted	Comparison of Gps. 2 & 3 with Gp. 1	Change with respect of Post-test
<u>Bruche</u>											
1. Conventional	22	79.27	22.36	49.82	65.73	54.15	-	64.00	54.41	-	+ 0.48%
2. PI + discussion	36	84.81	23.90	23.56	56.92	55.64	+ 2.79%	71.83	71.47	+ 31.35%	+28.45%
3. PI alone	40	82.08	21.80	9.58	57.63	65.14	+20.30%	63.38	68.98	+ 26.78%	+ 5.90%
<u>Chantmarle</u>											
1. Conventional	16	86.31	33.44	15.44	63.69	63.69	-	70.50	70.50	-	+10.7%
2. PI + discussion	18	84.78	23.56	11.44	75.17	75.17	+18.02%	79.33	79.33	+ 12.52%	+ 5.9%

Table vii

Summary of Mean Scores of Comparative and Criterion Tests

Larceny

Group	No. in Gp.	Comparative Tests		Pre-test	1st Post-test			2nd Post-test			
		AH.4 (Intell.)	Black (Reading Comp.)		Observed	Adjusted	Comparison of Gps. 2 & 3 with Gp. 1	Observed	Adjusted	Comparison of Gps. 2 & 3 with Gp. 1	Change with respect of Post-test
<u>Bruche</u>											
1. Conventional	22	79.27	22.36	40.36	65.64	64.54	-	68.09	68.77	-	+ 6.55%
2. PI + discussion	37	84.62	23.80	34.41	68.27	64.54	0%	71.41	68.77	0%	+ 6.55%
3. PI alone	40	82.08	21.80	21.85	60.47	65.50	0%	66.70	68.77	0%	+ 6.55%
<u>Chantmarle</u>											
1. Conventional	16	86.31	33.44	13.38	68.88	69.85	-	79.44	79.44	-	+13.73%
2. PI + discussion	18	84.78	23.55	28.83	70.72	69.85	0%	81.17	81.17	+ 2.18%	+16.21%

It is clear from these results that provided the topics chosen are suitable (either by their nature, or because they can be depended upon not to change too quickly) programmed learning has considerable potentialities. One point not brought out in the experiments is the value of a program to bring a backward subject up to standard by individual use of the machine; many further uses of the machine on these lines - for promotion studying, for example - immediately suggest themselves.

CHAPTER VIISPECIALIST TRAINING

Police work has grown enormously in complexity over the last half-century. Previously, forces were generally small and self-contained, communications were rudimentary, and scientific aids just beginning to emerge as a valuable factor in the war against crime; the motorcar was just about to begin its explosive growth, with all the consequences that this has entailed.

Policing was very much a matter for the man on the beat; supervision was direct and personal by the 'point' system, in which the constable met his sergeant at fixed points and times. In those days grew up the tradition (which even today is an article of faith with many police officers) that any policeman could do any job his rank required and entitled him to do. This belief has an adverse effect on police efficiency, as a man is normally whisked away after two or three years incumbency of a post, just when he might be expected to be well on the way to being good at it. This custom (for which, it is only fair to say, there are other grounds besides atavistic beliefs) is particularly harmful when it causes a man to move from a familiar to a strange - and sometimes uncongenial - situation as the only way he can achieve a promotion. However, the need for specialisation is beginning to exert its effect, and more and more men are being trained for particular aspects of the work of the modern police force. As the role of instructors has been discussed in the previous chapter it may be convenient to begin with their training before going on to deal with perhaps the best-known specialisation of all - that of the

detectives.

Instructor officers are usually drawn from volunteers (usually of the rank of sergeant in the first place) who feel they have an affinity to teaching work.

If recommended by their Chief Constables, they go to the Central Planning Unit<sup>1</sup> for a six weeks course. During this short period of time they are introduced to the general principles of teaching - both aided and restricted by the comprehensively detailed Home Office manual, 'Synopsis of Method of Instruction,' and they are told how to operate and utilise audio-visual aids. Under supervision they prepare and deliver a series of lectures, all usually on one particular aspect of police work or law. Towards the end of their course they are assessed and graded, some being recommended for future service in District Training Centres while others are thought more suitable for the work of training in a territorial or a training division of the force. During 1970 275 officers, including six from the Royal Ulster Constabulary, attended police duty instructors courses conducted at the Unit and 221 of them qualified; 13 are still in training and 41 failed to qualify. The officers who qualified comprised 10 inspectors, 156 male sergeants, 16 women sergeants, 38 male constables and one woman constable. The number of officers who attended courses during the year showed an increase of 51% over the number who attended during the 9 months that the Unit was operating in 1969.<sup>2</sup>

The scope of the responsibilities of both these categories of instructor are summarised in the report of the Working Party on The Selection and Training of Police Instructors.<sup>3</sup> For

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1. The Central Planning and Instructors' Training Unit at Ryton-on-Dunsmore.

2. H.M.I's Report, 1970.

3. Chairman, Captain D. W. P. Varwell, Head of Department of In-Service Training, Garnett College, December 1970.

instructors in District Training Centres the list extends to some eighty lines of typescript, under headings dealing with instructional duties, welfare matters (both general and individual), discipline, safety, administration, public relations etc. These duties, when added to a teaching load which would be considered heavy in most adult-education establishments cannot increase the instructor's teaching efficiency. Force Training Officers benefit in that their job is not normally residential, unless they happen to be dealing with cadets. Their responsibilities include probationer training, preparation for promotion examinations, refresher training for sergeants and constables, training for newly appointed sergeants, post-probationer training in crime prevention and investigation and (possibly) Traffic Patrol Duties.

Some years ago the increased complexity both of the material to be studied and of methods of instruction made it apparent that it would be beneficial for the police service to investigate scientific teaching methods. Garnet College, a College of Education (Technical) run by the I.L.E.A. agreed to take a number of selected police officers for teacher training. The Head of the Department of In-Service Training<sup>1</sup> at the college writes, 'The officers so seconded, who are normally Inspectors or Chief Inspectors, fall into two categories:-

'Firstly, the Metropolitan Police select from the staff of their Training Centre at Hendon one officer each year and second him for the full sandwich course leading to the Certificate in Education. On completion of the course, this officer returns to his instructional duties at Hendon; normally, he takes on added responsibilities immediately and it is understood that, because of his qualification, he is likely to be

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1. Captain Dennis Varwell.

singled out for a position of some influence in the training field. The first of such students, now a Chief Superintendent, is Staff Officer to the Assistant Commissioner responsible for training.

'Secondly, the Home Office, acting on behalf of all regional police forces, seconded to Garnett College some half-dozen officers annually, all of whom are destined to join the staff of what is known as the Central Planning Unit at Ryton-on-Dunsmore in Warwickshire. The responsibilities of this Unit include the training of all police instructors (outside the Metropolitan Police) for the United Kingdom (sic), the preparation of teaching materials for all police training centres and the dissemination of training advice to all police forces. To date the Home Office has been unable to respond to suggestions that these officers should be seconded for the full sandwich course with the result that they attend the first term only.

'All these officers (from both categories) are experienced instructors and all have undergone a six-week course of instructional techniques. Thus (in common with other in-service students at Garnett College) there is no need for their method course to be directed towards the establishment of an initial confidence in the classroom. Rather, it is directed towards the development of a theoretical rationale for the techniques which they are already practising and which they will find essential when they come to train other instructors.'

The 'sandwich' course referred to above is of four terms of ten weeks each. In the first and fourth terms the teacher attends Garnett College, but returns to his own teaching establishment for the middle two terms, to apply his theoretical knowledge in a supervised practice. The academic work is in two phases.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid.

The first phase deals with:

1. A discussion of the relevance of educational psychology to the work of a police instructor.
2. A discussion of the relevance of the sociology and the philosophy of education to the work of a police instructor.
3. A demonstration lesson in law illustrating the above and leading to a detailed consideration of lesson planning.
4. Educational Visit to the Police Staff College, Bramshill.
5. A consideration of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Cognitive aspect) leading to a discussion on testing.
6. The use of CCTV and VTR for training in general and specifically for the training of instructors.
7. The principles, writing and use of Programmed Instruction.
8. The assessment of practical teaching.

In the second phase, particular concepts from educational theory are selected; the students are given preparatory reading and a two hour tutorial period is then devoted to the discussion of the particular application of these topics to police training.

The selected concepts are as follows:-

1. Conditioning.
2. Role, Reference Groups, Role-set.
3. The nature of knowledge.
4. Cognitive development.
5. Socialisation.
6. Teaching and Training.
7. The Nature of Intelligence.
8. Vocational/Liberal Education.

Throughout both phases, students are writing essays, working on assignments and preparing projects.

The officers from the Metropolitan Police (who have so

far been the only ones allowed to undertake the full 'sandwich' course) have to take a final examination like all other students. This examination consists of two parts; Section A is general, but the student's own specialism can be brought into it. Section B deals specifically with particular aspects of education. The 'Police' part of the paper for December, 1971, is reproduced below; it may be thought to hold a nice balance between the professional and the liberal parts of the studies. (Two of the four questions had to be answered, in a time allowance of about one-and-a-half hours.)

#### POLICE SUBJECTS

54. Relations between the police and the public have received much attention in recent months. In what ways should the training of a probationary constable reflect this concern?
55. Discuss some of the ways in which closed-circuit television can be used to advantage in courses in police training.
56. Evaluate some of the objectives for teaching law to young policemen.
57. The role of the policeman must include both the taking of orders and the showing of initiative. How can these requirements be incorporated into a training scheme?
58. With reference to a particular lesson outline ways in which demonstration by the teacher and practice by the learner might be combined for maximum effectiveness.

Of the five Metropolitan Police officers who have been sent on this course to date, one is still on it, two obtained distinctions in both theory and practical and another gained a distinction in practice.

About twelve officers have been sent by the Home Office for a ten-week course before joining the Central Planning Unit at Ryton-on-Dunsmore; the college believes that they have all

been of sufficient calibre to have successfully undertaken the full course, had they been allowed to do so. Although this development has so far been on such a limited scale it is of great importance for two reasons. One is that though few officers have yet taken formal teacher training they are of such rank and ability that their influence is likely to be seminal. The other is that the success of the experiment was such that a Home Office Working Party was set up in 1970, under the chairmanship of Captain D. W. P. Varwell, with terms of reference, 'To advise upon the principles on which training instructors and the teachers themselves should be selected and trained, and on methods and techniques suitable for probationer training.' After a full investigation of the whole field of police primary training the report categorically advised that all future instructors should be carefully selected and then trained in three defined stages. On instructors at Police Training Centres it recommended,<sup>1</sup> inter alia, that both lecture loads and ancillary duties of instructors should be reduced, and that the unproductive competitiveness produced by having each class taught by a single instructor should be eliminated by using small teams of instructors. It went on to emphasise that all officers (of however high a rank) involved in the teaching process should themselves have appropriate training and experience. After discussing the necessary qualities of a successful instructor<sup>2</sup> the report went on to say on the specific topic of the training of instructors, 'We recommend that all training should be carried out by the Central Planning Unit and that it should be in three stages:-

1. The initial student-instructor course.

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1. Report of Working Party on The Selection and Training of Police Instructors, 1971.
  2. Ibid; page 4, Section C, Paragraphs C5, C6.

2. The senior instructors' course.
3. Training Seminars for senior officers.

'We have considered the correct location for the Central Planning Unit. In the long run, we believe that it would be in the best interests of the service as a whole if the Central Planning Unit were attached to the Staff College at Bramshill, whilst retaining some autonomy of function. Such an attachment would give to training the prestige that it must have and it would enable the Unit to draw upon the facilities of the College - the library and some of the social scientists from the General Studies staff in particular. In return, the Central Planning Unit could contribute to the College its expertise in training methods and educational technology. It seems unlikely that such a transfer could take place in the near future and we have considered short-term plans. The present accommodation of the Unit is inadequate for its present needs and quite incapable of accepting any expansion. We recognise that its present site has geographical advantages, and we would urge that any redevelopment of the Training Centre at Ryton-on-Dunsmore should include adequate provision for the Central Planning Unit until such time as the move to Bramshill becomes possible.

'We have looked at the length of the initial student-instructor course and conclude that there is an inadequate period available after the two weeks of teaching-practice. It is the practical experience of teaching that alerts students to the relevance of theory and in order that this can be dealt with we recommend that the course shall be of eight weeks duration - three weeks at the Central Planning Unit - two weeks teaching practice at a Training Centre - three weeks consolidation at the Central Planning Unit.

'We are not proposing a detailed timetable for the initial

course but we suggest that the general principles should be as follows:-

- Weeks 1-3 Preparation for teaching practice, with emphasis upon routine classroom operation. Long sessions of 'practice lessons' should be partly replaced by 'teaching exercises' observed by Closed-circuit Television and played back for comment via video-tape recorder.
- Weeks 4-5 Teaching Practice. We have noted comments from some Training Centres regarding some of their problems with regard to this aspect of the student instructor course. We recommend that one or two student-instructors on teaching practice should be attached to one of the teams described in paragraph A3. The Inspector in charge should allocate the student's time between (1) observing the teaching of one of the team, (2) teaching a class on his own and (3) assisting one of the team in teaching, demonstrating or in any other activity. In all cases, post hoc discussions of these activities would be of the utmost importance.
- Weeks 6-8 In this period, the theory underlying teaching practice should be dealt with, laying a foundation upon which any individual's future development in the field of training can be built. If, at the end of Week 5, it is clear that the student is unlikely to make a success of a period as an instructor, (his) course could be discontinued at this stage. If, at the end of Week 8, a student is considered to be unready for qualification, the Commandant of the Central Planning Unit should be able to request

from the officer's Chief Constable a further secondment of two weeks for an extension of teaching-practice.

'We recommend that an appropriate number of students to one class on the student-instructor course is twelve. Bearing in mind our recommendation that the course should be of eight weeks' duration and if the present output of instructors is to be maintained, the staff of the Central Planning Unit must be increased accordingly.

'Looking at the methods and techniques by which these student-instructors are to be trained we would recommend the following:-

- (1) an increase in flexibility in the actual timetable.
- (2) an increased emphasis upon discussion rather than lecturing.
- (3) the use of video-tape recordings for the early correction of initial faults in presentation.
- (4) the provision of sufficient free-periods so that students are able to assimilate and to prepare.
- (5) the opportunity for some practice lessons in the last three weeks of the course when students can endeavour to use the feedback that has arisen from their teaching practice.'

From the above it is apparent that as these recommendations are implemented the teaching in police training establishments will become much more professional and effective.

Turning to the Senior Instructors' Course, intended to fit Inspectors for additional responsibility in the field of Training the report, besides recommending the study of more sophisticated teaching methods, comes down firmly in favour of the study of human relationships and liberal thought. It

says, 'Before an Inspector can commence his more responsible duties either in a Training Centre or within Force Training he should have followed a Senior Instructor's Course which should be of four weeks duration. We recommend that the Central Planning Unit should stage such a course about four times each year. Much of the instruction in such a course would be through methods other than lecturing and the curriculum should include:-

- (1) Team leadership and staff development,
- (2) Human learning and human relationships; student problems,
- (3) Course administration, programme planning.
- (4) Advanced teaching aids.
- (5) Examination techniques.
- (6) Availability of outside resources.<sup>1</sup>

This section of the report concluded with a recommendation that Higher Training Seminars should be organised for officers of the rank of Chief Inspector or above to make sure that they kept abreast of all new developments in educational technology.

The Central Planning and Instructors' Training Unit<sup>2</sup> at Ryton-on-Dunsmore is of central importance in the field of police training. It not only trains instructors for the District Training Centres but it produces the bulk of all training material. At present future instructors for the Central Training Centres undergo a remarkably brief initiate - three weeks of intensive instruction, two weeks of guided teaching practice and a final 'tidying-up' week. The Ryton-on-Dunsmore instructors themselves usually take the ten-week course at Garnett College mentioned above. The report made sweeping recommendations to improve the situation described above. It recommended that the Commandant should be appointed for five years, and

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1. Ibid; page 6, paragraph D7.

2. Usually known as the Central Planning Unit.

should be of equal status to the Commandant of a Training Centre.<sup>1</sup> On function and status it said,

'We see the Central Planning Unit as enjoying a very high status in the police service and that its main functions should be as follows:-

- (1) The Training of Instructional Staff (as detailed above).
- (2) The maintenance and development of an information and resources function. This should include the analysis and dissemination of new legislation and also the publishing of relevant information concerned with the content and method of training.
- (3) The initiation of appropriate research in training content and method in association with other organisations such as the Home Office Research Unit, the Police College and other institutions of Higher Education.
- (4) The provision of a training-consultative service available to police forces as a whole. The Unit should be able to send one or more officers to any Training Centre or Force Training Unit in order to advise upon specific problems. We would hope that this function could be extended to police forces overseas.'

It further recommended that every teaching member of the staff of the Unit should take, as the start to his new appointment, the full, four-term 'sandwich' course at Garnett College, leading to the award of the University of London's Institute of Education Certificate in Education, coupled with a suggestion that exceptional officers should be encouraged to go further to 'take some more advanced qualification in the behavioural sciences.' The report's final paragraph stated

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1. The Working Party was surely well advised on this point, as it numbered amongst its members the current and the designate Commandants of the Unit.

its belief in the urgent necessity for improved police training; its ultimate lines may be thought-provoking, 'the rapidly changing structure and values of society at large are making, and will continue to make, tremendous demands upon the police force as a whole and that the manner in which these demands will be met depends to no small extent upon the quality of these men and women who are responsible for the training of police officers of the future. The investment may be large but the dividend could be the difference between order and chaos.'

The Criminal Investigation Branch (henceforth C.I.D.) is the largest of the separate departments in all police forces. So strong is the lingering influence of Sherlock Holmes that many people regard detectives as supermen, possessed of extraordinary powers of observation and deduction. In fact, the detective is probably a special kind of man, but not cast in the heroic mould above, and quite impossible to classify. One skilled observer<sup>1</sup> after intimate contact with detectives over a long period says their important attributes are 'the ability to get on with people, to talk to them, to extract what they know, and to detect when they are lying ....' and that 'powers of deduction and observation .... are relatively unimportant.' Another writer in this field<sup>2</sup> supplements this description, 'The three characteristics which (the detectives) have in common (are) their curiosity, their acting ability and their tact.' It may be remembered that a minority on the 1962 Royal Commission on the Police thought so highly of the qualities needed by detectives that they recommended that 'up to one half of the total detective establishments should be recruited from

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1. Laurie; page 127.

2. Anthony Martienssen; 'Crime and the Police,' page 70.

men with G.C.E. passes at Advanced Level and from graduates . . . .<sup>1</sup> and that furthermore all detectives should be automatically advanced one step in rank so that the lowest grade would be that of sergeant. (This did not find favour, either with the majority on the Royal Commission<sup>1</sup> or later on in the 'Taverne'<sup>2</sup> report on manpower in the police.) To these qualities could perhaps be added basic good health - to tolerate the long and irregular hours - and a tough outer skin to insulate him from the less pleasant aspects of his work.

Many recruits join the police service with the intention of applying to join the C.I.D. as soon as their two years of probation are up, but many think better of it when the time comes. Anybody still of the same mind will apply for transfer and, if accepted, become attached to the C.I.D. as a Temporary Detective Constable, commonly known as an 'Aid.' For about the next two years he will be under observation and assessment for his potentiality as a detective; though this may seem a long time it is a slow business acquiring the detective's eye and nose - '(A detective) told me he'd spent a year without any luck, then suddenly, like riding a bicycle, it had clicked . . . . After practice the ordinary pedestrian becomes almost invisible, but those who were up to no good flash their uncontrollable code of fear . . . .'<sup>3</sup> During this two-year period the neophyte is expected to average about one arrest a week; if he is finally accepted for C.I.D. work he is then sent to one of the five large, specialist Detective Training Schools. These schools are situated at Hendon (where about 750 Metropolitan officers receive training at some level or another, as well as over 300 men from provincial and other forces) and

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1. Cmnd.1728.

2. Taverne P.M.E.E.

3. Laurie; pp.133, 136.

at Birmingham, Lancashire, Liverpool and Bootle, and West Yorkshire (Wakefield); nearly 3,000 men are trained annually, as the table below shows.<sup>1</sup>

Table viii

Detective Training Schools

Summary for the year ending 31st December, 1970

Officers from provincial forces

Training schools	Inspectors	Sergeants	Constables	Total
Metropolitan Police	14	86	198	298
Birmingham	17	84	172	273
Lancashire	-	30	227	257
Liverpool and Bootle	-	4	139	143
West Yorkshire	27	192	550	769
Totals	58	396	1,286	1,740

In addition to the officers from provincial forces who received training at the Metropolitan Police Detective Training School, the courses were attended by 750 officers from the Metropolitan Police, 28 overseas police officers, 3 British Airports Authority Police, 8 British Transport Police, 2 Guernsey Police, 2 Port of Bristol Authority Police, 5 Port of London Authority Police, 4 Special Investigation Branch officers and 2 from the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Courses held at the provincial schools were attended by 72 officers from overseas and 115 from the Admiralty Constabulary, Army Depot Constabulary, Belfast Harbour Police, British Airports Authority Police, British Transport Police, Garda Siochana, Isle of Man Police, Royal Air Force Police, Royal Ulster Constabulary and the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority Police.

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1. H.M.I.'s Report, 1970.

The Initial Course in Crime Investigation lasts ten weeks; it is run on two levels, Senior for sergeants and higher ranks, and Junior for constables. Lecturers are drawn from experts both within and outside the police service; although a great deal of the time is spent on the study of law much attention is given to the routine of detective work, and many fascinating glimpses are obtained of strange and esoteric subjects. Some of the lecture titles are - Coroners and Inquests; the scientific examination of documents; the construction of various types of safes and locks; the functions of the Security Service; the medico-legal aspects of homicide and wounding; the methods of confidence tricksters, share-pushers and long-firm fraudsmen; the use and misuse of informants - knowledge of local criminals - keeping observations and detective duty at special occasions; Public Relations; etc., etc., all supplemented and complemented by lectures on law and method. This course is followed at a later date by a three-week Refresher Course, with a similar, though not as extensive, syllabus. 'Its purpose is to bring the officers up to date with developments in criminal law, procedure and evidence, methods of investigation and forensic science.'<sup>1</sup> In neither case is any specific mention made of subjects of a sociological or psychological nature; if the 'welfare' role of a police officer does not extend to a detective, surely studies such as these would be helpful to him - especially if young - in helping him to see the human scene clearly and without prejudice, and his own role and function in it.

The Advanced Course (of six weeks duration), which is intended for sergeants, inspectors and chief inspectors does touch on these sociological topics. Not much time is allotted

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1. From the brochure of a Detective School.

to them, but it is a start, and it would be a temerarious outsider who would say what subjects from a crowded syllabus could or should be dropped to allow more time for liberal studies. Thus, linked with 'Dangerous Drugs - Police Problems' is found 'Dangerous Drugs - Social Problems,' and a discussion follows. There is a talk and a discussion on coloured immigrants, one on Human Behaviour by a University Lecturer in psychology, and lectures and discussion on Command and Leadership in the police service.

With such crowded syllabuses it would be impracticable to expect a detective to conduct scientific investigations of the many crimes he deals with every year. Rather, his function is to appreciate the value of evidence, to know where to look for it, to record it by photographic, or other means, to safeguard it against loss or compromise and, where appropriate, to send it safely to the local Home Office Forensic Laboratory. Time is often of the essence in this work, and so a new breed of 'scientific aids' (usually policemen, but sometimes civilians) is emerging. An advertisement for civilian 'Scenes of Crime Officers' inserted by Scotland Yard<sup>1</sup> defines their functions as 'techniques of fingerprint examination, forensic science and photography as related to the investigation of crime .... to undertake the detailed examination of scenes of crime, attend courts to give evidence .... and to provide assistance to investigating officers. (The advertisement specifies that candidates should possess a good General Certificate of Education, and offers a salary in the range of £1,021 to £1,703).

