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The perceptions of new to role detective officers in relation to their professional accreditation in a northern police service

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the professional accreditation of new to role detective officers between June 2010 and September 2013 who were studying for a foundation degree through a local university whilst engaged on a police Professionalising Investigation Programme (PIP) situated in a northern police service. It considers the perceptions of the trainee detectives learning experience in relation to professional development and questions their experience regarding their overall work-based learning placement. Higher education and culture are both individually and organisationally explored regarding the effect on the trainee detective along with the concepts of profession, professionalisation and professionalism that are examined in the wider context of policing which are then contextualised to the PIP process and perspectives of the trainee detective. An initial survey questionnaire revealed themes inclusive of supervisory and organisational issues regarding learning cultures and placement with tutors in the workplace. These were further refined for the interview stage. This thesis then utilised Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, *field* and cultural *capital* and Lave and Wenger's Community of Practice (CoP) as analytical tools to understand the perceptions and the participation of the trainee detective in a work-based environment. Though for some trainee detectives their learning experience presented a positive outcome, for others, feelings of isolation and conflict, influenced and routed by organisational culture to learning were apparent. The trainee detectives therefore experienced a diverse programme of professional development and inequality of process, yet demonstrated resilience even though for some their placement in investigation departments was not construed as a haven of peace. This thesis argues that the PIP programme, and the collaboration with a local university, provided an overall opportunity for continuous professional development for the trainee detective enhancing their cultural *capital* whilst increasing the status of the police service as a more professional and structured organisation.

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Word Count: 59,215

List of Abbreviations

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
CBA	Crime Business Area
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CoP	Communities of Practice
COP	College of Policing
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
CTU	Counter Terrorism Unit
DC	Detective Constable
DCI	Detective Chief Inspector
DI	Detective Inspector
DIDP	Detective Inspectors' Development Programme
DS	Detective Sergeant
ECU	Economic Crime Unit
FIU	Financial Investigation Unit
FSU	Family Support Unit
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
ICIDP	Initial Crime Investigators' Development Programme
IMSC	Initial Management of Serious Crime
INPT	Integrated Neighbourhood Policing Teams
IPLDP	Initial Police Learning and Development Programme
ISDP	Initial Supervisors' Development Programme
JCC	Joint Central Committee
LPP	Legitimate Peripheral Participation
MIT	Major Incident Team
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
MSCIDP	Management of Serious Crime Investigators Development Programme
NCA	National Crime Agency
NIE	National Investigators' Examination
NOS	National Occupational Standards
NPCC	National Police Chiefs' Council
NPIA	National Policing Improvement Agency
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
OLWD	Organisational Learning and Workforce Development Unit
PACE	Police and Criminal Evidence Act
PIP	Professionalising Investigation Process
PPD	Public Protection Division
PSNI	Police Service of Northern Ireland
PSSO	Police Skills and Standards Organisation
SFJ	Skills for Justice
SIO	Senior Investigating Officer
SIODP	Senior Investigating Officer Development Programme
SSOU	Serious Sexual Offence Units
T/DS	Temporary Detective Sergeant
YJCEA	Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act
WBL	Work-Based Learning

Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

Introduction and Context

The concept of the police as an occupation with professional status is not new (Holdaway, 2017), with the training and development of police officers through higher education being described as novel and inconsistent without proper structures in place (White and Heslop, 2012). Over recent years, the Police Service of England and Wales has been subject to centrally driven modernisation and professionalisation reforms. In 2004 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) recommended modernising the police workforce which included making the service more professional (p. 29). This report introduced the Professionalising the Investigation Programme (PIP) for all police officers who worked in an investigative role specifically "to significantly improve the personal, functional and organisational ability of the Service to investigate crime of any category" (Core Investigative Doctrine, 2005, 2012, p. 5). Whilst the PIP programme was introduced in 2005, it was not until June 2010 when the first cohort of future detectives (and those that followed) were connected to a foundation degree in policing through a local university. The focus of this study is to identify and understand how trainee detectives (referred to throughout the thesis) perceive their learning experience whilst engaged in a professionalisation programme (PIP) studying for a foundation degree. The research is set within time parameters of June 2010 until September 2013 when government funding ceased for the collaborative degree programme between the university and the northern police service which is the subject of this study. During that time approximately three hundred new to role detective investigators were enrolled onto PIP and the foundation degree. The detectives involved in this programme (see chapter two for detailed explanation of PIP and university foundation degree) were formally inducted onto the programme four months prior to taking the National Investigators' Examination (NIE). On

successfully passing the exam a six-week classroom based course was completed followed by a workplace assessment. The data on which this study is based has been gathered over a three-year period at a time when the concept of integrating the initial detective training programme with a foundation degree was new to the individual learner (detective) situated within the northern police service. The data collected for this study was therefore set in the above time frame, although survey responses and subsequent interviews took place afterwards as part of the ongoing research.

My research is set in a large northern police service which is further subdivided into local neighbourhood divisions. At the time of this research there were approximately five to six thousand police officers engaged in policing a large geographical area with a population of approximately 2.2 million people from a variety of diverse backgrounds. The divisions have a mixture of both uniform response and criminal investigators who work alongside each other delivering an integrated policing response. The term uniform refers to police officers, also known as operational response officers who wear a police uniform and respond to the initial requests from the public. Furthermore, the northern police service has numerous specialist departments which are resourced by a mixture of uniform and criminal investigators. There were approximately one thousand four hundred detective officers (at the time of research) employed in neighbourhood policing and various investigative departments and throughout the detective officers' careers they will have attended a variety of different training programmes delivered either locally or nationally with different learning outcomes subject to when the training was provided. As an example the interviewing of witnesses and suspects changed with the introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) 1985 and subsequently was amended again through legislation in 1999 with the introduction of the Youth Justice and Criminal

Evidence Act (YJCEA) which required the re-training of all officers to maintain current policing standards and consistency in this area.

My research was carried out as a single researcher in a large northern police service. At this stage it is important to acknowledge that I classify myself as an 'insider researcher'. I was employed as a Detective Sergeant with a portfolio that covered all aspects of detective training, particularly (from a delivery perspective) courses that included Senior Investigating Officers (SIO), Detective Chief Inspectors (DCI), Detective Inspectors (DI) and Detective Sergeants (DS) (the courses relevant to the above are detailed in chapter two). I also had portfolio responsibility for the management of the Initial Crime Investigators' Development Programme (ICIDP) and university foundation degree which throughout my time as a serving officer and the subsequent management of the programme introduced ethical considerations which I deal with in the methodology section in chapter four. Furthermore, as the collection of data and research material developed I had to be constantly aware of any assumptions that I might develop as an 'insider researcher' (Heath, 2011) and instead search for new meanings and perceptions experienced by the participants throughout the research. This is covered in more detail in chapter four.

The trainee detectives, all who had completed a minimum of two years policing experience held positions across the police service that required the officers to be placed within an investigator's role. These ranged from officers engaged in Serious Sexual Offence Units (SSOU), Major Incident Teams (MIT), Financial Investigation Units (FIU), Counter Terrorism Units (CTU), Integrated Neighbourhood Policing Teams (INPT), Organisational Learning and Workforce Development Unit (OLWD) and internal research departments which investigate methods of best practice for policing.

I detail in chapter four how the trainee detectives took part in an organisational survey and how the participants were subsequently interviewed in the sample selection section. However I introduce at this stage (table 1 below) an overview of the participants who were interviewed as part of this thesis providing an insight into their general education and policing background. I have also provided a pseudonym for the participant. It is that name that will be referred to throughout this thesis making it more personal with their voice whilst providing the reader an opportunity of getting to know them.

Participant	Gender	Age (Years)	O Level GCSE / Other	A Level / Other	Degree Other	Length of Service (Years)	Previous Departments	Current Department	Rank DC: Detective Constable DS: Detective Sergeant T/DS : Temporary DS
Thomas	M	36	11 GCSE	3 'A' levels	Psychology	14	• Uniform Response • Neighbourhood • Volume Crime Team	• Serious Crime Division • Fraud Investigation	DC
Steven	M	26	10 GCSE	3 'A' levels	None	8	• Uniform Response • Volume Crime Team	• Force Project Computer Change	DC
Diane	F	52	5 'O' levels	None	None	27	• Uniform Response • Custody Clerk • Evidence Review Officer: Family Support Unit	• Serious Crime • Division Serious Sexual Offences Unit	DC
Patrick	M	-	9 GCSE	1 'A' level	None	14	• Uniform Response • Operational Policing Unit	• Economic Crime Unit	DC
Anthony	M	32	10 GCSE	3 'A' levels	BSc Criminology MSc Criminology	9	• Neighbourhood Policing • Operational Response	• Divisional Crime Investigation Department	DS
Robert	M	34	9 GCSE	4 'A' levels	BSc Psychology	13	• Operational Response • Custody Officer • Force Projects	• Force Project Computer Change	DS
Kate	F	29	11 GCSE	3 'A' levels	BA Performing Arts	9	• Operational Response • Prison Processing Unit • Serious Sexual Offence Unit	• Serious Crime Division	DC
Natalie	F	46	6 'O' levels	None	None	21	• Uniform Response	• Crime Trainer • Public Protection	DC

							Plain Clothes Community Officer	Division	
John	M	34	9 GCSE	3 'A' levels	BSc Psychology	8	• Operational Response • Volume Crime	• Crime Investigation Unit	DC
Jill	F	33	Not stated	3 'A' levels	BSc Law	12	• Operational Response • Sex Offender Management Unit	• Public Protection Unit • Serious Crime Division	DS
David	M	29	10 GCSE	3 'A' levels	BSc Architecture	8	• Operational Response • Sexual Crime Unit	• Crime Investigation Department • Sexual Crime Unit	T/DS
Sally	F	33	Not stated	None	None	14	• Operational Response	• Crime Investigation Unit	T/DS
Sean	M	35	9 'O' levels	None	None	15	• Neighbourhood Policing • Operational Response	• Intelligence Unit	DC

Table 1: Overview of Participants

Understanding the setting and the site of the participants is important for this study as it presents an opportunity for the participant to express their view based on their work location which taken independently provides the prospect of gaining new knowledge and experience in this relatively new area of research. This is reinforced as the new to role detectives undertake a work place assessment and complete a portfolio based on their placement whereby their experience can be better understood from their perspective. As Eraut suggests, the concept of situated learning for the individual is influenced by the situations in which it was encountered:

> The combined experience of such context is likely to be unique for each individual practitioner; and this will probably lead to those pursuing different career pathways acquiring slightly or even widely different meaning for the concepts they take for granted.

(Eraut, 2010, p. 38)

Providing information into the background and work location of the participants helps to set the scene and context through differentiation. This thesis therefore presents an opportunity to contribute towards exploring new knowledge, particularly situated within work based

learning around the experiences that new to role detectives' encounter and perceive. The aims of this study are as follows:

Aims

1. To better understand the perceptions of the learning experience of trainee detectives studying for a foundation degree and internal police qualification within the overall workplace learning experience.

2. To better understand how the learning experience contributes towards continuous professional development (CPD).

3. To contribute to the growth of knowledge in police practice and work-based learning in a relatively unexplored field of learning.

To realise these aims I focused on the following research questions;

1. How do trainee detectives perceive the experience of studying for the foundation degree and PIP accreditation within their role?

2. Has the foundation degree or PIP process contributed towards their professional development?

3. What are their experiences and understanding of organisational culture and its impact on the learning experience for the individual?

It is worth justifying at this early stage the choice of research question three above, and at the same time present early evidence of 'reflexivity' and 'insider' researcher knowledge.

In my original thesis proposal in October 2013 I had written the third research question as follows:

3. What are the effects of organisational culture and its impact on the learning experience for the individual?

To measure or analyse 'effect' in this context would have required a different type of research and one that would not be congruent with the aims and first two research questions of this study. To address this issue, I reviewed the question in detail between October 2013 and the implementation of the workplace survey between the 7th April 2014 and the 5th May 2014. I was aware as the lead trainer with responsibility for the ICIDP and university foundation degree that unrecorded and unsolicited feedback from the ICIDP course students had started to reveal different and conflicting responses as to how the programme was being managed across the various investigative departments, both from an individual perspective of learning, and an organisational position. I was unsure if this theme was something unique to the learning culture of the individual or if it was a procedural issue within the northern police service, embedded as a working culture or as a combination of both. I recognised at this point that defining culture would potentially be difficult as culture crosses boundaries of individual learning and culture within organisations which may impact on learning. I detail how this is managed shortly.

To deal with this issue I constructed survey questions which included the following generalised themes; managing conflicting workload whilst undertaking a period of study; support and understanding of supervisors whilst engaged in the PIP process; support of study time permitted by the organisation and work-based tutor support to the individual. The collection of the data and the emerging responses consolidated my choice regarding research question three to replace the word 'effects' with 'experiences' and 'understanding', providing in my view a congruent fit with the aims and the first two research questions of this thesis. Additionally, the completion of the survey and the initial responses regarding cultural issues both from a personal and organisational perspective reinforced my decision. Wider reading involving Bourdieu's interpretation of *culture* as firstly, a structural tradition, and secondly, as a product of social infrastructure, are

explained in more details within the conceptual and theoretical framework of Bourdieu chapter one (page 31), within chapter three in the section on Greenwood (page 80), and in chapter five (page 154) where I address occupational culture.

The work of Bourdieu is utilised to establish the participants' *habitus*, *field* and cultural *capital* from their perspective. I also utilise Lave and Wenger's concept of Communities of Practice (CoP) and literature around work-based learning which provided the opportunity to explore how participants learn within an organisation, within their own policing community, providing a strong platform on which to further inform the research process and data analysis. The results of the workplace survey provided a foundation to develop themes to be used in semi-structured interviews with the participants. The methodology of the survey will be detailed in chapter four and the findings will be reported in chapter five.

Structure of Thesis

This chapter describes the route of this thesis. It will further contextualise the professionalisation of detectives demonstrating my position as the researcher. I outline the background which was instrumental in the development of the PIP programme and argue why this study is of importance regarding its contribution to new knowledge and identify a specific gap in this area which has recently been highlighted in a review of Police Leadership and Training suggesting that the police service needs to move from being a service that acts professionally to becoming a professional service (Neyroud, 2011). Furthermore, whilst there is evidence of research into the educational development of police officers and previous university links there is a gap in the empirical field of how detectives value their learning in a university context and police professionalisation programme.

Chapter two explains the background to PIP and leads onto an in-depth description of PIP internal policy where this research is situated and its link to the university foundation degree. It is a necessary descriptive section which identifies the process that the new to role detective follows and sets the scene for understanding the methodologies applied to the data collection and the reasons for using Bourdieu and CoP as an evaluative theoretical framework.

Chapter three discusses professionalisation and defines the concepts of profession, professionalisation and professionalism providing a working definition contextualised in relation to the police and detectives.

Chapter four commences by re-visiting the thesis aims and research questions and I describe the purpose and importance of the theoretical framework that I have implemented. I describe and justify the methods for the data collection and the new empirical data generated though the completion of the survey and subsequent participant interviews which contribute to and integrate with existing literature on the relevant police and educational topics. I introduce an 'insider/outsider' position in relation to the research interviews and the research itself (Merriam et al, 2011), contextualising my position as a serving police officer and developing social researcher who was situated within a crime training department.

Chapter five examines more closely the data collected and searches deeper into the rich responses from participant interviews enabling a better understanding of the perceptions of the learning experience of the trainee detectives which enabled me to apply the theories of Bourdieu and that of Lave and Wenger. I apply Bourdieu's interrelated notions of *habitus*, *field* and cultural *capital,* operationalised as Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis

(Grenfell and James, 1998) and evaluate the effect of change on the participants, known as the 'hysteresis effect' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78) (discussed in chapter four) from the participants' perspectives. In the context of Work Based Learning (WBL) I integrate the concept of Communities of Practice (CoP) as the majority of the professionalisation programme (chapter two) is situated in the work place. Additionally, the chapter introduces the concept of culture operationalised to explain its impact on the participants within an organisational setting.

Chapter six draws together the refinement regarding the three research questions. I revisit Bourdieu and CoP and discuss the value of both conceptual frameworks utilised throughout this thesis and conclude with future research recommendations and brief reflection.

I situate myself as a social science researcher, influenced by and through my parents, my education and career. I was proud to serve as a police officer for thirty-one and a half years, twenty years as a detective sergeant. My position as a social science researcher within the northern police service presents an opportunity to contextualise my background through concepts drawn from Bourdieu which I demonstrate in my biography. I have included this section as my background has informed and developed my attitude to learning and development both within the police service and more latterly towards academia. Understanding Bourdieu has helped me to comprehend the influences that family, work and society in the different forms of *capital* can have on an individual and reflecting on my biography has helped me to understand my development and that of others. It has made me reflect on how other people learn and the complexities of their life that can impact on their development.

<u>Biography</u>

I was born on the 22nd June 1964 into a working-class family in Oldham. My father, Terence had served in the armed services in Palestine and worked for the council as a Refuse Inspector. My mother, Lucy worked in the cotton mills and steadily progressed to become an administrative worker within the offices. Neither of my parents had any formal education beyond school yet both were proficient in English and Mathematics. I have one older brother, David. We lived in a new build council-owned town house property in Oldham. My mother and father had strong family beliefs and values and I was educated along with my brother in the local Roman Catholic primary school between 1967-1975.

My brother passed the eleven plus examination for entry into a grammar school, but due to the financial circumstances of my parents he was unable to attend. Because of these reasons I was not allowed to take the exam as my parents suggested that there was little point as financial support was not available.

My senior school education continued in 1975 at St Alban's Roman Catholic High School, Oldham. It was situated in a densely populated council area. It was a decent school with a strong focus on achieving basic education. It streamed the children according to ability with the top classes being classified as either 'LF' or 'LG'. This stood for either Latin and French or Latin and German. In 1972 the school stopped teaching Latin due to the change in the Church's teaching and both form groups learned both French and German, but they did not change the class reference. This remained until I left in 1982. Along with both languages I studied Mathematics, English, History, Geography, Technical Drawing, Religious Studies, Sociology, Government and Politics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology. I had to 'drop' certain subjects due to how the curriculum was set and therefore never took the science subjects and Geography at General Certificate of Education (GCE) 'O' level.

Out of a class of thirty pupils I, along with four other students sat English Language 'O' Level a year early. Having passed my 'O' level English at 14 years of age, the school did not think that progressing onto English Literature would have been beneficial, as they did not think I was capable of passing the exam. Those that did not sit the exam early were allowed to study both English Language and English Literature the following year.   On reflection, this had an impact on my confidence for taking examinations, when I believed I was capable of achieving them.   The remaining subjects I sat at the normal school age of fifteen years. During the final year of my 'O' levels my father became ill. He died at Christmas 1980 during the first year of my GCE 'A' levels. I was awarded Grade C for 'O' Level English, Technical Drawing, Religious Studies, Government and Politics, Sociology and grade B for History. I gained a Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) Grade One for Mathematics and French yet was unclassified in both 'O' level subjects. Physics was also a disappointment only achieving a Grade Three CSE. In total I achieved the equivalent of eight 'O' levels (five 'O' levels and three CSE grade one). My brother did not achieve more than five 'O' levels inclusive of English and Mathematics and left school at 16 years of age, later achieving a BSc in Structural Engineering.

Looking back, it is difficult to understand the process of early educational development. Although we both achieved a basic standard of education I have since wondered what impact the ill health of my father had on my studies.   I took History and Government and Politics at 'A' level and never really studied for any of my qualifications as my father died in the first year of my 'A' level studies and I only passed History. Clearly, study had no real importance to me during these difficult times.   As a family we were short of money and I worked on building sites during the school holidays to support my mother who was now out of work and suffering ill health herself.

I sought solace in sport in these years and focused on basketball. I was chosen for representative honours at England under 19 years. I also achieved the most points scored in a game by a British player scoring 124 points. This was entered into the Guinness Book of Records which remains a British record to date. I was also awarded a scholarship to play in Oklahoma and due to the death of my father saw this as a once in a life time opportunity with the prospect of going onto further education in America. Unfortunately, due to ill health within the family I was staying with in Oklahoma and lack of funds available from home it had a negative impact on my own wellbeing and I therefore returned home.

I did not consider university as I believed my grades to be insufficient and subsequently took a job as a labourer/apprentice plasterer knowing that I would not be sponsored through building college. At the same time, I had always considered applying for the Police Service because of the variety of roles that the job could offer and support and advice from a serving family member. It also offered an opportunity to continue playing sport.

I joined the Police Service in October 1985. I completed my initial training consisting of two years probationary study. Twenty-eight weeks were residential which involved learning law blended with work-based learning and the completion of a portfolio of evidence. None of this process provided an academic qualification. In 1988 I transferred into the Criminal Investigation Department (CID). I undertook a further ten-week residential course which was all law based with three, three thousand word assignments all based on academic law and historic criminal stated cases reviewed from academic law journals. Again, no formal award was provided. I took my promotion examination to Sergeant in 1994. This is a national examination which consisted of a three-hour multiple

choice examination with a sixty percent pass mark. On being awarded a pass I took a two hour situational assessment based on fourteen various situational problems relevant to the role. On successful completion a further one day internal assessment, inclusive of psychometric testing took place which assessed verbal reasoning and problem solving. I then took a two-hour promotion board consisting of further work-based questions and management issues. I was promoted to Detective Sergeant in 1999, five years after completing the national exam and I still had no outside academic qualification aligned to all these years of study.

I transferred to the force training school in 2004/5 with the portfolio of delivering training to Senior Investigating Officers in Homicide for my own force and other force areas. The significance of this posting was that I was placed in charge of training to senior officers with only my experiential knowledge and no academic qualification in policing or qualifications in adult education which enabled me to teach. It was at this stage that after twenty years of policing I started a development phase which would provide a pathway to a degree. I completed a National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) Level 3 in Learning and Development and completed mentoring and assessing qualifications via City and Guilds. I considered that my next stage should be a Certificate in Education but also became aware of a follow-on degree in Education and Training. I commenced the degree in 2007 and was awarded a first-class honours degree in 2010. What was different now to my 'O' levels and 'A' levels? Whilst I have always had an interest in learning I did not specifically know what to do in that challenging time of life. My career as a detective not only provided me with an insight to other people's lives and problems but it made me realise that learning can and does occur at distinct stages of life.

The opportunity to learn had now presented itself to me and I was ready to dedicate time and work towards formal recognition. In completing the degree, I also learned that other people had encountered similar learning experiences and that various factors had also impacted on their development. The knowledge of learning theories and practice enabled me to recognise how people learn and at what stages of their life. This became evident during my role as a detective sergeant delivering investigative training but more so in my undergraduate studies and now as I utilise this learning within this study. This was fascinating as by now both my children had stability in their life and have been supported through university education. My wife, whose story of education is not that dissimilar to mine, holds a Bachelor of Arts Honours degree in School Business Management (completed in 2009) and a Master of Science in Educational Leadership and Management (completed in 2015); both undertaken after we had supported the children in their development.

On reflection, having completed my qualifications I had at last an understanding of the benefits of education which has significantly contributed to my continuous professional development. I have taken my learning and personal experiences to better understand the learning trajectories of new to role detective officers and how their decisions have influenced their career choices and perceptions of continuous educational and professional development.

<u>Background and Rational</u>

Professionalisation and radical change to training of the police service has been topical for several years. In 2002 the HMIC inspection report *Training Matters* evaluated initial police training and concluded that it was unfit for purpose and was unable to support policing in the 21st Century (p. 101). It suggested that;

- The management structures lacked clarity.
- The learning requirement does not accord with the needs of a police officer.
- Training delivery is inconsistent and lacks robust quality assurance.

(ibid., p. 17)

As a result of the report the general structure of police recruit training was reviewed and introduced the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP). This was seen as the first phase of the Professionalising the Investigation Process (PIP) but more significantly it was the first steps to police professionalisation which was the foundation for the ICIDP programme in 2005.