Specialised courses have now arisen to cater for this need. Students take a six-week course, with the law, for once, in the background. Instead, the course deals principally with the

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1. The Observer, November 1970.

mechanics of crime detection - taking photographs, fingerprints, and plaster casts; how to recognise arson; extracting evidence from road accidents; forgery and counterfeiting; safe blowings and explosives; biological tests; the functions and resources of the Forensic Laboratories. The lecturers are broadly chosen and usually prominent in their own fields. A doctor lectures on the duties of police surgeons, a pathologist talks about his speciality, officers of the Ministry of National Insurance and Pensions lecture on 'stamp' frauds, a quartermaster sergeant discourses on military explosives and so on. In a study such as the present one it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between education and training, as it is difficult to separate the policeman and the man behind, but specifically functional though these lectures are their final effect may be truly educational, if in a rather picaresque sort of way.

Bad accidents and major crimes are usually seen to in the first place by the 'Serious Incident' squads. These are stationed at strategic centres and are made up in teams of three - a detective, a qualified vehicle examiner and a scientific aid (though each man aims to be able to tackle his partners' specialisms as well as his own, if necessary; all necessary equipment is stored in a 'station wagon' type of vehicle so it can be brought swiftly where it is needed.

Whatever the scientific aids discover is usually packed (following a detailed, specified procedure) and sent off to the regional Forensic Laboratory for examination. Occasionally it is necessary for exhibits to be examined in situ, and in such a case a scientist from the laboratory visits the scene of the crime. Liaison between the police and the laboratory is maintained by two Police Liaison Officers, usually a

Detective Inspector and a detective sergeant.

In accordance with Peel's dictum, police forces are making special efforts to reduce crime by removing opportunity and thus temptation. This is done by Crime Prevention Officers, attached to all territorial divisions. In 1970 seven courses, each of four weeks duration, were held, and nearly 150 men were trained at the Crime Prevention Centre at Stafford. Over 1,000 crime prevention officers in England and Wales have now received this training; in addition, three five-day courses trained a total of 63 senior crime prevention officers.

The ability to drive is becoming almost an essential talent for a policeman nowadays, and this training is carried out in one of the Police motor driving schools.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that some 8,000 officers took one or the other of a variety of driving courses. Driving is basically taught in three stages, standard, intermediate and advanced. The first qualifies an officer to drive low-powered cars such as Pandas; he can then progress to the intermediate stage to drive more powerful cars in routine police business. Finally - if his record and progress warrant it - he can undergo the demanding advanced driving course, which fits him for possible transfer to the Traffic Section, which patrols the motorways, escorts heavy loads and important personages, and so on, besides the less pleasant work of dealing with the aftermath of road accidents. The courses at the Driving Schools are so highly specialised that they are almost wholly training, so they can be dealt with fairly briefly. The driving schools are equipped with many modern teaching devices and apparatus; the teaching staff are commonly such enthusiasts for motoring in all its aspects that it seems unfortunate that they usually move on in two, or at most, three years. The initial and the intermediate courses

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1. See table overleaf for details.

Table ix

Courses held at Police motor driving schools

Attended and qualified at driving courses										
Force	Total	Adv. driving	Inter-mediate driving	Standard driving	Motor cycles	Instructors	Refreshers	Traffic Patrol	Unit Beat Policing*	Other courses
Birmingham	561	85	106	262	58	11	-	36	-	3 Heavy goods vehicle.
Cheshire	663	72	-	387	79	-	3	55	-	27 Conversion automatics. 40 Heavy goods vehicle.
Durham	605	81	154	122	35	1	61	151	-	
Essex	649	119	-	143	77	12	115	84	92	7 Vehicle examiners' courses.
Kent	661	104	-	57	99	12	74	145	170	
Lancashire	1,141	126	164	154	112	9	-	133	93	311 Transit van conversion. 39 Heavy goods vehicle. 12 Heavy goods vehicle. 16 Conversion to Cooper driving.
Liverpool	402	58	193	75	13	-	-	35	-	
Manchester and Salford	349	36	-	279	-	3	12	19	-	
South Wales	667	39	-	105	45	15	72	29	362	
Staffordshire	534	120	86	129	78	5	79	37	-	
West Yorks	811	77	346	111	15	10	83	131	-	38 Heavy goods vehicle.
Wiltshire	837	94	-	527	66	12	138	-	-	
Other Students	18	1	3	5	2	3	-	4	-	
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,898</b>	<b>1,012</b>	<b>1,052</b>	<b>2,356</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>637</b>	<b>859</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>493</b>
<b>Totals for 1969</b>	<b>7,826</b>	<b>1,064</b>	<b>1,184</b>	<b>2,348</b>	<b>594</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>495</b>	<b>879</b>	<b>507</b>	<b>644</b>

The "Other Students" mentioned above include three civilians who attended the Manchester and Salford driving schools; 12 officers from the British Airports Authority who attended Essex driving school; one officer from an overseas force who attended Lancashire driving school; and two Fire Service officers who attended Birmingham driving school.

\* Many forces arrange local courses for drivers of U.B.P. Vehicles.

are each of three weeks' duration, the advanced course lasts four weeks; the sample week's syllabus on page 163 (the second week of the intermediate course) gives the flavour of them all. Those officers who have passed the advanced course must take a Motor Patrol Officers' Course before being appointed to such work; this lasts for four weeks, and is dominantly legal, though it does deal with topics such as accident procedure, forgery of licences, the conveyance of dangerous chemicals, and so on, and incorporates visits to places of interest, such as a tyre factory and a 'bus depot. The instructors display an impressive mastery of their particular topics and their ramifications and complications.

In addition to the duties outlined above Traffic Officers have road safety responsibilities and do their best to keep the growing traffic flowing, not only by their direct efforts but by analysis of traffic problems so as to be able to recommend road changes, such as the provision of more one-way streets.

One development, pioneered by the Metropolitan Police but based on American work, deserves note.<sup>1</sup> A new section of the Traffic department applies Newton's principles to the evidence in road accidents - witnesses' statements, skid marks, the condition of the road surface, state of tyres, and so on, and uses these as the basis for calculations to come to a nearer approximation to the truth about what actually happened, and which is often far removed from subjective accounts.

All forces conduct constables' refresher courses, while most forces supplement these with specialised training for sergeants and inspectors, and for women officers.

Constables have their first refresher course some five years after completing their probationary period, and at

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1. Police Review, 8th October 1971.

MOTOR SCHOOL - ADVANCED COURSESECOND WEEK

Time	Subject	Remarks
<u>MONDAY</u>		
9.00 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.	Lecture - Highway Code - Roadcraft, Chapt. 1 & 2	
10.30 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
12.30 p.m. - 1.15 p.m.	Refreshments	
1.15 p.m. - 4.40 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
4.40 p.m. - 5.15 p.m.	Maintenance	
<u>TUESDAY</u>		
9.00 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.	Lecture - Highway Code - Roadcraft, Chapt. 3 & 4	
10.30 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
12.30 p.m. - 1.15 p.m.	Refreshments	
1.15 p.m. - 4.40 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
4.40 p.m. - 5.15 p.m.	Maintenance	
<u>WEDNESDAY</u>		
9.00 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.	Lecture - Highway Code - Roadcraft, Chapt. 5 & 6	
10.30 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
12.30 p.m. - 1.15 p.m.	Refreshments	
1.15 p.m. - 4.40 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
4.40 p.m. - 5.15 p.m.	Maintenance	
<u>THURSDAY</u>		
9.00 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.	Instructors - Tyre Change Use of Jacking Equipment	
10.30 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.	Roadcraft - Chapt. 7 & 8	
12.30 p.m. - 1.15 p.m.	Refreshments	
1.15 p.m. - 4.40 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
4.40 p.m. - 5.15 p.m.	Maintenance	
<u>FRIDAY</u>		
9.00 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.	Driving Slides by Wing Sergeant	
10.30 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.	Practical Driving	Local roads
12.30 p.m. - 1.15 p.m.	Refreshments	
1.15 p.m. - 4.40 p.m.	Practical Driving	Divisions
4.40 p.m. - 5.15 p.m.	Maintenance	
<u>SATURDAY</u>		
	W. R. D.	

intervals of roughly five years after that. Typically, such a course would be of two weeks' duration and residential; the syllabus would deal mainly with professional topics, but would be supplemented by some lectures by outside speakers. In addition a constable would expect to undergo a Home Office Crime Detection Course of two weeks, fairly early in his career.

Newly promoted sergeants<sup>1</sup> can expect to take a two weeks course within a year of their promotion to fit them for their new status and responsibilities. They learn how to deal with situations new to them, such as handling matters when a prisoner is brought into the station. In Essex a senior sergeant will have a single further course after some years in the rank.

Inspectors who have not been sent to take a course at Bramshill have their own two week course, which deals (briefly, it is imagined) with topics including major incidents, complaints against the police, man management, objective writing, lecturing, relationships of police and press, communications, cadets, drugs, and the force and the local authority.<sup>2</sup>

Women constables also have a two week course during their early service; it is practical in form, and deals with such specialised topics as emergency child-birth, problems of women and young children, and the techniques of taking statements in indecency cases. In addition they visit the local girls' Borstal, listen to a selection of outside speakers, and learn the elements of forensic work.

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1. In Essex.

2. Per Force Training Officer, Essex.

Table x<sup>1</sup>

Course	No. of officers attending courses arranged	
	Within own force	By another force
Police duty courses		
Constables' refresher	5,341	87
Newly promoted sergeants	675	80
Sergeants' refresher	922	182
Newly promoted inspectors	102	32
Inspectors and chief inspectors	222	245
Superintendents and above	8	71
Other courses		
Promotion examination study	2,276	-
Policewomen	149	160
Drugs	125	50
Traffic management	91	76
Man-management	890	163

There are many other specialised skills which a certain number of police must have to meet possible commitments. Fortunately many of these skills can be linked up with enthusiasts. Every police division needs a few marksmen, and these follow a few days of theoretical and safety training with work on the butts and ranges. They are selected from men who are thought to be 'reliable, cool, and who will obey orders immediately.'<sup>2</sup> Eighteen provincial forces still keep some two-hundred horses amongst them, with rather more riders than steeds. There are about one-thousand police dogs maintained, nearly all alsatians, each (when trained) with a close personal relationship with his handler. Besides their control work many dogs are performing remarkable feats of drug detection - one animal methodically quartered a room to find a tiny morsel of cannabis within seconds, and then capped this by finding a

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1. H.M.I's Report, 1970.

2. Interview with a Force Firearms Officer.

buried fragment of the drug outside within minutes. Their handlers learn their craft from the inevitable Home Office manual, 'Police Dogs, Training and Care,' and from attendance at Dog Training Centres.

This chapter and the previous one have dealt mainly with the training of policemen - mainly in the lower ranks - to carry out specific tasks - principally policing a beat, but including specialities headed by detective work. The cost in money and in time is already formidable, and takes no account yet of training for promotion or for the higher echelons of the police service. Here seems to be a genuine dilemma; modern conditions demand police officers with better and broader-based educations, and yet some people would say that the service as a whole is suffering because of the demands training already makes on its limited resources. This matter will need further discussion later on.

CHAPTER VIIISELECTION AND TRAINING FOR PROMOTION

Most large organisations solve their management problems by recruiting at more than one level; the task of management is so different in kind from the work that the bulk of the workers do that lack of experience of the latter kind is not (or is not supposed to be) any great handicap to the manager. However, this solution is not possible in the police service, partly because most actual policing - that part which is performed in direct contact with the public - is carried out mainly by constables and sergeants, and also because of the Police Federation's implacable hostility to the creation of an 'officer class' in the police, and its consequent insistence on all entry being at the rank of constable. This, as has been discussed before, poses difficult and peculiar problems for the police service in connection with promotion; although the service as a whole may be well on the road to conquering the problems of filling senior posts in the future, it may be simultaneously creating other difficulties which could easily have a severely adverse effect on the police service of the future.

Slow promotion was commonplace once upon a time; although no doubt sometimes resented, it had to be tolerated in the social and economic conditions of those days. Until quite recently men had to serve a minimum of four years before being eligible to sit the promotion examination for sergeant and could not be promoted until they had five years' service. The Royal Commission in 1962<sup>1</sup> recommended that these qualifying periods should be reduced by two years; in the event they were

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1. Cmnd.1728; para.314.

actually reduced by one year apiece. Under these conditions in one small force with 190 constables who had the requisite length of service 59 per cent had passed their promotion examinations, but most of these had little or no chance of actually gaining promotion. The mean time which had elapsed since these men qualified was 7.21 years, and with an annual number of promotion to sergeant running at 3.5 it would take over 37 years for all these men to be promoted.<sup>1</sup>

In one force<sup>2</sup> the average length of service of a constable when 'made up' was 15.8 years, and no man had been promoted sergeant with less than nine years service. On average these sergeants had held their rank for 5½ years, and their mean length of service was 22 years. The situation with regard to inspectors was even more startling; their mean length of service upon promotion was 22.8 years, and their average length of service 28.6 years. Their mean length of service when promoted to sergeant had been 14.9 years - a significantly shorter time than that of sergeants who had not yet progressed - i.e., these inspectors had been picked out for 'early' promotion on the basis of their potential.

Such conditions - and worse could be found in many forces, particularly the smaller ones - not only discourage recruitment but must have an adverse effect upon morale. With promotion so difficult to come by a man could be forgiven for thinking that one adverse report could damn him for ever, or that somebody more fortunate than him had gained promotion on the 'blue eyes' basis. The strain and frustration thus imposed on able men has been reduced (for the time being, at least, by several factors. The Working Party on the Recruitment of People with Higher Educational Qualifications into the Police Service<sup>3</sup>

1. Whitaker; p.129.

2. Ibid; p.133.

3. Taverne, Education; para.46.

recommended that a constable should be able to sit his promotion examinations after two years' service only - i.e. immediately upon finishing his probation and be eligible for promotion a year later. At the same time a qualified constable could also go forward to take his examinations for the rank of Inspector. Coupled with the extension of the 'Special' scheme by which able young men could be launched upon the promotion ladder early on, these amendments gave bright prospects to bright young men, at the immediate cost of disgruntlement amongst older men with aspirations of their own, who naturally felt that their hard-won, practical, police knowledge was being subordinated to 'book learning,' and by creating a situation in the future when promotion would be blocked for the great majority of new entrants. During 1970 8,293 constables sat the examination for promotion to sergeant, and 1,462 passed. During that same year a total of 1,011 constables were made up to sergeant - often after a wait of many years. During the same period 2,804 sergeants and 3,823 constables took the 'Inspectors' examination, and 1,290 and 1,247 (a total of 2,537) passed. There were 508 promotions to inspector in the whole of that year.<sup>1</sup>

One policeman's wife wrote,<sup>2</sup> 'Is it any wonder that Policemen in general have such a lethargic attitude towards work when promotion prospects are so poor? When he joins the Force as a young man he hopes to work hard, pass his exams, and, if he behaves himself, to climb the ladder of success. Unfortunately a majority of men, and this includes my husband, have found themselves blocked on that next rung up the ladder by young, inexperienced men, who have become involved in the Bramshill system, and who hold down top jobs for years and years.'

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1. H.M. Inspector of Constabulary's Report, 1970.

2. Police Review, 30th June, 1972.

The table below, which gives the distribution of all male inspectors by age in all forces in England and Wales shows that the modal age group is 39-41, and that over 94 per cent of them have left the service by the age of fifty. The relatively small number of inspectors under the age of thirty (most of whom will have arrived at the rank via the Special Course) will have a disproportionately large effect on future prospects of promotion to command ranks (670 Chief Superintendents, 200 A.C.C's and 70 Chief Constables), because they have been able to make the decisive step onto the ladder of promotion at such an early age.

Table xi.

Age Distribution of Inspectors<sup>1</sup>

Age groups	24- 26	27- 29	30- 32	33- 35	36- 38	39- 41	42- 44	45- 47	48- 50	51- 53	54- 56	57- 59
No. of inspectors	19	90	242	426	620	881	789	713	524	224	43	6

A leading article in the Police Review<sup>2</sup> takes up this theme, and goes on to make a number of concrete suggestions for ameliorating the situation; 'A constable, to be qualified for promotion to the rank of Sergeant, must have passed the qualifying examination and have completed two years' service. This latter condition is ludicrous in that one must also have completed two years' service before one can take the examination. With convenient dates this means that one could be qualified at about two years and three months at the very earliest, i.e. when the examination results are known. This is still a very short period of time in which to qualify but, having qualified, one has a right to expect a concrete, possi-

1. After H.M.I's Report for 1970.

2. For 22nd October, 1971, p.1366.

bility of promotion occurring.

'What chances, however, does a person who qualifies at the first opportunity have of being promoted in the foreseeable future? Almost nil. General promotion trends indicate that a hard worker with the potential for advancement can hope to be promoted in the five-to-seven year bracket at the earliest.

'Anyone can pass the examination if he intends to and the effect of the two-year provisions will be to create quickly a large pool of qualified men, a pool which may prove to have hidden depths and undercurrents. The younger elements will feel that they have been wronged by a lack of recognition in the form of a promotion and the older men will resent the younger ones who have taken advantage of facilities not open to them in their earlier days.

'The qualified Constable may now also take the examination to Inspector. On the first year's precedent in my Force - which is large enough to reflect the national average - more Constables passed the examination than Sergeants even though they only received short notice of their eligibility to sit. Unfortunately for the Constable his Chief Officer's mind may now be subconsciously orientating towards only promoting men to Sergeant who have already passed the examination to Inspector.

'These regulations have not been in force for long and are the latest in a series of reductions over the past few years. One might like to think that they are progressive but the side effects which have been illustrated were easily foreseeable. Is it too much to suggest that these amendments could have been linked to coincide with the introduction of the graduate entry scheme? <sup>1</sup>

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1. See Chapter X.

'Provided he meets all the other requirements relevant to the scheme the graduate will be qualified and will be promoted after passing the examination which he can take when he has completed two years. If the rest of the Service has been honoured with the same qualification requirements for the sake of making them appear to be on equal terms with the graduate, the regulations should never have been made.

'The first thing that is missing in the equality stakes is the promotion guarantee to Sergeant and then to Inspector which the normal entrant does not have. Can we not admit and openly recognise that people are joining the Service with pre-appointment guarantees not held by the majority? The effects of catering for the entry of a present maximum of twenty places per year over thousands of others will rapidly become intolerable if promotion regulations for the normal entrant are not changed. Let us keep the graduate entry scheme and keep it as it is. (I hope that it will be a success although it might be said that the Home Office has pre-supposed that there is insufficient talent within the Service to lead it into the future). What we should do, however, is to raise the minimum period whereby one could be promoted to Sergeant from two years to five for the rest. The service qualification for taking the examination could be left at two years with a minimum of four years before one could apply for a place on the Special Course. The qualified Constable should no longer be able to take the Inspector's examination, and a serious look should be taken to see if this examination is necessary at all.

'These alterations would have the effect of making the regulations more meaningful. A Constable who had passed his examination could be promoted after five years to the day. This is a more sensible target. It is realistic and allows

the individual sufficient time to demonstrate his aptitude for advancement in the future instead of growing bitter about something which has not happened to him in the past and present.'

Before leaving this rather disquietening background to the promotion picture perhaps a later chapter<sup>1</sup> can be anticipated slightly; a sample of 23 superintendents, chief inspectors and inspectors at the Police College (and thus already well up the promotion ladder, and picked as likely to rise further) almost unanimously agreed with the proposition that, 'Generally speaking, the promotion system works well and fairly in the police,' but other (small) samples of different classes of police had reservations, in some cases very strong.

When a constable feels himself qualified by service and experience for promotion, he must first pass the qualifying examination. This is purely on police subjects, the former education paper, the so-called 'Civil Service', having been abolished in the late sixties, probably because it was felt that what applied to would-be higher officers applied just as strongly to others seeking promotion, 'Results in the examination in educational subjects may reflect the type and length of education that an officer received before joining the service rather than his ability, already displayed or potential, as a policeman.'<sup>2</sup>

Even without this extra commitment the examination is a formidable one. It is in three parts of three hours each, the first on Law, Practice and Procedure in Relation to General Police Duties, the second the same relating to Crime and in the last relating to Traffic. The topics covered are Courts of Justice, Evidence, Record of Evidence, Powers of arrest and

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1. Chapter XI.

2. Report of the Committee of the Police Council on Higher Police Training, 1962; para.4.

search, Mode of arrest and handling of prisoners, Identification of suspects, Entry into premises, Statements, reports, etc., Principles of Criminal Liability, Classification of Crimes, Parties to a Crime, Degrees in the Commission of a Crime, Offences against Public Peace, Offences against Public Morals and Public Policy, and Offences against the Person; the scope and complexity of the material is suggested by the expansion of the heading 'Procedure,' which runs,

### Procedure

'Information. Affidavit. Summonses. Subpoena. Indictment. Committal proceedings. Warrants. Recognisance. Bail by Courts. Remand. Dismissal. Acquittal and discharge. Probation of offenders. Incurable rogues. Detention by police. Treatment of youthful offenders - punishment, remand homes and centres, attendance and detention centres, approved schools and fit persons. Borstal institutions. Procedure in summary and indictable cases (adults, young persons, children). Service of process. Binding over - to keep the peace, to be of good behaviour, of witnesses. Suspended sentences. Court Orders for fingerprinting. Persistent offenders. Release on licence, supervision and recall. Orders made by courts to notify address to Central After-Care Association and/or Police. Special offenders. Prisons. Certiorari Mandamus. Habeas Corpus. Limitation of proceedings. Costs in criminal cases. Director of Public Prosecutions. Attorney General. Speeches in Court. Prosecutors and Advocates. General principles concerning extradition.'<sup>1</sup>

All papers have to be passed on the same occasion; the pass mark is at present 40 per cent, though there is being mooted at the present time a suggestion that this should rise to 50 per cent, in an effort to break the log-jam of promotion.

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1. Syllabus, Police Promotions Board.

A constable can prepare himself for this ordeal in several ways. Each force has some form of training scheme for promotion, but these vary greatly in scope and value. The different degrees of help given by various forces to its members is a fruitful source of irritation to men who feel that their own force does not do as much for them as it might. In the November 1971 examinations to sergeant the pass rates varied between forces from 15 per cent to 21 per cent, regarding which the Police Review<sup>1</sup> tartly commented, 'This high pass rate is very often achieved by Chief Constables arranging cram courses first by correspondence and then (by) full-time attendance a week or so before examination day.' The ambitious constable will probably feel the need to supplement force instruction by attendance with some form of correspondence study. Three commercial colleges belonging to the Association of British Correspondence Colleges - International Correspondence Schools, the Metropolitan College (of St. Albans) and Wolsey Hall - run such courses, but for commercial reasons are unwilling to state the degree of their involvement. Another correspondence school, the School of Careers (of Reading) advertises heavily and claims that '95% of the School of Careers students who substantially complete the Course do pass their Promotion Exam. at the first attempt. We have very few failures.' It goes on to say that 'in less than five years over 2,000 School of Careers students have passed promotion exams.' As there were 20,500 passes in provincial forces, together with some 5,000 passes in the Metropolitan Police during the five years 1966-1970 inclusive, it can be assumed that the contribution all the colleges together make is more than marginal but not highly significant.

Many forces do run their own correspondence courses to supplement other instruction. Essex and Southend-on-Sea

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1. 9th June, 1972, page 725.

Constabulary began an excellent scheme in 1965, based on the pioneer work of the Durham force. One reason for its creation was the lack (at that time) of suitable text-books. The work was based on duplicated, foolscap sheets which rendered text-books unnecessary. These were sent out weekly; one instalment could contain as many as fifty pages and the total for a year came to over 1,700 pages. Monthly test papers were sent out, followed two weeks later by model answers, from which the student could assess himself. Around 250 constables took up the course each year, of whom some 90 lasted the year out. When these sheets in the course of time became supplemented by the new Home Office Manual of Guidance and Messrs. Butterworth's Police Promotion Handbooks the course became too effective, too many men passed and bad feeling and frustration were engendered. As the need for Directed Study Courses as originally formulated diminished a new, fortnightly programme was established, which mainly acted as a guide and a complement to the textbooks mentioned above, and corrected erroneous or out-of-date material. Monthly tests were still sent out, accompanied by a marking guide. The course in 1971 had 230 original members, which had dropped to 190 near the end and about 100 passes could be expected. Some divisions managed to hold discussion sessions based on the postal work, and the force also manages to teach some 40 constables (chosen by an eliminating examination) during a four-week residential course. A very high pass rate is normally obtained by this selected group. A further scheme aims at giving about one hundred constables a one-week residential course on selected topics.<sup>1</sup>

The West Riding Constabulary is another force with a well-organised scheme to help its members pass their examinations;

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1. Information by courtesy of the Essex and Southend-on-Sea Constabulary.

its scheme is based on a series of booklets which first of all discuss areas of study, then set typical examination questions on them, and finally supplies model answers. Such courses make great demands on the forces which run them; some years ago Messrs. Keith Normanton and Bryan Holroyd, both then lecturers at the Whitwood Mining and Technical College, Castleford, began to produce a series of Programmed Learning courses, in conjunction with the West Riding Constabulary. The subject matter was the now superseded 'Civil Service' examination syllabus, composed of Arithmetic, England and Environmental Studies (and later supplemented by police scripts on topics such as Forgery, Larceny, etc.). All papers out and in were routed via police headquarters,<sup>1</sup> so causing considerable delays in marking and the subsequent essential 'feed-back.' Marking was carried out mainly by women graduates, house-bound with young families, for a fee of 3/3d. a script. The lecturers felt keenly that they were being denied direct contact with their pupils, and so could, for example, merely hint at deficiencies in an answer in case they were picked up by some senior officer and 'used in evidence.' It was also found difficult to maintain the valuable link between particular students and markers. The course took nine months to complete, but when the then Home Secretary<sup>2</sup> abolished the 'educational' part of promotion examinations in 1967 the whole concept was allowed to drop, with, it is surmised, sighs of relief on both sides. The West Yorkshire Constabulary have replaced this scheme by the one mentioned above, which, though good, does not seem to have the potentialities of the Whitwood Scheme. It may be that it will become expedient one day to revive this promising but ill-starred scheme in connection with some aspect

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1. Both police and lecturers say they saw no need for this arrangement.

2. The Rt. Hon. R. Jenkins.

of police education.

If he succeeds in passing his examination the aspirant will normally attend a preliminary board, composed of an Assistant Chief Constable (A.C.C.) and two Superintendents or Chief Superintendents - his own Divisional Commander and another. They devote about half an hour to each man, and give some weight to his 'Annual Appraisals.' This is based on <sup>a</sup>pro forma which is filled in each year by his divisional commander, who assesses the man on a three point scale for appearance (on duty), conduct, reaction to criticism, relations with colleagues, attitude towards public, interest, effort, confidence, understanding, initiative, reports, oral expression, dependability, judgement, organisation of work, sense of responsibility and management of subordinates. There is also space to record any special attributes (e.g., sport, or youth leadership), and for a 'Pen Picture.' There is space for the second and third superiors in line to record any disagreement they may have, and for the man himself to express his views on his report, if his force allows him to see it. The divisional commander interviews every man under his command, and records his summing-up and recommendations on promotion, etc. In large forces, especially when an officer is not allowed to read his report, but is merely given the gist of it, some anxiety can be created. One police officer<sup>1</sup> sums this up when he says, 'It is essential in the interest of absolute fairness that the report should be read verbatim to the assessed officer .... (as) reports about Constables are at present being prepared by Inspectors who cannot, I think, be in a position to judge for themselves the ability of an individual officer.'

This preliminary promotion board can either defer a candi-

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1. P.C. J. A. French, Warwickshire and Coventry Constabulary; Police Review, 23 April, 1971.

date or recommend him to a full promotion board, normally headed by the Chief Constable or his deputy, and having upon it representatives of the Police Federation and the Superintendents Association. If, as a result of this interview, a constable is recommended for promotion, he will be placed on a list in an order of merit, from which vacancies will normally be filled in sequence as they occur. However, a man may jump a number of places if he is specially suitable for a specific vacancy (for, say, a dog handling sergeant), but as time goes by he may find himself, to his dismay, being pushed inexorably down the list as newcomers are listed above him.

The Metropolitan Police uses a somewhat different method for selecting its sergeants. 'Each year the Commissioner .... decides the proportion of estimated vacancies for Sergeants which shall go to successful candidates in the competitive examinations. The proportion varies between 75 and 90 per cent competitive, 25 to 10 per cent by selection after qualification by securing a pass. The vacancies by selection are reserved for Constables with more than ten years' service.'<sup>1</sup>

The examinations for the rank of Inspector (the definitive examinations in procedure and law) follow the same syllabus as before, but are considerably more difficult - though the percentage of passes is higher at around 30 per cent. Mr. P. F. Biggs<sup>2</sup> says in a letter 'that two lecturers at the Law Society's College examined and commented on a set of examination papers for the qualifying examination for promotion from sergeant to inspector. While they pointed out that it was extremely difficult to assess the standard of an examination merely by considering the question paper, they thought nevertheless that insofar as the questions involved points of

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1. Frank Elmes; *The Police as a Career*, p.105.

2. On the staff of the Police Federation; 26 August, 1970.

substantive criminal law, "They appear to be of the same standard as the criminal law paper for the solicitors part 1 examination - or if anything a little higher," and that, "the criminal law syllabus is more extensive than that for our articulated clerks." By way of general comment, they concluded, "We may say that, as lecturers in law for professional examinations, we are most surprised to discover that such a high standard was required even for promotion to rank of inspector."'

However, the mere fact of passing the examination and the subsequent interview does not of itself guarantee swift (or indeed any) promotion. For the really able and ambitious man the quick route to the inspector's rank (which some would call the first commissioned rank in the police service) lies via the Special Course at the Police College at Bramshill House, Hartley Wintney. This course, which takes particularly able young officers and moves them swiftly up, originated in 1947. Amongst the courses originated by the White Paper<sup>1</sup> which appeared in March of that year and recommended the setting-up of a Police College was one of six months designed to fit sergeants for promotion to inspectors, which commenced in 1948. Another White Paper<sup>2</sup> appeared in 1961 and stated, 'First, there is to be a course for constables, of twelve months' duration. This is a new development. The course will be open to constables in all forces in England and Wales. Entrants to the course will be selected from those constables who have obtained the highest marks in the examinations in police subjects for promotion to sergeant (examinations which are held for provincial forces by the Civil Service Commission under the aegis of a Central Examinations Board and for the Metropolitan Police under similar arrangements made by the Commissioner of

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1. Comnd. 7070.

2. Comnd. 1350; paragraph 9.

Police). The course will aim at giving students a working knowledge of various aspects of police duty; but, in addition, it will have a wider educational content in order to provide a stimulus to acquiring a broad and liberal outlook. It is contemplated that those on the course will have to pass tests during the course, and an examination at the end of it. An officer who successfully completes the course will receive automatic promotion in his own force to the substantive rank of sergeant.'

There were three salient points in this paragraph; first of all, places at the college were gained on a strictly competitive basis; secondly, automatic and immediate promotion was guaranteed to successful candidates; last, but not least, the need for police officers - particularly those whom it was hoped would climb high - to have a true, broad education was, for almost the first time, being recognised.

A Committee of the Police Council was set up immediately to see to the implementation of the White Paper's proposals. This body's important recommendations are given below in the form of a selection of its own summary:

'Summary of recommendations

30. (i) It should be a matter entirely for an officer's own choice whether his name is put forward for consideration for a place on the special course at the College. (Paragraphs 3 and 18).

(ii) Candidates for selection should have passed the qualifying promotion examination in educational subjects at the lower level before their applications are considered, but the marks obtained should not form part of a mark used for final selection. (Paragraph 4).

(iii) In the first instance approximately half of those selected centrally for the course should be accepted solely on the marks

obtained in the qualifying examination in police subjects for promotion from constable to sergeant, subject to endorsement by their Chief Constables. The remainder should be selected, from amongst those next on the list and any in the first group who had not been endorsed by their Chief Constables, on the basis of tests of the extended interview type, and subject to scrutiny of the results by a final selection board. (Paragraph 9).

(iv) A selection authority should be made responsible for the supervision and control of the selection arrangements and for deciding administrative questions. The Police Examinations Board is recommended. (Paragraphs 12, 15, 19, 20 and 24).

(v) The selection authority should have a discretion to vary the proportions of the students admitted by either method when exact parity is impossible owing to a number of candidates obtaining the same examination marks. (Paragraph 9).

(vi) The selecting staff appointed for the extended interview tests should be in teams of three people. The chairman of each team should be a senior serving officer, one other member should come from within the service and be of senior rank, and the third member should be an independent person from outside the service. If more than one team is found to be necessary, a director should be appointed to co-ordinate their work. The director should be a senior police officer who might be assisted by an assessor from outside the service if the selection authority considered this desirable. The importance of choosing selecting staff for their suitability for conducting tests of this nature rather than on account of their rank is emphasised. (Paragraph 10).

(vii) The report of a sub-committee set up to consider the qualities to be regarded as desirable in candidates appearing

for extended interview . . . . should be made available to the selection authority.<sup>1</sup> (Paragraph 10).

(viii) The final selection board should be representative of all ranks in the service and under the chairmanship of one of H.M. Inspectors of Constabulary. (Paragraph 11).

(xiii) The total number of students on the course should be 50-60, subject to whatever views may be expressed by the Police College authorities as a result of their present deliberations upon other aspects of the course. (Paragraph 17).

(xiv) A proportion of the places on the course should be made available to the Metropolitan Police. (Paragraph 19).

(xv) The selection authority, after discussing with the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis and the College authorities, should decide the number of places to be allotted to the Metropolitan police. The Commissioner of Police should select the Metropolitan police students for the places allotted, subject to the selection authority agreeing the methods of selection to be used by the Commissioner. (Paragraph 19).

(xvi) The course should ordinarily be restricted to officers from regular police forces in England and Wales only, but the selection authority should have a discretion, after consultation with the College authorities, to set aside a small number of places for officers from other forces if good grounds are shown. (Paragraph 20).

(xvii) The course should commence on an all-male basis but the question of the participation of a small number of police-women additional to the man's intake should be considered after the course has been in operation long enough to become an established part of the College. (Paragraph 21).

(xviii) Students on the course who are not in the rank of sergeant should be given temporary rank as such by their

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1. See page 185.

promotion authorities. (Paragraph 22).

(xx) There should be review of all aspects of the progress of all students by the College authorities at regular intervals during the course and as a result of such reviews the College authorities should be able to require students to be returned to their forces if they have not made satisfactory progress.

(Paragraph 23).

(xxii) Automatic promotion should be conditional upon the College authorities certifying successful completion of the course. This should be provided for by Regulation. (Paragraphs 25 and 26).

(xxiv) In the cases of promotion following completion of the course the promotions should be supernumerary to establishment if there are no vacancies in the rank of sergeant in the home forces at the time. (Paragraph 25).

(xxv) In all cases of substantive promotion following completion of the course the sergeant should be on probation for one year as required by Regulation 9 of the Police Regulations, 1961. (Paragraph 25).

(xxvi) Efforts should be made to begin the first course in 1962 with a reduced intake selected from the examinations held in January and February that year. (Paragraphs 27 and 28).'

(It had been agreed that the Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police should fill half his allotted vacancies (see para.(xiv) above) from men qualified as sergeants by right through coming high in the examination results and that he would send to the Extended Interviews twice as many 'sergeants by selection' as there were vacancies remaining).<sup>1</sup>

The qualities the Selecting Staff were to look for were listed under four headings -

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1. Ibid., para.19.

A. Intellectual and Educational

The possession of an open and inquiring mind.

The ability to learn and a desire to do so.

Powers of clear expression, both oral and written.

Potential ability rapidly to analyse complicated documents  
and to summarise the essentials.

The capacity for detached judgement.

The possession of practical intelligence - to know what  
is feasible - and the ability to keep the balance  
between principle and expediency.

B. Personality and Personal Relationships

To be interested in people as people and to possess  
tolerance and kindness but with firmness.

To be a 'likeable' person and have a sense of humour.

To have the capacity to assess people and to possess an  
insight into the reasons for behaviour.

Potential ability to handle a wide range of people  
(including subordinates) and to be able to make  
fresh contacts.

C. Temperament and Character

To have a well-balanced temperament.

To possess drive and vitality.

To display liveliness of interest in various directions.

To be able to persevere under discouragement.

To demonstrate conscientiousness and application.

To have ambition and a liking for responsibility and  
organising.

To show an adequate but not excessive degree of zeal.

To possess ability to take decisions, especially  
unpleasant ones.

Potential ability to delegate.

Ability to disagree without antagonism, and to accept contrary decisions loyally.

D. Capacity for Growth

To be a stable personality free from marked personal insecurity or preoccupation with personal problems or subject to severe swings of mood.

To have flexibility, resourcefulness, with reserves to be drawn upon.

To show that personal achievements have been related to the opportunities which have been experienced.

These recommendations were slightly modified in a supplementary report which appeared the following year;<sup>1</sup> it proposed changes to the selection procedure. Formerly, half the places were to be filled automatically from those men at the top of the national pass list for sergeants, while the rest of the places were to be chosen from those below the first fifty, by means of the extended interview technique - colloquially known as WOSBY after the War Office Selection Boards. Experience had shown that considerable 'bunching' of marks occurred in the first 100 places on the sergeants' list (which thus became a rather capricious instrument of selection), and it had also shown that the 'extended interview' was a most useful tool of selection. Accordingly, it was proposed that all candidates in the future should undergo the extended interview. The top thirty men in a whole year's promotion (to sergeant) list would automatically qualify for this interview, while a Central Selection Board would select about ninety men from the next 240 on the pass list to undergo the further test.

These proposals were put into effect, and worked satisfactorily for some time. However, certain difficulties were found

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1. Supplementary Report of the Police Council Committee on Higher Police Training on the Special Course at the Police College; January 1963.

to arise, and the Taverne Report<sup>1</sup> made several important suggestions to improve matters. It no longer became necessary for a sergeant who had successfully taken the Special Course to pass the inspector's examination in police duties before becoming eligible for promotion to that rank. This led to a much more important and fundamental innovation; henceforth a man leaving the Special Course would immediately be confirmed in the rank of sergeant (if he did not already hold that substantive rank) and, after a year's experience of the duties of a sergeant, he would automatically be promoted inspector. The Report thought that there would be little risk in implementing this, as not only would such a man have traversed successfully a formidable sequence of obstacles, but he would have been selected 'as likely to be promoted beyond the rank of inspector early in (his) career.'

It was felt that the prospect of progress from constable to inspector within four to five years of joining would be a considerable inducement to the sixth-formers and graduates the scheme was in part designed to attract. The Report took heed of criticism to the effect that this early, automatic promotion would blight the opportunities of the majority, but it pointed out that the (then) capacity of Bramshill (in the order of sixty a year) would be but a small proportion of the total annual promotions to the rank of inspector, which run between eight-hundred and nine-hundred each year. It did not, however, mention two other relevant factors, which fortunately tend to balance one another. The whole point of the Special Course is that men are promoted early, so at the worst they will occupy an inspector's post for many years to come, but - more probably - they will usually find swift promotion to higher levels, and

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1. Taverne, Education; paras.47-50.

it is here that promotion prospects are liable to be clogged in years to come. (It should be noted that the wide-spread amalgamations of the 1960's produced forces large enough to absorb the Bramshill graduates, with their guaranteed promotion to inspector). The other factor not mentioned is that the great majority of Special Course graduates would (had they entered the police in any case) have earned speedy promotion in any case.

The actual present content and nature of the Special Course will be discussed elsewhere<sup>1</sup> but it 'has not had a fundamental review for many years and the Police Training Council have decided to set up a working party to review its purpose and selection systems as well as the nature of the course itself.'<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps this discussion of the Special Course could end with a look at some statistics which must have brought sadness to many aspiring young policemen. During 1969, 9,413 men sat the examination for promotion to sergeant, and 1,457 passed - not quite 16 per cent. 546 of these were interviewed by the Central Selection and Metropolitan Police Boards, and 132 were sent forward for Extended Interviews; as a result of these 38 were recommended for the course<sup>3</sup> which started on 5th October, 1969. This figure, which represents about 2½ per cent of those qualified by having passed the examination, is so low as to cause despondency. The Police Federation had this to say,<sup>4</sup> 'These (higher police training) schemes have the full support of the Police Federation, who were partly instrumental in their adoption. The only misgivings we have are in relation

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1. Chapter IX.

2. Article by Commandant of the Police College in 'Police Review,' 30 June, 1972, page 833.

3. H.M.I. Police Report, 1970.

4. Letter, 26 August, 1970.

to the failure of the extended interview committees to nominate the full quota of sixty to attend the Special Course.'

'On the Special Course which started on 5th October last year, only 38 candidates were found suitable for the Course. The view taken by the extended interview committees is that the standard set must be sufficiently high to meet the requirements of the Special Course and any lowering of the standard would, apart from letting in a flood of marginal candidates, act against the interests of the Course. We do not accept this viewpoint, being firmly of the opinion that, irrespective of whether or not the selection machinery is adequate, no possible harm could be done during the experimental stages by selecting the first sixty candidates in order of merit. In this way, a careful examination could be made of the so-called borderline cases and an opportunity afforded the selection committee of testing its own effectiveness. We consider this particularly desirable as a great majority of candidates fail in respect of some minor character defect and we would expect that in many cases the Special Course itself would provide a correcting influence. We also believe that an important reason for the inability of the selectors to find a sufficient number of officers of the right calibre is the failure to introduce into all forces more satisfactory methods of staff appraisal. Fortunately, this matter is now under consideration by the Police Advisory Board and the Committee on Higher Police Training.'

It would seem that these views have a good deal to commend them, and if the Police Federation is right and injustice is being perpetrated, it is to be hoped that the consideration now being given to the matter will help to rectify any faults.

Beyond the rank of inspector all promotion is by selection,

aided by the Chief Constable's annual perusal of each man's appraisal form. As a man climbs the ladder the officers able and qualified to pass judgement on him and his qualities becomes smaller and more closely knit, but this is a problem not confined to the police service.

It will become more and more necessary in the future for all officers who aspire to the rank of superintendent or beyond<sup>1</sup> to have attended one of the Command Courses at the Police College; selection for these follows a pattern similar to that of the Special Course (except there is no examination requirement), and details will be given later.<sup>2</sup> What can be said about the attitude in the police service concerning its promotion policies? On the credit side, the service as a whole seems to agree that men of good intellectual calibre and practical ability must be induced to join (and remain with) the police, and that they must have a good, broad and liberal education to meet the demands of high rank and policy making, and they have taken steps which, by and large, have successfully implemented this resolution. On the debit side there are two items. Many men feel disgruntled, as they feel their opportunities are being filched; it is likely that this feeling is not in fact justified, but the important thing is that the feeling does exist. Perhaps the police service should give thought as to how it can show that justice is being seen to be done. The other doubtful point concerns a possible clogging of promotion channels in the future, but for the purposes of this study the risk can but be recorded.

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1. The Home Office already restricts appointments to the rank of A.C.C. and above to Police College graduates - Police Review, 21st April 1972, p.492.  
2. Chapter IX.

CHAPTER IXTHE POLICE COLLEGE AND ITS COURSES

Higher education for almost everyone able and willing to take advantage of it is such a familiar aspect of life today that it is easy to forget that only a generation or so ago it was the exception rather than the rule. This makes the creation of the Police College as far back as 1948 all the more creditable to those responsible.

Though the declared intention from the start was to broaden the students' outlook (side by side, of course, with professional studies in police duties) the method adopted was not completely satisfactory for the first five years or so. The 'liberal' part of the syllabus was usually in the form of lectures to large groups, given by visiting lecturers of distinction, with little opportunity for discussion or consolidation. To remedy this weakness academic lecturers were appointed to the staff of the college. 'The more general subjects were developed through small classes and tutorials in a scheme of studies worked out to complement police studies, with studies in history, English literature, the development of our social institutions, local and central government, and so on.'<sup>1</sup> Two main courses were offered at this time: a junior course of six months to fit sergeants for promotion to inspector, and a senior course of three months to prepare both grades of inspector for the responsibilities of a superintendent's post. During this period of experiment and development some aspects of the courses became susceptible to criticism; in particular it was thought that selection procedures were not as effective

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1. Critchley; p.247.

as they might be, and the average age of students (37 years for sergeants, for example) was too high, in view of the limitations that this figure placed upon their future potentiality to the service. However, when the college moved from Ryton-on-Dunsmore to Hartley Wintney in 1960, 'a great fund of training experience had been accumulated and policies for the future had been formulated.'<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, as Critchley put it<sup>2</sup> 'In the course of a few years the College probably did as much to develop the idea of a single police service, transcending the many local forces, as the Police Federation or any other of Desborough's valuable reforms had done twenty years earlier.' Thus the college was well placed to implement the reforms introduced by the White Paper of 1961.<sup>3</sup> These are given in detail in Chapter VIII; briefly, the sergeants' course was to continue, but would be bracketed by two new courses. The first would take specially selected constables for twelve months, at the end of which time they could expect automatic and immediate promotion to sergeant; this was the forerunner of the 'Special' course initiated by the 1967 'Taverne' working party<sup>4</sup> in which students were made sergeants on arrival (if not holding that rank already) and were to be promoted to inspector a year after completing the college course. The other new course superseded the existing senior course, and was to be 'a senior staff course, of a primarily professional character, designed to equip officers of the rank of inspector or above for the highest posts in the service.'<sup>5</sup> In practice, only officers of the rank of chief inspector or above had much chance of getting onto this course, but the loophole left for an

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1. Article by P. J. Stead, Director of General Studies, The Police College; Technical Education, October 1966.

2. Critchley.

3. Command 1450.

4. Taverne, Education.

5. Command 1450, paragraph 11.

especially brilliant inspector was useful enough to be specifically retained by the 1967 Working Party. The first Special Course started in October, 1962; the average age of students remained at 27, until the qualifying period of service was reduced to four years in 1964. The first senior staff course began in October, 1963;<sup>1</sup> the age of the students ranged between 35 and 49. Later this course evolved into the Senior Command Course (S.C.C.) and was supplemented by the Intermediate Command Course (I.C.C.) thus virtually replacing the course which had been dropped.