Foster (1999) had previously argued that the level of police training for junior ranks fell short of that of the more senior ranks in policing and suggested the junior ranks (constables) should be more highly qualified and supported by the delivery of training through partnerships, drawing on the skills outside of the police organisation contributing to the development of the officers, therefore improving the service to the public.

In the 2001 White Paper produced by the Home Office *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform,* one of the key aims was to develop policing standards by improving consistency and response in preventing, detecting, apprehending and the conviction of perpetrators of crime. It was politically driven by the Labour Government who had invested significant funding in the increase in policing resources both in police officers and support staff, yet levels of crime and fear of crime remained high. The Government was

determined to provide the same level of service to all sectors of the community and stated, "improved training, leadership and professionalism is required at every level of the police service if it is to be ready to take on the challenge of a more varied and more satisfying approach to modern policing" (ibid., p. 10).

Loveday (2006, 2008) describes the workforce modernisation programme (including PIP) of the police service in detail, alluding to the victory of Blair's Labour Party in 2005. He referred to this as the catalyst that set the scene for introducing a more significant reform of public services since 1980, highlighting the police service as the sector which would experience reform replicating earlier government (Conservative) attempts in the 1990s in the guise of the Sheehy and Posen Inquiries (ibid., p.106). The challenge of the modernisation programme was to implement improvement and provide the means to sustain the proposed changes. Earlier, the HMIC, *Training Matters* inspection report (2002, p.99) in discussing and comparing vocational qualifications against academic qualifications stated;

> The attractiveness of Modern Apprenticeships and NVQ'S lies in their relevance to workplace performance, whereas academic qualifications are more theoretical and do not make a judgement on a person's practical abilities. Nonetheless, foundation degrees provide the service with an opportunity to forge partnerships with universities and colleges.

The importance of this report was the recognition that policing needed to develop in terms of its qualification structure with alignment to partnerships within universities or colleges. The report acknowledged the requirements to provide officers with specialist technical knowledge and skills required for the role that the officer would need such as communication, team working and problem solving skills. It also recognised that the learning could be delivered in a variety of ways linked to the university or college but was unsure of the value of the foundation degree compared to a full degree.

Around the same time, *The National Policing Plan for 2004-2007* (Home Office, 2004) was introduced with the purpose of developing and creating what they termed a more professional and integrated service with a clear vision regarding its future direction and the people and skills required to deliver this for conducting investigations (p. 32). In September 2005, the northern police service implemented PIP, a recommendation to all forces by the Home Office reform. The aim of the Programme was to improve the skills and abilities of detectives and uniformed officers engaged in investigations.

In the 2008, *The Review of Policing: Final Report,* Sir Ronnie Flanagan recommended that the competing demands and complexities of policing including areas that range from counter terrorism to child protection, sex offender management, anti-social behaviour and community policing (ibid., p. 5), required the development of police officer skills and knowledge to be more focussed and in line with other professions traditionally associated with higher education such as teachers, solicitors, doctors and nurses. Flanagan further suggested that policing should be more aligned with other professions in terms of entry requirements if the demands of modern policing were to be met. Around the same time, a report commissioned by the Joint Central Committee (JCC) of the Police Federation of England and Wales indicated concern at the diminishing resilience and shortage of trained and experienced detectives and suggested, "…detectives are simply not being fully trained. It is vital for chief officers to facilitate and support the Professionalising Investigation Programme (PIP)" (Chatterton, 2008, p. iii).

In 2010 a further review *Policing in the 21st century: Re connecting the police and the people* was conducted into police leadership and training setting out further change. Its three key themes involved the following; reconnecting the police with the public, the creation of a National Crime Agency (NCA) to deal with serious and organised crime (the

NCA will also have core responsibilities for leadership and training issues), and the management of policing within severe fiscal constraint. As a result, Chief Constable Peter Neyroud reviewed the delivery of leadership and training for the police and in 2011 in his report *A Review of Police Leadership and Training* suggested that in comparison to other professions such as education and medicine, effective police training practices were limited, disjointed and inconsistent in approach, emphasising the lack of evaluation and practices within police higher education that is present in other professions. He recommended a new approach to professionalisation of policing by creating a new Professional Body for Policing to implement change:

> The creation of the Professional Body provides the framework to enable a transformation of the culture of learning in the police service. Moving away from in house delivered programmes which have been largely classroom based to a new partnership with Higher Education, building towards the 'teaching hospitals' for policing linking learning with practice.
>
> (Neyroud, 2011, p. 2)

The creation of this Professional Body would allow the police service to reposition the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) within the body, incorporating their functions whilst developing a new Executive Board consisting of external and independent members. According to Neyroud (2011) the Professional Body would be responsible for "the phasing out of a complex and convoluted governance structure" (p.11) in relation to police leadership and training which has evolved over the last one hundred years. In summary, for officers across the whole policing spectrum it would involve a new approach to qualifications, assessment and continuous professional development inclusive of senior management. This would include entry level qualifications for new police constables and place more emphasis on professional development on individual officers in partnership with further and higher education. The PIP process directly linked to the university foundation degree is a good example of this and is the basis of this study.

Whilst Neyroud generalised his comments to include the whole of the Police Service (England, Wales and the Police Service of Northern Ireland) in the professionalisation of policing, I emphasise that this research is set in a single northern police service, focussing solely on a small aspect of police professionalisation which is PIP involving career trajectories of new to role detective officers. The northern police service is just one of the forty-three police forces that worked in collaboration with a local university.

The report by Neyroud emphasised that the review of training and development practices across the police service revealed a disjointed and inconsistent approach;

> From our rapid evidence review of training, it appears to be insufficiently evaluated and in particular it is not systematically evaluated to determine the best mix of training and development approach to achieve better performance.
>
> (Neyroud, 2011, p. 80)

The report did consider that some areas of the training curriculum, in particular the Initial Crime Investigators Development Programme (ICIDP) had been extensively developed but identified that the relationship between police education and practice and higher education had not reached the level of embedded partnership that it has done in medicine and education (ibid., p. 80). This may be the case but the northern police service, the site where this study was undertaken, had taken positive steps into this area and formulated links with a local university to connect the ICIDP process to a foundation degree in policing, a year earlier than Neyroud's report but built on the foundation of earlier Home Office and HMIC recommendations which I have alluded to. The evaluation of the ICIDP within the northern police service had never been undertaken to take account of the individual perceptions regarding their continuous professional development. This presented an opportunity to develop both an empirical and conceptual argument positioned within a framework of work-based learning which I develop throughout the thesis.

Neyroud (2011) emphasised the lack of evaluation within police higher education that other professions such as education and medicine had achieved. He notes that there is a challenge in developing the professionalisation of policing yet at the same time acknowledges the concept that policing (in general) is an "artisan or craftsman role" (ibid., p. 44) which is nevertheless required to professionally develop in a way that avoids insularity and the distancing of police officers from the public. One of the consultant respondents (Inspector) in the report stated;

> In Peel's day the educated classes were not allowed to join the police. It was seen as a working class profession. We are supposed to be representative of society and need to be able to employ officers from all backgrounds. The qualities of common sense and good moral compass are more important than any academic qualification and can't be taught.
>
> (Consultant respondent, Inspector, p. 45)
> (Neyroud reference paper *Review of Leadership*, 2011)

Loveday's (2006) comments on workforce modernisation inclusive of the developing theme of professionalisation advocate that "the move towards professionalising the police service could bring significant benefits, not least that of encouraging higher standards of service delivery to the public" (ibid., p. 121), not dissimilar to what Foster suggested in 1999 that police officers should be more highly qualified and supported by the delivery of training through partnerships.

Whilst the relationship between police education, practice and higher education was under discussion in England and Wales, elsewhere police organisations had also considered the development of police officers and tertiary educational links. Internationally (North America), it has been argued by Roberg and Bonn (2004) that with the ever expanding complexity of the police officers role and their involvement in crime and community policing consideration should be afforded to a degree entry level into policing. They argue that social and technological changes along with the threat from terrorism require of the officer higher standards of qualification, as policing decisions require more informed decisions to

be made in these areas; demands and complexities that Sir Ronnie Flanagan reported on in 2008 that I discussed earlier.

Wimhurst and Ransley (2007) suggest that whilst more police officers in the United States and Australia undertake some form of tertiary education, there is still some uncertainty about what a university degree means in terms of doing a better job of policing. They also suggest that police organisations' educational reforms typically arise out of organisational crisis, normally publicly driven around attitude and confidence and therefore introducing higher education into policing is a way to implement organisational change. I detailed earlier the Labour Governments *White Paper of Reform* (2001) and suggest that the debate is an on-going issue within the British Police Service focussed on the relevance of whether a university education for police officers is even necessary (Heslop, 2011a; Police Review, 2009). Ongoing literature argues in favour of the benefits of university educated police officers (Lee and Punch, 2004) but their research was limited to the analysis of officers attending university full-time as opposed to university study being linked into full-time operational policing.

More recently, Heslop (2011a) conducted research into initial police officer recruits completing a foundation degree and concluded that in-service police foundation degree programmes are genuinely innovative in the context of British Policing concluding that "it is still a moot point as to whether or not the British Police Service is a profession" (Heslop, 2011a, p. 299). In the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) it has been argued "training is still not seen consistently as adding value but is merely equipping people with the basic skills and knowledge necessary to carry out their assigned tasks and duties" (Nikolou-Walker, 2007, p. 358).

I acknowledge through the above discussion that formulating links with higher education has been problematic with an element of uncertainty about the value of connecting policing to a degree and the value it brings to the individual and the organisation. This has influenced my research as I attempt to add to this knowledge through this study by better understanding the perceptions of the police officers involved whilst linked to a university and situated in a work-based learning environment. Professionalisation, in particular the professionalisation of detective officers forms the basis for analysis and key themes of this study. This thesis explores the views of new to role detectives and their perceptions of PIP that they were involved in. The research is positioned in one of the forty-three forces of England and Wales and therefore its analysis and findings are not necessarily generalisable to the wider police service. What I aim to achieve in this research in epistemological terms is to fill a gap in this area, particularly in the research on detectives and professionalisation identified by other researchers (Tong, 2009; James and Mills, 2012) whilst acknowledging more recent work by Hallenberg (2012) who explored the relationship between police and academia regarding professionalisation. Therefore, I re-state the aim of this thesis which is to identify and understand how trainee detectives perceive their learning experience whilst engaged in the PIP process whilst linked to a university foundation degree.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the conceptual and theoretical frameworks constructed on ideas from Bourdieu and from Lave and Wenger which I have employed. It is my intention within this section to explain the key concepts of Bourdieu's (1992) inter-related *habitus, field*, and *capital* which will provide the overall theoretical framework for this research, providing an opportunity of critically understanding individuals' perceptions at a deeper level. I also introduce at this point Bourdieu's concept of culture and how he integrated its meaning

within his Theory of Practice. This explains his use of the word 'culture' within the context of his work and enables me to introduce culture and Bourdieu's two traditions in the study of culture (Grenfell and James, 1998) before I introduce a section on Professional Culture (page 88) and Defining Culture (page 154) which while addressing culture within organisational settings, provides a focus of being able to look at culture form both an individual and organisational perspective, which is central to my aims and research questions. The introduction of culture in this way supports my choice of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, complemented by CoP. Therefore I invite the reader to view culture quite broadly involving both individual and organisational culture as this thesis stresses the influence of culture on the detective, not the detectives influence on culture, although arguably, both are contextually linked. Additionally, I utilise the theoretical framework of Communities of Practice (CoP) to complement Bourdieu's framework as I argue that for this thesis whilst Bourdieu's concepts provided a strong methodological approach to the data collection and subsequent analysis, Communities of Practice (CoP) provides a focus on participation on learning for individuals by engaging in contributing to the practice of their community. For communities it means that learning is an issue for refining their practice. For organisations learning is an issue of sustaining the interconnected community which contributes to the organisation becoming effective and valuable as an organisation (Wenger, 1998). I return to CoP after discussing Bourdieu and explore the key concepts of 'community', 'legitimacy' and 'participation' in context with *habitus, field* and *capital.*

Bourdieu

Bourdieu himself struggled with the ideas of subjectivity and objectivity in research;

> In opposition to intuitionism, which fictitiously denies the distance between the observer and the observed, I kept on the side of objectivism that is concerned to understand the logic of practices, at the cost of a methodical break with primary experience; but I never ceased to think that it was also necessary to understand the specific logic of that form of 'understanding' without experience that comes from mastery of the principles of experience… but to objectify the objectifying

distance and the social conditions that make it possible, such as the externality of the observer, the objectifying techniques that he uses.

(Bourdieu, 1992, p.14)

Grenfell and James (1998) advance Bourdieu's ideas of subjectivity and objectivity and quote from Bourdieu's book, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* using a famous quote from Marx which criticises objectivism that does not take account of human activity as 'sense activity'.

> The principal defect of all materialism up to now - including that of Feuerbach – is that the external object, reality, the sensible world, is grasped in the form of *an object or an intuition*; but not *as concrete human activity*, as practice, in a subjective way. This is why the active aspect was developed by idealism, in opposition to materialism – but only in an abstract way, since idealism naturally does not know real concrete activity as such.
> (Marx; Thesis on Feuerbach, quoted in Bourdieu, 1977, p. 6)

The assertion here is that objectivity can only be revealed in the nature of individuals practice and "such human sense activity as social products arise historically in time but are revealed in individual action" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 12). Bourdieu discusses the issues of objectivity in detail throughout his work, particularly with reference to early research of Kabyle marriage based in the north of Algeria, which I return to in the methodology section. Bourdieu examined genealogies from various villages utilising the data to attempt to calculate the frequency of possible forms of marriage. Bourdieu found that his early research based on the above presented results which he described as "meaningless" (p.15) as "they depended on the extent of the social unit in relation to which the calculation was made" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 15). In other words, what Bourdieu was describing was that he recognised that his research could not be explained without considering other factors (not just genealogical), but information about the families themselves such as previous relationships, age, physical appearances and how marriages had been negotiated.

Bourdieu returned to the study of Kabyle marriage in early 1970 and was able to see that his research could not just be based on assumptions, deduced from pure genealogical models, but the kinship relations were also relations of interest which can reveal (as in the case of Kabyle) internal structural conflict between brothers involving what Bourdieu described as "…the economic and symbolic capital he possesses in his own right according to his genealogical and economic position" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 17). It is exactly the relational interest that Bourdieu has revealed in conducting his research which reinforces my choice of the use of his concepts. Attempting to answer my research aims, objectives and questions without delving into the background and relationship of the participant both personally and organisationally, would be of little value.

The use of Bourdieu's concepts and a clearer understanding of relational interest focus my discussion around objectivity. Closely associated with relational interest for Bourdieu were his own reflections on objectivity. Based on his research in Kabyle, Bourdieu stated;

> In short, one has quite simply to bring into scientific work and into the theory of practices that it seeks to produce, a theory which cannot be found through theoretical experience alone – of what it is to be 'native', that is, to be in the relationship of learned ignorance of immediate but unselfconscious understanding which defines the practical relationship to the world.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1992, p.19)

Bourdieu's argument is that "objectivity can only be revealed in the nature of individuals' practice. Objective structures are not simply inculcated as a reflection of material relations" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 12). Therefore for Bourdieu, objectivity is a result of historical products revealed through the actions of the subject. Bourdieu developed his theory based on "differing, differential principles" (p. 13) making phenomenological acts essentially social (Grenfell and James, 1998). I interpret this meaning as structures that are not the same and vary according to circumstance which are unique to the individual.

These differentials are based on the concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. To understand Bourdieu's theoretical concepts requires an explanation of each separately. It is also important to emphasise that these concepts require an operational method within the *field*. This will be discussed later as Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis taking into account the importance of linking the theoretical concepts with practical methods (Grenfell and James, 1998). This will also be contextualised to how I processed this within this thesis through demonstrating the use of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and approach to data generation and analysis, which allowed an understanding not just of the detective officers' perspectives but what has also shaped their perspectives within this area of research.

Habitus, Field and Cultural Capital

Habitus

Bourdieu (1992) stated, "…one has to situate oneself *within* real activity as such, that is, in the practical relation to the world, the pre-occupied, active presence in the world through which the world imposes its presence…" (p. 52). There is no doubt that Bourdieu consistently returned to his epistemological position throughout his work in attempting to explain the objective and subjective relation to the object (Grenfell and James, 1998). In dealing with this issue Bourdieu refined and developed his definition of *habitus* as;

> …systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 53)

Put more simply by Bourdieu, he described *habitus* as a product of history which has the ability to produce individual and collective practices, "it ensures that active presence of

past experiences… a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similar structured practices" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 54). As Grenfell and James (1998) suggest, structure is at the heart of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and "social agents are incorporated bodies who possess, indeed are possessed by structural generative schemes which operate by orienting social practice" (p. 12). For Bourdieu (1992), the agent's *habitus* is a formulation of past experiences, borne out of social and economic necessity, influenced by a relatively "autonomous world of the domestic economy and family relations" (p. 54), in which are "the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences" (ibid., p. 54). Put practically by Swartz (1997) Bourdieu unites structures and practices to produce the experiences and "habitus tends to reproduce those actions, perceptions, and attitudes consistent with the conditions under which it was produced" (Swartz, 1997, p.103).

The reproduction of past experiences in understanding the perception of the participants is at the heart of this thesis and is developed in the methodology section in chapter four. The structure of the survey and the research questions which are addressed in the interviews of the participants, demonstrate the participants perceptions through their reproduction of their past experiences, borne out of educational, social, work and organisational culture and family relationships, revealed in how they view their present experience (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) and key to the overall concepts of Bourdieu and to the concepts within my thesis.

Field

Bourdieu (1992) recognised the need to actualise the value of the individual's *habitus* describing *field* as a "feel for the game" or, as he describes, "doxa" (p. 68). A clearer definition defined by Bourdieu and Wacquant is more appropriate;

> …a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between position. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possessions commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology etc).
>
> (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

Again, we see the complexities of Bourdieu in outlining his theory, yet *field* can be interpreted as a concept such as the workplace, an occupation, an organisation in which individuals adapt their *habitus* to the situation around them (Bourdieu, 1992). Swartz (1997) clarifies this interpretation of *field* further and articulates that Bourdieu through this concept wanted to draw attention to patterns of interest and struggle (as a socialist) and spoke of "fields rather than population, groups, organisations or institutions" (Swartz, 1997, p. 119). Grenfell and James (1998) describe *field* as a structured system of social relations between individuals and institutions at a micro level and macro level with the emphasis being that they exist relationally with each other, therefore, allowing the interpretations of their relationships to be ascertained. Returning to Bourdieu and 'doxa' he advocates "Doxa is the relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between *habitus* and the *field* to which it is attuned…" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 68). In other words, *habitus* and *field* are mutually constituting based on identical generating principles (Grenfell and James, 1998).

The connection here is that the professional accreditation process of the officers involved is influenced by an outside agent (the university) and organisational culture whereby officers are enrolled into a process. The research questions are designed to explore this complex area which, discussed later, allows an analysis of the participant's future capital, capital which varies according to the participant ranging from educational attainment to police promotion. This is discussed further in chapter five.

Cultural *Capital*

The third concept of Bourdieu's theory that I apply to this thesis is *capital*. In *Logic of Practice* Bourdieu (1992) refers to three forms of *capital*: economic, social and cultural. Grenfell and James (1998) summarise these referring to economic *capital* being related to wealth; social *capital* relating to social relations and contacts and cultural *capital* being a product of education. I focus for this thesis on cultural *capital*, also referred to by Bourdieu as an "academic market" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 21) with three distinct forms as this thesis is about understanding the learning experience of the detective who at the end of the ICIDP programme is awarded an externally recognised qualification, something that internal detective examinations in the northern police service do not offer on their own. Firstly, cultural *capital* is connected to an individual's general education such as accent, dispositions and learning. Secondly, it is connected to objects such as qualifications and thirdly, it is connected to institutions of learning, for example, university or college (in the context of this research, police training school). The possession of this *capital* (dependant on the field of the participant) according to Bourdieu is quite powerful and Grenfell and James (1998) summarise this *capital* as a value-laden product which "is not a neutral, passive feature of the field. It is value which buys other products of the field" (ibid., p. 20).

To put this into context the process of becoming a detective demonstrates the purchasing power of cultural *capital*. Although not discussed in depth at this stage (see chapter two), the process of becoming a detective involves four connected but individual stages briefly explained as follows;

1. An interview and selection process.
2. National Investigators' Examination (NIE).
3. Six-week in-house development programme.
4. Development portfolio linked to the university foundation degree.

These interconnected stages are only available to new to role detective officers who are engaged in the PIP process. They are not available to other police officers and therefore the PIP process itself is presented as an example of *capital*. For example, if the officer is unsuccessful at any of the stages, then they are returned to previous duties and therefore any potential future cultural *capital* is lost as the successful completion of the programme is a gateway to other detective postings because of its qualified status. (This relatively undeveloped assumption is examined in more detail in the interviews of the trainee detectives and subsequent analysis in chapter five).

Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) made it clear when defining economic, cultural and social *capital* that symbolic *capital* must be added which "is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception" (p. 119). Here Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power is a visible and invisible mode of domination, both culturally and socially suggest that the possession of recognition (in this case the attainment of detective qualification and foundation degree) increases the value of *capital* albeit by perception only. The relevance here is that many of the rules and principles of 'doxa' (as Bourdieu identifies, the rules, the influences), go on in a way "that is not consciously held in the head of those playing it" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 20). They also suggest some individuals already possess quantities of relevant *capital* "bestowed on them in the process of *habitus* formation, which makes them better players than others in certain *field* games. Conversely, some are disadvantaged" (ibid., p. 21). This was an area for discussion and development in the interviews of the participants as the concept of valuing qualifications as a future benefit was perceived differently by the participants.

Bourdieu identified two traditions in the study of culture. Firstly, the structural tradition seeing culture as an instrument of communication and knowledge based on shared consensus of world meaning, and secondly, as a functionalist tradition viewing culture as an ideological force or political power (Grenfell and James, 1998).

Grenfell and James (1998) interpret the structural traditional as "knowledge and action have objective value subjectively perceived in the course of human activity" (p. 18). In other words, culture can be understood as a product of mental activity influenced and re-interpreted through social differentiation or as Bourdieu suggests through the *habitus* of an individual building on past experiences being brought into future structured practice (Bourdieu, 1992).

The second tradition of culture involving a functionalist tradition suggests that human knowledge is developed as a result of social infrastructure with "material relations organised along class and economic lines" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 11). Bourdieu has been critical of both the structural and functionalist traditions suggesting the first tradition has been misused in its interpretation within primitive society and secondly, the ideology or political force being used "as a persuasive force in maintaining social control" (ibid., p. 11).

Once again, Bourdieu demonstrates complexity around his theory of practice, on this occasion in relation to culture. My interpretation of Bourdieu's traditions of culture for this study sees culture as being constructed by an individual influenced by past and present experiences borne out of social and economic surroundings, inclusive of educational attainment and ability, influenced by an ideological or ordered society which imposes its

own influences on the individual through education, work, and or other autonomous environments.

The participants who are subject of this study are both unique in their differentiation of social background, education and early employment as they are as unique in their placement within the northern police service. Taking Bourdieu's description at face value, integrated with his concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital* enabled me to analyse the data from the individuals through their perceptions of their learning experience and contribution to professional development. What people say about their perceptions of their experiences are therefore culturally influenced by their own experiences and the experiences they are exposed to explicitly linked to organisational processes. The explanation and interpretation of professional culture (page 88) and how I further define culture (page 154) adds to the broader definition of culture which is utilised to support this study.