How can the Police College, as an institution of learning, be described? One thing is certain, whatever it is, and however it evolves, it will never become another Sandhurst or Cranwell. Trenchard probably took these institutions as the models for his ill-fated Hendon Police College of the thirties, but so great is the dislike of this experiment even today, and so opposed is the Police Federation to the creation of an 'officer class' in the service that Bramshill will never take a military form. The Director of Studies<sup>2</sup> said it, 'can be regarded as the staff college, university, and management college of the police service.' Mr. Alec Muir, the recently retired, innovating Chief Constable of Durham wrote,<sup>3</sup> 'It is probably true to say that the first step towards turning the Police College at Bramshill into a university was made when general studies were made part of the main course .... The Special Course .... are given some sort of insight into sociology, economics, politics, history and literature.' He goes on to say, 'The Police College, to become a true University, should have on the same campus the Department of Research and

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1. Following the Second Report of the Committee of the Police Council on Higher Police Training (Senior Staff Course), January 1963.

2. P. J. Stead; Technical Education, October 1966.

3. The Criminal Law Review, 1970, pp.72-73.

Development which is now housed at the Home Office, and the Central Experimental Laboratory . . . ., and at the college should be taught not only some of the subjects I have suggested above but also more intensive professional training in the field of forensic science and operational research.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the matter could be summed up by saying that though the Police College is not yet a University, it has many of the characteristics of such an institution, and will surely move even more closely to such a concept as time goes by and it continues to develop. However, if Bramshill is not yet a university, it certainly looks the part of the traditional college; approached by a winding road a mile long, through a gatehouse, the building stands serenely in a vista of parkland. The present building was built during the seventeenth century, and took its final shape very early in the eighteenth.<sup>2</sup> It is built of mellow (the word cannot be avoided) red brick, the windows are leaded, the fabric is bedecked with tracery and elaborate chimneys. A peacock parades the terrace, and capriciously refuses to display before the ever-lurking cameramen. Inside all is dim magnificence, with dark oak panelling, par-getted ceilings and Rubens tapestries. This part of the college houses the commandant's office, the library and the domestic administrative staff, as well as drawing rooms - used as messes - and various recreational rooms - table tennis, a shooting range, and a billiards room - the latter in the cavernous old kitchens.

The modern kitchens are behind the new dining hall, spanned by a great arc of ceiling. The high table stretches along one wall and faces large portraits of the Monarch and Consort on the other; between sit the students in serried

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1. Ibid.

2. Factual details from 'Bramshill House,' the official Home Office guide.

ranks - in evening dress on dining-in nights. The high-backed Mess President's chair is occupied a week at a time by a member of the current Senior Command Course; on his left sits the Commandant, and on his right the (sometimes unworthy) guest of honour. The atmosphere is indeed reminiscent of an officers' mess; the police make pleasant, delightful and courteous hosts.

The rest of the college is new, too. There is a large teaching block, administrative offices, gymnasias and living blocks. The police directing staff live in houses of various types and sizes on the fringe of the campus, as do most of the academic staff. Each student has his own room; fitted furniture separates the living from the study area. An electric kettle and a (black) shoe cleaning outfit is supplied to every room. The college is surrounded by sports facilities; games are generally compulsory - fortunately, perhaps, many policemen tend to be extroverts.

The Director of Studies describes the administration of the college and the organisation of its courses,<sup>1</sup> 'The college is commanded by one of H.M. Inspectors of Constabulary, seconded from his Home Office duties for a period of years. The Commandant is assisted by a Deputy Commandant, who has overall responsibility for the professional instruction, and a Director of General Studies, who is responsible for the work in liberal subjects. The Directing Staff of the College is selected from senior police officers on the one hand and from university graduates on the other. The police staff range in rank from the chief constable, who is seconded to direct the two senior courses, to the chief inspectors and inspectors who work with the junior course.

<sup>1</sup>The .... courses mentioned above are directed by chief

superintendents, assisted by officers of appropriate rank, and senior tutors, assisted by members of the graduate staff. The police directing staff are seconded to the College from their forces for two or three years; the academic staff is appointed for an indeterminate period by the Home Office.

'The College employs the 'syndicate' system on all its courses. This basic staff-college method of grouping students in small units ensures that round the syndicate table in the classroom there is a representative selection of officers - uniformed men, detectives, administrative officers, traffic, and other specialists - from a variety of parent forces; Metropolitan Police, county, city, borough or combined forces, and in some cases, also, overseas forces. The system guarantees the pooling of experience and gives each officer an unparalleled opportunity to see the points of view of officers with specialisms and from backgrounds different from his own. Each syndicate is under the guidance of a member of the directing staff, whose seniority is graduated according to that of the students on his particular course; the most senior course, for instance, has chief superintendents as syndicate directors.

'The university system of each student receiving individual guidance is also in operation at the College; each week the programme allows for the student to spend an informal period, the 'tutorial' session, with his syndicate director, when his work is discussed and advice is given.

'Lectures and presentations of themes are given by the staff to each course but a great deal of work is done collectively in the syndicate room, where the smaller numbers (12 on the most junior course, eight on the most senior one) favour thorough discussion of a subject, and there is also an individual programme of personal tasks for each student to carry

out on his own initiative, subject only to tutorial guidance.

'Student participation in the instructional work is an essential feature of the College's teaching policy; each student gives a series of lectures during his course, takes part in presentations by his syndicate and also figures in role-playing and operational exercises. In every possible way, the student is encouraged to share his knowledge with his colleagues, and the College encourages a high degree of co-operation in this respect. A large proportion of the instruction on all courses is given by visiting experts, many of whom are chief constables, so that the College is always up to date in developments in the practical sphere of police work. Ministers, H.M. Judges, university teachers, senior officials from various ministries, people from the widest field of management - industrialists and trades union executives among them, newspaper editors, and operational research specialists, are only some of the College's many extra-mural helpers.'

The most junior course at the college is the Special course, the composition and selection of which has already been described. The extended interviews which are used to select the final few (up to sixty, but usually about forty) candidates from the 'short list' of about 120 is described by the Director of the Civil Service Selection Board,<sup>1</sup> 'After lunch on the first day there is what is optimistically termed an informal meeting between each group of candidates and its assessing team of three (two Policemen, and one non-Service member representing the Civil Service Selection Board): This gives a first chance to put faces to the names on the notice board ....

'The first test is the Group Discussion, the less important of the two group exercises. For some forty minutes each group

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1. Kenneth A. G. Murray; Police Review, 14th July 1972, pp.888-9.

separately discusses, as informally as the situation allows, and with the assessors taking no part, two or three topics of general interest. There are no professional topics as such but there will be an occasional topic with a broad relationship to Police work. No chairman, no rules of debate, and no need to come to a group decision.

'Special Course candidates then do a piece of written work, for about an hour and a half - the Written Exercise. This no longer takes the form of a couple of essay-like questions, but demands, again in non-Police context, the ability to study a problem (on a smaller scale than for the Senior Course) and to draw conclusions from the data and present these conclusions in a clear and simple way.

'In the forenoon of the second day there is a Drafting Test, lasting about fifty minutes, where candidates have to produce a tactful letter dealing with a "delicate situation." The situation may or may not be a Police one, but if it is there is no question of the answer falling within a framework of regulations. Elegance in drafting is not expected, and skill in this sort of thing normally comes with age and experience. There is also the first of the Intelligence Tests. Everyone who uses these tests knows their limitations and no candidate will ever be passed or failed on the basis of score on any intelligence test. The tests tell nothing of practical intelligence, acquired knowledge, or wisdom. We use more than one so as to allow more justice to different biases amongst different candidates.

'Each candidate then has the first of his two main Interviews. One is on this second testing day, and the other on the third day. One interview is with the non-Service member, the other with the two Police assessors forming a small and relatively informal board. Each interview lasts about forty

minutes. A proportion of candidates will also have a short (ten or fifteen minutes) interview with the Director or Co-Director, the object being primarily for a reasonable sample of candidates to be seen to allow the Director to be still more sure of consistency of standards not only within a group, but between groups and amongst intakes. The interviews are clearly important but they are not all-important.

'In the afternoon comes the second of the intelligence tests. Much more important however is the Committee Exercise, a test which with briefing, preparation, and group work takes two hours. As in the Group Discussion each group acts independently. The Special Course candidates' problems are not based on previous written work. They are given two problems on topics for which there is no school solution, asked to choose one, and then prepare an answer and present it to the committee.

'The morning of the third day is taken up with the rest of the interviews, with a short General Information Test (a relatively minor part of the procedure) where there are given lists of well-known people and also descriptions of what they are well known for, and you have to match names against the descriptions,<sup>1</sup> the range is wide, and a score which some candidates might look on with dismay could in fact be perfectly respectable. The circus ends with what is termed Mutual Ranking, which is a conventional way of ending the procedures, taking about ten seconds and not doing our work for us - you are asked to vote (secret ballot) on the one or two people in your group (not, that is, ranking everyone in order) who you feel to be the best potential senior officers, and the one or two most favoured as potential holiday companions. This little

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1. See Chapter V.

exercise can give evidence of ability to size up one's fellows in certain circumstances.'

Over the years the average age and the length of service of the sergeants in the special course have both dropped. A sample<sup>1</sup> of 22 men from the current Special course had an average of 4.8 years service each; the longest service was the ten years of one man, but two others had served for only three years previously. Their purely educational qualification can be summarised:

OFFICER	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
No. 'O' level passes	6	5	7	10	8	7	8	3	7	8	9
No. 'A' level passes	3	-	2	4	2	-	3	-	3	3	3
Degree, etc.	-	-	-	HNC	B.A.	-B.Sc.*	-	-	B.Sc.	-	-
OFFICER	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
No. 'O' level passes	5	7	5	5	11	5	9	5	6	6	8
No. 'A' level passes	-	4	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	-	2
Degree, etc.	-	-	ONC	C.Ed.	-	-	**	-	-	-	-

\* + 2 'S' level

\*\* 1 year at University

It can be seen that the educational level is high, but any lack of very good formal educational qualifications has not been an absolute bar.

At the present time their year is divided into four terms of eleven weeks each. In their first term<sup>2</sup> they study general history, English constitutional history, approach to the modern world, modern Britain (widely based) and oral and written expression. In a typical week they studied 'The Approach to International Organisation,' 'The Great Powers 1917-1945,' Parts I and II', 'Power Blocs 1945-1969,' 'Colonialism 1914-1969,'

1. Information from questionnaire (see Appendix).

2. Interview with G. Fenn, Esq., LLB, (ACC, Durham Constabulary, formerly Special Course Director) at Bramshill.

'Towards World Government' (a seminar) and 'A Divided World, Parts I and II.' Apart from forty minutes of physical training, eighty minutes of drill and an afternoon of 'Recreation' the remainder of the week was devoted to tutorials and private study.

Term two is devoted to professional studies, with an emphasis on management; in a sample week they might, inter alia, listen to lectures on, 'The Functions of Management in the Police Service' (and the same for Industry), and 'Recruit Training,' see a couple of films ('Delegation' and 'Loyalty'), observe a Discipline Demonstration, work with their syndicates, perform some drill, and study privately or with their tutors.

In their third term they have a mixed programme; they choose one of three options from Politics, Economics or Local Government, they touch on psychology and sociology, they learn something about criminology and they spend a couple of days visiting prisons. The fourth and final term returns to police work proper, but broadly conceived - 'Handling Public Disorders' (with a film of the Grosvenor Square demonstrations), 'Practical Aspects of Dealing with Squatters,' 'The Law Relating to Industrial Disputes,' 'Police Action in Major Incidents,' 'Security of the State,' 'Liquor Licensing (I, II and III)', 'Aliens and Commonwealth Citizens,' 'Dangerous Drugs,' and, in addition, major attention to the problems of traffic.

Examinations take place during the eighth and ninth weeks; they will sit a 'General' paper and one 'Specialist' one on their broader studies (pass marks 40 per cent), they will take one-and-three-quarter hour professional papers (pass marks 50 per cent); in addition, they will have handed in a 'long-term' essay. The last two weeks (while the papers are being assessed) are taken up with visits, salted with a few lectures, and con-

cluded with a final parade on the Friday and a valedictory address by the Commandant at 8.30 a.m. on the Saturday. The course then disperses, to return to parent forces (who should tell them the extent of their achievement) and, it is to be hoped, to leave and family. (It is noteworthy that these young men, in contrast with their seniors on the Command Courses, felt that these long residential courses were an unfair burden on married men.)<sup>1</sup>

The Inspectors' Courses are by far the largest numerically. Originally it was intended that as sergeants were promoted to inspector they would almost automatically attend an Inspector's course within a year of their elevation, but an exceptionally large number of promotions in the last few years has meant that only some sixty per cent of inspectors have been able to attend, even though a 'Wing' of the College was opened at Dishforth in Yorkshire to double the numbers which could be accommodated. The courses at the Police College at present last for six months, but those at Dishforth are for three months only. The average age of those attending the college is just under 35 years, with an average length of service somewhat under 14 years; at the Wing these figures are just under 40 and somewhat over 17 years respectively.<sup>2</sup> There was perhaps a feeling that the Wing was for the 'second eleven' - men who had no great potential for promotion; however, the Wing is about to close down and so comparisons, invidious or not, will no longer be able to be made. Each Inspector's Course at the College nominally accommodates 70 students (though most have nearer 80), about 20 per cent of which are from the Metropolitan force; in this number is included a small number of women (fewer than

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1. See Chapter XI.

2. H.M. Inspector of Constabulary's Report, 1970.

five) and about eight officers from overseas. Dishforth takes a maximum of 70, including a couple or so women.<sup>1</sup>

Each Chief Constable tells the Home Office of the expected number of promotions to the rank of inspector in his force for the coming year, and is later given a quota which he fills as he wishes. Because of the seniority of the students, the Inspectors' Course at the college is different from the Special Course, and relies more heavily on syndicate work and discussion. The course itself is divided into two parts, General Studies and Professional Studies, one three-month term being spent on each. Roughly one third of the time is spent on each of lectures, seminars and syndicate work, and tutorials and private study. Syndicates contain about ten students, headed by an inspector of the staff.<sup>2</sup> Typical topics from the General Studies course are, 'Factors in World Affairs'; 'Leadership and the Responsibility of Rank'; 'Good English'; 'The Use of Literature'; 'The Evolution of the British Constitution'; 'America: the Shape of U.S. History'; 'Russia: the character of Russian History'; 'U.S. Police Systems'; 'The Evolution of Communist Doctrine.'<sup>3</sup> The course is well prepared and the students find it of great interest. It provides an excellent guide to the world and its systems, but subjects like sociology and psychology make no appearance. The Professional Studies which occupy the second term are broken into phases. Phase I is Crime (e.g. Theft Act, 1968; Interpretation of Statutes and Judicial Precedent). Phase II is the major one, and is on Management and Organisation; topics include: Police Finance; Communication; Appreciations of Problems; Computers and the

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1. H.M.I. Constabulary's Report, 1970.

2. Interview with Superintendent Bruford (Director of Inspectors' Courses) at Bramshill.

3. Interview with Dr. J. J. Tobias, at Bramshill.

Police; Assessment for Promotion; The Techniques of Chairmanship; The Accountability and Responsibility of Sub-Divisional Officers; Decision Making. Phase III is Public Order (Prevention of Public Disorder; The Police Function at a Major Incident; Drug Dependence), Phase IV deals with Prosecutions and Phase V with Traffic.

The course at the Dishforth Wing is influenced by the higher average age of the students and by the shorter time available.<sup>1</sup> Once again teaching is by lectures, discussions, tutorials and syndicate work. The work is not peculiar to the police, but partakes of the nature of 'industrial training for young executives.' Items in the syllabus are an outline of social studies, skills in communication, brief world history, Britain and the world today; discussion techniques, communication procedures, an introduction to management. The professional training assumes a knowledge of the law, and discusses interpretations of it. A virtue is made of necessity; because of the shortness of the time available, the two aspects of the course are integrated - for example, police subjects are used to practise communication skills. Committee work is thought to be important (police are often involved in Local Government committee work, such as Road Safety), as is the development of writing skills, for as a policeman moves up the ladder the need for this increases. The students are required to examine suitable books (some mentioned were Montgomery on Leadership; war leaders' memoirs, 'Lord Jim,' the works of C. P. Snow) both for literary style and content, and for the light they might throw on such topics as decision making.

They are also required to make their own study from a choice of ten themes, such as Education, Urban Growth, or

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1. Interview with Major Eric Rodick (Director of Studies, Police College Wing) at Dishforth.

Population Trends. As some seventy men share the themes they naturally fall into small groups at the end of the exercise to discuss and compare their conclusions. Sociology is touched upon in such contexts as juvenile delinquency and colour prejudice; students are encouraged to stand back and regard themselves, so as to decide if, and how much, and why, they themselves are prejudiced.

There is no examination at the end of either the long or the short course, though a continual process of assessment is carried on. At the end they are made the subjects of a college report, contributed to by the Directors (both professional and academic), and signed by the Commandant. This is sent to each inspector's chief officer, who may, or may not, tell the inspector its contents. From January 1973 the Inspectors course will take a completely new shape and for the first time be linked to Force training. 'The Police Training Council has decided that all Inspectors should receive up to four weeks' local training in order "to provide a sound basic understanding of the role of the Inspector within the Force; the organisation and administration of the Force; the main operational units and specialist branches with the Force; and up-to-date knowledge of relevant new legislation." Following upon this local introductory training all Inspectors should then receive purposeful on-the-job training for a few months before attending Bramshill for a four-month higher Police training course.'<sup>1</sup>

No doubt there are good reasons for the alterations proposed, but the reduction of a month in overall length of training, and of no less than two months at the College will not decrease the Police Federation's fears that the Home Office is determined to reduce the cost of training in every possible way.

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1. The Commandant, The Police College; article in Police Review, 30th June, 1972, page 833.

As has been seen, the 1961 White Paper<sup>1</sup> eliminated the courses then taking place for promotion-worthy inspectors and chief inspectors; this was soon recognised as a retrograde step, and the Second Report of the Committee of the Police Council on Higher Police Training stepped somewhat out of its terms of reference to recommend its re-establishment,<sup>2</sup> which took place shortly afterwards, and was named the Intermediate Command Course (I.C.C.). Inspectors of both grades can request nomination from their chief constable (or he can initiate matters himself); the actual selection is made by a board with two police members and one non-police.<sup>3</sup> There are two three-month courses for 24 officers each year, but sometimes these numbers are increased. The course is 'for senior officers who may be expected to be promoted to the rank of superintendent in a reasonably short time .... The studies aim to fit officers for the command of a division or a headquarters department .... It is hoped to increase its size so that all future superintendents shall have had the benefit of college training at a high level.'<sup>4</sup>

The course was formerly based on projects (such as crime, traffic, public relations, etc.) but this was found to compartmentalise the course too much, so a new style of course was introduced in the summer of 1970.<sup>5</sup> The work was then divided into phases; under the heading, 'The Public Scene' the social background was examined, and the philosophical problems underlying the maintenance of law and order while still permitting the maximum amount of freedom, while 'The Police Task' studied methods of implementing the conclusions reached above.

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1. Command 1450.

2. HPT, Senior, 1963, para.21.

3. Command 1450; para.21.

4. Mr. P. J. Steed, Director of Studies, The Police College.

5. Interview with Chief Superintendent Lodge, (Director of Command Courses), at Bramshill.

The concept of policing as a social service was still very much to the fore, but harsh realities were by no means ignored - active police work (such as traffic management, accident analysis, drugs, gaming, vice, obscenity and so on) was discussed in groups. Lectures largely gave place to guided discussion; as the Director of the I.C.C. said, comparing the old structure of the course with the new, '.... from grammar school to university,' which sums up the intentions and aspirations of those guiding the course.

Lectures by outside specialists take a prominent part in the syllabus, dealing with such broad and urgent issues as 'Youth in Cities,' or 'Race Relations.' Syndicates, usually of three, study in depth topics such as Private Security Organisations, Deployment of Personnel for Crime, Accident Prevention, Business Methods in the Police Service, and so on. Each man has an individual study of about three-thousand words to make on one aspect of his syndicate's work; for example, the major theme 'Accident Prevention' would be split into 'Use of Accident Intelligence,' 'Role of police in traffic safety education,' and 'Enforcement as an accident prevention measure.' When the individual studies were completed they would be discussed and brought together as a syndicate topic, to be discussed by other syndicates in due course. It is planned that the stringently selected inspectors and chief inspectors who attend the I.C.C., having gained speedy promotion, will return to the college (after about two years) as superintendents to be fitted for the responsibilities of still higher rank.

The Senior Command Course holds 24 officers, and lasts six months. It is calculated that it will graduate about twice as many men as there will be future posts for as Assistant Chief Constables and above,<sup>1</sup> but it is felt that this overproduction

1. HPT, Senior, 1963; para.5.

is a necessary insurance at the highest levels of the service, so as to provide a larger and freer choice. However, it is considered that the course is well worth while even for those officers who do not manage to take the final steps in rank. Selection for this course is by the Extended Interview technique already described, though there are variations here and there from the Special course tests. A Written Appreciation of a fairly complex situation replaces the Special courses 'Written Exercise,' and the latter's 'Committee Exercise' is replaced by a similar but more demanding exercise, based on the file given to the senior officer as part of his 'Written Appreciation' test, and requiring him to chair a committee examining the problem in detail.

The Senior Command Course also changed its methods in 1970, discussions and research replacing the great bulk of lectures, but the contents reflect the higher level at which most successful graduates can expect to operate at in the future. Twelve major topics are dealt with; these include management, professional studies, and larger issues such as communism and its effect on the security of the world. Public speaking and committee work are given an important place, while the pleasant formality of social life and communication must help graduates to move more confidently in the larger world outside.

What can be said about the students of the Police College on a personal basis? The sergeants on the Special course, like every other student at Bramshill, are highly selected; their educational qualifications are high compared with the majority of other policemen. It goes without saying that they are intelligent, forceful and ambitious men, but police work depends more than usual on experience, and knowledge of human

nature, and these qualities are what, in general, they are short of. It might be well if some of them, at least, guarded against hubris, and kept constantly in mind the debt they owe, and will continue to owe in the future, to their less-gifted colleagues performing the dull, necessary round of police duties.

The inspectors to some degree polarise into two groups - those who regard such rank as a stepping stone to higher things, and those whose ambition is largely satisfied by their current achievement. Many of the older ones especially have not had long education, but the service has moulded and matured them so that the typical inspector is adult, confident and capable at his job, proud of the police and his role in it, balanced in his outlook. If this generalised profile is at all accurate it says much for the police service and its ways.

Lastly, what of the members of the Command Courses? Already the composition of the higher ranks of the police is beginning to change, with higher education becoming more common in the younger men. However, nearly all those met are impressive; able, self-controlled, well-balanced; most, it is felt, would have risen high in other ways of life, had opportunity offered.

The Police College is a notable achievement, and must have well fulfilled the expectations of its founders. It has unified the police so that most of the advantages of a national service have been gained without the attendant dangers, it has been largely successful in choosing, training and educating the leaders of the force in ways appropriate to their needs, it has begun to broaden the service's outlook and to make it realise the nature of the problems it will have to face in modern society.

Table xii

Courses held at the Police College, 1970<sup>1</sup>

	Inspectors' Courses Police College				Courses College Wing Dishforth				Special Course	Intermediate Command Course		
	I 70/1	I 70/2	I 70/3	I 70/4	D 70/1	D 70/2	D 70/3	D 70/4	9th	12th	13th	14th
Total Students	77	77	70	77	49	70	70	70	388	27	27	27
Metropolitan	13	12	12	12	-	-	-	-	14	6	6	6
City of London	-	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-
Provincial Forces	54	52	46	53	45	64	63	63	24	18	17	18
Women	2	3	3	4	-	2	3	3	-	2	1	2
Overseas	8	8	8	7	-	-	2	2	-	1	2	1
Admiralty Constabulary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
British Airports Authority	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
British Transport Police	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Royal Ulster Constabulary	-	2	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Average Age	34.9	34.89	35.45	34.65	38.8	39.21	39.52	40.03	25.92	39.0	37.66	39.17
Average Length of Service	13.7	13.85	14.01	13.74	16.8	17.15	17.26	17.66	4.66	17.25	17.66	17.83

CHAPTER XTHE GRADUATE POLICEMAN

On the last day of 1971 the police service of England and Wales had serving within its ranks a meagre 267 graduates<sup>1</sup> - about one quarter per cent of its total strength. Although it is difficult to say what the optimum proportion of graduates should be under present-day conditions it would seem that this figure is too low. At the present time there are serving over 900 superintendents, nearly 700 chief superintendents, about 200 assistant chief constables, and 70 chief officers. If in the future the majority of these officers can be expected to possess degrees it is obvious that both the present number of graduates and the annual accretion (40 during 1971, plus any degrees gained by serving officers - a total probably well below 100) are not nearly high enough.

There would seem to be two principal reasons for gaining a degree; either to acquire a store of high-level knowledge in some specialism, or by broader studies to gain such a knowledge of men and of events as to be better able to form sound judgments and opinions and hence be in a position to formulate policy and to take correct decisions. If the personal aspect is ignored for the moment, only a relative minority of police officers really need a degree of the first sort. Most officers learn all the law they require by the time they have qualified as inspector, and the refinements of its applications can be studied on later courses - principally, for senior officers, on the I.C.C.<sup>2</sup> and the S.C.C.<sup>3</sup> at Bramshill. No doubt it would

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1. H.M. Inspector of Constabulary's Report, 1971.

2. Intermediate Command Course.

3. Senior Command Course - see Chapter IX.

be convenient for each force to have one or two specially well-qualified experts on particular aspects of the law available, but generally it would seem that few LL.B's directly benefit the police service to a great extent. Management is the powerful new god in many forces today, but once again a mere handful of experts would suffice for the average force's needs. Computers are new to the police service, but relatively few mathematicians will be needed even when their ambit covers the whole country.

Indeed, it begins to seem likely that civilians will tend to occupy the majority of such posts in the future; perhaps then the need will merely be for one policeman, well-qualified in the particular specialism, to act as a watch-dog on behalf of the force.

Not all of the other sort of degrees (which by improving the man hope to increase his efficiency) are suitable for police work. Some broad knowledge of sociology and psychology would seem to be almost a necessity for every officer, but the acute specialisation that a degree course requires can expect to find little direct application in police work at any level. It thus appears that the most suitable courses would be general ones, broadly based, liberal in concept, and following the lines of the cultural subjects studied in the Command courses at Bramshill. It may well be that at some future date some special Police degree will be found to be necessary (and indeed some preliminary planning is going on in that direction at the moment<sup>1</sup>), but the time may not yet be ripe for this development. When this time does come (and it may not be long delayed) perhaps the Higher National Certificate in Police Studies now available to Scottish officers will give some guidance as to

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1. Professor I. F. Gibson of Aston University has asked policemen to give their views on this topic.

content and method. This certificate, administered by the Scottish Council for Administrative and Professional Examinations, covers such subjects as police systems and procedure, organised psychology, public administration and forensic science. Inspector N. E. Butterfield, LL.B., of the West Midlands Constabulary suggests<sup>1</sup> that because of the difficulties of releasing officers for full-time study, and because the resulting degrees are not always suitable for police work, an attempt should be made to establish a Diploma in Police Studies, organised on the same lines as the Open University. He suggests that the syllabus should include Law (to complement that already studied), Government, World Affairs and History, Psychology, Economics, Administration, and, finally, Criminology. Here is a thoughtful attempt to tailor a course (which surely has the potential to be developed to degree standard) to fit the needs of the police service.

There are three ways in which the police service can gain an increase in the number of its graduates; it can recruit them directly, it can send serving officers to university, or it can benefit from the private study (with or without force assistance) of dedicated officers.

There are at present two ways in which a graduate can directly enter the police service. He can simply join as a constable, and hope that his superior and (at present) novel qualifications, will attract favourable notice and send him on the road to Bramshill and to quick promotion to the rank of inspector. Few complaints of privilege could be raised against such a recruit; he still has to pass his promotion examinations and achieve selection in the face of open competition from his peers, though it might be imagined that his willingness

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1. Article in Police Review, 31st August, 1971.

to put himself to the test would create a favourable impression from the start. The second method of graduate entry is much more contentious. It is the survivor of two suggestions made by the 'Taverne' Working Party in 1967.<sup>1</sup> One (yet to be implemented) proposed that up to twenty sixth formers should take their degrees under the aegis of the police service (and with their pay and allowances provided by some sponsoring force), on condition that these young men should continue in the police service after graduation. This proposal bristles with so many possibilities for difficulty that it is perhaps not surprising that no developments have yet taken place. The other suggestion has had a limited success, in that it is in operation. Briefly the scheme supplements the forty officers on the Special course by up to twenty more men, who undergo the selection procedure for that course before joining the force, and then are guaranteed a place provided they pass the examination for sergeant at any level. This latter provision is naturally highly unpopular with the ordinary candidates for a place, who have to pass out very high<sup>2</sup> on the national pass list to even be considered. It might be thought that a graduate candidate who found himself on the course in spite of a bad performance in the promotion examinations would be in an invidious position. Considerable difficulty seems to have been experienced in recruiting suitable men, and the scheme is unpopular with the Police Federation. Part of a letter from the Federation is given below; it outlines the selection procedure, and emphasises the dislike felt for the scheme within the body of the service.

'No doubt, you are also aware of the Graduate Entry Scheme whereby an applicant to the police service must have either a

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1. Taverne, Education.

2. In the top 200 from more than 8,000 who sit this examination every year in county forces alone.

degree or be in his final year at university. Following selection by the chief constable of the force of his choice, the graduate appears before the extended interview committee. If successful, he undergoes the normal two years' probationary period and, providing he passes the examination for promotion to sergeant and again satisfies a selection board that he is showing the potential he was credited with on joining the service, he is automatically sent on the Special Course. This scheme is meeting with little success; the number of applicants is dropping sharply and the standard of applicant is not very high, (out of 99 applicants received this year, 42 went before the extended interview committee and only 9 were chosen as being suitable). If the question arose of offering more attractive conditions of entry to the service, i.e., starting at, say, inspector level, it would be strongly opposed by the Police Federation.<sup>1</sup>

Extracts from the notes made by the Directors<sup>2</sup> of the interviewing board which dealt with the above candidates throw some light on the high reject rate - which is, of course, merely the reflection of the poor general standard of aspirants coming forward.

'Of the nine candidates offered places, four joined the service, four declined the offer and one failed to graduate. Eleven of the candidates were already in the police service, but only one of these was recommended; a number of those rejected later left the force. The candidates showed a trend towards conformity - short hair, dark suits, sober ties: their intelligence and general quality were only adequate.' The overall impression gained is of rather lack-lustre people with no

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1. Letter from Police Federation, 26 August, 1970.

2. Sir Arthur Young, C.M.G., C.V.O. and Mr. K. A. G. Murray, M.A., Ed.B.

strong urge for service in the police, and contrasts strongly with the attitude of those graduates who joined direct and spurned this scheme to carve their own way ahead. The table below tells its own sad tale; it does not seem that this scheme will do much to solve the problem of getting good graduates into the police.

Table xiii

Comparative Totals

Year	1968	1969	1970	1971
No. of applicants	131 (6)	77 (5)	97 (5)	
Seen at interview*	62 (2)	43 (3)	42 (1)	<i>Not</i>
Recommended	19 (2)	11 (2)	9 (1)	
Joined service	17 (2)	9 (2)	4	<i>4</i>
Failed to graduate	0	1	1	
Declined	2	1	4	<i>Not</i>
Since resigned	3 (1)	1	0	
Net gain	14	8	4	

Bracketed totals show the number of women in each group, who are however included in the main figures.

\* Many withdrew, and some were rejected on health or vision grounds.

There are two ways, (apart from the above) in which a serving police officer can attend university, at police expense, and drawing his full pay and allowances. One is by a Bramshill scholarship, the other is by a scholarship from his own force. The former is described in an article in the Times Educational Supplement,<sup>1</sup> 'The Bramshill scholarship scheme has been in operation since 1964. The first step was taken by University College, London, whose Faculty of Laws had for some years been in relationship with the national Police College at Bramshill, and in October, 1964, three young officers

1. Anon; 16th September 1966, p.559.

who had successfully completed the year-long special course at the Police College were admitted to read for the LL.B. In the following year five such officers were admitted to the same faculty and five more are to be selected for admission next autumn. The London School of Economics and Political Science admitted three officers from the same source to read for the B.Sc.Econ. in 1965 and three more will be selected this year .... Universities have generally looked with favour on these mature entrants and the results so far reported from U.C.L. and L.S.E. have been very gratifying indeed. The young policeman, who has proved his professional worth in the first three or four years of his service, and who has had the benefit of the Police College's special course, makes an admirable under-graduate and his maturity exercises a very good influence on his younger contemporaries....

Police College training has been regarded by universities, as a qualification for mature matriculation, subject to the individual requirements in this respect of the faculties concerned, which may for instance be, as in the case of L.S.E., the necessary qualification in mathematics. Normally, the selection of candidates is made at an interview by the admissions committee in question, from short-lists drawn up by the Police College.

The scheme was at first restricted to law degrees but as it has expanded it has been considered good policy for the candidate to seek admission to a faculty of his own choice. The police service is not deficient in legal knowledge - its own professional examinations and specialised courses ensure that - but it is short of people who have had higher academic training and places are now being sought in history and social studies. Universities have accepted this view and while the places at U.C.L. and those which it is hoped will be granted

in 1967 by Peterhouse College, Cambridge, and the University of Newcastle are specifically for law degrees, Pembroke College, Oxford, is prepared to consider candidates for 1967 in history, English or P.P.E., and the University of Manchester has accepted three candidates for government, history and social studies respectively for the academic year beginning in October. Negotiations with other universities are well advanced and there is good reason to believe that there will be twenty places in 1967 for that year's Police College candidates.'

Though there are twenty places available each year it is not always possible to fill them satisfactorily. In 1971 sixteen officers graduated (one with First Class Honours and all the remainder with Seconds) and fifteen officers were admitted under the scheme.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the beneficiaries under this scheme are sergeants (though inspectors are also eligible); they usually return to their home force for a year after leaving the Police College (mainly to allow arrangements to be made), so that they go to university as inspectors. It is usually required that they will be able to complete their degrees and be back with their forces before they reach the age of thirty-five years.

In addition to the Bramshill scheme, several county forces are beginning to send their bright prospects to university, though the scheme is very restricted as yet. The trend seems to be that a force will establish friendly relations with a university (preferably the force's local one, because this simplifies problems of accommodation, etc.) and sends its students there. The universities have usually been helpful, and will take, for example, the passing of police examinations of a suitable standard in lieu of formal matriculation.

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1. Report H.M.I. Constabulary, 1971.

The Essex and Southend-on-Sea Constabulary was one of the pioneers of this scheme, and sends a maximum of two men each year to the University of Essex at Colchester. Over the period 1967-1970 two, one, two and one men were sent each year; in only one case was the quota not filled because the university refused to take the candidate. The Essex men enter the School of Social Studies, and begin with a largely common first year, studying Economics, Government, Sociology, and two options. After satisfactory completion of the first year the students opt for one of the 'core' courses - such as Government - and one outside option. One Essex officer<sup>1</sup> left his grammar school after taking 'O' levels to become a police cadet. After National Service he rejoined the police in his early twenties, and reached the rank of sergeant after some six years, and was made inspector about three years later. After attending the six-month Inspectors' course at Bramshill he was promoted to Chief Inspector after three more years, and shortly afterwards was sent to the university. He was posted to the Colchester Division some months before his course began, so as to settle into his new surroundings. The police made no demands on him during the period of his course, and paid his fees and the cost of his books. However, because of the loss of some of the allowances which form such an important part of police remuneration (telephone allowance, car allowance, loss of 'duty' meals and travelling costs) the course cost the officer and his family a sum estimated to be about £300; no light matter.

Officers are not guaranteed promotion after graduation, though it might be expected that few officers would get the chance of taking a degree unless their force believed that they had considerable potential. On the other hand, no undertaking

1. Interview, Chief Inspector Gray.

is required that an officer should remain in the force after graduating, the official view being that it is better to let a man go freely rather than to retain him nursing a grievance, and that in any case (and taking the larger view) presumably he would use his degree in his new work and so justify the expenditure of public money. This view is not shared by Whitaker<sup>1</sup>, and it is interesting to note that samples of run-of-the-mill policemen and women strongly deprecated a graduate leaving the force after being sent there by his force, cadets took a cooler view, senior officers (on a Command Course) were even less willing to condemn this practice, while the sergeants on the current 'Special' course were almost equally divided in their views.<sup>2</sup>

Some forward-looking forces are also beginning to send officers to university to gain a higher degree. In July, 1972, Inspector Tom Gleeson of the Northumberland Constabulary gained his Master of Law degree at Newcastle University. After being promoted to sergeant he took an external law degree, and was then sent by his force to the university for seven months for the first part of his higher degree, which he completed in his own time during a second year. It is noteworthy that there are fourteen police officers in the Northumberland Constabulary currently studying for degrees; two out of three constables studying at Newcastle Polytechnic have been granted a year's leave on full pay, while the rest (all either at the Polytechnic or in the Open University) are making their own way. Chief Superintendent Harry Taylor<sup>3</sup> of the Durham Force was accepted by the Business School of Durham University as a management student in 1968, and in spite of his lack of formal academic

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1. Whitaker; p.122.

2. See Chapter XI.

3. Now A.C.C., Essex and Southend-on-Sea Constabulary.

qualifications the school encouraged him to take his M.Sc. in Management during his year's attendance.

Mr. A. A. Muir<sup>1</sup> has this to say about the possible form of post-graduate study for police officers, 'The post-graduate university police officer might well be expected to take for preference something on the lines of the new school which has been proposed at Oxford University. The new Honours School at Oxford is to be a school of human sciences. It would unite the study of the biological and social aspects of man and bring together genetics, ethology (the science of character formation), psychology, geography, sociology and anthropology. There is argument at the moment amongst Oxford dons as to whether this course would be too demanding for undergraduate and should be regarded as a post-graduate course. It would seem to provide just the ideal academic background for a police officer who was expected to rise to the top.'

No doubt these instances could be multiplied over the country, and perhaps show a pleasing trend; flexibility by the university allied to self-help by the student producing a mutually satisfactory result.

Many officers gain degrees by private study, supplemented in some cases by attendance at classes at polytechnics or at colleges of further education, when practicable, or by correspondence lessons. Most such officers take the degree of LL.B., because it is possible to gain exemption from the usual requirements regarding 'A' levels for this degree. An officer who has passed the examinations for promotion to inspector, and who is supported by a recommendation from a senior officer can apply to London University for exemption. The examinations may be taken after a minimum of three years of study (though most

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1. The Education of a Policeman; The Criminal Law Review, 1970.

officers might be well advised to take longer). The intermediate examination consists of four three-hour papers and the final is in two parts, each again consisting of four three-hour papers.

An officer who gained his degree in this manner<sup>1</sup> points out that, 'A Police Officer taking these examinations must realise that the type of knowledge required is different from that required to pass .... Police examinations, (which) require an exact knowledge of details of the law .... The LL.B. examinations are not essentially a matter of knowledge but of capacity to use knowledge, and in many cases there is no definite answer to the question set. The candidate must be prepared to challenge existing principles, and to put forward alternatives to the existing law, supporting his submissions with logical arguments.' Sergeant Martin details the cost, which is in the order of £250;<sup>2</sup> when this straw is added to effort required to study for four or more years it may be felt that the very greatest credit must accrue to the policemen who successfully take this degree, especially those who are not supported in any way by their forces. Many police officers have started a course of study for the B.A. of the Open University;<sup>3</sup> although it is too early yet to be able to assess the success of this new development its form of study (based on a system of credits for courses completed, and with possible credits for previous qualifications) seems well suited to the needs of the police service. Developments will be watched with interest.

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1. Sergeant Peter Martin, LL.B., writing in the Police Review, 4th February, 1972.
  2. From September, 1972, grants will be available to assist with the cost of approved courses; Police Review, 31 March, 1972, p.409.
  3. It is not possible for the Open University to give the number of police officers taking its courses (letter from Miss E. Milburn, 31 August, 1972), but it is thought to be considerable.

Perhaps one more thing needs to be said before leaving the subject of policemen with degrees. Degrees are now travelling the same road as, for example, matriculation did a couple of decades ago. A degree is no longer the automatic passport it once was to a post at a high level; jobs which asked for matriculation twenty years ago now require degrees. This process is already well advanced in the U.S.A., where (for example) foremen in car factories are commonly graduates. In the police force, the trickle of graduates ten years ago has now become a stream; if it ever should become a flood, many graduates would then not be able to climb as far as they might today with the aid of a degree. Should this happen, never mind! The service will simply be following what by then will be a national trend; its graduates will not be at all superfluous, but will add to the efficiency and the status of their force, and will have their own satisfactions to boot.

Addendum to Chap. X

Table xiii (b) <sup>1</sup>

Summary of Results of the Direct Graduate Entry Scheme, 1968-72

Total places offered, 1968-1972 .....	79
Still serving.....	47
Declined offer.....	12
Joined and subsequently resigned.....	9
Failed to graduate.....	1
Accepted offer, joining later.....	10

1. Home Office circular regarding this scheme, 28 Sept., 1972

CHAPTER XIATTITUDES AND EDUCATION

There appears to be a rift in the police service between officers who are felt to be 'educated' and those who are not. Although this is not a new problem it is being aggravated at the present time by the still small (but growing) number of officers with 'O' level qualifications or above, and by the trend to promote mainly from this select band.

The mistrust and dislike with which these two groups of police officers regard one another is partly based on the mundane grounds mentioned in the last paragraph; officers with but basic educations feel that they are being cut off from promotion by their better educated confreres - who, of course, generally tend to be more intelligent too. However, the police is an almost uniquely democratic service in that senior posts at every level are filled from men who have entered at the lowest rank of constable. In spite of the manifold changes which have taken place over the last decade or so the way to the top is still open to a man of ability. It may well be that most of the less well-educated men would not have found promotion however selection was decided, but if this is a truth it does not seem to be widely recognised. The other reason for antagonism between well-educated and less-well educated officers is more fundamental, and probably based on misconception and misunderstanding.

The less-well educated officers in many cases completely fail to understand the true meaning of education, which they regard as being synonymous with arid 'book learning' of no practical use. 'Book men' are imagined to be wrapped in sterile

theory, devoid of practical ability and incapable of ever understanding the fundamentals of policing, let alone carrying them out. On the other hand, some better-educated policemen obviously regard lack of formal education as a condemnation in itself. These two diametrically opposed views appear time and time again, both in conversations with policemen and in the correspondence columns of police journals. Seldom in either case is there any recognition of the view that an educated policeman may be a better policeman, not because he knows more 'tricks of the trade' but because he has been made into a better person - fuller, rounder, and better balanced - by virtue of his studies and thought, and by the self-examination to which they should have brought him.

One particular series of letters which form part of a correspondence in the 'Police Review' illustrate this clash of opinions. It began with a long letter which was obviously intended to be reasonable and well-balanced, though still speaking proudly of the police service and its qualities.<sup>1</sup> It pointed out that the police service was often unjustly accused of being reactionary and out-of-date, simply, 'Because most of us are not academically qualified, and therefore not acceptable; because we don't speak the scientific jargon, our experience is discounted. And all for a bit of paper.' He goes on to say, 'A bit of paper isn't worth making a bother about for its own sake, but it may be for what it represents. All Police officers have the ability to learn, to understand, to analyse the society in which they work and thereby influence. Many do this every day without recognising it in those particular terms. To many of the fields from which criticism is levelled the Police have a contribution to make, joining fact with theory,

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1. Letter from 'D.A.N.'; Police Review, 24th March, 1972, p.367.

experience with hypothesis.

'The Service has a traditional suspicion of academic learning, yet there is a world of difference between academics talking of Police attitudes and Policemen, subject to the same disciplines and talking the same language, examining their own. Perhaps a common language may lead to a common understanding. Knowledge is not only power, it can bestow the right to be heard.'<sup>1</sup> These two passages seem to diagnose a genuine cause for concern, and the correspondent then goes on to suggest ways in which police officers could be induced to study, and study to some purpose. He says, 'Learning is easier if directed to some purpose, its disciplines far outweigh the value of the knowledge acquired. The machinery exists, or could be created, to organise a recognised system of study for the many interests and abilities within the Service. Is there any good reason why an Ordinary National Certificate in Police Studies could not be instituted, together with a Higher Certificate and perhaps a diploma of first degree standard? A requirement to study on a much broader basis than the promotion examinations would be available to all whatever their level of ability and interest. Is it too much to dream that such a system may provide the basis for a different type of promotion examination, with emphasis on the ability to reason and understand rather than on memory.', and concludes, 'It is little use telling people how hard are the promotion examinations, there is nothing to compare them with. Produce a sweat-stained bit of paper and the results may be surprising; it may do as much to change the image as all the glossy brochures about the "modern Police." It may even be enjoyable for many. And it may produce a sense of achievement and recognition for ordinary Policemen and

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1. Ibid.

and women which some feel has been long overdue.'

This sensible and constructive letter produced a reply from a graduate entrant, Mr. J. A. Sperry.<sup>1</sup> He began, 'Your correspondent reflected, quite adequately I believe, the Police approach to learning .... There exists a suspicion of academics compounded with the view that everyone is capable of that degree of erudition given time and inclination.' His diagnosis of the ills of the present police service included these points:

- '(a) The last twenty years have seen a steady decline in the intellectual standard of Policemen as measured by the type of education received and examination passes achieved. This is an even more serious decline bearing in mind the expansion which has taken place in the provision of grammar-school places.
- (b) The insistence on maintaining a one-tier organisational structure has denied Police Forces the opportunity of introducing people of higher academic quality. The graduate entry scheme displays an acceptance of this managerial problem but is itself a half-hearted attempt which at present shows every sign of failure.
- (c) Essentially the Police form a working-class organisation which deals primarily with working-class people who share their attitudinal and belief system .... This consequential lack of understanding of middle-class attitudes is responsible for weighting the law in favour of the higher levels of society.
- (d) The initial training received by provincial Policemen in no way equips them to understand the society in which they will operate. The course itself is inflexible, delivered by men possessing no qualifications to teach ....'

His suggestions for remedies were:

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1. Police Review; 21 April, 1972, p.493.

- '(a) A two-tier system. People being introduced directly at the level of Inspector as well as P.C.
- (b) Initial training to include a study of society and of human growth and development - those teaching the subjects to be either social scientists or at least qualified teachers. Secondment to initial training centres must be for a much longer period of time.
- (c) The internal examinations for Police promotion should include at least one paper designed to demonstrate that the candidate has some understanding of the wider environment in which he operates.
- (d) A wider diversity of research facilities within the Service. Concentrating all reserves at Bramshill Police College is inadequate .... The fundamental prerequisite to change must be some long overdue self-criticism by Policemen of the total system as opposed to the constant bickering at trivialities which exists at present.'

Two items in Mr. Sperry's original letter provoked such opposition that many readers were blinded to the merits of the more constructive suggestions made; he was probably unwise to have even raised the question of two-level entry into the police service, for this is its 'King Charles's Head,' while the fact that he confessed to being a graduate immediately put him on one side of the ideological fence and many of his readers on the other. Some of the replies surely show more than mere intellectual disagreement with the points made. A few extracts from letters (often otherwise sensible and constructive) illustrate the depth of feeling involved.