I also want to balance my argument for the use of Bourdieu's concepts. It is already clear that Bourdieu uses complex explanations in his language and descriptions of his theoretical framework. Indeed, whilst acknowledging explanations of *habitus*, *field* and *capital* by Bourdieu himself, interpreted by Grenfell and James (1998), critics such as Jenkins (2002) take a very different viewpoint. For example, whilst Grenfell and James (1998) argue that there is an implicit theory of knowledge behind *habitus*, *field* and *capital* which goes beyond traditional subjective and objective philosophy, Jenkins argues, "the yardstick against which Bourdieu's theory must be assessed is his own goal of transcending the objectivist/subjectivist divide in the hope of constructing a sociology which adequately 'bridges the gap' between individual agency and social structure" (Jenkins, 2002, p. 91). Jenkins further argues that Bourdieu's theory of practice is problematic and confusing in relation to *habitus* and *field*, suggesting, "they are ambiguous

analytical creations operating of necessity, behind actors' backs" (ibid., p. 95).   Jenkins argument here suggests that what people do is typically established by direct observation of behaviour or by recourse to statistics, both of which are positivistic approaches. Furthermore, Jenkins is critical of how Bourdieu uses statistics maintaining;

> That it is basically descriptive, his objective is not the complex speculation about cause and effect which characterises techniques such as regression or log linear analysis… For Bourdieu the collection and analysis of statistical data is simply the starting point, the sociological constitutions of the thing to be explained.
>
> (Jenkins, 2002, p. 60)

Jenkins is clearly referring to Bourdieu's earlier work in Kabyle and suggests that it had a "residual positivism" (ibid., p. 60) which may have been unavoidable.

Jenkins (2002) is also critical of Bourdieu's use of culture suggesting that whilst Bourdieu consequently studies the individual in relation to *habitus*, *field* and *capital*, little is done in respect of social groups relating social identity as "either seen from a strictly individualistic standpoint, or as a construct of ritual or intellectual specialists" (p. 92).   What Jenkins infers is that either way, Bourdieu's use of culture does not do much explanatory work in relation to social groups, although arguably the use of Bourdieu's culture in cultural reproduction for the individual has a strong foundation.

I have introduced a number of critical observations by Jenkins (2002) regarding Bourdieu's theory of practice which serves as a reminder for me in utilising Bourdieu's theory, particularly in understanding how Bourdieu thinks, how he constructed research objects and how his research was then operationalised. My understanding of *habitus*, *field*, *capital* and culture enabled me to construct a research design based on these principles which I detail in the methodology section in chapter four, being mindful of the issues raised by Jenkins (2002). Grenfell and James (1998) remind us that 'theory' is a problematic word "which might refer to anything from an individual's subjective, personally based rationale,

or initiative feeling to highly formalised general statements with a strong predictive power" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 152). For this study, I interpret theory as understanding different views and concepts of how individuals present the application and interpretation of their ideas and methods whilst simultaneously seeking to describe, understand and interpret the perceptions of the participants involved from an educational perspective. Therefore, it is very important to understand the theory of Bourdieu in relation to this study within this research as the formulation of topic areas for the individual interviews required more than just a similar collection of descriptive material.

I now integrate the theory of Communities of Practice into the framework to position the use of the theory in examining how the different knowledge and skills are developed in the workplace, being mindful of my earlier research questions.

Communities of Practice

In this section I provide an explanation for the use of or reference to the theoretical framework developed by Lave and Wenger in 1991, known as 'Community of Practice' (CoP). Whilst I have argued the strengths and weaknesses of Bourdieu above, similarly CoP has a place in this thesis from an analytical perspective and provides a basis for discussing the organisational and cultural issues that developed in the participant interviews. Here I define a community as a group of people having a particular characteristic in common, the common characteristic being that the participants are all police officers who are engaged in the PIP process. Additionally, the participants all work in different investigative roles as detailed earlier within the northern police service.

There are two key aspects of Lave and Wenger's work referred to as 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' (LPP) and 'Communities of Practice' (CoP). I also integrate

Wenger's continued work in *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity* (1998) and provide a brief comparison to Bourdieu whilst highlighting similarities and additional theories of Wenger that I have utilised within the analysis section of this thesis (see chapter five). For Lave and Wenger (1991) learning has a defining characteristic and they propose that learners "inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the social cultural practice of a community" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 29.). As an early indication, I was interested to see how the trainee detective officers would be accepted and integrated into the investigative world and how they may, or may not have, been perceived as a full participant. Therefore the foundation of 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' which Lave and Wenger presented as their perspective was inspired, according to Fuller et al (2004) at Lave and Wengers "dissatisfaction with the asocial character on conventional learning theory and its inability to account for how people learn new activities, knowledge and skills without engagement in formal educational or training processes" (p. 50).

Early ethnographical research by Lave and Wenger, particularly around craft apprenticeships, provided the foundation on which their theory was built and consequently revised and re-visited. Fuller et al (2004) also emphasise the point that Lave and Wenger (1991) viewed 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation', "as a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts and communities of knowledge and practice" (ibid., p. 29), which concerns the process by which newcomers become part of the community of practice which they are involved in. This point becomes evident within the analysis section when discussing the relationship between the participant and their detective tutor and supervision. Fuller et al (2004) also emphasise the above as a weakness in Lave and Wenger's concept and suggest that they

focussed their theory of learning on novices (apprenticeships) to the detriment of ignoring 'old timers' in the production and contribution of knowledge suggesting that this method of learning was 'stretched' and not inclusive of all thereby creating limitations within the theory of 'Communities of Practice'. That said, Fuller et al (2004) acknowledge that this limitation was addressed by Lave and Wenger (1991) when they refer in their book to Goody's (1989) study of a community engaged in domestic production in West Africa and the introduction of people with expertise which led the community to think more comprehensively about organising their productivity. Lave and Wenger summarise this point within the context of each individual's contribution as, "legitimacy of participation is crucial both for this naïve involvement to invite reflection on ongoing activity and for the newcomer's occasional contributions to be taken into account" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p.117). In other words, "everyone's participation is legitimately peripheral in some respect" (ibid., p. 117). This concept is discussed in detail as one of themes within the analysis section relating to research question three of how the participant worked closely with their tutor. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004) argue that learning and social practice are relational, "determined by a complex amalgam of factors, each of which changes if others change, in relation to each other" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2004, p. 3).

Wenger (1998, p. 100) acknowledges that the original terminology used for 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' is a bit unwieldy but argues it does capture the important conditions under which people become members of a community of practice. Wenger's refined explanation clarifies this;

> To open up a practice, peripheral participation must provide access to all three dimensions of practice: to mutual engagement with other members, to their actions and their negotiation of the enterprise, and to the repertoire in use. No matter how the peripherality of initial participation is achieved it must engage the newcomers and provide a sense of how the community operates.
>
> (Wenger, 1998, p. 100)

The importance of the above is discussed in chapter five regarding participants' views on acceptance and sense of belonging. For some of the participants the integration into an investigative role was a good experience, for others it had a detrimental effect on how they perceived their learning and value as an officer within the northern police service. This is particularly evident with Kate who expresses concerns about being valued and accepted throughout the ICIDP programme.

Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 98) define a community of practice as;

> An intrinsic condition for the existence of knowledge, not least because it provides the interpretive support necessary for making sense of its heritage. Thus, participation in the cultural practice in which any knowledge exists is an epistemological principle of learning. The social structure of this practice, its power relations, and its conditions for legitimacy define possibilities for learning.

Fuller et al (2004, p. 52) in reviewing Lave and Wenger's definition suggest that not only do they recognise the value of the practitioner who can apply the necessary knowledge and skills, but who through membership becomes a full participant in the cultural practices of the community which they join. What Fuller et al (2004) suggest is that Lave and Wenger recognise the significance of the individual being located in the community and therefore learn as part of engagement within that community. In this thesis, the views of the participants demonstrate that this is not always the case in either peripheral participation or acceptance within the community. This is examined in detail in chapter five through the experience of Kate.

Fuller et al (2004) additionally suggest that Lave and Wenger clearly articulate the description of learning by them which brings 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' and 'Communities of Practice' together;

> Learning involves the whole person; it implies not only a relation to specific activities, but a relation to social communities – it implies becoming full participant, a member… learning only partly – and often incidentally – implies

becoming able to be involved in new activities, to perform new tasks and functions to master new understandings.

(Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 53)

Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004) describe the above more succinctly, "…it is membership and social relations that underpin practice and learning, and it is through social relations that the activities of learning can be understood" (ibid., p. 5). However, they remain critical of the definition of Community of Practice arguing that the term is ambiguous and can present problems for the learner; firstly, by failing to describe or analyse the community and secondly, whether the membership of a community is a prime condition for all learning (p. 4). This is important to this study as the PIP process involves the development of the new to role detectives' both in a classroom environment and latterly in the workplace. Whilst I have alluded to the feelings of Kate, other participants spoke freely of being valued and accepted which is explored in more detail in chapter five and reinforces the theory of Lave and Wenger.

It is at this point that I return to Bourdieu's theoretical framework of *habitus*, *field* and *capital* and explain why the use of both Bourdieu, complemented and supported by Lave and Wenger's theoretical framework of CoP provide the foundation in this thesis and presents flexibility within the analysis of the data collected within chapter five. Table two provides an overview of both theoretical frameworks which I introduce to show the similarities in both theories. The use of CoP complements Bourdieu's concepts as I utilise Bourdieu to develop the perceptions of the individuals within this study, and CoP to analyse how the participants' *habitus* has been formulated within the workplace through the participants own community of practice.

	BOURDIEU		LAVE AND WENGER (CoP)
Habitus	A product of history which has the ability to produce individual collective practices, "it ensures that active presence of past experiences … a present past that tends perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similar structured practices" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 54).	Community	Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998) defines CoP as home, work, school, hobbies. Home – families develop their own practices routines, rituals conventions, stories and history in establishing a habitable way of life.
		Legitimate Peripheral Participation	Theories of identity – concerned with social formation of the person inclusive of gender, class, ethnicity, age, formed through relations between individual and groups (Wenger, 1998, P.13).
Field	Workplace, and occupation, an organisation in which individuals adapt their 'habitus' around them (Bourdieu, 1992).	Community	Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998) defines CoP as home, work, school hobbies. Work – organise their lives with immediate colleagues and customers to complete their work. Fulfil requirements of employers and clients.
Capital	Cultural capital – a product of education referred to by Bourdieu as an "academic market" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 21).	Legitimate Peripheral Participation	"… as a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old timers and about activities, identities, artefacts and communities of knowledge and practice" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 29). "That members interact, do things together, negotiate new meaning, and learn from each other is already inherent in practice" (Wenger, 1998, p. 102).

Table 2: Overview of the Theoretical Frameworks by Bourdieu and Lave and Wenger

Wenger (1998) re-worked the concept of legitimate peripheral participation to characterise learning into a more defined social theory of learning. He suggests that learning as participation is caught up in the middle of CoP but occurs as learning reproduces and transforms within the social structure in which it takes place (p. 13). He also introduces into the social theory of learning the concept of social identity formation through interaction between individuals and groups using the learning as "the vehicle for the evolution of practices and the inclusion of newcomers while also (and through the same process) the vehicle for the development and transformation of identities (Wenger, 1998, p. 13).

Earlier I presented Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* as a product of historical events, situated in past and present experiences influenced by social, economic and family relations. According to Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004), Bourdieu never addressed learning

explicitly but incorporated directly or indirectly the concept of *habitus* as the key element of positionality for the individual whilst considering social class, gender, educational attainment and work role which formed a set of dispositions that are influential in terms of what and how we learn (pp. 9-10). In contrast, Wenger (1998, p. 4) summarised his assumptions of learning as;

1. We are social beings. Far from being trivially true, this fact is a central aspect of learning.
2. Knowledge is a matter of competence with respect to valued enterprises such as singing in tune, discovering scientific facts, fixing machines, writing poetry, being convivial, growing up as a boy or a girl, and so forth.
3. Knowing is a matter of participating in the pursuit of such enterprises, that is, of active engagement in the world.
4. Meaning – our ability to experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful – is ultimately what learning is to produce.

Wenger reinforces his position of learning as a social participation 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' and emphasises that "being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities" (p. 4) integrate components that are necessary in the process of learning and knowing. Implicitly joined to 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation', Wenger et al (2002) define a CoP as a group of people who share similar interests, concerns, problems and passions about a topic and who through sharing knowledge and expertise through interactions help to solve each other's problems, aspirations and needs (p. 4);

> Over time, they develop a unique perspective on their topic as well as a body of common knowledge, practices and approaches. They also develop personal relationships and established ways of interacting. They may even develop a common sense of identity. They become a community of practice.
>
> (p. 5)

The participants within this thesis are part of a northern police service which constructs through social participation individual communities (separate policing departments) and their own individual identity whilst being part of the service and individual department. Understanding how the participants form part of these areas opens up the opportunity for

understanding their experiences within any perceived organisational culture through the CoP lens.

Closely linked to *habitus* for Bourdieu was *field* which I earlier summarised with reference to Bourdieu (1992) as a "feel for the game or a configuration of objective relations being objectively defined determining upon its agents or institutions a present and potential situation" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) or a structured system of social relations between individuals and institutions (Grenfell and James, 1998). Lave and Wenger's definition of 'Communities of Practice' complement both *habitus* and *field* therefore providing a contextual link which was useful for analysis as detailed in chapter five, particularly with regard to research question three. My reasons for this are now explained. My interest is in better understanding the learning experiences of new to role trainee detectives, engaged in the PIP process whilst linked to a foundation degree. The use of CoP with reference to earlier definitions suggest that unlike Bourdieu, the learning of formal knowledge has taken place and it is the integration of this knowledge combined with previously acquired skills that are developed in the workplace through relationships and support mechanisms that are in place through detective tutors and supervision. (See chapter two for clarity on this point regarding work-based study). CoP theory complements Bourdieu's theory to connect knowledge and practice. The integration of both provides a structured opportunity of understanding the participants' *habitus* and *field* which is then internalised by the participant in how they use them in a working environment or through participation in their community of practice. This point is emphasised in chapter five through research question three in the sub section: Feelings of Isolation and Conflict (page 159).

Cultural *capital* became an important feature of this thesis in respect of identifying and understanding the purchasing power of cultural *capital* in relation to the different participants interviewed. Power in this instance is the benefit that being a qualified detective provides the participant with in comparison to an unqualified detective. For example, access to other investigative departments as a skilled investigator. Of significance to this thesis and my analysis is how Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004) describe *capital* as being unequally distributed and suggest;

> Those with superior positions and more capital not only have advantages in playing the game of learning. They also have more influence on the rules that determine the nature of success and what counts as capital or as successfully learning.
>
> (p. 9)

Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004) argue that all individuals have an existence yet inherently are social in nature and part of a community of practice (p.10).

To deal with *cultural capital* and to explore the key concepts of CoP in contrast with Bourdieu I refer back to table two. There are similarities in the construction of words and themes used in Bourdieu's *habitus* and *field* when compared to CoP's community and legitimate peripheral participation. *Habitus* and community both involve the formation, creation and development of identity for the individual and refer to the development of the individual in similar structured practices (Bourdieu, 1992) and relations between individuals and groups (Wenger, 1998).

For this study, the use of Bourdieu enabled me to become involved with the participants' past experiences inclusive of their previous educational achievements through to their family support and involvement in their *habitus*. The use of CoP then enabled me to address this knowledge of their *habitus* and interpret it into their identity which had been

formed within the wider context of policing but more intrusively within their role as a detective, providing various perceptions of their continuous professional development.

Earlier, I alluded to two other forms of *cultural capital* identified by Bourdieu as *economic capital* – wealth, and *social capital* – social relationships and contacts. Here is where I draw a divide between Bourdieu and CoP. CoP refers to legitimate peripheral participation and the alignment of learning as a more holistic process of engagement between newcomers and old timers, in this study, new to role detectives and their tutors. I also draw a further distinction in respect of *cultural capital* and legitimate peripheral participation in the wider context of learning which I now explain.

Wenger (1998) suggests that the alignment of learning within the aims of the organisation depends on the commitment of the participants. Here he advocates that the participants take active responsibility for their learning and by doing so take active responsibility for some aspect of organisational learning. This Community of Practice therefore becomes more of an organisational asset "because they are the social fabric of the learning organisations" (Wenger, 1998, p. 253), and contribute not only to the organisations ability to improve its learning but develop and form new learning for the individual involved in the Community of Practice, both old and new. The significance of this is borne out in chapter five where the participants explain in detail the perception of the PIP continuous development programme. For some, cultural *capital* has had a huge benefit to their development and has been interpreted by the participant as an advantage in the acquisition of detective status or contributing towards promotion. For others, particularly Kate, this was not the case, hampered by organisational learning issues which the use of CoP has contributed towards revealing.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have set out the context and structure of the study and the research questions that this thesis attempts to answer. I have outlined my own position within the research and the location where the study has taken place which provided the location for the collection of data. I have introduced the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that I have employed throughout the thesis with justification for my choice, emphasising that CoP complements Bourdieu for the benefit of analysis of the data collected and the individual perceptions in respect of learning within the northern police service that were revealed. I emphasise here that I am not attempting to create a new theory but complementing this use of Bourdieu with the additional framework of CoP, utilising both frameworks in separate but meaningful ways that add value to the data collected and provide a means of analysing the data in respect of individual and organisational culture, particularly associated with research question three. I have also demonstrated through my own biography the concepts of Bourdieu and of Lave and Wenger and how they have taken my learning and personal experiences to apply and understand the learning trajectories of new to role detective officers. I return to the conceptual and theoretical frameworks in chapter four within the methodology section demonstrating how they have further influenced my thinking. In the next chapter I outline the PIP process.

Chapter Two: Professionalising the Investigation Process

<u>Background</u>

In the opening chapter, I made mention of providing a brief history of police/investigatory training. To delve into the full history of police training is not the main purpose of this thesis, however, I do aim to provide a general overview of key developments that have contributed directly or indirectly to the development of the PIP process which is relevant to this thesis. Quotations which appear in italics are from participants who were interviewed as part of this study.

In the HMIC (2002) report *Training Matters* reference is made to a number of key reports and recommendations which influenced how police training has evolved. Concern was raised as far back as 1973 by a Home Office Working Party, that training should be more focussed on relationships with the public and less focussed on law, drill and first aid. The report also led to the development of National Police Training to contribute towards standard practice throughout the forty-three separate forces (ibid., pp. 16-17).

In 1981, the Brixton Riots and other inner city disorders that followed (Manchester, Liverpool) led to a review of initial police training by Lord Scarman and along with a further commissioned review by the Home Office conducted by the University of East Anglia (UEA) revised initial police training was introduced in 1989 which involved modular training combined with workplace training, supported by a structure of tutor constables. This early reference to tutors and workplace learning is a theme that is prevalent in investigative training and was commented on in-depth by the participants in the original survey and the subsequent participant interviews. A more detailed analysis of this point is developed in chapter five.

The process of modular training was implemented almost thirty years ago. It lacked central direction and resourcing and failed to integrate classroom and workplace training through poor strategic level governance and according to HMIC (2002), the Home Office did not fully appreciate the importance of a structured training plan to support this training aim. Patrick provided an example of his experience when discussing the ICIDP study programme balanced against organisational demands, not dissimilar to above;

> *Yeah it took a back seat. So, for the organisation, the study was secondary to the demands of day to day policing… I found that was the case all throughout my career, to be honest with you. The police have got these ideas that they are very good at starting but the enthusiasm quickly goes, or they move onto something else. The enthusiasm is always good at the start, and then it quickly dwindles.*

The above quote is used to demonstrate an early perception of organisational culture which is analysed in research question three in more detail in chapter five.

Various reports and reviews have contributed to change and development in police training since 1995. Of significance was the impact of the death of Stephen Lawrence in 1999, which resulted in the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* (Macpherson, 1999) and the *Managing Learning: A Study of Police Training*, a HMIC (1999) report which was the first national inspection of police training (HMIC, 2002).

The report *Training Matters* (HMIC, 2002) was succinct and direct in its description of general training at that time and described probationary training as "barely adequate" with reference to a "significant development need" (ibid., p. 24). The report highlighted that weaknesses and inconsistency in training delivery and operational supervision (p. 56) was a contributing factor to these inadequacies. In more recent times Tong (2009) argues that there has been a significant focus on the requirement for the police service to train and develop effective officers because of criticisms of police performance and training (HMIC,

2002). Police recruitment includes a wide cross section of society from graduates to those with wide experience from other occupations and those who have minimum educational qualifications. The implication of a diverse range of personnel is one of the challenges the police face when attempting to develop officers' skills and knowledge that comply with minimum standards (ibid., p. 200).

The HMIC report (2002) also recognised the importance of the development of National Occupational Standards (NOS) following the creation of the Police Skills and Standards Organisation (PSSO) and the introduction of the National Competency Framework (NCF). Tong (2009) suggests that "the failures of probationary training can have a direct impact on the development of police officers later in their careers when they pursue specialisation, particularly in the role of detective" (p. 201). The relevance of initial police training will be discussed in the PIP section where I discuss standardisation in more detail.

Stelfox (2009) suggests that although criminal investigative methods have been a feature of policing from the outset, they were not viewed sufficiently distinct from general policing to require a separate professional practice. Research by Zander 1979; Steer 1980; Bottomley and Coleman 1981; Banten 1985; Burrows and Tarling 1987 (all UK); Greenwood et al 1977; Eck 1982; (U.S.) (cited in Stelfox, 2009, p. 33) suggested that the investigation of crime required few skills additional to traditional policing skills and that the only reason crimes were solved was because members of the public supplied relevant information at the early stages on an investigation. Furthermore, Burrow and Tarling, (cited in Stelfox, 2009) argue that because detectives are supported by the willingness of the public, changes in police activity or increase resources made little difference in solving crimes. The point made here by Stelfox (2009) was that the police service did not develop a separate professional practice of criminal investigation that could be taught to officers.

Stelfox suggests, that the reason criminal investigation is now seen as a police activity requiring its own professional practice is down to three factors. Those are;

1. Changes to legal framework and of criminal investigation.
2. Technological and procedural changes to the investigations process.
3. Concerns over police effectiveness and conduct in criminal investigations.

Stelfox (2009) sets out those legislative changes that have contributed to this change.

- Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE), 1984
- Prosecution of Offences Act, 1985
- Criminal Procedures and Investigations Act (CPIA), 1986
- Regulations of Investigatory Powers Act (RIPA), 2000
- Criminal Justice Act, 2003

Stelfox brings this first point together clearly;

> When the police are investigating crime they no longer have the role of 'citizens in uniform' exercising a general set of duties and responsibilities that apply to all members of society. They are now implementing an investigation process that has been designed specifically with them in mind.
>
> (ibid., p.34)

Secondly, developments in forensic examinations and the use of material from CCTV, telephone data and improved intelligence gathering techniques enable the investigator to exploit investigative opportunities which were previously restricted. This has led to the growth of forensic specialists who support the investigation which requires the investigator to manage the co-ordination of the investigative process.

The third stage which identified issues of police effectiveness and conduct in criminal investigations has been brought about because of historic police investigations and miscarriages of justice. A prime example of this is set out at paragraph 3.13 (p. 26) "… the Inquiry came into existence because of explicit complaints and serious unease about the

conduct by individual officers and the MPS [Metropolitan Police Service] itself of the investigation of Stephen Lawrence's murder" (Lawrence Inquiry, 1999).

Without labouring the above with further examples of miscarriages of justice, Stelfox (2009) argues that the three issues he identified require a professional approach and can be developed within a professional practice which investigators can be taught and tested against as opposed to what earlier research suggested. The combination of Home Office and HMIC reports along with miscarriages of justice and general reviews of policing detailed in chapter one have significantly contributed to the introduction of PIP which is dealt with in detail in the next section.

Professionalising the Investigation Process (PIP)

The Professionalising Investigation Programme (PIP) commenced in 2003. Its vision was "to deliver a professional, ethical and effective investigation capacity for policing in the 21st century by providing robust, national benchmark standards maintained and overseen by professional policing institute" (College of Policing, 2016, p. 3). It was sponsored by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) now known as the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) who recognised the importance of criminal investigation in the delivery of effective policing which as Stelfox states "seeks to improve individual practice by developing an evidence-based literature for practitioners, by improving training and continuous professional development, and by introducing an accreditation process" (Stelfox, 2011, p.15). An early example of improving individual practice was commented on by Anthony;

> *The significant learning is actually the wider understanding of what investigation really is. It's a bit like when you get instructions to, say, put a piece of furniture together, it gives you a plan and it's a bit like the public order and the criminal investigation world because there is a set of defined investigation plans and they are defined by experience and over time what is considered to be the best practice for doing things. So, it gives you those tools and the confidence that*

you can use when necessary. It's that wider knowledge that interests me and that is what I got out of that programme. It sticks with me today, you make a decision, you still go to crime scenes and you still use the stuff that you learnt on the courses because it works.

The PIP programme initially had three levels associated with the development programme and later added PIP Level 4 for qualified senior investigating officers (SIO). The programme was initially seen as a course as there was no accreditation process linked to it. However, this stream of work continued with the College of Policing (COP) as a recommendation by PIP Review Recommendation Report (2014) and although it is now released by the COP 2016 as PIP4 Strategic Management of Complex Investigation Course it has not been progressed further to an accredited process.

The levels of PIP are detailed by Stelfox (2007, p. 641) and more recently by the College of Policing Professionalising Investigations Programme (2016). The levels of PIP are summarised as;

PIP Level 1: This includes all new to role police officers inclusive of the initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) focussing on skills relating to volume and priority crime and provides the foundation training for operational response inclusive of initial investigative and interviewing skills.

PIP Level 2: The Initial Crime Investigators Development Programme consists of three specific units. Unit 1 relates to the planning and conducting of investigations. Unit 2 relates to the interviewing of victims and witnesses and Unit 3 relates to the interviewing of suspects. The programme is also aimed at supervisory investigator ranks and these include the Initial Supervisor Detective Programme (ISDP) originally in 2010 the Initial Management of Serious Crime (IMSC) and the Management of Serious Crime Investigators' Development (MSCIDP) (originally the Detective Inspectors' Development Programme DIDP).

PIP Level 3: The Senior Investigating Officers Development Programme (SIODP) is completed by officers of at least the rank of Detective Inspector who deal with investigations into serious and complex crimes.

PIP Level 4: This course (as mentioned above) is aimed at those officers who have attained the rank of Detective Superintendent and have successfully been accredited at PIP Level 3.

This study examines the PIP Level 2 classification. Whilst I have briefly documented the various levels I suggest that it is difficult to discuss the complexity of PIP 2 in isolation without having knowledge of the surrounding programmes. PIP's emphasis is on providing a structured and consistently developed and maintainable programme which supports investigative skills at all levels. PIP also ensures that it maintains currency and balances professional requirement against the ever changing landscapes of policing and public expectations (COP, 2016, p. 3). To emphasis this point, Thomas described in general the initial start of his police career which was prior to the PIP process being implemented;

> *Everybody starts as a beat officer: someone walking the beat and responding to incidents that happened. It was called section when I started and changed to neighbourhood and response and all kinds of things. But it is what the public see, it is the bobby driving the police car with the blue lights on, going to a job, dealing with you if your house is broken into, or a fight, or shoplifting, or things like that.*

From my experience, whilst Thomas has alluded to his experience on joining the police, the structure and consistency of training had not been formalised into what the PIP process had been set up to achieve. Indeed, the above quote is illustrated by Stelfox (2011) who suggests;

> The investigation of crime is a key function at every level of the police service. From the delivery of neighbourhood policing to international co-operation against terrorism and organised crime, there is an expectation that police forces will have the capacity and capability to mount effective criminal investigations. The universal nature of criminal investigation within the police means that it is not the sole preserve of detectives.
>
> (ibid., p.15)

Returning to PIP Level 1, Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) is therefore the very first stage of the development of investigative skills. It was a programme covering 35 weeks of a two-year period before an officer could attain full police constable status (NPIA, 2011a). It was also underpinned by aligning the PIP Level 1 material which relates to priority and volume crime investigations and dealing with the interviews of victims, witnesses and suspects with a set of National Occupational Standards (NOS) developed in consultation with Skills for Justice (SFJ) for uniformity across the forty-three different police services (Bryant, 2009).

PIP Level 2 is the next formal process in the development of investigative skills. The completion of the ICIDP process combines the three units I detailed above with a further set of national occupational standards (devised by SFJ). The development of these standards progressed from previous investigative training, particularly in terms of content. Historically, the process of professional development within the police services attempted to train officers to have a broad range of policing skills that would deal with most policing situations. As detailed earlier by Tong (2009) and Stelfox (2009) these basic skills were no longer adequate because of the changes to the legal framework of policing, advancement of technology and concerns regarding police effectiveness to conduct criminal investigations.

HMIC's (2004) *Modernising the Police Service* Report emphasised that omnicompetence was no longer considered appropriate because policing had become too large and complex. In earlier research around core competencies of investigators, McGurk et al (1992) examined the role of detectives in general and concluded that these key skills involved managing tasks; dealing with people; managing information, and effective communication. The result of this study contributed to the development of the National

CID Foundation Course which preceded PIP in 2003. The research by McGurk et al, along with other studies by Maguire et al (1993), Wigfield (1996) and Adhami and Browne (1996) contributed to providing a framework for understanding detective expertise (Smith and Flanagan, 2000). It is worth clarifying here that the purpose of their research was to look at how Senior Investigating Officers developed their investigative skills when dealing with serious and complex crime and the point I make is that prior to the implementation of PIP in 2003 whilst investigative programmes existed, they did not have the formality and connected processes that the development of PIP sponsored by ACPO presented.

The significant change to police training was because of legislation enacted under Part 4 of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001. Centrex, the policing training body, was merged into the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) and more recently from 2013, the College of Policing now has the portfolio for the development of all police training.

Throughout these significant changes, PIP 2 for investigators introduced a new training programme consisting of a six-week classroom-based phase. At the same time, significant police literature had been introduced to support ACPO's vision of professionalisation which resulted in the first publication of the Core Investigative Doctrine (2005) and its subsequent update Core Investigative Doctrine (2012). The introduction of the doctrine was to provide a definitive national guidance for all levels of investigations as defined by PIP to all forty-three police forces aiming to provide a set of key principles for criminal investigations, irrespective of the nature and complexity of the investigation (Core Investigative Doctrine, 2012). The construction of the doctrine had been developed by experienced police officers, the Home Office, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and academics with the intention of supporting the PIP process from PIP 1 to PIP 4. The

introduction of the doctrines were the first steps to contribute towards a more professional learning programme, becoming significant reference material for training officers and their trainee detective.

The introduction of these doctrines formalised for the first time specific standardised processes which not only altered the role of the investigator to one of an impartial gatherer of material but focussed on the concept of the investigator's ability to make reliable and accountable decisions, often made under difficult complex circumstances. This ability, the 'Investigative Mindset', involves five investigative principles outlined in the Core Investigation Doctrine (2012, p. 84);

1. Understanding the source of the material;
2. Planning and preparation;
3. Examination;
4. Recording and collation;
5. Evaluation.

The 'Investigative Mindset' is a state of mind, or attitude which investigators develop to enable them to apply a disciplined approach ensuring that the decisions they make in an investigation are reasonable and can be justified (ibid., p. 84) and is a core theme throughout the Core Investigative Doctrine (2005, 2012) and features significantly in the delivery of the PIP Level 2 process.

To support the aim of the research, the next sections detail the ICIDP process which I explain under the below sub-headings;

1. Induction and the National Investigators Exam (NIE)
2. The classroom phase
3. Work-based assessment and completion of portfolio

The northern police service integrated its partnership with the university to formulate the foundation degree process. This partnership had not been undertaken before and

therefore was a unique learning experience for the officers (learners) involved, the police trainers, the police organisation and the university. I reiterate at this point that this thesis aims to portray the perceptions of the new to role detective officers, and because of this I have kept the research tight and focussed around the participants as interviews with the trainers and the university are beyond the scope and not primarily the focus of this current study. To address consistency of process for all parties involved, an internal force policy was put into place in September 2010 and then reviewed and updated by me in June 2012 with guidance being supported by the National Investigators Examination Service (Rules and Syllabus, 2012). The policy provides guidance on the northern police service ICIDP process in line with the requirements of the National NIE exam, ICIDP process and the requirement for completion of the foundation degree with the associated university.

The Initial Crime Investigators Development Programme (ICIDP) is the professional development programme that all new to role trainee detectives complete. It is a national development programme and consists of three phases. These phases are important as they contribute towards completion of the programme and for the northern police service these phases have been linked to the foundation degree. An explanation of these follows as the subject of these phases becomes a topic of analysis with the participants in chapter five.

Phase 1: Induction and National Investigators' Exam

Recruitment to the ICIDP process is made via an application form and the candidate must evidence potential skills as an investigator. The candidate is then formally interviewed by an officer of at least the rank of Detective Inspector and a representative from personnel. Once the officer is successful, they are then invited to attend an induction process held at the force training school and this is scheduled within fourteen weeks of the National Investigators' Exam. The northern police service policy was that a representative from the

university would be present to explain how the foundation degree would integrate with the ICIDP and register the candidate identification which allowed access to the university online library.

The policy stated that within fourteen weeks and on recommendation by NPIA that the candidate be allowed sixty hours protected study time subject to line management agreement. The candidate was also issued with a recommended study book which covers the syllabus for the year that the exam is taken (the book Blackstone's Police Investigators' Manual is updated each year and for reference Connor et al 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 relate to this study). The university also provided online study aides and combined, focus on the syllabus which consists of four sections;

1. Assaults, Drugs and Firearms
2. Evidence
3. Property Offences
4. Sexual Offences

(NPIA, 2011; Bryant, 2009)

The overall pass mark was set at 55.7% and each candidate must therefore achieve a result of thirty-nine correct answers out of the seventy questions set (the pass mark is based on an algorithm across the four syllabus sections). The university also included a mock examination to assist the candidates with their learning and this formed part of one of the university modules that made up the foundation degree. The university also assessed modules of interviewing suspects and witnesses, individual presentations which included a briefing to a senior officer on an operational issue and lastly, the content, structure and presentation of the detectives' work-based portfolio was assessed by the ICIDP course trainer and moderated by the university representative.

If the candidate is unsuccessful in the exam then they were requested to re-sit at the next exam opportunity, the exams being held in March, June, September and November of each year. If the candidate fails a second time the force policy states;

> Unsuccessful candidate will have an opportunity, subject to force policy, to re-sit the examination on the next examination date. Unsuccessful candidates will only be allowed two failures in the NIE. A second failure means that the student MUST be removed from the ICIDP and is not allowed to apply again for the programme for a minimum of eighteen months.
>
> (NIE Rules and Syllabus, 2012, p. 5)

As I mentioned above, the ICIDP process is the professionalisation programme that all new to role trainee detectives take in the northern police service and as such all the participants in this thesis have taken part in this process. Two key points have been identified in the initial phase of the ICIDP programme, those being the application process and the NIE exam itself. These areas are discussed in more detail in the analysis section in chapter five by the participants.

Phase 2: Classroom Based Learning

On successful completion of the NIE (which I cover in more detail in the analysis section chapter five under the sub-heading National Investigators' Examination), the candidate then attends the six-week taught course at the force training school. I mentioned earlier that forty-three forces may have slight variations on the NPIA delivery model but the learning descriptors, aims and objectives and suggested timetable are set by the NPIA (Bryant, 2009). The trainee detective receives inputs on investigative topics, for example, the golden hour principal, a term used for the period that immediately following or discovering that a crime has taken place presents an opportunity to recover material that may identify an offender and be admissible in court. Further investigative inputs include crime scene management and the identification of forensic material, relevant legislation including human rights, recording and making decisions and interviewing of witnesses and suspects. These are just a few of the areas covered in the six-week syllabus.

The trainee detectives are split into working groups of four for the duration of the six weeks and the material taught by the detective trainers varies from individual and group exercises, research tasks, role play, facilitated plenary discussions and written work, usually in the form of a case book or investigation case book were decisions and reasons are written based on the paper feed scenario provided in the course. The Core Investigative Doctrine (ACPO, 2005) is issued as a reference guide to each trainee detective to assist in research and decision making and the 'Investigative Mindset' (mentioned earlier) runs as a core theme throughout the programme. The course concludes with the trainee detective being examined on their decisions by barristers to reinforce their overall decision and reasoning ability.

The university linked to the northern police service selected a variety of lessons based on the NPIA learning descriptors and developed these for university assessment. The northern police service schedule between six and seven courses per year (between 2010-2013) and each cohort had a variation of trainee detectives of between twelve to sixteen. In total, three hundred officers were taught during this period and in agreement with the course trainer, a university assessor attended each session of each course so that each individual trainee could be observed carrying out specific tasks relating to the investigation case study and marked in accordance with the university marking guide as part of an assessed module. The criteria and marking process were discussed with the course trainers and the marks were recorded by the university assessor. Finally, the ICIDP process of the six-week classroom-based phase involves the trainee detective being trained in interviewing skills for serious and complex investigations (NPIA, 2009). The interviewing module is built into the case study and the university foundation degree assessment included assessing each officer conducting a role play interview of a suspect and witness (Policy Guidance, 2012).

Phase 3: Work-Based Assessment

On completion of the classroom-based phase, the trainee detective returns to their workplace and has responsibility for completing their portfolio and should only include evidence that their tutor has confirmed as being satisfactory which are assessed against the NOS detailed earlier. Every trainee detective must complete these standards which are;

Unit 1: Conducting serious and complex investigations (CI102)

Unit 2: Interview victims and witnesses in relation to serious and complex investigations (CJ102)

Unit 3: Interview suspects in relation to serious and complex investigations (CJ202)

(Skills for Justice, 2008a, b and c)

The detective tutor assigned to the trainee detective has a key role in the formal assessment of the trainee and their role is to assess, observe support and provide feedback to the trainee, discussing their performance in line with the above NOS and the requirements for the PIP Level 2 portfolio (NPIA, 2009).

The PIP Level 2 portfolio by the NPIA (2009) provides extensive guidance on its completion and the below figure sets out the key responsibilities for the management and support of the trainee which finally leads to the portfolio being recorded and signed off by the officers Crime Manager (unusually a Detective Inspector) so that the officer can be registered as a PIP Level 2 qualified investigator.

Figure 1:   Assessment Roles and Responsibilities Summary (NPIA Investigative Skills, August 2009)

The university included the portfolio as an assessed module, subject to strict time management but working closely with the crime trainers at the training school so that the portfolio could be submitted within six months of the last day of the trainee's course "it is important that this time limit is adhered to, in the event that the submission date is missed it will result in the trainee failing the module" (Policy Document, 2012, p. 9). This did fall within the time frame recommended by the NPIA, but this last phase became administratively bureaucratic and problematic, particularly for the trainee in relation to time management and support afforded by the organisation. The completion of the portfolio and support by detective tutor are themes which form part of the analysis section in chapter five.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed a number of key reports which have contributed towards the development of a more professional investigative process. The chapter has identified concerns by the Home Office in 1973 regarding the re-structuring of training and this led to the implementation of a new National Police Training programme. The terrible inner city

disorders and, significantly, the death of Stephen Lawrence in 1999 contributed to the first review of police training in 2002 which concluded that police training was "barely adequate". The report also recognised the need to develop a set of National Occupational Standards and a National Competency Framework for all forty three police services to introduce standardisation. Legislative change discussed by Stelfox (2009) and the lack of a separate professional practice for criminal investigation, along with the need to re-assess the initial skills required by all police officers (Tong, 2009) in the 21st century, have been contributing factors which have led to the implementation of PIP. I have outlined the PIP process in detail and explained how it has been linked to a university foundation degree. The next chapter deals with professionalisation in which I contextualise the concepts of profession, professionalisation and professionalism to the PIP process.

Chapter Three: The Police, Professionalism and Professionalisation

Understanding the Context of Police Professionalisation

This chapter discusses the concepts of profession, professionalisation and professionalism within the context of the PIP process. My decision to place this chapter immediately after the first two chapters is now explained. In chapter one I discussed in detail the recommendations from Neyroud (2011) around the creation of a Professional Body for Policing. I had already introduced the notion from Holdaway (2017) that the police as an occupation with a professional status was not new. I then discussed throughout chapter two the process of PIP from a holistic perspective. I also introduced the management of the PIP process and how it has been connected in the first instance to National Occupational Standards and then more latterly to the foundation degree. I now present an explanation of what policing as a profession means and discuss societies acceptance that the police are a profession because it "exhibits traditional traits associated with such an institution" (Holdaway, 2017, p. 590). In other words because of its structures, processes and position within society the police are professional because of how it appears to be accepted.

The training of the detectives who are subject of this study linked to a university foundation degree mirror other public service professionalisation models such as nursing. Just as policing is required to respond to the demands of a modern society, nurses needed to be able to meet the challenges of the 21st century health care system (Andrew, 2012) which has sought professionalisation through academisation. Comparing the PIP process to nursing provides a balanced approach in attempting to explain professionalisation through a different lens, acknowledging similarities in the professions as they are both knowledge and experientially based practical occupations, with a foundation in work-based activities,

sharing similar skills and abilities, required to work in the public services. I return to this point in the section of profession, professionalisation and professionalism.

Police and Professionalism

According to Sciulli (2005) defining professions, professionalisation and professionalism programmes within the sociology of professions has become complicated, particularly in identifying or agreeing a specific definition or taxonomic use of words to describe them. From a policing perspective, Carlan and Lewis (2009) propose that professionalism "is a universal notion permeating the fabric of all occupations" (p.371) and that the police subscribe to this notion often claiming the status of profession without confirming the assertion. Potts (1982, p. 51) suggests "police professionalisation lacks coherence as a movement because its proponents have often failed to recognise that professional status does not entail the same features for all occupational groups that claim it" and essentially strategies employed to obtain professional status have been based on misinterpretation, misapplication and miscalculation (ibid., p.51). What Potts was arguing was that the police service had pursued professionalism in order to obtain status for the organisation as opposed to the benefit that it may bring to society, a point made considerably earlier by Wilensky (1964, p.146) (cited in Carlan and Lewis, 2009, p. 371) who proposed that the status of profession/professionalism of the police constituted an internal battle stating "bureaucracy…clashes with professionalism" and that "the movement continuously faces an uphill battle" (Hawley, 1998) (cited in Carlan and Lewis, 2009, p. 371) due to police chiefs being unsupportive. Following this point James and Mills (2012) argued that the elite institutions within the police service consisting of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary (HMIC), responsible for implementing service delivery and change, have had the ability to "fly under the radar" (ibid., p. 135) in attempting to move policing form a craft to a profession.

Westera et al (2016), suggest that as the world changes, the effectiveness of detectives needs to adapt to globalisation and developments in science and technology if detectives are to be entrusted by the public to deal with reactive, proactive and historical serious crime (p. 197). Failure to adapt to changing environments and process may result in failed investigations and lead to reduced confidence in the police service in general (ibid., p. 197), raising issues of police effectiveness in investigating crime. In support of detective professionalisation Westera et al (2016) completed a study of detectives in Australia and New Zealand examining the challenges faced by them in respect of ensuring their effectiveness for future investigations and policing (the legal system of Australia and New Zealand have similar legal and policing structures to England and Wales). The findings by Westera et al (2016) identified the need to support highly skilled and motivated detectives if they are to meet the challenges of investigation and advances in technology within policing through structured training and development. Re-thinking police processes and improved professionalisation of detectives' effectiveness through academia and the police service is a way of supporting detectives work if they are to keep pace with the changing investigating landscape (Westera et al, 2016, p. 206-207). This reinforces the point made earlier by Stelfox (2009) (chapter two, page 56) who suggested that criminal investigators (detectives) require their own professional practice, situated with the police organisation.

Reporting on the professionalisation programme and the continued debate regarding professionalism within the police service, in the Police Review Magazine dated 16th June 2006 it suggested that three years on after the implementation of PIP that investigators did not have a clear defined, evidence based formalised system of qualification and accreditation which contributed to the individual being recognised as a member of their profession. It did, however, acknowledge that PIP had become an established process that would bring together the necessary requirements in a structured way that could be

quality assured and stand scrutiny as other professions, but this was not clarified. Additionally, in *Police Professional* (2007) adding to the ongoing debate of the police service being a profession, it was accepted that key features of examination and accreditation based on the structure of the PIP process were acknowledged as a huge step forward in the argument of police profession/professionalisation. There was however, a suggestion by John Giblin, Secretary of the Police Federation of England and Wales that the police service (generalised) had some way to go before it would be considered a profession in the truest sense due to the diversity of forty-three separate police services and varying bureaucratic and individual organisational requirements which would require organisational change. He also made a valid point regarding profession and professionalism that "it is an indictment that you do thirty years as a police officer picking up skills and academic knowledge but at the end of that you come out with no accreditation for what you have achieved" (p. 37). The point made by Giblin is central to this thesis, PIP, and the foundation degree, as it demonstrates that there was no connection to qualifications a theme discussed in more detail in the analysis section in chapter five. This point however is reinforced by David, albeit it is the individual's perception, but contributes to Giblin's point;

> *It's that recognition that you've put a lot of work into it and a lot of your own time and your own effort into something like that so to get that formal recognition rather than just a certificate from upstairs, but you are getting something that actually means something. If you have been at uni spending three years at university you get something at the end of it, you get that qualification. After you've passed your probation you don't really get anything whereas with this you get that formal recognition which is always there for good.*

From my experience as a detective sergeant in the northern police service, the introduction of PIP in 2003 and the implementation of PIP in 2005 proved difficult and challenging. It was interpreted as another process that had to be followed and consequently was not seen as a process that would provide any form of qualification. Therefore whilst the PIP process had the word Professionalisation in the title it struggled to

justify its requirement through lack of recognised qualification attached to it. I introduced earlier in the literature that police officers often claim the status of profession whilst Holdaway (2017) suggests that the notion of the police as a profession has received uncritical acceptance from academe, government and the police in general (ibid., p.590). The literature discussed identified issues within the senior management positions including ACPO (NPCC), HMIC, and Policy Crime Commissioners. Significantly, PIP still carried weight and importance in the debate of professionalisation and it is worth recognising the importance of ACPO's (NPCC) response regarding the full review of PIP (commissioned March 2013 by the National Policing Crime Business Area (CBA), ten years after its original implementation in 2003 for the context of this thesis. Working closely with the College of Policing, the vision of PIP is, "to deliver a professional, ethical and effective investigation capability for policing in the 21st Century providing robust national bench marked standards maintained and overseen by a Professional Policing Institute" (PIP Review Recommendation Report, February, 2014, p. 3).

For this thesis I argue that the detectives engaged in the PIP programme are involved in a continuous professionalisation programme which should be recognised as a profession and not a craft. PIP has been introduced as the structured programme with professionalisation as the main focus, delivering training and development to address the requirements of the detective in dealing with the challenges of modern detective investigations. Therefore, for the police, particularly detectives and the PIP process, there must also be a base line definition of profession, professionalisation and professionalism otherwise working within these concepts would prove to be problematic for the police service. Whilst Potts (1982) argued the lack of coherence within the police service I have included his quote to demonstrate how the police service has moved forward with the implementation of PIP and the structure that surrounds the process via the introduction of

a professional body, a key recommendation within the Neyroud report (2011). For this thesis it therefore raised the question of defining the attributes of a profession to provide some clarity around the terminology used whilst at the same time reinforcing the value and meaning for PIP.