'His remarks are patronising in the extreme for he infers that only more men of his intellectual calibre will solve the present situation.'<sup>1</sup>

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1. P.C. J. Wilkinson; Police Review, 19 May, 1972, p.630.

'I was amused by J. A. Sperry's letter and his fatuous remarks and proposals. Is he really a Policeman? His letter shows a deep misunderstanding of the Force and its officers. His opinions are at odds with more eminent and experienced Policemen .... What the Police Service needs is not more intellectual debaters but first-class men and women of action.'<sup>1</sup>

'Mr. J. A. Sperry opens by rightly pointing out that many Policemen have a deep suspicion of academics but then proceeds to show by the nature of his subsequent remarks (unintentionally, I am sure) precisely why this attitude persists and that on occasions such suspicions are not idly held. For we learn that Mr. Sperry is a believer in academic superiority and an advocate of that hardy perennial, the two-tier Police structure.'<sup>2</sup>

'Once upon a time there was a man called Trenchard who started a scheme under which people like Mr. Sperry, well versed in Shakespeare, mythology, geology, and anthropology and other vitally important topics became "officers" and the others became workers.'<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Winship (a Bramshill scholar who went to Oxford) agrees that educational standards within the service have dropped relative to the country as a whole, and makes a valuable comment when he says, 'Are we not writing about something different when we speak in the wider sense of educational standards in the Service? Surely in this context we are referring to the broad base of Constables who operate at that vital level where the job is actually carried out. Here it certainly is important to attract the better educated recruit (insofar as increased astuteness and perception tend to contribute to a good, overall Policeman), but equally it is folly to suggest

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1. P.C. A. S. Patterson, *ibid.*

2. P. J. Winship, *ibid.*

3. Mr. Danhy Winning; *Police Review*, 2 June, 1972, p.702.

or hope that all future recruits have letters after their name. In any case to equate intelligence and common sense with education is itself a grave mistake as the professional competence of so many of our moderately educated Policemen shows. I have always believed that the principal requirement for a recruit is a rational enthusiasm: that is the raw material which can be moulded by others into practical expertise.'<sup>1</sup> He goes on to adduce valid arguments against the suggested two-tier form of entry when he goes on to say, 'Mr. Sperry fails to mention leadership (a remarkable omission) which I feel is one of the primary qualities, together with guidance, direction and support, that we must expect to see exercised in what has become this important operational position. Not the indefinite leadership of the Sandhurst clichés but the practical, decisive example which depends upon one vital prerequisite: respect. In the man's world of the Police Service respect is something which has to be earned and is not accorded on the basis of a slip of paper. This is why the two-tier system is an anathema to Police officers generally.'<sup>2</sup>, and concludes by saying, 'Academic excellence and practical ability are not always mutually exclusive .... But that arrangement and the alternative compromise of which I am a part (the seconding of Bramshill scholars to university - I went to Oxford) do at least have the virtue to affording individuals the opportunity to prove themselves first as Policemen potentially capable (one hopes) of earning that respect which in a Service such as ours is so very necessary.'

Many points from other letters make sorry reading; the writers blankly deny that educational standards are falling

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1. P. J. Winship; Police Review, 2 June, 1972, p.702.

2. Ibid.

and refuse to admit that graduates can have any valid or useful role in the police service. One correspondent, who shall be nameless, spoils his other, useful, points when he says, 'It is all very well talking about social scientists but I believe that the soft-glove method employed by today's probation officers, child care officers, and Policemen have possibly created hardened criminals out of wayward kids when a "clout about the ear" would have paid better dividends.'

A final (and in some ways, rather sad) extract from this correspondence reads, 'I would suggest that the standard of achievement academically of any individual Police Officer rests solely with that officer, and that the concept of further education should not be visited upon the organisation itself, whose administrators have enough to worry about already. After 26 years' service I quote my own experience of self-education, the last seven years being spent studying English at higher level. The final result has not been to make me any better as a Police officer - more articulate perhaps, and erudite to a degree, but plagued by cynicism, never calculated to enhance personal contact with the public.... What we really need is not Policemen eternally involved in extraneous courses of education, or officers who enter having been mightily educated, but honest-to-goodness sensible men of good physical standard.'<sup>1</sup>

Here is someone, intelligent, thoughtful, and well read whose hard-won education has merely made him cynical and doubtful of its value.

How typical are these attitudes towards education in the police service? In an endeavour to decide this question 25 copies of a questionnaire (whose form evolved from many discussions with police officers of all ranks) were sent to each

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1. 'R.B.'; Police Review, 2 June, 1972, p.702.

of nine categories of police officers, which were thought to be representative of important sections of the service. Previous agreement had been obtained from the appropriate officers in command, subject to consent being given from above. These categories -with the number of completed forms returned in brackets - were

- (i) Members of Command Courses at the Police College (23).
- (ii) Members of the Special Course at the Police College (22).
- (iii) Representative members of a typical town division (19).
- (iv) Women police officers of all ranks (26 - by using the spare copy supplied in each batch).
- (v) Cadets (19; 15 youths and 4 girls).
- (vi) Members of an Inspectors' Course (0).
- (vii) Recruits undergoing initial training (0).
- (viii) Probationer constables on their continuation training (0).
- (ix) Members of the Central Planning Unit at Ryton-on-Dunsmore (0).

Permission was refused in categories (vi)-(viii) by the Chief Constables' Conference responsible, and by the Home Office in category (ix).<sup>1</sup>

A copy of this questionnaire is in the Appendix. It was intended to modify the form of the questionnaire, if necessary, after soliciting the opinions of several police officers who had agreed to attach their comments to a draft copy circulated amongst them. Unfortunately this draft vanished, and the consequent delay meant that the definitive version had to go out unchanged, and considerably later than had been intended. Because of this in some cases commandants who had given permission had been replaced by others who did not feel that they could do the same, and, furthermore, that warnings against

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1. It should be emphasised that the writer is grateful for the large amount of co-operation and assistance that he did obtain in this and other directions: it is, however, interesting that permission was always granted when it was possible to make a personal request, and never when the decision was made on the basis of correspondence.

taking some of the phrasing (in particular, the word 'copper' in questions 2, 11 and 14) as indicating in any way the attitudes of the investigator were not delivered, so that feelings were sometimes inadvertently ruffled.

The first part of the questionnaire was designed to elicit factual details about individual officers and their careers; the second part to discover their attitudes towards their education, training, promotion system and general outlook. To ensure privacy and to (it was hoped) produce plain speaking addressed envelopes were supplied to secure the completed forms. Although some officers obviously did not like certain aspects of the questionnaire the respondents were helpful in almost every case.

The questions in the second part of the questionnaire were chosen to reflect attitudes to issues which had emerged as relevant to the present enquiry; the more fundamental issues were approached from more than one direction. Agreement or otherwise was to be indicated on a five-point scale. The general results are summarised in the appendix, and will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

To obtain a notional 'index of agreement' (thought to be justifiable in a preliminary investigation such as this) the following procedure was adopted. 'Strongly agree' scored +2, 'Agree' scored +1, 'No strong views' scored 0, 'Disagree' scored -1, and 'Strongly Disagree' scored -2. The responses to each question from each category were added algebraically and divided by the number of respondents; coefficients around +1 or -1 were taken to mean a quite strong measure of agreement or disagreement, while coefficients round about zero were thought to indicate no strong set of opinion.<sup>1</sup> As an example,

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1. Unanimous strong agreement or disagreement among the respondents would, of course, have produced indices of +2 or -2.

the question, 'I would have got on better in the force if I had had a better education' produced these responses from the women officers:

SD	D	N	A	SA	
6	13	2	5	1	n = 26

which led to an index of:

$$\frac{-6.2 \quad -13.1 \quad +2.0 \quad +5.1 \quad +1.2}{26}$$

$$= \frac{-12 \quad -13 \quad +0 \quad +5 \quad +1}{26} = \frac{-25 \quad +6}{26} = \frac{-19}{26},$$

giving a coefficient of -0.73, which was thought to indicate that, on balance, these ladies did not consider themselves greatly handicapped by any deficiencies there might be in their educations.

The responses to question 18, 'I liked school and was sorry to leave' perhaps gave a glimpse of the obvious when they showed that police officers are not, in general, a bookish clan. Women officers were a notable exception to the general results, as their coefficient of +0.31 showed that many of them had quite enjoyed school.<sup>1</sup> Cadets (coefficient -0.05) were fairly evenly divided on this issue, but it must be remembered that these particular young people were more rigorously selected educationally than the general run of constables. Men on the Special course at Bramshill (index of agreement<sup>2</sup> -0.23), in spite of their high general level of education<sup>3</sup> had not been keen on school; their seniors on the Command Courses (I.A. -0.13) were fairly evenly divided, with a slight majority going to the 'antis.' The men of a typical Division (I.A. -0.47) were fairly strongly united in their dislike of their school days.

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1. Reference should be made as necessary to the table in the Appendix for precise details as and when these are required.  
 2. Henceforth 'I.A.'  
 3. See Chap.IX.

It has been seen already<sup>1</sup> that training in all its aspects absorbs a great deal of time and money in the police; leaving aside any doubts as to its suitability, the responses to question 15, 'I, personally speaking, have found the courses I have been on very useful in general,' show that the system is well regarded. The replies may be summarised:

<u>Response</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>SA</u>	<u>IA</u>
Command Course	0	0	0	10	13	+1.65
Special Courses	0	1	3	10	8	+1.14
Division	0	0	2	14	3	+1.05
Women	1	0	4	15	7	+1.04
Cadets	0	1	9	7	3	+0.63

These results follow a predictable pattern, with the senior officers best pleased with the system which had lifted them to their present eminence (and this applies to the women's results too, with those of higher rank better pleased.) Cadets seem noticeably less enchanted with the system, but the restricted sample size, and the fact that it was drawn all from the same force, makes it dangerous to draw definite conclusions. Questions 16 and 8 have their results summarised below:-

Questions   <u>Groups</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>'Indexes of Agreement'</u>				
	<u>Cmmd.</u>	<u>Spec.</u>	<u>Divn.</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Cadets</u>
Question 16, 'Knowledge is power,' and that applies as much in the police force as anywhere else	+0.96	+1.09	+1.1	+1.04	+1.0
Question 8, 'I would have got on better in the force if I had had a better education.'	-0.61	-1.04	-0.31	-0.73	-0.31

Although question 16 (a loose, general question) gains strong, universal acceptance, when its implementation is dis-

1. Chapters IV, VI and VII.

2. Command Courses = Cmmd., Special Course = Spec., Division = Divn., Women officers = Women, and Cadets = Cadets.

cussed in question 8 a divergence of opinion appears. Command course officers feel that their education cannot have retarded them much, the well-educated Special Course sergeants feel that they are at least adequately equipped for their career, while the remainder, <sup>though</sup> seemingly wishful of some improvement in their educational status certainly do not consider it a great positive handicap.

Question 19, 'Many good policemen have been held back because they could not handle the book learning, which didn't have much to do with the job anyway' produced predictable responses, though any feelings of resentment are not strong. Special course men (I.A. -1.23) obviously feel strongly that mastery of book work is an essential part of the promotion system, while their seniors on the Command Courses (I.A. -0.70) feel that as they were not retarded, the system must be all right. Strangely, women (I.A. +0.50) feel that the system can handicap good candidates (even though they are certainly not less well-educated than their male colleagues), while men in the division (I.A. +0.21) and cadets (I.A. +0.26) feel there may be substance in the statement, but are not labouring under a strong sense of grievance.

The responses to question 2, 'A good memory is more important to a copper than great intelligence' are interesting, as they shed some light both on the self-regard of the separate groups and on their view of the nature of (their own) police duties.

Present and future senior officers rate intelligence high relative to memory (I.A. -0.83 and -0.41 respectively), women and cadets each have mixed, cancelling views (I.A. +0.04 and +0.11) respectively), leaving only men from the division (I.A. +0.47) to concur fairly strongly with the question as posed -

and here opinions did not seem to correlate perceptibly with rank.

Questions 1 and 11 are summarised below:-

<u>Questions\Groups</u>	<u>'Indexes of Agreement'</u>				
	<u>Cmmd.</u>	<u>Spec.</u>	<u>Divn.</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Cadets</u>
Question 1, 'Modern conditions require police officers to be more highly educated than ever before.'	+0.83	+1.18	+0.42	+0.23	+0.61
Question 11, 'G.C.E.'s and so forth are useless to the practical copper.'	-1.00	-1.23	-0.31	-0.65	-0.95

It is clear that almost everybody agrees that good education is essential for today's police work, although the results are again polarized by achievement and expectation; the 'welfare' function of many women officers' work no doubt accounts for their relatively low measure of agreement with question 1, and the detailed analysis for their group was:

SD	D	N	A	SA	
1	8	2	14	1	N = 26

The related questions 4 and 12 gave these results:-

<u>Questions\Groups</u>	<u>'Indexes of Agreement'</u>				
	<u>Cmmd.</u>	<u>Spec.</u>	<u>Divn.</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Cadets</u>
Question 4, 'The police service <u>must</u> benefit in the long run by recruiting graduates.'	+0.22	+0.59	-0.90	-0.85	0.05
Question 12, 'The graduate entry scheme will ruin the police if it is ever adopted on a large scale.'	+0.35	+0.05	+0.84	+1.04	0

Question 12 is really a sub-section of question 4, as it deals with one of several ways in which the police could increase their quota of graduates. This scheme (by which graduates can enter the force with the guarantee of an eventual place on the Special Course) has certainly got off to a bad

start,<sup>1</sup> and the responses show that it is opposed by most police officers - almost unanimously by the 'rank and file,' both men and women, while even the generally well-educated members of the Special Course are against it on balance. Condemnation of a particular method of recruiting graduates need not necessarily be significant, but when in question 4 the value of graduates in general is denied so strongly by both men and women in the ranks it seems that a serious situation does exist. Although Special Course sergeants support the potential value of graduates their opinion is not decisively strong. If it is accepted as obvious that modern conditions will require police forces to contain their just proportion of graduates, then the results summarised above also seem to make it obvious that the police service will have to educate its members as to its needs, and to give them the requisite reassurances both in the career and on the personal planes.

Question 6, 'Well-educated youngsters are wasting their opportunities if they join the police today' produced replies in a much more encouraging vein. Summarised, the results were:

Group	Command	Special	Division	Women	Cadets
I.A.	-1.21	-1.83	-0.58	-0.80	-1.16

Although responses were predictably more in favour of a police career for able young people amongst those with achievements and prospects, only three officers out of the whole sample of 109 strongly agreed with the proposition as posed, and so showed that they were greatly disillusioned by their experiences in the police.

As has been seen already<sup>2</sup> the police service wisely makes no demands in the way of a guaranteed period of further service

1. See Chap.X.

2. See Chap.X.

after graduation for that handful of its members it sends to university. However, both the 'typical' groups of police men and women, quite strongly condemned officers who left the service after gaining a degree at its expense (I.A. +0.84 and +0.80 respectively), while even present and future senior officers condemned such action on balance - although the ambivalence of the members of the Special Course is interesting, and may be significant:

SD	D	N	A	SA	IA
3	8	2	5	4	+0.05

The promotion system, itself strongly dependent on education and training, needs not only to be fair, but to be seen to be fair, if it is not to cause discontent and loss of efficiency in the service as a whole. Obviously, differences must be expected between the 'haves' and the 'have nots,' and it would be dangerous to rely on one untested proposition too much, but the responses to question 10 do seem disquietening. Every single man on the Command Course (except one, who was neutral) agreed that, 'Generally speaking, the promotion system works well and fairly in the police,' but 'typical' men and women were both almost equally divided on this topic. Worse, perhaps, the favoured members of the Special Course supported it tepidly (seven against, three neutral and ten for it), while the cadets, whom it could be hoped would be idealistic, thought it unfair. Their summarised results were:

SD	D	N	A	SA	IA
1	10	9	1	0	-0.53

Whether their views could be supported on statistical grounds does not matter; if this group be taken as at all representative of cadets in general, the police service has some more fences to mend in this group and in others.

Question 9 dealt with a decision which is now becoming hallowed by time, 'It was a mistake to abolish the "Civil Service" questions (dealing with general educational topics) in the promotion examinations.' Though it can thus be quickly disposed of, it is of passing interest to see that senior officers regret the demise of this examination to a fair degree (I.A. +0.65), while in every other category opinion was balanced very closely.

Question 13, 'Long residential courses are unfair to the family man, and must prevent many good men from seeking further promotion,' produced some interesting results. Average men from a division mildly concur, women officers mildly disagree, while the cadets opinion can only be based on speculation (I.A. 0.11). The basic clash occurs between the present and future senior ranks; only 12 per cent of the Chief Inspectors and Superintendents agree with the premise, 17 per cent are neutral, and the remainder disagree, to produce an I.A. of -0.61. On the other hand the pattern for the high-flying sergeants of the Special Course then undergoing a year's course, and with the prospect of others to come) is:

SD	D	N	A	SA	IA
2	5	1	7	5	+0.36

It appears that here is a fundamental difference of attitude between two groups of officers who are mainly separated in age by between ten and twenty years, with the older men taking long attendance at courses for granted, and the younger men disliking the prospect.

Question 3, 'Most real police work is done by sergeants and constables, anyway' was put in as a bow at venture, after studying the pattern of police work and its distribution amongst the various ranks. The full results are given in the

Appendix, but it may be interesting to see how much agreement this statement obtained. 44 per cent of the Command Course agreed, and so did a similar proportion of men from the Special Course, but perhaps for different reasons - they themselves being sergeants (albeit, at present, in a kind of limbo). The cadets had no strong views, but the men of the division supported the idea quite strongly (I.A. +0.79) and the women more strongly still (I.A. +1.1) with officers above the rank of sergeant nicely balanced in their net views in every case.

Question 14 (mentioned elsewhere)<sup>1</sup> produced a perhaps surprising result. Deliberately couched in negative and somewhat deprecating terms it said, 'Sociology, psychology, etc., don't have much value for the copper on the beat.' The results can be summarised:

Category	Cmmd.	Spec.	Divn.	Women	Cadets
I.A.	-0.78	-1.5	-0.05	-0.65	-1.11

It can be seen that with the men in the division left out the idea that the social sciences are useless was repudiated with firmness, only eleven respondents from the remaining ninety being actively opposed to any degree. Even in the people from the division opinion was almost exactly equally distributed, and finally came down on the side of the angels:

SD	D	N	A	SA	IA
1	8	2	7	1	-0.05

Question 7 said, 'The policeman's esteem in the eyes of the general public has fallen sharply over the last few years.' Once again the results:

Category	Cmmd.	Spec.	Divn.	Women	Cadets
I.A.	-1.1	-0.77	+0.10	+0.59	-0.11

1. Chap.VI.

-- show a disconcerting gap between those who have arrived (or expect to soon) and the men and women officers who (whatever the validity of the responses to question 3) are most in contact with the public.

A piece of research such as this must find its ultimate justification in the hope that it will provide a point of departure for future studies, deeper and more specialised. However, even such a limited investigation has produced its surprises amongst many results too consistent to be ignored.

It appears that there may be a rift between the administrators and the executives (to use this maligned word in its correct context for once) on several fundamental issues.

No longer are long residential courses welcomed or tolerated by the majority, even though they may lead to advancement.

There exist quite strong differences of attitudes (not detectable from the summary tables, but apparent in the original data) between young women police officers in their early twenties and their elder sisters.

Some cleavage exists between officers who entered the service as cadets and those who came in directly. This particularly applies to the alleged 'narrowness of outlook' which ex-cadets are supposed to have, but the independent observer may reflect on the relative value of such experiences as driving a baker's van as opposed to serving in a disabled persons' home, or working in a factory compared with sailing a schooner across the North Sea, and conclude that such a charge might be difficult to substantiate.

One final thought comes to mind. It seems fair to say that the majority of policemen disliked school, and many failed there (or were failed?). In the police service many thousands of men have found a second chance, and with the aid of its courses and

facilities, and by their own endeavours, have raised themselves above what might have been, to careers valuable to the community and satisfying to themselves.

## CHAPTER XII

### A SUMMARY AND A SUMMING-UP

This study has shown how the constabulary evolved in this country from Norman times to the present day. The whole process has been seen to be one of continual amalgamation of the peace-keeping forces. In particular, training has come more and more to the fore since the war, until at the present time it absorbs a sizeable proportion of the service's time and finances. Perhaps it will be agreed that (leaving aside for the moment the question of just what should be taught) this training is, within its limitation, well done and effective. However, in spite of everything, both known crime and the prison population have climbed steeply since the war, and so it is necessary to examine this unwelcome trend to find its causes and so see how police officers could be better fitted to deal with it. Other new factors have also come into being to make the policeman's job more difficult - in particular, the growth of coloured populations and the attendant racial problems, and the new fashion for using violent demonstrations for political ends - and these too make it expedient to examine the policeman's role and function.

In an American symposium,<sup>1</sup> John H. McNamara's contribution<sup>2</sup> dealt admirably with the influences which mould a police officer's own view of himself and his career and the public's attitudes and expectations towards him. Although this survey naturally referred to American forces, it nevertheless seems highly applicable to British conditions too, and so may provide

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1. The Police; Six Sociological Essays, ed. D. Bordua.
  2. Uncertainties in Police Work: the Relevance of Police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training.

a useful framework for discussion. McNamara's chosen factors were six in number: role, discretion, prestige, personal background, career expectations and homogeneity of recruits. None of these items is independent of the other ones.

Those factors which can be disposed of quickly can be discussed first and got out of the way, at least for the time being.

The prestige of police officers is recorded as having fallen badly in the United States; it has certainly fallen in this country since the legendary days of the twenties and thirties, in the wake of the Desborough awards, but the policeman is generally well-regarded by most of the community.

For most of the modern police service's existence the background of recruits has certainly been homogenous enough in age, education and background, though fortunately their abilities and personalities were varied enough to enable all ranks of the service to be adequately manned. This will no longer apply to the same extent if present efforts to recruit a hard core of highly intelligent and well educated officers comes to fruition, and must be a cause for future concern. McNamara suggests that such a variation in background will affect an officer's attitudes, his learning ability, and (perhaps most important in the light of present trends) his expectations in his relations with members of various social classes.

McNamara divided 'role' into three headings, which also seem to relate to this country. The first was what he calls 'Stress enforcement' of the criminal law, the second, under the title 'Administration' related to licensing, inspection, traffic control and the like, and the last - especially important in working class or deprived areas - related to the functions of police officers as counsellors and as 'agents of

socialisation,' under the heading 'Service functions.' It will be seen that the first of these relates to the police officer's work with the criminal minority only, although he would be judged by the public at large by his success or otherwise in dealing with the problem. The last category would bring him into contact with another, larger minority - that of the deprived and socially incapable, and which intersects with the criminal class to some extent. Thus, it is only in his administrative function that he would be expected to come into direct contact with the whole spectrum of the public.