Profession - Professionalisation - Professionalism

Defining a profession began by using a taxonomic approach developed in the 1950s and 1960s (Saks, 2012) and utilised characteristics which encompassed knowledge and expertise combined with a positive involvement with the community. Saks refers to Greenwood (1957), an individual prominent at that time in the construction of these ordered lists. It is the taxonomic list created by Greenwood that I use as the background to argue for professional accreditation within this thesis, albeit some sixty years ago. I return to Greenwood later in the chapter and explain the use of Greenwood's list in the context of PIP. I now discuss Evetts (2013) ideology of professions and professionalism.

Evetts

Evetts (2013) suggests that professions are essentially knowledge-based service occupations, involving tertiary education, vocational training and experience, categorised as structured occupational and institutional, situated within modern lives and society. She articulates how professionalism is constantly changing and being changed for professionals within the public and private sector suggesting that professionals such as doctors, nurses, teachers, the armed services and police along with private sector professionals such as lawyers, accountants and pharmacists find occupational control of their work and decision making processes increasingly difficult to maintain and sustain. Evetts (2013) attributes this to "a number of policy and societal developments and changes, and increased complexities in the contexts and environments for professions" (p.

779). She suggests that differentiation between public and private sectors of professional employment is no longer clear cut due to public/private partnerships being privately funded which is now within public sector workplaces. Furthermore, wherever trust, accountability and increased regulation are present, then regulations, audit and assessment are closely connected. For both public and private sector, they are licensed and include professional standards and regulations which are supported by public funding for professional education and development, underpinned by the government.

At the start of the chapter, I mentioned comparing the PIP process to nursing and it is here that I return to this brief comparison. According to Andrew (2012), the concept of modernising nursing in the United Kingdom emerged from Scotland around 2006 as a way of preparing nurses for "academic as well as clinical leaders in contemporary health care" (p. 846). Andrew (2012), suggests that nursing exists between a vocational and professional status, portrayed as a dual professional requiring nurses to be competent not only in patient care but to understand and recognise the wider impact of nursing on society and social policy. A key point made by Andrew (2012, p. 847) states;

> Nursing is vocationally orientated in the UK from the very beginning of the educational journey. It is our duty to ensure that we do turn out good nurses. This professional requirement means that we cannot work in isolation. Students must become accustomed to being students and also being nurses.

Andrew (2012) additionally advocates that through adherence to good practice guidelines and regulations set by a professional body the role of the nurse within the profession helps shape their future identity, combining educational attributes with work-based practice. This is where the similarities of nursing and the PIP process compare. The nursing programmes combine academic attributes with professional "knowhow" arguably developing the professional before developing the scholar (Andrew, 2012). Similarly, policing in the wider context has followed a comparable path and it is now through changes in forensic capability, legislation and demands by society, that the profession is

evolving through academic collaboration. The process of PIP for detectives within the northern police service, linked to the university foundation degree programme demonstrates how professionalism is being interpreted, and reinforces the point made earlier by Neyroud (2011) (chapter one, page 15) regarding the police service moving from being a service that acts professionally to becoming a professional service, albeit arguably, still somewhat behind the nursing profession.

Evetts (2013) although suggesting that it is no longer important to differentiate between professions and other occupations does provide a useful explanation around profession, professionalisation and professionalism which I have utilised to understand the concept of PIP and as a benchmark against other explanations which I detail below. This is summarised as;

1. Profession

Definitions of profession as institutional remain unresolved and difficult in identifying what makes a profession distinctive.

2. Professionalisation

The process to achieve status of profession and to pursue, develop and maintain practitioner's own occupation self-interest (salary, status, power).

3. Professionalism

Usually interpreted as an occupational or normative value of service and professional performance for customers and practitioner.

(Evetts, 2013, pp. 781-782)

The police service is a unique organisation dating back to 1829. The police organisation is distinctive in the establishment of forty three police forces that serve England and Wales with the primary role of serving the community. The police are accountable for high levels of self-discipline whilst at the same time being internally and externally monitored and managed in respect of conduct and behaviour with police leaders renegotiating their role for the communities which they serve (Green et al, 2014) The police forces have access to a multitude of resources both internally and externally and have an impartial working relationship with the judiciary both from a prosecution and defence perspective. They have

large estates which enable the organisation to function and are governed by law making the forty three forces institutional (official) for the purpose of serving the community. I suggest that this brief outline for the police is what makes the police service distinctive and arguably a profession.

The second concept of Evetts (2013) regarding professionalisation is important to this study for two reasons. Firstly, it reinforces defining the police service as a profession by implementing a professionalisation process (PIP) (detailed in chapter two). Secondly, Evetts (2013) discusses the importance of education and training to both the individual and the organisation itself in the development of promoting "professional practitioners' own occupational self-interests in terms of their salary, status and power" (p. 785), and organisationally, by creating "practitioner pride and satisfaction in work performance" (p. 785), which is a unique method of regulating and monitoring complex services to the public and an effective way of professionalising "from within". In terms of salary, status and power there is no monetary benefit in becoming a qualified detective but it is perceived as a status acquirement within Bourdieusian terms as cultural *capital* is attached through qualification and access to further investigative departments within the police service. Cultural *capital* of the trainee detectives is expanded upon in chapter five. In respect of the organisation, they are able to demonstrate both internally and externally that continuous professional development is being followed by adhering to professionalisation programmes such as PIP for the benefit of the individual through the attainment of a university foundation degree, and for the organisation through the implementation of change programmes.

The third concept, professionalism is defined by Evetts (2013) as providing the opportunity for the re-assessment of quality assurance of professional performance for both the

customers, in this case the public, and the practitioners themselves. However, Evetts (2013) suggests that "professionalism is being constructed and imposed from above" (p. 786) by the employers and managers of the public service organisation to promote and facilitate organisational change. Professionalism in this form has been embraced by those who seek to control occupational groups, the northern police service being an example of how through the implementation of PIP it has introduced a perceived way of improving the occupational competence and status for the detective through becoming a professional worker. Evetts (2013) expresses caution here suggesting organisational control by managers and supervisors limit the decision making process for the individual that are important to autonomous decision making, associated with professional practice. However, this process according to Evetts (2013) involving relationships between the employer and employee (the detective), supports educational programmes and encourages strong occupational identities and work cultures. These points raised within the discourse on professionalism are discussed in the analysis section, chapter five within research questions two and three.

I have shown through the explanation of PIP in chapter two, how the management of the process meets the interpretation of profession, professionalisation and professionalism by Evetts (2013). This understanding has enabled me to better express the perceptions of the detectives involved in the study through all three research questions as they indirectly have profession, professionalisation and professionalism embedded within. The police service as discussed earlier has been subject to criticisms and public inquires. The implementation of PIP in 2003 has been the first step to address these issues and more recently with the introduction of the College of Policing reinforces the discussion that professionalism is now being addressed, not by acceptance within society but by

attempting to demonstrate coherence in striving for profession, professionalisation and professionalism.

Greenwood

With the propositions of Evetts (2013) in mind, I return to the work of Ernest Greenwood (1957) who originally offered a more generalisable suggestion for the attributes of a profession;

> The sociological approach to professionalism is one that views a profession as an organised group which is constantly interacting with the society that forms its matrix, which performs its social functions through a network of formal and informal relationships, and which creates its own subculture requiring adjustment to it as a prerequisite for career success.
>
> (p. 45)

The research by Greenwood in 1957 included a multitude of occupations inclusive of; "accountant, architect, artist, attorney, clergyman, college professor, dentist, engineer, journalist, judge, librarian, national scientist, optometrist, pharmacist, physician, social scientist, social worker, surgeon and teacher" (ibid., p. 45). In examining these occupations (police not included) Greenwood concluded that the occupations possessed five attributes that linked the professions. It is important for this thesis that I present a benchmark in which analysis and perceptions can be interpreted. In other words, I am attempting "to maintain analytic momentum" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 138). To do this involves summarising Greenwood's (1957) five specific attributes.

Systematic Body of Theory

Greenwood (1957) outlines his theory by suggesting that the difference between a professional and a non-professional occupation is the level of superior skill required, usually proceeded by lengthy training to achieve mastery. He defines the body of theory as;

> … a system of abstract propositions that describe in general terms the classes of phenomena comprising the professions focus of interest. Acquisition of the professional skill requires a prior or simultaneous master of the theory underlying that skill. Preparation for a profession therefore involves considerable pre-occupation with systematic theory, a feature virtually absent in the training of the non-professional.
>
> (p. 46)

Just as important, Greenwood (1957) recommends that the preparation for a profession must be both intellectual and practical in experience and that "orientation in theory can be achieved best through formal education in an academic setting" (ibid., p. 47). I have detailed at length the PIP programme in chapter two, outlining the four levels of PIP and their subsequent meaning. I also outlined the ICIDP process and its link to the university foundation degree. Utilising the foundation of Greenwood has helped to better understand and contextualise the perceptions of the trainee detectives as Greenwood links profession through formal education and academia. It contributed to my methodology and preparation of my general research questions but also enabled me to understand the complexities associated with professionalism enabling a clearer interpretation of what the participants perceive professional accreditation to mean.

Professional Authority

Greenwood (1957) reasoned that the constant development of knowledge in the subject area of the professional enabled the professional to demonstrate a more developed understanding than that, as he describes as "of the layman's view" (p. 47). He differentiates his theory by developing the notion that a professional has clients and a non-professional has customers. In other words, the non-professional has the freedom to make their own choices and decisions based on the individual's ability to appraise and judge the service or commodity required. In a professional relationship, Greenwood (1957) postulates that the professional 'dictates' the best fit for the client as it is the professional who has the theoretical knowledge and therefore the client as he describes

will normally "accede to processional judgement" (p. 48). Furthermore, Greenwood (1957) suggests that the relationship between the professional and client provides a sense of security for the client because of the professional's authoritative manner. Noordegraaf (2007) advances this point and suggests that within the concept of professional authority two key attributes must be present; professionals must possess certain knowledge belonging to that profession and, secondly, they must be part of a professional association. However, he safeguards his theory by advancing the point that the professional should not use their professional status to exploit the professional/client relationship

Within the first of these attributes, Noordegraaf refers to professionals as "highly educated and skilled white collar- sometimes white coat workers who have learned to apply abstract, general, or esoteric knowledge to specific individual cases and problems" (p. 766). He also articulates that professionals have the ability to make inferences, know how to treat individual clients, analyse and make decisions and provide advice based on learned experience embedded within a combination of functional, reflexive and behavioural skills (ibid., p.766). PIP reinforces this concept as the trainee detective is required to possess specialist knowledge acquired through the PIP process obtained both from a pre-entry examination requirement and then from learned experience within the classroom phase and then within the work-place. All trainee investigators must have current and in depth knowledge of criminal law and legislation which assists investigators to make informed, effective and accountable decisions throughout an investigation (Core Investigative Doctrine, 2005, 2012). The fact that the trainee detective is employed by the northern police service demonstrates that they belong to a professional organisation as I have argued through the use and explanation of Evetts (2013) definition.

The second attribute (condition) advanced by Noordegraaf (2007) is that professional authority is reinforced when the professionals become part of professions that become institutionalised and "constitute, define and control professional work" (p. 766). Abbott, 1988 (cited in Noordegraaf 2007, p. 767) associates professional authority as owning jurisdictional autonomy prescribed by law and licensed. Furthermore, it is developed to a standardise knowledge and skills, and the training and selection of members contribute to establishing and enforcing codes of conduct. Fischer, 1998 (cited in Noordegraaf, 2007 p. 767) concludes that "being professional requires more than possessing formal qualifications to be able to work in chosen fields". These points reinforce the description and distinction of the PIP programme discussed in chapter two.

Sanction of Community

Greenwood (1957) does not provide a definition of community within his paper. I have interpreted its meaning within the context of his paper and for this thesis as a community inclusive of educational developments, official authorities and organisations, conferred with powers and privileges which provide "community" approval either informally or formally. Therefore, returning to Greenwood, he suggests that within this attribute is the profession's control over its training centres and accreditation process, including examination and the potential to institute a licensing system which provides the status for the individual to practice their professional skill (p. 49).

In chapter two, I detailed the brief history of the development of PIP process and key factors which contributed to the introduction of the programme itself. Earlier in this chapter I reiterated the definition by the College of Policing which I summarise here as providing a robust national benchmark standard, overseen by a professional policing institute. Professionalism and policing have, nevertheless, received constant criticism, at times

facing an uphill battle due to professional police chiefs being less supportive of professional development (Carlan and Lewis, 2009 p. 371). Furthermore, Garner (1999) and Hawley (1998) (cited in Carlan and Lewis, 2009 p. 372) suggest that police organisations face a monumental challenge as a plethora of police managers hold steadfast against baccalaureate requirements almost supporting Potts' (1982) earlier argument that labelled the police professionalisation movement as nothing more than a superficial public relations ploy (p. 53). The strength of Greenwood's (1957) 'sanction of the community' (not to be confused with Lave and Wenger's CoP), relates directly to research question three which involves the participants' understanding of organisational culture and its impact on their learning. Understanding Greenwood's concept was important here for analysis as the idea that the management of the northern police service may have impacted on the development of the trainee detective and their cultural *capital* was key to understanding the perceptions of the trainee. This will be covered in more detail in the analysis section in chapter five.

Regulative Code of Ethics

Following Greenwood's (1957) definition of professional authority and the relationship between the professional and the client, Greenwood advances the concept of ethics due to potential conflict between the two and the possibility of abuse of powers and privileges (ibid., p.50). He comments, "every profession has a built-in regulative code which compels ethical behaviour on the part of its members" (p.50), whether the code is part formal or informal relating to all occupations, non-professional as well as professional. However, Greenwood does concede that a professional code is more explicit, systematic and binding and "is more public service orientated" (p. 50). Greenwood differentiates specific ethical codes by dividing the terms as client professional and colleague to colleague. I summarise his terms as follows;

Client professional;

1. The professional must remain emotionally neutral and be able to provide a service to the client irrespective of age, income, social status, race, religion and sex. A non-professional can demonstrate bias and withhold services related to the above.

2. The professional must demonstrate behaviour traits that require the best possible service, contrary to the non-professional who can restrict behaviour and service.

3. The professional must provide service upon request even if it means sacrificing personal convenience.

In relation to colleague relationships, themes of co-operation and supportive behaviour contribute towards the development of knowledge and the growth of professional associations. Not so for the competitive non-professional who can choose who to co-operate and share knowledge with. Finally, professional support (of each other's colleagues) via the community in which they serve presents an authoritative body which encourages self-discipline of the individual, both formally and informally allowing for the development of informal discipline whilst acknowledging a more formal discipline situated within a professional association, capable of imposing conditions to which its members subscribe. The trainee detectives who were part of the PIP process (indeed all police officers) have access to legal powers which under certain circumstances enables the police officer to deprive individuals of their liberty, use physical force, search property not belonging to them, access private information and use intrusive surveillance techniques with a high level of discretion in how these investigative powers are used (Core Investigative Doctrine, 2005, 2012). These investigative powers are examined through PIP in the work-based assessment phase and have to meet the required occupational standard which is assessed in actual live instances through work-based learning. The connection to PIP and professionalism is crucial here as I now explain.

I detailed in chapter two the role of the College of Policing in its contribution and continuance of the PIP programme. Part of the College of Policing core function was to

introduce a national code of ethics which was not present throughout the forty three different forces of England and Wales. There were discipline regulations that have governed the police service, for example *The Police (Discipline) Regulations, 1985*, but no formal code of ethics similar to what Greenwood had proposed. Perhaps the closest to acknowledging ethics was the documenting of *The Statement of Mission and Values* (ACPO, 2011) produced in the *Practice Advice on Core Investigative Doctrine Second Edition* (2012) which produced basic ethical principles as a guide for all police officers. The importance of these principles are underpinned by the fact that policing functions at its best where it has the support and cooperation of the community and the conducting of ethical investigations using investigative techniques ensures that individuals and communities have confidence in the effectiveness of the police service (ibid., p. 24). Again, this reinforces the position of PIP in respect of professionalising its investigative processes whilst underpinning its connection to policing as a profession. Additionally, relating the attributes detailed so far by Greenwood back to the aim of this thesis enabled me to reiterate the theme of professional development through research question two.

These principles bore intrinsic values within the police service but the introduction of the College of Policing in 2012 developed a nationally recognised Code of Ethics which states; "The aim of this Code of Ethics is to support each member of the policing profession to deliver the highest professional standards in their service to the public" (Chair of College of Policing, 2014). The introduction of the Code of ethics was a huge step forward in the overall professionalisation programme. The Chief Executive of the College of Policing at the time reminded the police service of its connection between the police and the public quoting from Sir Robert Peel who set out the model of policing in 1829 as the unarmed constable patrolling on behalf of their community "The police are the public and the public are the police" (Sir Robert Peel, cited by Alex Marshall, 2014, p. v.).

To place the police Code of Ethics into context with Greenwood (1957), policing had not previously adopted all the hallmarks of a profession and the introduction of this Code was seen as a step forward towards obtaining full professional status, similar to the ethical codes set out in medicine and law. As a baseline comparative of the four attributes of a profession (by Greenwood) that I have discussed so far, the nine policing principles are;

Accountability	Integrity	Openness
Fairness	Leadership	Respect
Honesty	Objectivity	Selflessness

(College of Policing, 2014, p. iv)

The vision of embedding the nine principles by the College of Policing was designed to enhance the professionalism of the police service and at the same time serve as a guide to shape policing culture. Again, the importance of understanding the attributes of Greenwood enabled me to consider how the trainee detective perceived their experience of understanding organisational culture which was examined through research question three. The last attribute of Greenwood's (1957) taxonomy deals with professional culture and I remind the reader of how I will deal with culture within this thesis.

In the introduction of this thesis, I alluded to including a section on culture in the analysis section in chapter five to discuss what contributes to a culture. However, to place emphasis on defining Greenwood's (1957) professional culture and its presence within this theory I am reminded of what Williams (1983) (cited in Peim and Hodkinson, 2007, p. 287) says, "culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language". Reinforcing this point, Johnson et al (2004) introduce seven different agendas linked to the concept of culture; power, value, policy, cohesion, standardisation and culture as a language or understanding (pp. 10-14). What I stress here is a generalised view of culture and the complexities and meanings attached to the word. However, I introduce here a

useful explanation by Johnson et al (2004) of culture and power as a process which "powerful social relationships are played out and possibilities for social betterment are opened up or closed down" (p. 10) often attributed to being owned by experts or privileged groups, distinguished from common culture (ibid., p. 10). This definition is important to this thesis and to all three of the research questions. I have discussed my theoretical framework acknowledging the use of Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. The earlier discussion of how police professionalisation lacked coherence (Potts, 1982) allows me to better understand the perceptions of the trainee detectives' revealed through the collection of data of how they describe their learning experience within PIP linked to a foundation degree as part of a northern police service. With this in mind, I now discuss Greenwood's (1957) professional culture.

The Professional Culture

According to Greenwood (1957) every profession operates from within a network of formal and informal groups, the more formal groups being delivered through organisational settings (p. 51). The responsibility of the formal group (the organisation) is to maintain its development of resources through recruitment and education achieved by providing resource centres to support this reproduction. Furthermore, what emerges from the formal organisation as opposed to individual separate informal groups is as Greenwood (1957) describes "closely knit clusters of colleagues" (p. 52). In other words, the membership of this group or (affinities) is based on specialties within the profession and within each profession it develops its own subculture which differs from its original identifiable professional culture.

To put this into context, the forty three different police services around England and Wales have a commonality in their organisational process and how they function to serve the

community. Within each of these are separate operational requirements as I have described within the PIP programme in chapter two and detailed within the three levels of PIP. However, whilst every one of the forty three services subscribes to the development of the crime investigator, not all of the separate forces linked their initial detective programme to a foundation degree as detailed within this thesis. Therefore, following Greenwood (1957) "each profession develops its own subculture, a variant of the professional culture" (p. 52) which includes its own values and norms. It also develops a range of appropriate behaviours (discussed in Greenwood's regulative Code of Ethics section) and provides a means of challenging outmoded process and theory, arguably demonstrated here by the introduction of the College of Policing in 2012. Finally, and a point I will return to in chapter five is Greenwood's (1957) 'career' concept which he suggests only applies to a professional occupation and defines it as essentially "a calling, a life devoted to good works" (ibid., p. 53) with the individual making effective adjustments to the professional culture.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the difficult concepts of profession, professionalisation and professionalism within the context of the PIP process and wider police organisation. The introduction of PIP in 2003 has proved challenging in respect of implementation and recognition of its contribution to professionalisation has been consistently reviewed through ACPO (NPCC), HMIC and the College of Policing. I introduced Evetts (2013) definition as a benchmark for PIP whilst detailing the attributes of a profession by Greenwood (1957) to blend my argument that the police service can meet these definitions and attributes in most instances as I have exampled more recently with the introduction of the Code of Ethics in 2014 by the College of Policing. Policing professionalisation is not a new concept (Holdaway, 2017), but the implementation of PIP and the introduction of the

College of Policing (2014) five year strategy plan with the purpose of setting standards of professional practice, supporting professional development and promoting ethics, values and standards of integrity (p. 8), together go a long way in supporting the claim that there has been a process of police professionalisation. I now turn to my methodology section which presents a discussion on how I have integrated the previous information in the first three chapters into a working framework.

Chapter Four: Methodology

<u>Introduction</u>

This chapter details my decisions relating to methodology and the collection of data. It includes an explanation of my position as an 'insider' researcher and I link this position to how it has informed and guided the ethical position I take and its influence on the collection of data and subsequent interview method that I employed. In chapter one, I detailed the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu and of Lave and Wenger and it is these frameworks and their use as an analytical tool that has informed my decisions for the overall collection of data.

I start this section by reiterating my research questions;

1. How do trainee detectives perceive the experience of studying for the foundation degree and PIP accreditation within their role?

2. Has the foundation degree or PIP process contributed towards their professional development?

3. What are their experiences and understanding of organisational culture and its impact on the learning experience for the individual?

There is an assumption threaded through each research question which emanates from the title of the thesis. The assumption is that the participant has a perception, an understanding or interpretation for themselves of their overall professional development and learning experience. I want to present a Bourdieusian lens in which the reader can view the analysis and perceptions of the participant. In other words, understanding Bourdieu's *Logic of Practice* as focussing on how we feel, think and act captures how we develop our own history into the present day and how we utilise this knowledge and

experience. Maton (2012) summarises this perception suggesting that "our choices will then in turn shape our future possibilities, for any choice involves forgoing alternatives and sets us in a particular path that further shapes our understanding of ourselves and of the world" (p. 52). The research design and methodology encouraged the participants to talk freely, describing their policing and educational experiences whilst sharing their family background, their *habitus* through their own reflective lens. I was also conscious of not influencing how they portrayed their perceptions as they would be aware of my position as the detective sergeant and the degree of subjectivity that my role may have had. Firstly, I was the direct line manager for the trainers who delivered the ICIDP programme and therefore had knowledge of the participants over the three year period through a supervisory capacity. Secondly, I was the liaison officer for the university and managed the moderating process for the police officer portfolio along with the university representative. Finally, I also managed the internal quality assurance of the ICIDP process managing any internal complaints.

I was therefore very closely engaged with individuals, police trainers and the university representative which enabled a deeper understanding of police culture, language and procedures to be interpreted by me whilst being aware of any of my own 'insider' biases. I was open and transparent with the participants at all times to reassure them of any assumptions that the participants may have developed of me. As an example of transparency, I arranged for my colleague (also a supervisor) to take responsibility for the trainers who delivered the ICIDP programme and management of the portfolios was delegated to one of the trainers who took responsibility for moderating them. Whilst some contact had been removed by me to become more objective, ultimately because of my position it was not always possible to avoid. I return to this area when discussing interview methods that I have employed.