Crime, as has been noted, has steadily climbed for many years. However, this is not a uniquely English phenomenon, as it is matched by similar increases in the whole of Western Europe; perhaps it may be considered as a by-product of the affluent society, where desirable and badly guarded goods are presented to the view of the envious indigent. If this rise, though unwelcome, can be tolerated with reasonable equanimity any serious increase in violence certainly cannot be. It was from their fears that the increase in violence was getting out of hand that two senior officers of Scotland Yard<sup>1</sup> called a press conference in August, 1971, to demand severer penalties for violent<sup>2</sup> crimes. As luck would have it, the report of this conference chanced to appear on the same day that the news of the atrocious murder of a senior police officer in the aftermath of a robbery made the headlines; this factor, while it stimulated interest, prevented rational assessment of the situation. In fact, the two Assistant Commissioners seem to have misunderstood the whole situation. An analysis, by Linklater and Kellner<sup>3</sup>

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1. Assistant Commissioner Peter Brodie, Head of C.I.D., and Deputy Assistant Commissioner Richard Chitty.

2. The fact that this plea related specifically to violent crimes was not given its proper emphasis at the time, and has caused much misunderstanding since.

3. 'Violence: the bent evidence'; The Sunday Times, 29 August, 1971.

showed that real criminal violence had grown at an average rate of 2.8 per cent<sup>1</sup> since 1960; this compounded increase, though undoubtedly serious, could not be said to be out-of-hand. The same reporters showed<sup>2</sup> that the proportion of prisoners receiving long-term sentences had actually increased over the previous decade, and that the latest evidence indicated that recidivism had considerably decreased compared with the period 1921-1948. Leon Radzinowicz, Professor of Criminology at Cambridge, also opposed<sup>3</sup> this call for Draconian measures to be taken against the professional criminal, pointing out the ineffectiveness of harsh sentences in reducing crime in America, and pertinently suggesting that the detection and conviction of more criminals would have a more salutary effect - a point which will be returned to later. Louis Blom-Cooper also spoke against harsher sentences, and pointed out,<sup>4</sup> 'The complex factors that cause crime are embedded in the structure of society.' Mr. Robert Mark,<sup>5</sup> whose views are so liberal as to dismay the Old Guard in the police, nevertheless felt<sup>6</sup> that matters would improve if judicial procedure, which he considered to favour the professional criminal unjustly against society, were reformed so as to produce more verdicts of guilty in cases dealing with such men - a theme he has often returned to and which is still the subject for controversy. In spite of this view, which its author's reputation should merit a hearing at least, it is perhaps more probable that crime would be better contained by improved detection against a background of public support. Mr. Mark himself lists<sup>7</sup> means by which police effi-

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1. Adjusted for population.

2. Ibid.

3. Sunday Times, 29 August, 1971.

4. The Observer; 29 August, 1972.

5. Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police.

6. The Criminal Law Review, June 1966.

7. Police Review, 27 August, 1971, page 1099; report of a lecture at the Police College.

ciency might be increased, a theme taken up by other workers in this field. Ben Whitaker wrote<sup>1</sup> on the eve of publication of his book, 'The Police,' suggesting ways to improve efficiency. He laid most stress on two measures: an increase in the manpower of the police service, and the initiation of a simplification and (eventually) a codification of our laws. Significantly, he finished by saying,<sup>2</sup> 'But ultimately it will always remain the ordinary member of the public who is responsible for the degree of police success; it depends more than any other factor on his co-operation and recognition of his responsibility for crime prevention.' Two other writers<sup>3</sup> broke new ground with their suggestions for combating the growth of crime. They suggested that modern management techniques could assist by making more effective use of money and other resources, described useful innovations in the policing of beats<sup>4</sup> and finally suggested how simulation techniques could be used to increase efficiency.

The hydra-like growth of the traffic problem over the last decade or so (where the solution to any particular problem seemed to create several others within a short period of time) created great problems for the police, both administratively and in their relations with the public.

In 1955-56, traffic duties of all kinds occupied between one-fifth and a quarter of police time.<sup>5</sup> At that time many chier constables were resisting the introduction of the new corps of Traffic Wardens into their forces, but it is interesting to note that although at that time they formed only 1.2 per cent of the broad force strength they nevertheless were res-

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1. New Society, 23 April, 1964.

2. Ibid, page 9.

3. Nicholas Bibbington and Alexander McDonald, in a lecture to the Fourth Annual Conference on Research and Teaching in Criminology, at Cambridge, July 1970.

4. Unit Beat Policing - the 'Panda Car' system which enjoyed a vogue and is now beginning to come under fire.

5. Martin and Wilson; page 160.

possible for 17.2 per cent of all traffic supervision.<sup>1</sup> Not only were the police released from a time-wasting duty (only 12 per cent of their time is now spent dealing with traffic), but the task itself began to be performed more efficiently and, most important of all, a source of friction with the public was much reduced. This lesson was not lost on the police service, and the process of 'civilianisation' is already well established, and is now entering its second phase with a command structure of its own, linked with that of the police, being built up. As time goes by it can be expected that such tasks as inspection and licensing will become less and less the direct responsibility of the police, and so of less importance to them, and to the present study.

Since the modern police service began to evolve in the latter years of the nineteenth century the policeman's role as a social worker has been recognised as an important part of his function. In those days the constable came from the people, and lived among them, and so was well qualified by experience to lend a helping hand. This assistance could take many forms - interceding in a domestic dispute, advising some harassed person as to his course of action, lighting a Jew's gas-light on the Sabbath, and so on; above all, he acted as a focal point and exemplar of respectability and stability which must surely have done much to raise the tone of the locality. Now the situation has changed; the policeman will not reside (if he can avoid it) in a rough district, and the great influx of coloured immigrants to certain areas of the large cities has created fresh and difficult problems. In a penetrating review<sup>2</sup> of a new and rather polemical book<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ben Whitaker outlines

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1. Ibid; page 195.

2. Sunday Times; 13th August, 1972.

3. Derek Humphrey; Police Power and Black People, Panther.

his view of the police attitude to the colour problem, 'The Police's view is that first, no problem exists; and secondly that, anyway, to adopt deliberate policies in favour of racial minorities would only increase the emphasis on race and so heighten the basic problem of non-assimilation into the social structure,' and goes on to outline the nature of the present problem, 'Policemen form a cross-section of the white community and its attitudes, but in their work they are subject to exceptional stresses. Most police officers sincerely believe they are impartial; prejudice generally only shows at times of emotion, when interacting tension and aggression - especially among the younger members of both blacks and police - are produced by reciprocally apprehensive mistrust. Both sides in such confrontations are victims of the psychological conditioning of history - and, in particular, of Britain's slave-trade.

'It is fair to remember that the police also often suffer intolerance, in the same way that blacks do, as easily identifiable objects of group prejudice and as scapegoats for resentment at social conditions. Since the police have considerable discretion in enforcing the law, blacks often feel they are picked on for search or arrest because of their colour; an accusation that the police resent.', and points out 'A policeman occupies a key, if unenviable, position between the status quo and its challengers. As the most readily accessible symbol of authority, he is a lightning-conductor for resentment against the injustices of society for which he is not responsible.'

In an article written in the aftermath of clashes between police and black demonstrators at Notting Hill, Mr. Colin McGlashan wrote<sup>1</sup> explaining how a young policeman's shock at

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1. The Observer.

being thrust into an unfamiliar and exotic environment can distort his attitudes, 'Such a policeman tends to be young, frequently himself an immigrant from other parts of the country, from a small town or from suburbia. He is unlikely to have had any acquaintance with black people, sometimes never to have seen an area where they live in large numbers. His first contact with them is often with black suspects or criminals, or with the law-abiding at times of crisis. Although his training may have included lectures on minority groups - in London, for example, policemen are sometimes told to expect West Indians to be "excitable" - he is likely to be shocked by their dress, behaviour and language, so different from his own. It is common, though not inevitable, for this cultural shock to lead, through rejection, to disgust and dislike. "THEY aren't like us," he will say, "You've got to be tough with them; that's the only thing they respect." Or: "They're like animals; you mustn't show fear of them." Or: "You mustn't let them get away with anything. You can't back down. You've got to show them who's boss." With a word or two changed, I have heard all these phrases from policemen in both Chicago and London.'

There are three principal things that the police service can do to reverse the trend and establish good relations with the coloured community. They can actively seek to appoint a proportionate share of coloured officers to the service. In April, 1972, there were only eleven coloured officers in the whole of the Metropolitan Police, and at the end of 1971 there were only 32 coloured officers (including two women) serving in all the rest of the country;<sup>1</sup> although the general difficulties of recruitment have been examined already,<sup>2</sup> and are

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1. Report of H.M.I. Constabulary, 1971.

2. Chapter III.

certainly more severe in the coloured community, they should not have prevented a larger number of coloured men than this being recruited. The Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police regrets the smallness of this number,<sup>1</sup> and has talked to the leaders of many immigrant groups to try to get them to persuade their young, able people to join the service. During the same interview he said, 'Give me a good batch of young immigrants as police cadets and I think I can promise you a real change in the atmosphere very quickly.'

The second line of action has already been developed considerably; all forces with sizeable coloured communities in their areas have now established 'full time specialist liaison officers whose responsibility it is to establish and foster contact and communication with immigrant communities. This work is carried out by attending meetings at a local level .... as an executive member of the (community relations) council or in an advisory capacity or by arranging "surgeries" where the immigrants can discuss their problems with the police.'<sup>2</sup>

This report goes on to detail a number of promising undertakings which have been initiated in various parts of the country, and makes the vital point, 'It is important that immigrants should understand the role and duties of the British Policeman, which may differ from those of the Police in the countries of their origin.'<sup>3</sup>

The third method of establishing better race relations is the most important one, and it lies in education. This will be returned to, but for the moment perhaps Whitaker could sum it up, 'What then should be done? Not only police training, but all school curricula, should include the study of prejudice.'

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1. The Observer, 9 April, 1972.

2. Report H.M.I. Constabulary for 1971.

3. Ibid.

Police officers should live in the neighbourhoods they patrol, and should include more blacks. The motivation of those who apply to become policemen - and magistrates - should be studied, and screened for racial prejudice.<sup>1</sup> Some of this is already being done - especially in the police service; the important thing is to realise that the problem cannot be solved by the police alone, but only with the co-operation of the general public.

So much for the professional role of the police officer; what of his role and status in the community? There is no doubt that the average policeman feels himself to be set apart in certain ways from the community in which he lives, but does this justify the gloomy opinions which he seems to hold? There is no doubt that the demands of a policeman's work does cause clashes between his public and his private roles;<sup>2</sup> but this need not affect his standing with the public. Nevertheless, police officers are justified in feeling that they are regarded ambivalently by the public. Banton<sup>3</sup> points out that a policeman must feel himself to be potentially on duty for twenty-four hours a day, he suffers many restrictions (for example, he may not ordinarily take a second job to supplement his income), he feels inhibited from discussing topics such as politics, and people generally expect a code of conduct from him they do not impose upon themselves. He also has to endure some measure of social isolation (.... you'll get the remark, 'Hey, watch out, the police are here')<sup>4</sup>, and is sometimes uncomfortably aware that he is being moulded by his work ('My wife is always getting on at me because .... I've developed the habit of saying, "That bloke's committed an offence"....').<sup>5</sup>

1. Sunday Times, 13 August, 1972.

2. Banton; Chap.9.

3. Op.cit.; Chap.7.

4. Banton; p.199, quoting a Scottish policeman.

5. Ibid., p.208.

It appears that this sense of social isolation is responsible for the policeman's pessimistic views on his standing with the public. At the time of the Royal Commission in 1960-62 a survey of attitudes was carried out, and this revealed<sup>1</sup> that although chief officers and police authorities were optimistic, all ranks of the police - especially the lower ones - believed that, '.... there had been a significant decline (in relations), some even holding that the traditional standing of the police was in grave danger.'<sup>2</sup>

The Royal Commission summed up by saying,<sup>3</sup> '.... most of the organisations who appeared before us feel concern about the present state of the relationship between the police and the public ....'

In complete contradiction to these views were those of the public themselves,<sup>4</sup> 'No less than 83 per cent of those interviewed professed great respect for the police, 16 per cent said they had mixed feelings and only 1 per cent said they had little or no respect for them.' In general, when an informant's opinion had changed with time it had been for the better.

The Royal Commission did not question anybody under 18, but in a survey made by Gorer in 1950 (which produced similar results to the above) revealed<sup>5</sup> that, generally speaking, the younger the respondent the more likely it was that his opinion would be favourable.

It seems clear that the police usually and generally enjoy the confidence and respect of the public; a recent study<sup>6</sup> indicates that the attitudes of police and public are also well aligned.

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1. Command 1728, paras.331-337.

2. Ibid, para.331.

3. Ibid, para.337.

4. Ibid, para.340.

5. Whitaker, p.197.

6. Maureen Cain; 'Research into the changing role of the police in society,' July 1970. (Lecture to the Fourth National Conference on Research and Teaching in Criminology, at Cambridge.

Police work would not be possible under present-day conditions without the exercise of constabulary discretion, in deciding whether or no to take official notice of some infringement. While it is both necessary and beneficial that every trifling - perhaps inadvertent - infringement of the law should not be brought to court, a dangerous situation would arise if the wishes of Parliament (and, presumably) the people were flouted by a kind of 'legislation by discretion.' A great furore arose in the early 'sixties when the then Chief Constable of Southend announced that his force would no longer prosecute, as a matter of routine, shoplifters in supermarkets where goods were temptingly displayed without any efforts at security; another common example of what might be thought to be 'discretion on the borderline' occurs when forces decide, sub rosa, not to prosecute speeding drivers unless the legal limit is exceeded by some arbitrary figure. Apart from the obvious dangers of applying some local, police-made law, the law itself would suffer and lose its dignity and stature if it were not of universal application.

As Shaw and Williams wrote,<sup>1</sup> 'The law may require the policeman to act as a "law officer" whilst the folkways of the public group require him to act as a "peace officer." It is this dilemma which, more than any other, points to the dilemmas of police work. It suggests that in fulfilling his role the policeman has to negotiate a complex system of rules, meanings and expectations, the internal coherence of which is inevitably precarious.'

This exercise of discretion becomes extremely important in the political context, particularly with regard to demonstrations. Robert Mark, pursuing his thesis that in the final

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1. Public attitudes to the Police with special reference to the system of Unit Beat Policing; a pilot study, 1970.

analysis successful policing can only be with the will and support of the populace, said,<sup>1</sup> 'Attempts to achieve political objectives by coercion or violence are, of course, unlawful and in a sophisticated society ought to be unnecessary but to counter them by excessive violence may in practice go far to help militants to achieve their aim or allow them a degree of public sympathy or support they would not otherwise receive. The Police therefore, both as a matter of law and of strategy, adhere strictly to the doctrine of minimum force .... This does not .... imply willingness to allow militant demonstrators their way; but to deny them success by the least violent means.'

It appears that it would be beneficial if the policeman were given some insight into these problems in all their aspects - legal, moral, social and practical - the better to know how to overcome them.

The subject of police training and education is a large and complex one, many issues of which have only been touched on in this study. Nevertheless, perhaps the time has come to sum up the achievement and possibly suggest directions in which improvements might be made.

Sometimes it is possible to draw a fairly sharp line between training and education, but in the words of the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, quoted by A. A. Muir,<sup>2</sup> 'There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical; that is, no education which does not impart both technique and intellectual vision. In simpler language, education should turn the pupil out with something he can do well. This intimate union of practice and theory aids both.'

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1. Lecture at the Police College, reported in the Police Review for 27 August, 1971.
  2. The Chief Constable of Durham; The Criminal Law Review, 1970.

In the present context this could perhaps be summarised by saying that in training the policeman one must also seek to educate the man, and vice versa. In the higher ranks of the police the officers are already skilled in police work; although some of them may need instruction in specific techniques (say, of management) the overall requirement is for them to receive a broadening of their general education which will fit them for their wider responsibilities. The present Senior Command Courses at the Police College seem to do this well, although much of the success they enjoy must be credited to the high calibre of the average student. In the middle echelons, for the Superintendents and Chief Inspectors who attend the Intermediate Command Courses the aims are similar, but with one important difference; the education and training given must not only prepare them for the responsibilities of the immediate future, but must seek to stimulate the minds of suitable officers so as to make them realise what will be involved when yet higher rank is attained in due course. Again, the observer must be impressed by these courses and their success, and perhaps wonder how much of this is due to the police's mastery of its own metier receiving the benefit of the wider views of the civilian academic staff.

As has been seen, police inspectors can be divided into two broad categories - those who are largely content to have risen to their present rank, and those - usually better educated than the other sort - who regard the rank as a stepping stone. The Inspectors' Course must not only widen their police horizons but their personal ones too, in many cases; this, the lowest 'commissioned' or 'officer' rank in the service is also where policing perhaps begins to become a true profession in most respects. The Inspectors courses have been efficiently conducted and effective, and the results of the

present re-structuring will be watched with interest.

It may be expedient to discuss the training and education of constables and sergeants together, as these two ranks carry out most of the day-to-day work of the force, in direct contact with the public, between them. Training appears to be of a high level, but probably could be improved both in context and in method.

Reform (suspiciously watched by the Police Federation) is already under way; it remains to be seen how much of the crushing burden of law can be removed to allow time for other, more necessary, topics. Perhaps Whitaker's suggestion<sup>1</sup> of a pocket-sized reference book on police law would enable this to be done more easily, or the use of a constable's pocket radio to solicit instant advice from a resident oracle at headquarters.

What these alternative topics should consist of has emerged in outline earlier in this chapter; as the constable's function has changed from dealing with familiars to dealing with strangers, so the need has grown for him to understand the workings of the human mind (individually and en masse) and of society itself. They should certainly deal with the fundamentals of sociology and psychology, with a particular need to examine attitudes, especially the constable's own. Although such topics received a warm welcome from the officers who completed the questionnaire,<sup>2</sup> it would probably be expedient to make sure that the topics dealt with were shown to have a direct relationship to the everyday work of the police.

Methods of instruction are perhaps a mite old-fashioned (though no more so than those used in most other educational establishments in this country). The preparation and use of visual and audio aids could be improved (despite the peculiar

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1. Whitaker; p.135.

2. See Chap.XI and Appendix.

difficulties of the police service), the use of closed-circuit television and of video-tape recording seem to be full of hopeful possibilities, while the role of teaching machines seems to be in the balance, but is certainly promising enough to justify further experiment. The greatest fundamental weakness seems to be in the training of instructors, and is tied up with the police practice of changing men from job to job every two or three years. Instructors should form a distinct branch of the service, and they should all receive a full training lasting about a year, in the same way as specialists outside the force (such as engineers, or accountants) do. Following such a course, they should expect to serve as instructors indefinitely; perhaps here there lies a way in which able sergeants and inspectors, with little prospect of further promotion, could finish their last five to seven years in the service. A term's supervised instructing (to see if they are cut out for such work) could be followed by a year at some technical college (only half of which time, on present arrangements, would be lost to the police), leaving a useful balance of years - long enough to justify the expense, but not long enough for the instructor to get badly out of touch.

Perhaps all this fundamental training and education at the bottom of the pyramid would be improved if it borrowed an idea from the top, and utilised civilian teachers of high quality to assist, not only for their specialised knowledge of their subjects but for their leavening effect. Specialised training, such as that given in the Driving School, or to Scientific Aids, tends to be specifically orientated to police needs. Much of the subject matter is interesting, most of the instructors are enthusiasts, standards are rising as this training becomes more centralised in specialist schools; it would be difficult for an outsider to suggest fundamental improvements in this area.

Cadet training has already been discussed,<sup>1</sup> and needs little comment here; perhaps some system of inspection, assessment and cross-fertilisation of ideas would be helpful.

Only one major educational topic remains, and it is a difficult one. For promotion to sergeant and to inspector an officer must pass an examination as a prelude to being interviewed and (if he is lucky) selected for promotion. These examinations have been criticised for making more demands upon memory than upon constructive thought, but, whatever the truth of that, the fact remains that far more men are taking and passing these examinations than can ever hope to be promoted. The bitterness and sense of frustration that such a situation must cause is aggravated by the feeling, justified or not, that well-educated men are entering the service, to gain early promotion and block it for others for many years. This seems to be the most serious and intractable internal problem which the police service has to face at the present time, and one which it will have to solve if it is not to divide the service which has served the community for so long insubstantially its present form.

An improvement might be effected if police promotion examinations were brought in line with those outside, leading to comparable qualifications. Already Scottish officers can take a Higher National Certificate in Criminology; and this lead could be followed in the service south of the border. If men could progress by means of an Ordinary National Certificate or Diploma to a Higher one, leading possibly to degrees<sup>2</sup> specially tailored or adapted to police needs the way would be open for a keen man to show that he had made a success of his chosen career, in spite of the fact that he had gained limited

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1. Chap.IV.

2. Chap.X.

promotion or none. If the syllabi for such courses were skillfully devised and executed considerable benefit to the police service would surely ensue.

If extra payment followed in the wake of such qualifications this would be an additional emollient to those officers passed over for promotion, and would be in line with the practice in many other walks of life.

If such a scheme were tried, and proved to be successful, an extension of it could be considered. In the R.A.F. the lowest flying rank is generally that of sergeant, as a recognition of the personal qualities required and the level of duties performed. Perhaps it would be possible to try some such scheme in the police service, whereby constables with substantial service, and with the appropriate qualifications, could be made sergeants on a personal basis; it is certain that the work that such a man would do, and his value to the community, would fully justify such a promotion.

One final thing needs to be said; it is not only the police who need to be educated, but also the public which employs them, often under-values them, and, ultimately, depends upon them. To quote:<sup>1</sup>

'A shared fate' -

Our police are precious to us, and we need policemen whom we can trust and respect .... It is time we .... planned the hard work necessary to make them part of our community, respected by and friends with all of us. Training, high pay and social status .... are all essential to this end.'

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1. W. A. Westley; Violence and the Police, MIT. Press, 1970.

A P P E N D I XSOME NOTES ON NON-HOME OFFICE FORCES

Outside the Metropolitan and the Home Office forces are to be found various specialized bodies of police whose duty it is to guard the security of the installations of their employers - usually large Government departments or Statutory Bodies responsible for such things as docks which have been created by private Bills. They vary considerably in size; the larger ones have some thousands of men in their service, and are highly comparable with County forces, while the smaller ones have a less hierarchal organisation and presumably gain their efficiency from an intimate knowledge of their sphere of operations. These forces too have been subject to considerable amalgamation over the last few years.

The Ministry of Defence<sup>1</sup> Police has an active strength of 4,100, all men - 600 less than the authorised complement. The force covers the whole county, guarding Ministry of Defence establishments. The force does not come into contact with the public as much as ordinary police do, so their training in this field is comparatively small. Understandably, traffic offences recorded per officer work out at about one fifteenth of the 'outside' level, and theft runs at about one fifth of the outside figure in the terms of crimes per officer; the special circumstances which apply to most of the Ministry of Defence Police's work obviously make it easier for them to exercise the classic preventive role.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Information (unless otherwise specified) supplied by D.C.C. A. McLean of the Ministry of Defence Police.

2 Frank Elmes, Police Review, 22nd October, 1971.

The force applies standards comparable to those of the Home Office when recruiting, though the minimum height is reduced to 5 ft. 7 in. The educational standard required of a recruit is 'not less than that attained by the average pupil on leaving school at the normal age,' and the examination consists of three parts - English composition, Arithmetic (simple problems on the four rules) and reading.<sup>3</sup> It is thought that somewhat less than 10 per cent of new recruits possess qualifications at 'O' level.

Training consists of an initial course of six weeks. On the criminal side it is similar to that given to Home Office recruits, but little time is given to traffic regulations and the like. On the other hand, the legalities pertaining to H.M. Forces and the Official Secrets Act are given much more emphasis. Promotion to sergeant is by examination and selection, after a minimum of two years service; studying is done by correspondence with the force Training School.