Ethical Considerations

The thesis draws on the recommendations of the Council of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011) regarding current guidelines for educational research, particularly in relation to the responsibilities to its participants. These include informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. I have also reviewed the BERA (2018) guidelines in relation to any changes that I need to be aware of.

BERA considers that researchers should operate within an ethical framework of respect for all persons involved in the research process. The participants involved were treated fairly, sensitively and with dignity throughout the research and at all times I operated within an ethical framework which considered ages, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class and culture, both from an educational researcher's perspective and the ethics required of me as a serving police officer.

Macfarlane (2009) makes the point that the majority of research ethics is predominantly with human subjects and emphasises the requirements for informed consent. Similarly, Silverman (2010) suggests the obtaining of informed consent so that participants are aware of their right to protection to withdraw and of any perceived risks attached to the research.

I addressed these requirements with each participant who was advised individually in relation to 'voluntary informed consent' so that they understood and agreed to their participation without any duress prior to the research interviews commencing. The primary objective was to conduct the research openly and without deception (Silverman, 2010). Each participant was provided with a participation information sheet which outlined what the research involved which they agreed with and signed.   As a serving Detective Sergeant, involved in some, not all of the trainee detectives' development I was aware of

potential issues of undue influence (Norton, 2009) and the potential risk and respect for the individuals involved. Accordingly, BERA (2011) suggests that in the case of dual roles of teacher and researcher there is a possibility of additional tensions being raised in areas of confidentiality. For these reasons I set out my actions as an insider researcher and the actions I took to address this requirement should it occur.

I mentioned earlier that obtaining a sample selection required further consideration; this is because it could be argued that the choice of individuals would stem from my position of authority and knowledge of good and poor performing trainee detectives. Whilst research ethics may reflect good intention Macfarlane (2009) makes the point that some respondents struggle in providing informed consent because of a dependant power relationship to the researcher. To protect the welfare and potential risk to the respondent I devised a method of selecting the sample to prevent the above happening which is detailed in the methodology section. Additionally, he suggests that 'principalism' developed historically from within the medical arena in relation to the treatment of human subjects and its guidelines encourages an understanding of research ethics that can become uncoupled from character stating, "that it is easier for researchers to hide behind a set of excuses based on intellectual justifications rather than on personal moral choices" (Macfarlane, 2009, p. 32). What Macfarlane argues is that it can become too easy to distance oneself from the true meaning of ethical research and values and treat the process of research as a paper exercise. I did not hide behind a set of excuses, nor did I treat it as a paper exercise for each participant that agreed to be interviewed. I explained what the whole study involved and reinforced their right to withdraw and speak in confidence at any time in relation to what was being discussed. This showed that I valued the participants' time and acknowledged respect for what they had to say. This served as a

key point when obtaining 'voluntary informed consent' so as not to abuse my position of authority as a researcher and a police officer.

Obtaining consent from the participants did not prove problematic. However, I was aware of potential issues of undue influence involving at least one of the participants who I supervise. I reinforced the fact that participation was purely voluntary and informed them of their right to refuse or withdraw (Silverman, 2010), again this being made clear on the participant information sheet. These terms of reference were underpinned by the BERA (2011) guidelines.

In obtaining consent the participants agreed that the collection of their interviews would be recorded on a portable tape recorder. Care was taken to ensure that the interview was conducted at a time suitable to both parties, more so the needs and requirements of the participant. Macfarlane (2009) states "it demands treating research subjects with respect" (p. 63) which means treating them as a person rather than simply as a resource to be exploited. With this in mind I ensured that the confidentiality of the participants remained as secret as possible particularly as Macfarlane (2009) warns of the risks when obtaining information from a small group of individuals who may be known to each other.

Silverman (2010) also raises a critical point relevant to this research. The subject matter under investigation could raise issues within the interview of an ethical and moral nature which reveals information about the participant which is known only to the participant and the researcher. Confidentially requires making clear to the participant who has the right of access to the data provided (Norton, 2009). Several issues were raised by the participants in relations to the transcripts of the interview and access to them by a third party, i.e. other police officer.

The participants were informed of the format of the interview and advised that the transcripts would be completed by a third-party unknown to them. Secondly, the content and review of the data collected was covered in the participation information sheet and remains confidential. Lastly, the participant was informed verbally of the availability to view the final report albeit that I did not say this in writing. Protecting the integrity of the participants has been of paramount importance. Each participant has been individually reminded about the confidentiality and anonymisation of their data regarding their involvement and information stored about them (Macfarlane, 2009). For the benefit of the individual participant interviewed, each one has been anonymised and their interview and transcript has been referred to separately. The details of the officers who participated in the original survey were informed at the time that their details were confidential and remain secure within a police computer database. The subsequent participants that agreed to be interviewed have only been contacted by secure police individual emails and not via personal address emails, or a group email.

In completing the analysis of the transcripts, I did identify an ethical issue that I dealt with. One of the participants during the interview process revealed information of a personal and sensitive nature. I terminated the interview at the request of the participant having provided advice to them in this instance. The participant was pleased that I took the time to do this and was concerned that it impacted on the research. I re-assured the participant that it did not. The content of the interview was never sent for transcription.

I have used the transcription conventions below;

(?)   This sign in front of a name indicates that a guess has been made as to the identity of the speaker.

…   Indicates pause.

=	This sign indicates 'latching' which is two utterances that follow one another without any perceptible pause where the second utterance develops a different idea.
//	This sign indicates the point where overlap by the next speaker begins.
(? ? ?)	Indicates uncertain or unclear talk of approximately the length of the blank spaces between parentheses.

Methodology

I start this section by reinforcing my choice of conceptual and theoretical frameworks. In chapter one I outlined the key concepts of Bourdieu's (1992) inter-related *habitus, field*, and *capital* which provide an opportunity to critically understand the participants' perceptions at a deeper level. Additionally, Lave and Wenger's CoP provides a focus on participation on learning for individuals by engaging in contributing to the practice of their community. Identifying a theoretical framework early not only informs and grounds the concepts to be used (Silverman, 2010) but enabled me to construct the research design and choose the methods to operationalise the process.

More recently there have been suggestions that police practitioners should be more involved in police research (Bradley and Nixon, 2009). As an insider researcher completing this thesis, the opportunity arose where I was situated as a police practitioner to become more involved. Working within the northern police service and having knowledge of the separate *fields* that each participant occupied presented the opportunity to gain insight to how the participants acquire knowledge and understanding and how this would contribute towards their learning behaviour and perceptions whilst new to their detective role.

Bourdieu's (1992) inter-related *field*, *habitus* and *capital* provided an opportunity for understanding the individual's perceptions at a deeper level, which contributed to an interpretive and reflexive approach being applied in the analysis (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). As explained in chapter one Bourdieu describes *habitus* as the natural qualities of an individual, a person whose characteristics are formed from past experiences (Bourdieu, 1992). Furthermore, *habitus* is a system of dispositions "a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similarly structured practises" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 54). *Field* is described as the present, a game, a social field, an occupation in which an individual participates and adapts their *habitus* to the situation around them (Bourdieu, 1992). *Capital* in this context is referred to as cultural *capital* "the product of education, which Bourdieu also often refers to as an academic market" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 21). I have also drawn upon the work of Lave and Wenger who, as detailed earlier, situate learning within a working environment.

> Learning viewed as situated activity has as its central defining characteristic a process that we call legitimate peripheral participation. By this we mean to draw attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move towards full participation in the social cultural practices of community. Legitimate peripheral participation provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts and communities of knowledge and practice.
>
> (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 29)

My choice of the above theories provided an opportunity for work-based learning to be analysed within a context of wider human behaviour to explain how knowledge is produced through social practice and in the workplace (Hodkinson et al, 2008), a view which also allows them to report their perspectives and feelings (Hakim, 2000). Earlier I detailed that part of the PIP process and foundation degree involved work-based assessment and completion of a portfolio. Analysing the perceptions of this process by the participants is closely linked to all three research questions and through analysing the different experiences of the participants presented a better informed evaluation of perceived

differences in how work-based assessment was being provided within the northern police service. My position may have contributed to the possibility of a subjective/objective divide but the overall strategy that I employed attempts to show that my research is "more than a reflection of our opinions and prejudices; it substantiates, refutes, organises or generates our thinking and produces evidence that may challenge not only our beliefs, but also those of groups and societies in general" (May, 2011, p. 8). To deal with this complexity, I return to the discussion of how I have employed a Bourdieusian framework to address the subjective / objective dualisms and refer to my earlier observations of Bourdieu's work around this issue.

In the section on Bourdieu I explained how he discusses issues of objectivity with reference to his early research of Kabyle marriage, situated in the north of Algeria (Bourdieu, 1992) developing and structuring his research based on genealogies drawn from various villages. Reflecting on this early work in Kabyle, Bourdieu describes his own thoughts on objective thinking;

> In short, one has quite simply to bring into scientific work and into the theory that cannot be found through theoretical experience alone - of what it is to be 'native', that is, to be in the relationship of learned ignorance of immediate but unselfconscious understanding which defines the practical relationship to the world.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1992, p.19)

I interpret this to mean that objectivity is revealed in the nature of an individual's practice and that "objective structures are not simply inculcated as a reflection of material relations" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p.12). Furthermore, Wacquant (1992, p. 7) described the social world as peculiar in that "its structures lead, as it were, a double life". In other words, they exist in two forms, the first being "objectivity of the first order" (p. 7) explained as the appropriation of goods and value (Capital, described by Bourdieu (1992) as existing in three forms; economic, social and cultural) and the "objectivity of the second order"

(social capital) as the "…conduct, thoughts, feelings and judgement of social agents" (Wacquant, 1992, p. 7). The separation of the two orders here is summarised quite succinctly as "social facts are objects which are also the object of knowledge within reality itself because human beings make meaningful the world which makes them" (Wacquant, 1992, p. 7). The process of PIP has different values to those of the participants interviewed and being able to differentiate these values guides the reader to not just see the process or acquisition of an academic qualification but also understand what it means for the different participants' *habitus* both from the present and the past.

I earlier stated my interest in the participants' subjective views whilst being mindful of being able to present an objective interpretation. By considering both the subjective and objective standpoints, I am able to position this research within a Bourdieusian framework using Bourdieu's social praxeology which weaves together a 'structuralist and a constructivist' approach (Wacquant, 1992, p. 11) by use of the concepts of h*abitus and field* (Bourdieu, 1992). This contributes to a better understanding for analysis as each individual will have a different view and perspective of their development which contrasts the whole process of their continuous development allowing me to consider the accounts of the participants in an objective perspective. The use of Bourdieu therefore enables the participants' perspectives to be portrayed from their point of view situated not only in the *field* of which they are employed but drawing from past experiences that have positioned them in their current environment. This is important for this thesis as the view of each participant will have a different meaning and will invariably present different data to be analysed within the research questions.

Research Design and Construction

I have referred to the use and development of Bourdieu's framework to help construct my research questions for interview. I have also completed a workplace survey which I analysed to assist in the formation of interview questions. This section will cover the above in detail, whilst demonstrating that I am working within a Bourdieusian framework. I will also indicate for the reader the location of the research and attempt to "reveal the correspondences or 'fit' between a position in the field, and the 'stance' or position taking of the agent occupying that position" (Thomson, 2008, p. 73).

I detailed in the opening chapter that the study was conducted in a northern police service. It is one of forty-three forces engaged in the PIP programme and is linked to a foundation degree. I chose this site for several reasons. Firstly, I worked within the northern police service, and secondly, I was able to access the secondary data and arrange interviews with the participants who formed part of this research. I also obtained approval for this research from the senior command within the northern police service which then permitted further access with the participants (Flick, 2007). The negotiation at senior command was crucial. I was required by the policy set by the organisation to ensure that the research was not detrimental to the individual officers involved and to ensure that I followed the organisations own ethical research guidelines and significantly (from the individuals involved perspective) ensure that all the appropriate consents were agreed. This is covered earlier in the Ethics section. Once established, I devised a more accurate schedule around the implementation of the proposed interviews and collection of secondary data. In terms of sampling, I utilised focused sampling due to the selection of the site for study. This reinforced the methodology and methods selected and supported the collection of secondary data (Hakim, 2000).

The research was set within the time parameters of June 2010 until September 2013. During that period approximately three hundred new to role detective investigators were enrolled onto the professionalisation programme and the foundation degree. In relation to the number of subjects to interview it has been suggested by Kvale (2011) that one should interview as many subjects as is necessary to find out what is required, depending on the purpose of the study. How this number was reduced will be discussed in the data collection section.

It was also important in the initial research construction that I was constantly reminded of how human beings construct their meaning within the world and how "it is based on their historical and social perspective" (Creswell, 2014, p. 9). Therefore, as I will detail within the data collection, I did not want to purely generate material that is descriptive nor at the same time allow my existing knowledge to produce a piece of work that is purely prescriptive which could result in producing new knowledge with little meaning and content for the participants. Additionally, as I collected the data I began to formulate the information into more useable material (which I deal with in the data collection section), and therefore by adopting a Bourdieusian framework enabled me to be mindful of objectivity by adopting this reflexive approach. I also kept under review, the material that I was collating and its secure storage. Most importantly, I informed the participants of progress made, particularly regarding the arrangement for their interviews. Wacquant (1992) argues that Bourdieu's obsession with reflexivity enabled him (Bourdieu) to produce "…a brand new reflexivity, which may be cursorily defined as the inclusion of a theory of intellectual practice" (Wacquant, 1992, p. 36). Grenfell and James (1998) simplifies this by suggesting that Bourdieu is attempting to draw attention to how we understand the topic of research, what the nature of that understanding is and how conclusions can be formulated:

> … it amounts to an argument that the researcher's social relationship to the object of study is itself a necessary object of study. This act of reflexion

involves positioning of oneself in relation to fields (and therefore capital of various kinds) so as to reveal as much as possible of the nature of the sources and maintenance of one's interest.

(Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 126)

Grenfell and James (1998, p. 127) describes this process as "self-socio-analysis" a term he has borrowed from Bourdieu, used by Bourdieu himself. However, it is suggested by Wacquant (1992, p.39) that reflexivity in research can present certain limitations for the researcher if they are not careful. Wacquant provides details of how Bourdieu himself was conscious of biases that could "blur the sociological gaze". These biases are summarised as:

1. Social origins, class, gender and ethnicity of the researcher.

2. The position of the researcher within the field of power.

3. The intellectual bias which entices the researcher to construe the world as a spectacle, interpreting a set of significations rather than problems that require resolving.

My biography detailed in the opening chapter explained my social origins and indirectly my working class background and my educational attainment. Understanding my own values and *habitus* reflexively enabled me to distance myself from the participant yet objectively understand and analyse the acquisition of new knowledge that the participants presented. My interest in this research has been borne out of a lifetime career of policing within a detective arena. More recently, as a police trainer, this interest has focussed on the trajectories of the individuals within the professionalisation programme examining their particular *field* and *habitus*. The very nature of this study is based on my own views of this area of policing; my own *habitus* may project a definitive opinion on the process. As an officer who held a supervisory rank, I was conscious of the influence of power over the participants and this has always been a concern throughout the construction phase and collection of data. Understanding what reflexivity means has guided my methodological approach to this research. In other words I constantly reviewed my processes regarding

the collection of data, as an example, to ensure, that I was maintaining an ethical approach to the research and that I was following the methodology that I had implemented. As Wacquant (1992) suggests, I have therefore focussed my research to enable me "to work to neutralize the specific determinisms to which their innermost thoughts are subjected and it informs a conception of the craft of research design to strengthen its epistemological moorings" (Wacquant, 1992, p.46). This will now be explained within the next section.

Data Collection

The purpose of this section is to explain how I have gathered data about the cohort of three hundred new to role detective officers who were enrolled on the professionalisation programme between June 2010 and September 2013. In my introduction I have outlined the reasons for this research and argued that there was a specific gap in knowledge in the development of the professionalisation process of detectives, highlighted in a review of Police Leadership and Training (Neyroud, 2011), and that detectives value their learning in a police professionalisation programme.

I have previously stated that this research utilises the relational thinking tools of *habitus*, *field* and *capital* of Bourdieu. The type of data required for the analysis involved the collection and subsequent study of a variety of empirical materials such as personal experiences and interviews', hence this research is qualitative in nature. I wanted to better understand the participants viewpoint and as Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p.3) suggest;

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible… they turn the world into a series of representations, including fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to self.

Additionally, the use of qualitative research methods requires the study of participants in their own environment whilst attempting to make sense of the participants' accounts and therefore this approach is compatible with the concepts of Bourdieu and CoP.

This research is not a large scale project, but a small scale research where the data about the most significant individuals (the detective officers) are the individuals who occupy the most dominant position within the *field*. Therefore, I have chosen research methods that would allow the participants to express their own meaning in the professionalisation programme that they were experiencing. I draw on some quantitative data in the form of a survey and the reasons for this are explained below. However, once the structure for the interviews was complete I wanted the participants to be able to express themselves because as Hardy (2012, p. 241) suggests, "…these field participants occupy the most dominant field positions, and therefore also occupy positions within the field of power, where they are able to determine the value of field-specific capitals". My design of the research questions was structured with positionality of the participant in mind so that they could express their perception from within the specific area of where they work and subsequently express the value of the PIP process and foundation degree from their perspective. Understanding those values and introducing research question three regarding organisational culture and their learning experience provided an opportunity for the participant to contextualise their learning in the wider field. These areas are covered in detail in the analysis section in chapter five.

I was concerned as a single researcher, constrained with familiar issues of time and cost that to devise a strategy to interview all three hundred officers would not be feasible. It is here that my research construction utilises an explanatory sequential mixed method (Creswell, 2014) which involves two phases. Firstly, I constructed a survey to account for

the quantity of the number of participants and then I utilised the results from the survey to plan for the qualitative phase of interviews. To construct the survey, I utilised the facilities provided by the police organisation I worked for. Permission for the research and use of organisational facilities were obtained.

The organisation subscribes to a computer-based software programme called 'Survey Monkey'. It provides a facility to construct questionnaires and is used as an internal internet/intranet product for the storing and recording of information for future analysis. There are designated users within the organisation and these services were used once. I developed the number of questions to be asked considering the type of survey required. May (2011) discusses four types of surveys; factual, attitudinal, social psychological and explanatory. I utilised an 'attitudinal' survey to gain data on particular aspect of the participants' professionalisation programme whilst at the same time, contextualising the Initial Crime Investigators' Development Programme (ICIDP) into topic areas which could then be turned into questions (May, 2011). The survey included as May (2011) describes, semantic differential scales and I included a descriptive question asking the participants to describe, "How has the ICIDP process contributed to the development of your knowledge, skills and abilities as an investigator?". The reason for this was to develop themes which could be utilised in the main interview phase related to research questions one and two. This provided an initial response which could be enhanced within the interview phase with the participants. I acknowledge that this presents itself as a leading question, particularly assuming that their development has been a success. However, in constructing the qualitative interview questions utilising a Bourdieusian framework, this question provided a variety of responses which enabled the construction of themes. Using results from the quantitative survey informed the types of questions that I would then use in the qualitative

interviews. This method of collection also allowed objectivity around which participants would then form part of a qualitative interview process.

The combining of the use of qualitative and quantitative methods has the capability of influencing the other providing and developing knowledge as it progresses (Somekh, 2006). Brannen (2005) presents an interesting view in respect of mixing methods, suggesting the claims that qualitative research uses words whilst quantitative research uses numbers is over simplistic. Furthermore, whilst it is suggested quantitative research focuses on behaviour and qualitative on meanings, both may be concerned with people's views and actions. He argues that, "qualitative research lacks quantitative research power to generalise is moreover only true if generalisability is taken to refer only to statistical inference that is when the findings of a research sample as generalised to the parent population" (Brannen, 2005, p.175). What Brannen is suggesting is that the mixing of methods can be problematic and that the combining of methods results in four possibilities; corroboration, elaboration, complementary and contradiction. However, if each possibility is considered at the appropriate phase of the research then it can bring different data and meaning into the equation. This assisted in the design of this study as the mixing of the methods initially allowed the three hundred participants to provide their own responses which were then utilised as a screening process for themes to be discussed within the qualitative interview phase.

A mixed method approach is one way of assessing results and as McEvoy et al (2006) suggest in their case study, the use of both quantitative and qualitative processes gave the inquiry a greater sense of balance and perspective. Denscombe (2008) suggests that the synthesizing of methods by some researchers improves accuracy of data and produces a more complete picture of research. He also suggests that it is a way of avoiding biases

intrinsic to single method approaches as a way of compensating for certain strengths and weaknesses with research methods. Furthermore, he advocates that the mixed method approach can be used to aid sample sizes for screening participants to include in the research program. These suggestions almost seem to be the perfect answer to research but Denscombe (2008) does suggest that there are differing views within research about how quantitative and qualitative elements can be integrated and suggests that they are not watertight.

Bryman (2008) also contributes to the mixed method debate by questioning the authenticity and validity of the approach. He identifies key points around identifying which methods are actually mixed; does the quantitative component have priority over qualitative (or vice versa)? He even questions the validity of them being mixed at all. What Bryman (2008) does stress is, "when the two sets of data are viewed in relation to each other, new possible ways of thinking about the connections between them might come to mind." (Bryman, 2008, p.163). The point raised here by Bryman is that there is a possibility of gaining new knowledge about the research question being asked using combined methods, and that positionality to a method reflects the researcher's philosophical position.

I accept the point made by Denscombe (2008) regarding mixed methods, and I decided to use a combination of methods that not only allowed me to manage the initial volume of three hundred officers involved in the ICIDP process, and foundation degree, but also enabled me to remain reflexive in approach whilst managing my views as an insider researcher, and manage any biases that I may develop. Whilst Denscombe (2008) advocates that the synthesising of research methods may improve the accuracy of data, I made the decision that for my research this method would identify themes from the volume of three hundred officers which could then be developed. The collection of data therefore

allowed me to remain distant once the Survey Monkey questionnaire was being completed which then after initial analysis informed my decisions around the questions to be posed in the qualitative interviews of the participants. As a single researcher it was also a cost effective and efficient manner in which to collect primary data for later analysis. With this in mind I now discuss Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis.

Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis

"If Bourdieu is about anything, he is about researching and investigating the social in a way that takes real account of individuals in their existential reality" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 180). Understanding Bourdieu and his relational thinking tools was influential in how data was collected for this research. I also wanted to be able to interpret the data's meaning once it was obtained and to apply his concepts. Collating data from the perspective of the participant provided clarity and meaning to the participants' reality. In chapter one I discussed Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and I will now demonstrate how Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis enhanced my analysis. To do this, I refer to Grenfell and James' simplified description and interpretation of the stage process described by Bourdieu and Wacquant as involving 'three necessary and internally connected moments" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 104). Firstly, "… analyse the position of the field vis a vis the field to power" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 169). Bourdieu and Wacquant are explicit in explaining the differences between the practices of the individuals who partake in the field and the social and economic conditions which surround them suggesting "… it is knowledge of the field itself in which they evolve that allows us best to grasp the roots of their singularity, their *point of view"* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 107). Furthermore, Bourdieu stresses that fields of power change over time and that individuals who enter fields at specific times can sometimes feel indifferent about change (Bourdieu,1977) referring to this change as the '*hysteresis effect'* (p. 83);

> The hysteresis of habitus, which is inherent in the social conditions of the reproduction of the structures in habitus, is doubtless one of the foundations of the structural lag between opportunities and the dispositions to grasp them which is the cause of missed opportunities and, in particular, of the frequently observed incapacity to think historical crises in categories of perception and though other than those of the past.

To put this into context, Bourdieu highlights the gap between new opportunities that may occur as a result of any *field* change, suggesting that it is likely that only those players who are from secure and probably relatively privileged backgrounds are the ones who are best equipped to recognise the *field* change (Hardy, 2012). The participants who were interviewed for this thesis exhibited the '*hysteresis effect'* in the latter part of the interviews which demonstrates that the individuals have gone through change both personally and academically, and not just as Bourdieu suggests regarding privileged backgrounds.

Given the earlier point I made articulating how Bourdieu interpreted *field* as a structured system of social relations at a micro and macro level, my research set out clear aims, objectives and research questions considering the context in which it is set, reiterated at the start of this chapter. Without doubt understanding the context of *field* influenced how I structured questions for the interview stage particularly around the potential influences through organisational change and culture. I describe the ICIDP process in detail in chapter two and I argue that there is a *field* of power at work in completing the process which requires deeper analysis in understanding the perceptions of the trainee detective.

The second point of Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis states; "map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which the field is a site" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 169). There is an intra-relational process at play in this research. On the one hand there is the requirement and formal educational process of becoming a detective via internal police examination and process, and on the other is the university foundation

degree process set within its own rules and regulations. Furthermore, cultural *capital* is at stake here as the successful completion of the programme can be utilised as a gateway to other internal or external detective postings.

The third point in Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis is; "analyse the habitus of agents" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 169). This is crucial in this research as the individual officer will have the opportunity to portray their perceptions of the process allowing for an interpretation which considers the reproduction of actions, perceptions and attitudes of their experience re-iterating Swartz's (1997) point, "the conditions under which it was produced" (p. 103). In other words, the participants' perspective of their account, of who they are, and how they relate it to their police careers and personal life choices. Furthermore, following this method outlined by Bourdieu contributed to providing a more detailed picture of the relationship between the participant and their position within the *field*. This is discussed further in chapter five.

These three connecting moments suggest that to address one position methodologically without the others would present an incomplete picture of the relationship between the individual and the surrounding social environment in which the research is positioned. Therefore, these three accounts combined allow the participant to indirectly address the three research questions posed which allows the reader to engage with the participants' *habitus*, *field* and *capital* from not only a police perspective, but from a more revealing personal account of their background.

The figure below shows how I utilised the Three Level Analysis model by Bourdieu and presents an overview of how I have arrived at specific themes. I analysed the results of the survey to develop areas to be used in semi-structured qualitative interviews.
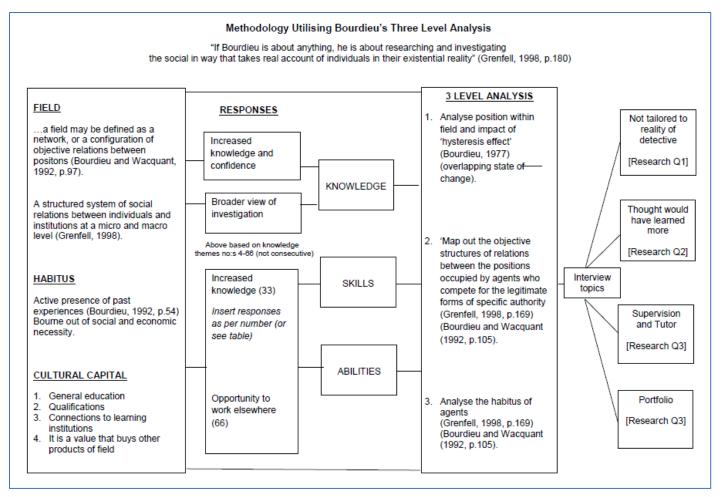

Methodology Utilising Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis

"If Bourdieu is about anything, he is about researching and investigating the social in way that takes real account of individuals in their existential reality" (Grenfell, 1998, p.180)

FIELD

...a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration of objective relations between positons (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.97).

A structured system of social relations between individuals and institutions at a micro and macro level (Grenfell, 1998).

HABITUS

Active presence of past experiences (Bourdieu, 1992, p.54) Bourne out of social and economic necessity.

CULTURAL CAPITAL

1. General education
2. Qualifications
3. Connections to learning institutions
4. It is a value that buys other products of field

RESPONSES

Increased knowledge and confidence

Broader view of investigation

Above based on knowledge themes no:s 4-66 (not consecutive)

Increased knowledge (33)

Insert responses as per number (or see table)

Opportunity to work elsewhere (66)

KNOWLEDGE

SKILLS

ABILITIES

3 LEVEL ANALYSIS

1. Analyse position within field and impact of 'hysteresis effect' (Bourdieu, 1977) (overlapping state of change).

2. 'Map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority (Grenfell, 1998, p.169) (Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p.105).

3. Analyse the habitus of agents (Grenfell, 1998, p.169) (Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p.105).

Interview topics

Not tailored to reality of detective [Research Q1]

Thought would have learned more [Research Q2]

Supervision and Tutor [Research Q3]

Portfolio [Research Q3]

Figure 2: Methodology Utilising Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis

The themes I identified from the participants responses covered generic areas around Skills, Knowledge and Abilities. These were further sub grouped as:

1. Supervision and Tutor
2. Portfolio
3. Programme not tailored to reality of detective (knowledge attributes)
4. Thought would have learned more (learning outcomes)

This subsequently led to the creation of sub-themes. The list of codes below provides an example of the themes identified, although the list is not in its entirety.

Qualifications	Personal Development	University	Family Background
Motivation	Police Culture	ICIDP	Organisational Change
Work-based Learning	Tutors	Supervision	Portfolio

I then re-analysed these areas in context of the original research question and devised areas for discussion with the participants in an interview format.

Background to Interviews

"If you want to know how people understand their world and their lives, why not talk with them?" (Kvale, 2011, p.1).

This was the first sentence that I read in Kvale's book and it has remained in my thoughts for some considerable time, specifically as I am a trained investigator who for my entire career has utilised specific cognitive skills when dealing with witnesses and suspects. Clearly, there is a difference between participants and the individuals I have referred to above, but I knew that having chosen a method of interview for data generation that at some stage, I would be interviewing participants who are also trained in interview techniques who quite possibly would try to be 'overly helpful' due to the researcher/participant relationship when asked specific research questions. This could be interpreted as the participant pre-empting certain questions and elaborating on answers to assist me.

Kvale makes a good point, "it is a professional interaction, which goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge" (Kvale, 2011, p. 7). Furthermore, he emphasises the issue of ethics throughout the interview process and reminds the researcher that, "the knowledge

produced depends on the social relationship of interviewer and interviewee, which again rests on the interviewers' ability to create a stage where the subject is free and safe to talk of private events for later public use" (Kvale, 2011, p. 8). I was keen to present a safe balanced environment where the professional exchanges would occur whilst considering the ethical issues that could arise. To do this I contacted the participants individually and discussed the locations where the interviews would take place in agreement with them.

I now explain how I have addressed the interview process within this research by revisiting my earlier police training in respect of conducting interviews. I must stress at this point that I am trying to show how I have utilised and adapted my training and knowledge from policing into the educational research environment and draw out some similarities between interview techniques and rules common in both professions. The reason for this is to demonstrate the skills have I acquired throughout my police career which enable me to confidently construct an interview plan (in this case utilising an educational theory of Bourdieu and his Three Level Analysis) and operationalise it within the parameters of educational research. What follows is a deeper explanation of the training and experience that I have developed of how to manage the interviewing of witnesses and suspects and how this relates to educational research.

Shepherd (2007) identified that as early as 1983 and just prior to the introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE), the police service required a new perspective on obtaining information through questioning styles, when speaking to witnesses and suspects. Shepherd suggests that "their task was not to invite the individual to say what the officer wanted to hear, or in particular to confirm what the officer already knew or believed he or she knew" (Shepherd, 2007, p. 17). Shepherd drew comparisons with other professional practices such as counsellors, psychotherapists and doctors, and

suggested that conversations in this area would always be difficult because individuals frequently felt challenged, vulnerable and stressful as, "the outcomes are uncertain, and they feel strongly about what is being discussed and about the person who is asking them to disclose" (Shepherd, 2007, p. 18). Furthermore, he stated that practitioners consciously manage conversations to produce a working relationship described as, "one in which parties have a shared understanding of the aims, the goals, and their respective task where participants develop a positive bond" (Shepherd, 2007, p. 18).

I aimed to draw together here the point that the interview of witnesses (and suspects) is different to establishing accounts in educational interviews; however, there is in my view a crossover of skills. To argue this point, qualitative interviews according to Kvale (2011) are increasingly employed as a research method within the social sciences and he describes the interview as a conversation that has a structure and purpose "and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach" (p. 7).

Shepherd (2007, p. 17) describes this style of communication as "conversation management". He argues for a productive working relationship to emerge;

> Everything you say or do, and the way you say and do it, must show you are being mindful of the fact that he or she like you: is a human being; has a self concept; has a sense of self-esteem.
>
> (Shepherd, 2007, p. 19)

The analogies I draw here demonstrate my thinking around research construction and data generation. I revisited my research aims and objectives and reassessed my research questions and the structure of the questions that I would utilise in the semi-structured interviews. Having developed themes from the initial survey, interviewing the participants seemed the most appropriate method within a Bourdieusian framework of being able to develop information and knowledge around the participants' *habitus*, *field* and *capital*

linked to Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis. The use of this type of 'conversational management' was to encourage a positive experience between myself as the researcher and the participant who may "obtain new insight into his or her life situation" (Kvale, 2011, p. 14), as I am trying to explore their perception within the professionalisation process. In essence, I am trying to neutralise any biases that may occur.

There has been consistent change and development of police interview techniques since 1984, one of the most significant changes being the introduction of the PEACE model in 2002 by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) Investigation steering Group (Shepherd, 2007):

PEACE is an acronym for the below structure:

P   Planning and preparation
E   Engage and explain
A   Account
C   Closure
E   Evaluate

PEACE: The National Model of Investigative Interviewing (Shepherd, 2002, p. 27)

Since its introduction, the PEACE model has further evolved, particularly with its use for interviewing suspects. I do not wish to distract the reader at this juncture and therefore I will explain the use of the original PEACE model of interview and the structure that I have used, replacing the word 'witness' with 'participant' to demonstrate and reinforce my objectivity around research design and data generation, blended with educational literature from an interview perspective.

The planning and preparation phase of interviews by police officers involves managing the contact and relationship with the person who is the subject of the interview. It also involves managing the progress of the interview, the conduct of those present in the

interview and managing its content (Shepherd, 2007). For Kvale (2011, p. 34), the quality of the interview in this early phase "rests on the craftsmanship of the researcher" but also contextualising the purpose of the study and becoming familiar with "different techniques of interviewing and analysing and deciding which to apply to obtain the intended knowledge" (p. 37). The engagement and explanation phase for police officers involves setting out a route map, developing a rapport, a shared understanding "by putting the interviewee fully in the picture" (Shepherd, 2007, p. 22).

Kvale (2011, p. 37) suggests "developing a conceptual and theoretical understanding of the phenomena to be investigated" which in summary suggests clarifying what the theme of the study is about. The account phase for police interviews as Shepherd (2007, p. 23) describes is about "obtaining the fullest possible first account" during which time, the interviewer should not interrupt or probe what is being said letting the interviewee do most of the talking, verbally and non-verbally supporting the individuals flow. This accords with Kvale, "a good contact is established by attentive listening, with the interviewer showing interest, understanding and respect for what the subject says" (Kvale, 2011, p. 55).

The closure of a police interview should include expressing an appreciation of the interviewee's cooperation and contribution. It should also be closed skilfully to reinforce the working relationship, departing on a positive note (Shepherd, 2007) particularly if re-interview becomes necessary.

For Kvale (2011) the end of the interview may cause tension or anxiety due to the individual being open about personal and emotional experiences and "there may also be feeling of emptiness; the subject has given much information about his or her life" (p. 57). This is important from my perspective. The use of Bourdieu's *habitus and field* opened the

interviews in a way that I did not anticipate which involved emotionally charged situations allowing the participant to express their view freely, and at the same time provide new information into important themes within this research for evaluation. This is demonstrated in chapter five throughout the evaluation of the research questions.

The last phase involved in police interviews is the evaluate phase which methodically reviews the overall process and content and assesses what it has achieved (Shepherd, 2007). For Kvale the evaluative phase involves analysis by the researcher of the material that has been generated, "the interviews bring forth new and unexpected aspects of the phenomena studied, and during analysis of the transcribed interviews new distinctions may be discovered" (Kvale, 2011, p. 43).

Having highlighted similarities between the structure and objectives of police and educational interviews I chose to use semi-structured tape-recorded interviews to gather information from the participants. The reason for this has been discussed above, but because I was familiar with the interviewing process and as I started this chapter being mindful of understanding people in the world and their lives by just talking to them (Kvale, 2011) this seemed the most appropriate method for me to adopt. This enabled me to have more scope to probe beyond the answers provided by the participants and engage in a dialogue which would "allow people to answer more on their own terms than a standardised interview permits" (May, 2011, p.135). I therefore, adjusted my pace towards each one of the interviews conducted, which encouraged the participant to express their view from their perspective and reflect on the areas identified from the use of Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis.

Each participant is also a trained investigator in police techniques and is aware of the process that is involved when someone is subject of an interview. This made the interview more relaxed through my and the participants' familiarity with the process as discussed earlier by Shepherd (2007) and Kvale (2011). It also provided an opportunity as a researcher "to reach areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people's subjective experiences and attitudes" (Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori, 2011, p. 529). Furthermore, utilising a Bourdieusian framework around *habitus*, *field* and *capital* leads towards identifying the practice of the participants (Maton, 2012) as it reveals their perceptions through their perspective, but *habitus* alone is "one part of the equation; the nature of the fields they are active within is equally crucial" (p. 51). Thus, the interview process provided this opportunity and, as Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori (2011) suggest, the interview is a convenient way of "overcoming distances both in space and time: past events or far away experiences can be studied by interviewing people who took part in them" (p. 529).

Utilising the semi-structured interview in this format allowed the participants to provide an account in their own way, on their terms and in their own words. Norton (2009) reinforces my point and suggests, "semi-structured interviews follow an interview schedule with pre-determined questions but are more flexible than a structured interview in that you use probes designed to elicit further information when necessary" (Norton, 2009, p. 99). However, I am mindful of the criticisms that have been argued against semi-structured interviews. Diefenbach (2008) in contrast, is critical of semi-structured interviews. He suggests that interviewees are influenced by the interview situation and are therefore not a reliable source because they are being asked officially about certain issues. Furthermore, "the interviewee tries to provide the interviewer with information that do not reveal what he

or she really thinks but what appears to be plausible, appropriate and sufficient" (Diefenbach, 2008, p. 881).

Diefenbach argues that there is a need for greater methodological awareness, particularly concerning subjectivity, the generalisation of findings and biases within qualitative research. He challenges the use of interviews as a source of data collection and suggests that bias may have an inference in relation to whose opinions and interests will be included or ignored. Diefenbach sees this as problematic within organisations suggesting that the selection of the interviewee could influence the outcome of the research:

> It is not only the interviewer but also the interviewee(s) who spoil the data. One way this can happen is unconsciously i.e. that the interviewee (and perhaps the interviewer, too) is not aware of the influences of the interview situation and his or her internal, unconscious reactions to being asked 'officially' about certain issues.
>
> (Diefenbach, 2008, p. 880)

In contrast Gerson and Horowitz state:

> Inevitably, some interviews will provide more useful information than others. No single interview, however revealing, can offer more than limited insights into general social forces and processes. Only by comparing a series of interviews can the significance of any one of them be fully understood. And, in the long run. Each interview will add to the final story.
>
> (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 211)

There will always be individually constructed arguments that favour and justify a specific interview type over another. My methodology regarding sample selection for interview is detailed below but my choice to interview the participants is in direct contrast to Diefenbach as I utilised interviews to remain as objective as possible and remove any perceived bias. Additionally, the purpose of choosing the taped interview method in the first instance is that one of its strengths is its validity. Hakim (2000, p. 36) argues, "…individuals are interviewed in sufficient detail for the results to be taken as true, correct, complete and believable reports of their views and experiences". However, she does concede that small numbers cannot be taken as representative, even if great care is taken

in the sampling process of the individuals involved in the study. They also provide a format that allows the researcher to store and return to the interviews when required (Kvale, 2011). Furthermore, the importance of the transcript cannot be over emphasised as the transcription from oral to written format provides a form amenable for closer analysis (Kvale, 2011). This was important when developing themes linked to my research aims and objectives as it underpinned my choice of theoretical analysis. I returned to review the interviews frequently, not just for analysis but reflexively as a social researcher. I reviewed the transcripts continually reinforcing my choice of theoretical framework and methodology. This made me realise the depth and complexities not just of the PIP process that the participants had shared but also their private lives regarding the formation of their *habitus*. I would not have achieved this richness of data through questionnaire alone and therefore suggest that I made a good decision based on the methodology of the research.

I was also aware of time constraints around the completion of the interviews and subsequent transcription. This was a self-funded research project and transcription was expensive. However, the benefit of employing an independent transcriber assisted in time management, accuracy and provided a consistent format to refer to for analysis.

Sample Selection

The sample size of detective officers engaged in this research presented a problem in itself because of the number involved. Sutton (2011, p. 101) suggests "the goal for most researchers is to gather enough data to undertake meaningful analysis". Other factors such as the theoretical concepts that I have employed, the size and type of group and context of the research, balanced against my time, the participants' time, whilst taking into account funding (Baker, 2012) have all been features that I have considered in my decision. I devised a strategy which would account for the generation of meaningful data

whilst being mindful of the construction of this thesis utilising the concepts of Bourdieu and of Lave and Wenger and Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis model.

To enable this method three hundred new to role detective officers were contacted to participate in the original survey. Of the three hundred contacted, one hundred officers completed the survey of which forty agreed to be interviewed. I then sent forty separate confidential emails to the potential participants and received twenty-two responses which eventually reduced to fourteen participants. The response from the fourteen provided a heterogeneous group from various departments and provided the participants who subsequently agreed to be interviewed.

Kvale (2011) suggests that the number of participants to be interviewed depends on the type of study. He recommends between ten to fifteen participants but advises that this may alter due to time and resources available of the researcher, a point I mentioned earlier in the thesis.   I was not concerned at the number of participants available and did consider that for this thesis I may have been at saturation as I acknowledge that I was never going to generalise the participants' responses. For clarity, I have interpreted the term saturation as the collection of data which no longer provided new theoretical insights or contributed towards finding similar patterns (Bryman, 2012, p.18; Charmaz, 2006, p. 113). Alternatively, if the participant number for interview had been greater I would have had to employ a further screening process to reduce the number as I was mindful of the suggestion of Kvale (2011, p. 43), "if the number of subjects is too large, there will hardly be time to make penetrating analysis of the interviews".

The Interview Process

Once a time and date had been agreed the interviews were all arranged away from the participants' work place, taking place at the police force training school. This was convenient for the participants as they were familiar with the environment and I could arrange a separate room free from interruption therefore reinforcing confidentiality.

Prior to the commencement of each interview I provided information to the participant as a reminder of the research topic. This pre-brief or exchange of information was firstly, to remind the participant of the purpose of the interview, and secondly, to deal with any issues or questions that the participant may have had prior to the commencement of the interview. I adopted this method for each participant having earlier prepared an interview timetable with the participants to suit their requirements ensuring that none of the participants met each other therefore remaining sterile. This worked well and provided reassurance for the participants putting them at ease. I did not want the participants to feel "they have been taken for granted or used" (Macfarlane, 2009, p. 77) as this would impact on the interview. I utilised active listening skills by making notes, watching and listening attentively to the participant, reassuring, acknowledging and valuing the responses from them. Although I did take initial notes as the interview progressed, they were more of a prompt to return to a topic area, themes that developed for further discussions. This had been agreed prior to the interview, and by having this agreement with the participant, enabled some familiarity allowing an open conversation to develop.

I conducted two interviews per day which each lasted for around an hour of recorded time. Again, preparing for the interviews with the participants by agreeing their availability proved to be a successful method as it also provided time for me to reflect on the structure and format that the interview had taken. This again proved beneficial as I had decided not

to conduct a pilot interview due to the availability of the participants. The time preparing the semi-structured questions provided me with the confidence that I could amend the questioning style as the interviews progressed, therefore allowing flexibility. This occurred after the first two participants had been interviewed as originally, we discussed past experiences which had influenced some of their choices of career and life trajectory (*habitus)* before their workplace experiences and their learning whilst engaged in the ICIDP programme (*field).* Reversing these concepts provided a more relational conversation which enabled the discussion to expand into areas relevant to the research. It also provided an opportunity for me to reflect on how I had become too rigid in the first instance and could have potentially missed some opportunity of responses that would inform and add value to the research.

Chapter conclusion

The above chapter has described my methodology and methods employed within this research. I have been careful around the ethical considerations that I have employed so that my research is considerate of the participants at all times. The research design outlined the time frame for research and I detailed how I would deal with any perceived subjective/objective divide, inclusive of my own bias. I also outlined how I have managed the collection of data and how I have subsequently dealt with my sample size, justifying the number of participants interviewed. Finally, I have explained how I have used Bourdieu's Three Level Analysis as an analytical tool to guide and instruct my thinking in preparation for the participants' interviews. What follows in chapter five is the analysis from the interviews provided by the participants.

Chapter Five: Analysis

Introduction

I start this chapter by providing a brief reminder of the process of my decision-making which is now operationalised within this analysis chapter. In chapter one, I introduced the structure of the thesis, its setting and my reasons for the study, outlining how I would define perception and its usage throughout the thesis. I emphasised, by way of introduction, a brief summary of the participants who have engaged in the interview process of the research to enable their voice to be introduced and contextualised in relation to the research questions and theories that I have employed. In chapter two, I informed the reader of the context and meaning of the Professionalising the Investigation Process (PIP) and outlined how it had been implemented within the northern police service. In chapter three, I introduced the terms profession, professionalisation and professionalism which combined with the previous chapter enabled me to formulate a strong foundation for my methodology. In chapter four, I presented my conceptual and theoretical framework to explain my overall methodological position in the design, research and collection of data providing justification for my choices and the reasons for specific methods employed. I explained in detail the concepts of Bourdieu whilst integrating the work of Lave and Wenger regarding the notions of Communities of Practice and 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation'. I now move towards answering the research questions and analysing the interview data more closely.

Organisational Survey

The Survey Monkey questionnaire outlined in chapter four provided useful data in identifying key areas that were subsequently developed for use in the semi-structured qualitative interviews, an example being the issues around work-based portfolio

completion. These were based on the participants' responses from the survey which was sent to three hundred officers who were involved in the professionalisation programme. Of the three hundred, ninety-nine responses were received (33%). With the exception of question one and question eight, I have linked the remaining questions to my research questions as follows;

a) Questions 2, 3 and 4 relate to research question one.
b) Question 6 relates to research question two.
c) Questions 5 and 7 relate to research question three.

Analysis and further reference to these research questions will be dealt with in the body of the main research questions throughout this chapter.

The learning experience and potential benefits of the whole professionalisation programme of accreditation was one of the key themes explored in the interview process and those findings along with other key themes are presented in this section using the participants' own words as far as possible interspersed with analysis and supporting literature. This point is emphasised in research questions two and three where I expand on the literature of work-based learning and culture in the context of the participant responses from the data collected and set a foundation for the analysis of the participants' responses using Bourdieu and Lave and Wenger.

The participants addressed the interview questions in a very open, transparent and at times cathartic manner from both an operational investigator's role and the role of a trainee engaged in a professionalisation programme. I sought to avoid generalisation which contributed to the interview questions becoming more fluid according to the participants' responses.