The next highest rank is that of Sub-Inspector, and promotion to this rank follows the same pattern; further promotion is by selection alone. The 'Special' scheme at the Police College<sup>4</sup> is not used, but men are sent there on Inspectors' courses, and consideration is being given to sending senior officers to one or other of the Command Courses. Constables have a refresher course every five years, and specialised courses are held for CID officers.

The British Airports Authority Constabulary<sup>5</sup> has an actual strength of 368 (July, 1972), including 24 women. Recruits take an entrance examination equivalent to the usual police ones; 60 per cent of successful candidates have 'O' level qualifications or above. Recruits, after an

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3 General Conditions for Appointment, M.O.D. Police.

4 See Chap. IX.

5. Information supplied by Chief Superintendent C. Campbell, BAAC.

initial week's familiarisation period, are sent to one of the Home Office District Training Centres; after successful completion of this course they have a further week's instruction in local procedure, Acts and Byelaws. For the rest, members of the Airports Authority Constabulary receive very similar training to the regular police forces, taking the same examinations and attending the appropriate courses at Home Office centres. The 'Special' scheme has not yet been used, but this development is being borne in mind, as is use of the Command Courses at Bramshill. It is interesting - and perhaps rather chastening - to note that in 1970 a total of 1792 enquiries caused 521 application forms to be returned; 410 aspirants were called for interview, but only 78 were finally appointed - resulting in a net loss of nine men over the year. 48.3 per cent of new appointments did not complete their probationary period.

The British Transport Police is another sizable undertaking. Its requirements and conditions of service are on a par with those of Home Office forces. Details of the force are:<sup>6</sup>

The Strength of the force was:-

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Cadets</u>
Authorised	2,162	100	54
Actual as at 31.7.72	1,975	93	52

'All recruits receive their initial training at Home Office District Police Training Centres and then attend the British Transport Police Training School at Tadworth, Surrey, for specialized Force Training. Training continues for two years when the period of probation ends, and examination is held, and successful candidates are appointed to the Force. In general terms the training for all ranks follows the standard laid down by the Home Office.

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<sup>6</sup> Details by courtesy of the Chief Constable, British Transport Police.

'Candidates for promotion to Sergeant or Inspector must pass an examination in Police Duties for each rank. Once qualified a candidate appears before a Selection Board comprised of five Senior Officers who are provided with very detailed histories and appraisals of every candidate. Successful candidates are recommended to appear before a Promotion Board presided over by the Chief Constable. If the candidate passes the Board his name is recorded in the Promotion Register and he is eligible to apply for every vacancy in the rank advertised in the Force General Order. The final selection is made by the Chief Constable after consideration of all the factors - age, experience, reports on efficiency, etc.

'All ranks attend refresher courses to keep them up to date with current legislation, Force policies, crime trends, etc.

'Selected officers attend courses at the Bramshill Police College and the Scottish Police College.

'Cadets receive training in three phases, according to age, 16-17, 17-18 18-19. Training involved attendance at local colleges, attachment to rail and other organisations, Outward Bound Courses, etc.

'The specialised nature of the work - railways, ports, London Transport - involves much detailed training in legislation not included in the standard Civil Police training. Officers are encouraged - fees are paid - to take courses in Criminology and related subjects. Training could probably be expanded in some directions, but there are pressures on available manpower which of necessity mean that limits must be placed on duration of training and release from duty for special courses.

'There are two graduates in the Force. One a graduate of Honour, School of Jurisprudence and Master of Arts of Oxford University (Chief Constable) and the other a Bachelor of Laws of London University (Inspector).

Officers are encouraged to take extra-mural courses and fees are paid.

Little advantage is taken of the facility. This is understandable because

the demands on the time of men and women in the service at the present time are very great. More than any other Police Force in Britain the officers of the Transport Police spend much time travelling and are often away from home for long periods. Probably fewer than ten per cent of the force have 'O' level qualifications.'

Although amalgamation is sweeping up many small forces there are still some in existence. The Manchester Dock Police Force<sup>7</sup> has an authorised complement of 106, which is usually filled. Recruits are selected by the Chief of Police after educational and medical examinations and are given a course of three to four weeks' duration on the Merchant Shipping Acts, Customs Acts and the Port of Manchester Byelaws. Promotion is obviously limited, and is by selection alone.

The Port of Bristol Docks Police is even smaller, with one Chief Officer, four inspectors, ten sergeants and 51 constables, making a total actually on strength of 66. Applicants take a written examination and 'face a rigorous interview before being accepted.'<sup>8</sup> Recruits take a 13 week course, five weeks on criminal law and police duties as appertaining to the Docks, followed by visits to various courts and attachment to the C.I.D. and other departments. Promotion to the rank of sergeant 'follows a course of lectures (which) are held prior to the examination (and) which consist of Criminal Law and all aspects of Police duty . . . '

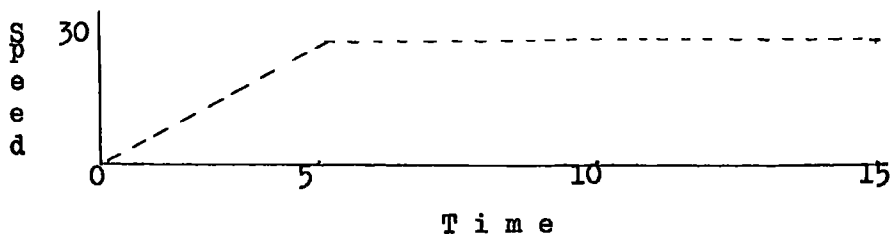
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7 Information supplied by J. Simcock, Esq., Chief of Police, Manchester Docks.

8 Information supplied by R. Exley, Esq., Chief Officer, Bristol Docks Police.

A TYPICAL CADET ENTRANCEEXAMINATION PAPERM A T H E M A T I C S P A P E RAll questions to be attemptedMarks for each question shown in bracketsTime allowed - 35 minutes

1. A stop watch is known to gain by exactly 1%. Does this mean that:
- after 99 seconds it reads 100 seconds,
  - after 100 seconds it reads 99 seconds,
  - after 101 seconds it reads 100 seconds, or
  - after 100 seconds it reads 101 seconds? (1)
2. Write down the missing 6th number in each of the following series:
- 1 : 3 : 7 : 13 : 21 : ?
  - 1 : 2 : 6 : 15 : 31 : ? (2)
3. There are 2.2 lbs. approximately to 1 Kilogram (Kg.); convert:
- 17.6 lbs. to kg.
  - 4.6 kg. to lbs. (2)
4. (a) What was thought to be a 6 ft. tape measure was used to measure a certain distance in a road accident. The tape measure was one inch short but this was unknown to the user. Will the recorded distance be too small or too large?
- (b) A car speedometer when tested is found to be reading 10% too high. Calculate the true speed of the car when the speedometer records 55 m.p.h. (2)
5. Place the following fractions in ascending order:
- $$\frac{2}{3}, \frac{3}{7}, \frac{5}{9}, \frac{37}{63}$$
- (1)
6. (a) Add the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and write down your answer.  
 (b) Check your answer to (a) using the formula:  $(1 + 6) \times 3$ .  
 (c) Write down a formula for adding the numbers from 1 to 100 and find their sum. (2)
7. The diagram shows the speed-time graph for a car travelling from rest along a straight road. The car uniformly accelerates to a speed of 30 feet per second in 5 seconds. Its speed then remains constant for the next 10 seconds. Calculate the total distance travelled.



(5)

8. Express as a single fraction in its lowest terms:

$$\left( 4\frac{1}{18} - 2\frac{1}{4} \right) \div 2\frac{8}{9} \quad (5)$$

9. Find, without using tables, the exact value of:

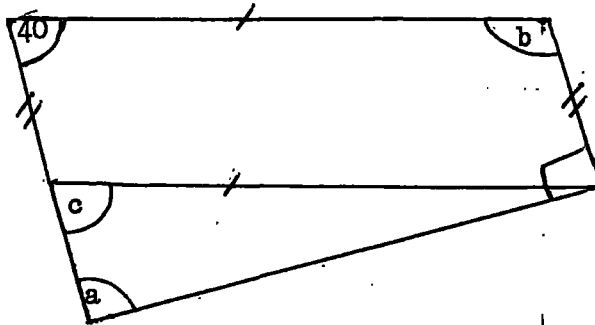
$$\frac{51.35}{1.76} + \frac{41.05}{10.5} \quad (5)$$

10. A train travels at 30 m.p.h. for 10 minutes, then at 40 m.p.h. for a further 15 minutes. Calculate the average speed of the train for 30 minutes. (5)

11. Solve for 'x':

$$4(3x + 1) - 3(5x - 7) = 19 \quad (5)$$

12. In the following diagram which is not to scale, state the size of angles a, b and c:



(5)

ENGLISH PAPERESSAYPART I

Choose ONE of the following subjects

Time Allowed - 15 minutes

1. Your Hobby
2. Your Favourite Sport
3. Your Favourite T.V. Programme. (20 marks)

ENGLISH PAPERESSAYPART II

Choose ONE of the following subjects

Time Allowed - 15 minutes

1. In what respect could you say the British system of government is undemocratic?
2. How would you measure poverty in Britain today?
3. Do 'pop' stars influence our young society too much? (20 marks)

SPELLING

Antique	February	Kiosk	Patient
Brief	Guarantee	Library	Quarrel
Commandant	Hypnosis	Mischief	Reverse
Decision	Imitate	Neighbour	Sergeant
Exercise	Jealous	Occurrence	Trespass

(20 marks)

A TYPICAL RECRUITS EDUCATIONAL TEST

Examples: Arithmetic 30 questions - 35 minutes

1. A man walks 5 miles at 4 m.p.h. and then cycles 20 miles at 15 m.p.h. How long does he take altogether?
2. A stretch of straight road AB is continually in sight from a point P three miles distant from the nearest point in the road. What stretch of road is visible from P on a day when visibility is limited to 5 miles?
3. How many boxes 1 ft. x 1 ft. x 2 ft. can be put into a box 4 ft. x 5 ft. x 6 ft.

Vocabulary 35 questions - 20 minutes

In each question underline the word in brackets which completes the sentence most suitably.

1. Railway lines are (vertical, oriental, parallel, incidental, horizontal).
2. Although the results have been disappointing so far, we must not (talk, boast, think, despair, hope) of success in the future.
3. The meeting continued long past the appointed hour on account of the (sabotage, espionage, terseness, importance, volubility) of one particular member.

Punctuation (15 minutes)

The candidate is given a paragraph of prose to punctuate.

Accuracy of Description (20 minutes)

The candidate is given a plan of a town and is asked to write down the directions he would give to a person to enable them to get from the bus station to an address in the town.

If successful in this examination, and the applicant is suitable in other respects, he is asked to attend the Recruiting Department for a further examination and interview.

On this occasion, he is given a test in English, Mathematics and an I.Q. test.

Examples: English (30 minutes)

The candidate is again tested in Vocabulary, he is given a list of 65 words and asked to underline the one word in a group as being nearly

the same as the one given.

e.g., abhor means nearly the same as - abase, decide, vacuum, detest.

supine means nearly the same as - rapacious, prone, proud,  
prudish.

The next part of the test is Word Pairing; he is told that we often use words in pairs, and is asked to underline the word normally used with 40 given words.

e.g.,

	thicker	feel
1. The air was growing darker with the queer acrid smell in it that	cooler	taste

hills bring.

	are	plenty	smaller
2. Persons who have lived in comfort for the lesser part of their	have died	solitude.	greater

days	easy	comfortable	loneliness
nights often find it pleasant to be happy in the happiness of others.			
lives	difficult	pleasant	company

He is next asked to complete 6 paragraphs. He is given these with some blank words. He is also given a list of words for each one and asked to fill in the blanks with the most suitable words.

e.g., A Donkey once said to a fox, "How I wish I could ...

as fast as the ...." The ... replied, "You could if you  
tried ... and talked ..."

(donkey, fox, horse, tortoise, less, harder, more, fly, run,  
crawl.)

Finally, he is asked to construct six sentences containing given groups of words.

e.g., Write a sentence containing all the following words -

Garage, bicycle, pilot, inn, brake.

He then does a Mathematics Test which lasts for one hour, in which time he has to try and answer 55 questions. These start fairly easy and become more difficult as the test progresses.

e.g., the first 25 questions give various series and the candidate has to give the next two numbers in each series.

Examples of other questions:-

1. What figures are missing from each line of the following sum:

$$\begin{array}{r} -263 \\ 9-4- \\ 67-4 \\ \hline 17985 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2. What is the value of  $\frac{P \times t \times r}{100}$  when  $P = 1,000$   
 $t = 10$   
 and  $r = 5$

3. What is the value of  $V$  in the equation

$$V = 2\pi(R-r)d \text{ when } \pi = \frac{22}{7}, R = 4, r = 3, d = 11$$

4.  $x$  and  $y$  are two numbers. Take the sum of their squares. Subtract their product. Multiply the result by their sum. The answer is the sum of their cubes. Write this in the form of an equation.<sub>1</sub>

The candidate is finally asked to do an I.Q. Test which lasts for 30 minutes. The one used is the Otis Quick-scoring Mental Ability Test.

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1. Actually a mathematical identity, not an equation. AJC.

Dear Sir,

I am carrying out a piece of research on the education of police officers. This will cover as wide a field as possible, and will be based, to a large extent, on the experiences and views of serving police officers of all ranks.

This investigation is based on a carefully selected sample which will represent accurately the composition of the police forces in England and Wales, and so relies heavily upon the co-operation of those taking part. Forms which are not returned usually mean that some minority view - often of special interest - is not being taken fully into account.

I would therefore be very much obliged if you would assist me by completing this form and sealing it in the attached envelope, ready to be returned to me. (You will be told how to do this.)

Perhaps I should finish by saying that though I have been interested in the police and their work for many years, I have no official connection with any force; whatever you say will be strictly confidential.

Thank you for your help.

Yours faithfully,

A. J. Cameron,  
Neville's Cross College,  
University of Durham.

EPOWEW, L.

Part 1, Personal details and education

Full name (please print surname) .....

Please put your police number in the box on the right, and on top of every other sheet, for identification purposes.

Date of birth ..... Age last birthday ..... years  
(Please be patient with repeat questions like the ones above; they are needed to get full value from the survey)

Present rank ..... serving in the  
..... Force

Date of joining the police service (not Cadet Force) .....

Number of years of completed service .....

School(s) attended after the age of twelve years .....

.....  
(State type; C = Comprehensive; G = Grammar; T = Technical; M = Modern and A = All-age (i.e., no transfer at "11+"))

Age left school ..... years ..... months.

List any educational awards or certificates gained while at school, stating subjects passed and grades whenever possible.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

Further Education before joining the police. (If undertaken as a Police Cadet, please say so.)

Full time

.....  
 .....

Part-time

.....  
 .....

List any academic awards or certificates gained, giving details.

.....  
 .....

Employment before joining the police service; please state as accurately as possible what you actually did, with the number of years in each job in brackets behind it. If a Police Cadet for the whole of this period, please say so.

.....  
 .....

Police Service

Please list all ranks held (including your present one) including service as a cadet, if applicable)

Rank	Made up (give year)	No. of years service in this rank
Cadet		
Constable		
Detective Constable*		
Acting Sergeant		
Sergeant		
Station Sergeant (where applicable)		
Inspector		

\* Fill in only if applicable; if service as a Detective Constable is mentioned all further service will be taken as being in this branch, unless otherwise stated.

Further Promotion

Please list all ranks held, detailed as above.

.....  
 .....

Are you a specialist? If so, give details of branch, year entered, etc.

.....  
 .....

Courses

Please list all the full time courses you have been on since completing your probationary period in the service.

Type of Course	Rank at the time	Full (F) or Part (P) time	Length	Year
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Please list all police examinations taken (including promotion exams.) and the results obtained.

.....	Dates
.....	.....
.....	.....

This concludes the factual part of the questionnaire.

The following section asks you to indicate your degree of agreement (or disagreement) with a number of statements by ringing the appropriate code letters.

- SD Strongly disagree
- D Disagree
- N No strong views either way
- A Agree
- SA Strongly agree

Example: All police officers should have an immediate large rise in pay  
SD D N A (SA)

- 1) Modern conditions require police officers to be more highly educated than ever before. SD D N A SA
- 2) A good memory is more important to a copper than great intelligence. SD D N A SA
- 3) Most real police work is done by sergeants and constables anyway. SD D N A SA
- 4) The police service must benefit in the long run by recruiting graduates. SD D N A SA
- 5) Policemen who went straight from school into the cadets tend to have rather narrow views. SD D N A SA
- 6) Well-educated youngsters are wasting their opportunities if they join the police today. SD D N A SA
- 7) The policeman's esteem in the eyes of the general public has fallen sharply over the last few years. SD D N A SA
- 8) I would have got on better in the force if I had had a better education. SD D N A SA
- 9) It was a mistake to abolish the 'Civil Service' questions (dealing with general educational topics) in the promotion exams. SD D N A SA
- 10) Generally speaking, the promotion system works well and fairly in the police. SD D N A SA

- |     |   |    |   |   |   |    |
|-----|---|----|---|---|---|----|
| 11) | G.C.E.'s and so forth are useless to the practical copper.  | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 12) | The graduate entry scheme will ruin the police if it is ever adopted on a large scale.  | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 13) | Long residential courses are unfair to the family man, and must prevent many good men from seeking further promotion.                         | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 14) | Sociology, psychology, etc., don't have much value for the copper on the street.  | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 15) | I, personally speaking, have found the courses I have been on very useful in general.   | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 16) | "Knowledge is power" - and that applies as much in the police force as anywhere else.   | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 17) | When the police send a man to university to take a degree, it's all wrong if he leaves the force as soon as he's got it.                      | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 18) | I liked school and was sorry to leave.  | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 19) | Many good policemen have been held back because they couldn't handle the book learning, which didn't have anything to do with the job anyway. | SD | D | N | A | SA |

	COMMAND					SPECIAL COURSE					MEN IN DIVISION					WOMEN IN DIVISION					CADETS				
	SD	D	N	A	SA	SD	D	N	A	SA	SD	D	N	A	SA	SD	D	N	A	SA	SD	D	N	A	SA
1) Modern conditions require police officers to be more highly educated than every before.	1	2	1	16	3	0	0	0	16	5	0	6	1	12	1	1	8	2	14	1	0	3	2	13	1
	IA + 0.83					IA + 1.18					IA + 0.42					IA + 0.23					IA + 0.63				
2) A good memory is more important to a copper than great intelligence.	4	15	1	4	0	2	9	4	6	0	0	5	3	9	2	2	11	1	10	2	3	2	5	9	1
	IA - 0.83					IA - 0.41					IA + 0.47					IA + 0.04					IA + 0.11				
3) Most real police work is done by sergeants and constables, anyway.	4	7	1	10	0	2	4	4	11	1	1	2	1	11	4	0	5	0	9	11	3	3	3	10	0
	IA - 0.22					IA + 0.23					IA + 0.79					IA + 1.1					IA + 0.05				
4) The police service <u>must</u> benefit in the long run by recruiting graduates.	1	6	4	11	1	2	3	2	10	5	7	7	1	4	0	5	15	3	3	0	1	7	2	8	1
	IA + 0.22					IA + 0.59					IA - 0.90					IA - 0.85					IA + 0.05				
5) Policemen who went straight from school into the cadets tend to have rather narrow views.	0	5	3	12	1	1	6	2	10	3	1	4	2	7	5	5	4	1	6	9	12	6	0	1	0
	IA + 0.39					IA + 0.36					IA + 0.58					IA + 0.5					IA - 1.58				
6) Well-educated youngsters are wasting their opportunities if they join the police today.	13	7	1	2	0	12	9	0	1	0	1	14	0	3	1	6	15	2	1	2	8	8	1	2	0
	IA - 1.21					IA - 1.83					IA - 0.58					IA - 0.8					IA - 1.16				
7) The policeman's esteem in the eyes of the general public has fallen sharply over the last few years.	3	17	1	2	0	5	11	1	4	0	3	3	2	10	1	3	2	3	13	5	1	10	1	5	2
	IA - 1.1					IA - 0.77					IA + 0.10					IA + 0.59					IA - 0.11				
8) I would have got on better in the force if I had had a better education.	7	8	1	6	1	6	13	2	2	0	3	6	4	6	0	6	13	2	4	1	0	9	6	3	0
	IA - 0.61					IA - 1.04					IA - 0.31					IA - 0.73					IA - 0.31				
9) It was a mistake to abolish the 'Civil Service' questions (dealing with general educational topics) in the promotion exams.	2	3	3	13	2	3	6	3	8	2	3	3	5	8	0	3	8	8	4	3	0	2	12	4	0
	IA + 0.65					IA 0					IA 0					IA - 0.15					IA + 0.11				
10) Generally speaking, the promotion system works well and fairly in the police.	0	0	1	17	0	1	6	3	11	1	1	6	1	11	0	4	6	2	13	0	1	10	8	1	0
	IA + 0.96					IA + 0.23					IA + 0.16					IA - 0.08					IA - 0.53				
11) G.C.E.'s and so forth are useless to the practical copper.	7	13	2	2	0	11	9	2	0	0	0	12	1	6	0	5	13	2	6	0	3	13	1	1	0
	IA - 1.0					IA - 1.23					IA - 0.31					IA - 0.65					IA - 0.95				
12) The graduate entry scheme will ruin the police if it is every adopted on a large scale.	2	6	6	5	4	2	7	2	9	2	0	2	3	10	4	0	1	3	16	6	1	6	6	4	2
	IA + 0.35					IA + 0.05					IA + 0.84					IA + 1.04					IA 0				
13) Long residential courses are unfair to the family man, and must prevent many good men from seeking further promotion.	3	12	4	2	1	11	5	1	7	5	1	7	2	6	3	4	11	3	5	3	2	3	7	5	2
	IA - 0.61					IA + 0.55					IA - 0.21					IA - 0.31					IA + 0.11				
14) Sociology, psychology, etc., don't have much value for the copper on the street.	5	11	4	3	0	11	11	0	0	0	1	8	2	7	1	5	13	2	6	0	9	5	3	2	0
	IA - 0.78					IA - 1.5					IA - 0.05					IA - 0.65					IA - 1.11				
15) I, personally speaking, have found the courses I have been on very useful in general.	0	0	0	10	13	0	1	3	10	8	0	0	2	14	3	1	0	4	15	7	0	1	8	7	3
	IA + 1.65					IA + 1.14					IA + 1.05					IA + 1.04					IA + 0.63				
16) "Knowledge is power" - and that applies as much in the police as anywhere else.	0	3	1	13	6	0	4	1	6	11	0	0	2	13	4	0	2	1	17	6	0	1	3	10	5
	IA + 0.96					IA + 1.09					IA + 1.10					IA + 1.04					IA + 1.0				
17) When the police send a man to university to take a degree, it's all wrong if he leaves the force as soon as he's got it.	2	7	1	9	4	3	8	2	5	4	0	5	1	5	8	1	4	3	9	9	2	4	1	7	5
	IA + 0.26					IA - 0.05					IA + 0.84					IA + 0.8					IA + 0.47				
18) I liked school and was sorry to leave.	2	6	8	7	0	4	6	5	5	2	3	8	4	3	1	1	7	5	11	3	1	7	3	8	0
	IA - 0.13					IA - 0.23					IA - 0.47					IA + 0.31					IA - 0.05				
19) Many good policemen have been held back because they couldn't handle the book learning, which didn't have anything to do with the job anyway.	4	13	2	3	1	8	12	1	1	0	1	6	1	10	0	2	6	2	10	6	2	4	3	8	2
	IA - 0.7					IA - 1.23					IA + 0.21					IA + 0.50					IA + 0.26				

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