Following analysis of the research questions I then introduce the concept of Bourdieu's *habitus*, *field* and cultural *capital* along with Lave and Wenger's CoP and 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' into a more personal analysis of the participants' perceptions of how they perceive their overall personal development and its influences on their general police careers and continuous professional development allowing the richness of their voice to be heard. My decision to present the analysis in this order has been influenced by Hodkinson et al (2004) who make the point regarding workplace learning suggesting that organisations where learning is not the primary activity of the individuals treat learning as less of a priority for the participants (p. 6). They also stress that whilst much of the conceptualisation for the individual predominantly sits within the organisation, it is still important to view their learning from an individual's perspective (p. 7), as whilst the individual is integrated into their workplace, they are also separated from it outside of work yet not totally separated from the structures and processes that they subconsciously join together (p. 9).

Higher Education for Police Officers

One of the main topics throughout the collection of data and particularly within the interviews of the participants was their perceptions of the learning experience and their own professional development. Whilst these topics have been utilised as the overall theme it is fair to say that these sub-themes, add value and context to the overall themes such as qualifications, knowledge, skills and abilities, culture and professionalisation adding to the richness of the participants' responses.

There are a couple of issues that present themselves as general areas which form part of the analysis which require explanation. Hallenberg and Cockroft (2012) suggest that higher education is a pathway towards standardisation within policing and that the

acquisition of externally recognised qualifications provides the means of demonstrating transferable skills and competencies, contributing towards career flexibility. They also suggest additional benefits which include personal and professional development around knowledge, skills, job motivation and self-esteem, factors which have the potential to contribute towards police professionalisation that I have discussed in chapter two regarding PIP, and chapter three regarding police professionalism.

Elsewhere regarding the theme of professionalisation and higher education within the police, and in response to a directive set by the Swedish Government in 2006, a study was commissioned with the aim of identifying how basic police training could partly or wholly be transformed into a university education (Karp and Stenmark, 2011). They concluded that there was a very strong professional norm defined by the officers in respect of knowledge and skills that the policing profession requires and that this norm had permeated from initial training which influenced and contributed towards less focus on change and development of the profession. Furthermore, Karp and Stenmark suggested (albeit through limited research) that there is a strong sense of conservation of traditions (police learning/knowledge) embedded in the police service. Research by White (2006) analysed the "hidden curriculum" in police training and concluded that police training in England and Wales reinforced cultural prejudices which inhibited major change programs, whilst Farrell and Koch (1995) (cited in Paterson, 2011, p. 287) suggest that the role of higher education in policing is overly focussed on accreditation with institutions being more concerned with generating income than educational standards. Additionally, Paterson (2011) found that part of the difficulties regarding transformation of education for police officers was their resistance to academic study as policing is regarded by them as a practice-focused vocation (p. 288).

Paterson concluded that if the police can identify how education can inform and improve police learning, and universities can then support the police identified objectives this would be beneficial for the public, police officers and police organisations in improving police professionalism. Whilst these tensions and contradictions are apparent, Lee and Punch (2004) suggest "it is still the case that educational attainment confers upon the police, individually and collectively, a measure of professionalism and certification to which they aspire" (p. 235).

The issues above overlap with a number of sub-themes that I identified and are not wholly unique to detectives linked to a university but apply more across the spectrum of policing. PIP is a major change programme and the context of this is addressed through research question three regarding organisational culture. Whilst the participants may reveal their perception regarding this, the participants' own views whilst studying for PIP and the foundation degree contributed to their own perceptions and conservative view around change. Furthermore, the study does identify, along with the discussion in chapter one the issues of university linked education for police officers for some considerable years. These issues will be addressed throughout the research questions.

Analysis

Research Question 1

How do trainee detectives perceive their experience of studying for the foundation degree and PIP accreditation within their role?

Initial Admission

The process of PIP has been dealt with in detail chapter two. Whilst its process is rigid in its format for detective status inclusive of the NIE, the classroom phase and workplace assessment, admission into the process appeared to some of the participants to be

inconsistent. In chapter one I detailed the site for this research thesis and classify the site as the *field* of research. The northern police service is a multi-uniformed response and investigative organisation and each department within the organisation, whilst working under central guidance, has its own unique method of operating, its own culture which becomes unique to the department, in particular how each area or division manages Human Resources and the allocation of its staff. As a detective sergeant within the northern police service, opportunities for development present themselves more frequently in a larger sub division than in one of the smaller divisions. For example, a number of officers involved in the ICIDP programme often found themselves in a specialist post and on being successful in the application and examination process were subsequently informed that they may have to move division. This created inconsistency of process and at times created animosity within the specialist department as the individual wanted the 'luxury' of the post but did not want to move. This occurred in the Serious Sexual Offences Unit (SSOU) and combined with the organisational need to train a large volume of new to role detectives became problematic in relation to adequately supplying enough detective tutor officers and additionally meaning that some successful participants had to wait over twelve months for a place on phase two of the ICIDP having passed their examination. This led to a variation in the process within the northern police service and affected the management of the examination and the subsequent allocation of a place on the six week ICIDP course. For Anthony, currently working in a Criminal Investigation Department (CID) the process of application seemed fair and well managed;

> *As it was then you applied to the division and you had an interview and the top ones, two or three depending on the number of places were selected for the ICIDP process.*

For Natalie she had just returned to work within the Public Protection Division (PPD) and was informed that her post now required detective status;

> *… because I'd been working quite closely on some quite serious and complex jobs as the interviewer and so I was approached by the DI and asked to apply.*

> *The process was that I was asked to apply for a spot in the CID. So, I entered the ICIDP programme and then, hopefully, I would be able to specialise in child abuse investigations.*

Natalie expressed concern about what she was being asked to do and shared her emotions regarding the process;

> *I felt a bit pressurised really because at that time in my personal life I'd only just come back to work full time and then when I did find out what the process was, and that it involved a period of studying for an exam with a portfolio to complete as part of a foundation degree, I thought that maybe I'd taken on a bit too much.*

Diane who worked in the SSOU also expressed anxiousness about admission into the programme;

> *So, when it came to my ICIDP the pressure was even more then because I was in that role, and I needed to stay in that role, and I was told you get one go and you're out. I wasn't told that you get a second or a third exam, but I was told that I was lucky to be there, and I had to pass the first time.*

Both Natalie and Diane worked in a different *field* to Anthony and the recent change in the organisational structure which required them both to acquire detective status was affecting them both differently. For Natalie it involved study and the completion of a portfolio. For Diane, she felt organisationally pressured to pass the first time or faced the possibility of having to leave the department. The indication here suggests that completion of initial entry into the PIP process varied from the different *field* that was occupied by them at the time. Conversely, Jill, a detective sergeant who worked in the same department as Diane but at a separate location within the northern police service talked of a more informal process as she was already in post and appeared under no pressure regarding admission onto the programme;

> *It was more of an administrative application I suppose, and it wasn't in any way an interview or anything like that… Because it wasn't guaranteed to everyone but by default of me going into a child protection unit you basically had to be a detective and I think the particular division that I worked within was obviously trying to professionalise and upskill people, so I think I was one of the earliest to get onto that programme because of that.*

Jill's route suggests that almost by default she would be included in the PIP process with very little pressure behind it. Patrick from the Economic Crime Unit had a similar experience to Jill in respect of being potentially in the right place at the right time with support from his supervision;

> *It became evident that the proactive units were coming to an end around about 2010 and so I was approached by supervision who asked if I fancied applying for the ICIDP because it would be of benefit to me in my career.*

The comments by Anthony, Natalie, Diane, Jill and Patrick, all working in a separate *field* (separate departments) demonstrates how internal factors, in some examples, had an effect on how they each entered the first stage of being accepted onto the programme. The structure of PIP was not new yet the connection to the university foundation degree and the requirement of the northern police service to professionalise the process indicated that the initial selection of the officers was being managed differently with variation in system. This is supported by the experience of Kate who explains;

> *At that time divisions ran their own processes, so it was just the division that the advert went out to and it was a simple case of putting in a 733 three hundred word report which was paper sifted and then an interview which was done by the divisional DCI [Detective Chief Inspector] I believe it was the DI [Detective Inspector],I cannot honestly remember who the two people were who interviewed me.*

For context, a '733' was an internal report form used in the northern police service and although a number of participants filled in one of these forms, not all of the above participants did. This was considered an 'ad hoc' process. Kate then talks about the interview a competitive process by the applicants for the ICIDP process and alludes to potential biases that were present;

> *One of the first things they said to me which properly knocked me for six was 'it's nice that you're doing an interview to get experience'.*

The inference here was perceived by Kate to be that the interviewing officers had already made their decision;

The person who got the vacancy worked in what was then a divisional Vehicle Crime Team, VCT – although I don't think they exist anymore but it was typically a unit that was run, it was full of PCs and DCs together and it was kind of like a stepping stone into CID and it very much played into what I perceived as a boy's club culture and there were lads in there that were very good friends of the detectives in there and every single time a vacancy came up you could guarantee that it would go to one of them and if you wanted to get into CID then you really had to get into there first. But to get into there you had to fit into the culture that existed, and it was kind of like a cycle that I couldn't break into as a girl, I could not break into that.

This was clearly an emotive area for Kate who became emotionally upset whilst explaining the issue, presenting feelings of isolation, sexism and a culture of inclusivity only for male officers. As a social researcher and a serving detective officer at the time, I ensured that individual welfare and internal support processes were offered after the interview which I later confirmed had been dealt with correctly within the northern police service.

The important topic of culture has been raised here and I expand on organisational culture within question three of the research questions. That said, I introduced in the previous chapter an explanation of culture by Johnson et al (2004) who stressed that culture included powerful social relationships attributed to privileged groups or individuals who use relationships within working environments to advance careers or prevent them. This appears to be the case here for Kate who then describes a different experience of admission onto the ICIDP programme when she had successfully moved to the Serious Sexual Offences Unit (SSOU);

For a start the SSOU wasn't divisional – it was force wide – and so, straight away, you don't have that culture of friends interviewing friends. You had strangers interviewing strangers and so you are already feeling more on a level playing field. Secondly, because it was a whole new team where they were looking for about eighty new detectives and when you know that there are that many vacancies you feel you have more of a fighting chance because there is no favouritism when they are filling that many and the process they chose to take was a full recruitment process where you had to apply online and things were anonymised, and there were actual set questions and the interview was structured like a professional interview where there were a board of people interviewing you and one of them being a HR[Human Resource] representative.

So, it was all completely different, and you didn't feel like it was a foregone conclusion.

Kate had a poor initial experience on her first attempt of the ICIDP process. She now reflected on a more structured route suggesting that culture and favouritism along with perceived prejudice and organisational culture had been removed from the process due to HR involvement. The northern police service was now demonstrating a more organised, diverse, fair, and appropriately managed entry process which for Kate, certainly eradicated feelings of isolation, sexism and culture which she spoke of earlier. The presence of *capital* in one *field* and none in another would appear to have been present for some of the above named participants. However, the presence of powerful social relationships within a working environment which Kate alluded to were from a CoP perspective, having a negative effect on process, an area of culture I return to in research question three.

National Investigators' Examination

Every police officer who enters into the ICIDP programme must sit the National Investigator Exam. At the time of collecting data, the national pass mark was 55.7%. I have discussed in chapter two the ICIDP process of study but as a reminder, the national recommended number of hours for study is between forty to sixty hours.

Question three and Question four were completed within the Survey Monkey questionnaire and provided an indication of the volume of study time allocated (Q3) and how many hours the participants were allowed (Q4). The questionnaire was provided to all three hundred participants. In summary 68.13% stated that the study time allocated was just right, whilst 31.87% said it was too short. In examining the number of hours allocated for study, 59.34% achieved between forty-sixty hours, 26.37% studied twenty to thirty hours, and 13.19% of the participants did not offer a response. Interestingly, just short of 60% were

studying in the permitted guidelines although I do not have the available data to correlate between actual study time taken by those participants interviewed in comparison to those who completed the survey. This suggested a balance managed programme was being supported by the organisation to assist in developing the individuals learning yet that was not how it was being perceived. However, the views of the participants interviewed demonstrate a different perspective to a statistical response. Whilst some of the participants mentioned their actual score, it was the process itself which produced interesting responses. I have detailed their views and point out that out of the thirteen participants interviewed, seven already hold a degree which presented a different approach and attitude to study than those without. This data is detailed in the background of the interviewed participants in Table 1(chapter one, page 11).

I have separated the responses accordingly as the perceptions of the individuals who had not taken or qualified in an undergraduate programme present a different picture to those who already hold a degree, although Thomas, Robert and Jill who have a degree did not comment.

Sally, who was now a Temporary Detective Sergeant, had been in the northern police service for fourteen years (at the time of her interview) and was working in the Crime Investigation Unit. She did not say how many ordinary or GCE 'O' Level or GCSE qualifications she had attained and clarified that she had no advanced level qualifications nor a degree. Sally stated that she regretted not completing her exams as she did want to go to university but because a job offer to join the police came before her final exams she took the job and did not complete the qualifications. In respect of the NIE exam she said;

> *It was quite low, and I was really surprised that I passed actually. I think it was about fifty-six percent…I went on one of the courses and I read the books but that, for me, wasn't the best way of dealing with it because I needed some interaction and so I bought a package which was just repetition questions which*

> *I seemed to do really well with at home but, under exam conditions, not so great.*

Sally had now realised the value of *capital* from an educational perspective and explained that whilst studying for her NIE and her sergeant's exam she was balancing time between working full time and bringing up a young family.

Steven also discussed that he was trying to study whilst working full-time and having an eight month old baby only managed to study for a period of eight weeks prior to the exam.

> *It was difficult for me for a number of reasons actually because the last exams that I had taken were my A Levels and I hadn't performed well.*

In chapter two I explained that the candidate is informed of the NIE sixteen weeks prior to taking it. Classifying the participants as students and registering them with the university was having an impact on work life balance which was adding pressure, as failure at stage one would mean removal from the PIP process.

In contrast to Steven, Patrick recalled putting a lot of work into studying for the exam the first time, and was very open about the result;

> *I was extremely cross because I found it to be one of those exams that were very difficult to judge whether it had gone well or not. To some degree I didn't think the exam reflected or allowed you to show how much work you'd actually put into it.*

Diane also put a lot of effort into studying but was unsure of the volume of work and effort required;

> *I'd been out of school and education for a long, long time and I couldn't even judge how much I would need to do to be able to get a pass.*

Diane scored highly in the exam, 86%, but had previously mentioned that organisationally, a fail at this point would have meant removal from the ICIDP programme and a return to operational uniform response. Diane had a clear motivation to pass the exam as she

stated that she wished to remain on the PIP process. The same also applied to Sally, Steven and Patrick as the northern police service still had a requirement to ensure that the organisation had enough qualified detectives. Quite the opposite occurred for Natalie who achieved 56% in the exam, the baseline pass mark, but she was quite secure in the knowledge that the organisation would not impose her removal from the ICIDP programme;

> *I knew that if I failed that exam then I wouldn't be moved, and my job wasn't dependent* [on it].

These examples demonstrate a lack of process and standardisation in respect of how different officers from within the same service can be treated so differently. It is also suggests that Natalie was not as particularly engaged in the concept of professionalisation and presented a relatively ambivalent attitude towards the NIE process as earlier she said that she did feel a little pressurised to pass.

Sean had been in the police for fifteen years. He had previous experience of working in uniform operational roles and had now transferred to an intelligence role. He had achieved nine good ordinary level passes at school but had not engaged with study since. Sean seemed unsure around the NIE process;

> *Difficult. I've never been very good with exams… I found studying quite difficult given the fact that I'd been out of a learning environment for so long.*

Sean then added an interesting view;

> *But also, I am conscious that there are a lot more academics in the police these days with people who have come from a university background where they are used to exams.*

He clarified that he actually went onto college for further education but that he was not really interested in study and only did it initially to please his family. He never completed the course because he just wanted to join the police. He now realised that to progress within the police service that having qualifications provided the opportunity for

development as he perceived officers with university qualifications as being prepared for examinations.

The views of those participants who have a first degree present different perspectives to those above and show how their individual attitudes and behaviours can differ from those of others. Anthony was proud of his exam result.

> *I scored an exceptional eighty-six* [percent] *on the exam. I think I was nineteenth in the country.*

He then spoke about his own view on the NIE process;

> *I know people who have taken it quite a few times before they passed it, but that comes down to not putting the work into it in the first place because there is a correlation between putting the work in and getting a good mark.*

Anthony had completed nine years in the police having had a good academic foundation and achieving a BSc and MSc in Criminology. His perception of how people achieve qualifications is un-evidenced in this thesis taking into account the views presented earlier. However, he balanced his comment by describing how university had taught him to be able to strike a balance of understanding what learning and knowledge provided in respect of a positive attitude to learning.

Similarly, Kate described how she enjoyed engaging with learning, even though her route to the PIP process had been difficult as described earlier;

> *I like academic stuff and I find it relatively easy. I like study and I like the competitive element of taking exams and getting good results.*

David has been in the police for eight years. He has a BSc in Architecture something that was a passion of his from being around twelve years old. David also enjoyed studying but indicated that in his own mind he perhaps thought about an indirect organisational driver;

> *I feel as though I am cheating or missing out on something. So, when you start to have something to learn again it gives me satisfaction and I enjoy that sort of*

thing… the overriding thing is this fear and embarrassment of if I failed the exam because I would lose my spot in the CID and I couldn't bear the thought of telling the bosses who had interviewed me.

This clearly was a driving factor for this participant who, whilst acknowledging that they had been afforded between 20-30 hours study time by the organisation, commented that they had also completed at least two to three hours per night over a three-month period in preparation for the exam. David was keen to succeed. He had already passed his promotion exams to sergeant and was currently in a temporary detective sergeant post. He also talked about his father being a retired Superintendent and his uncle a retired Chief Constable from the police. Whether these were influencing factors for him to achieve were not covered, but this did indicate a strong CoP within his family history and his current situation being influenced by similar family structured experiences.

John expressed a personal view of his preparation for study, and like David, studied every day;

I knew that I would study every day but obviously I had to fit that around shift work and everything else you've got going on in your life, but certainly it was something that I did every day during that period.

John then dealt with the question of studying;

I don't struggle with it to be honest. I come from a university background so it's something that has always been a part of my life as far back as I can remember. So, having to sit an exam and study for it wasn't particularly daunting.

The identified theme of study time opened up the participants to share honest cathartic views of what studying meant to them. There were clear differences in attitude and approach to study presented by the participants which cannot be judged against the statistical response earlier. The participants' individual *habitus* may have formulated their views on the process of how they study, what it meant to them and views of how other

people may study and I return to those concepts of *habitus* and meaning later within the analysis section.

<u>*PIP and University*</u>

Whilst the PIP programme had been implemented in the northern police service in 2005, this was the first time they had engaged in a professionalisation programme with the introduction of a foundation degree accredited by a university. Collaborative training and education are a contributing factor to professionalisation within the police (Neyroud, 2011) and I earlier discussed the concepts of Evetts (2013) regarding professionalisation within occupations requiring the standardisation of education, training and qualifications. The views on this aspect from the participants produced some interesting perceptions. Steven commented on the completion of his foundation degree;

> *I was very happy because I don't have a degree and I didn't go to university and although it is only a foundation degree but, for me, it is definitely a step up from anything I currently held.*

Natalie also described her apprehension of completing the process;

> *Initially, not knowing what that meant for me, I was a bit apprehensive because I hadn't been to university before although I had undertaken a university programme with the police in 2006 at Nottingham Trent University and that was like a professional certificate in school liaison work. And I found that quite hard because I had not been to university myself. I was worried about my academic writing style and I thought there would be a lot more to do in terms of working with the university but actually there wasn't.*

The concerns raised by Natalie regarding academic writing style were addressed in the six week classroom phase of the PIP process were instruction was provided by the course trainers. However, Diane and John described their contact with the university as "minimal" with lack of contact other than being enrolled at the commencement of the ICIDP process and minimal recollection of the integrated assessment with the ICIDP trainers and the university representative throughout their six-week programme. Jill recalled;

I remember the guy from the university who was present on some days and during the interview phase as well. I can't comment on whether he was specifically monitoring anything that I did but he certainly was present. And there was a presentation part and he was definitely there during that.

The collaboration with the university was continuous for the three year period with the same university lecturer as a constant throughout. Whilst moderation of process by the northern police service and the university took place on a quarterly basis, this process would not have been an area for concern for the police officers involved other than acknowledging the progress of their individual result. It was the collaboration itself that was providing the foundation for the northern police service in respect of developing its professionalisation status.

In respect of learning from the collaborative programme, perceptions from the participants' supported the view of Neyroud (2011) regarding the culture of learning and the benefits of collaboration with external higher education facilities, reinforcing professionalisation through training and education, in particular the six-week taught element of the ICIDP. Jill commented on her educational development whilst on the ICIDP course;

It started that process of making you think about what you are doing and why you are doing it and to be prepared for somebody to ask you why you are doing it and explain that to them. I suppose it was an environment where you'd got many different people showing their many different takes on how you might go about something and that is your first realisation that there are many different ways of doing something.

For Anthony, he contextualised his earlier learning as a police officer;

What the ICIDP does is it gives you that starting process of knowledge. You've got a combination of experience from your past police work, but this gives you that square box; it gives you this is what criminal investigation looks like if you are going to do it.

The comments from Jill and Anthony provide an indication of their perceived benefit of being involved in the PIP process. In respect of *capital*, the growth of their knowledge of a

criminal investigation is being supported by a structured programme with its aim of developing professionalism as discussed in chapter three. Whilst these areas are covered more in research question two and culture in question three, Sean brings a number of these themes together whilst acknowledging the overall learning experience encountered within the ICIDP process and transference of knowledge into a working crime investigations office;

> *When I joined the police, the office was a very intimidating place to go into because there weren't many young faces in there and everyone had a lot of experience and they didn't suffer fools, but you always got the right advice. When I came into the CTU [Counter Terrorist Unit] there were a lot of experienced detectives in there who had been detectives for a long time who had come from an MIT [Major Incident Team] or a major crime or reactive CID background and I hadn't. Although I went frequently toe to toe with them about intelligence I knew I could never compete with their level of experience. But I saw a change and that old school mentality was watered down by professionalization through the ICIDP. A lot of experienced detectives who had got twenty to thirty years frowned upon the ICIDP from what I'd seen and came up with the euphemism for what it is 'Plastic Detective'. They also feared it because when it comes to qualifications they don't have many and its all war stories and anecdotes as opposed to nationally recognised qualifications.*

Sean works as an intelligence officer for the Counter Terrorist Unit. He relates his feelings of first encountering detective officers when he joined the police as 'intimidating' but with a degree of support attached to it. Sean describes a similar feeling in his current post. He alludes to a culture of learning through experience alone and makes the assumption that the older detectives did not possess any formal qualifications, but referred to war stories and anecdotes as the method of teaching and learning. This relationship between the old and the new has an appearance of being strained with the use of the euphemism for the ICIDP process as the 'Plastic Detective', a term Sean clarified as meaning knowledge only as opposed to real experience. This suggests a strain within the field that he works in and potential breaks in the CoP between the older and younger detectives, possibly due to how new to role detectives are trained and the acquisition of a formal qualification.

The relationship between new to role detective officers and the support provided by the northern police service is explored more in research question two and three, and provides an insight into how the sharing of knowledge, practices and approaches under the guise of CoP can be strained.

Research Question 2

Has the foundation degree or PIP process contributed towards their professional development?

Work-Based Learning

Before detailing the analysis of this question from the perceptions of the participants, I revisit work-based learning in a more generalised context which assists in interpreting what the participants had to say. In chapter one I outlined that work-based learning would be incorporated as a theme throughout by using Eraut's (2000) definition of informal and formal learning and here, it is the process of work-based learning that I blend into this section whilst analysing the participants' responses towards their professional development.

Whilst utilising Eraut's definition as a foundation I also acknowledge wider literature which presents a different context. Billett (2002, p. 57) argues;

> Workplaces and educational institutions merely represent different instances of social practices in which learning occurs through participation. Learning in both kinds of social practice can be understood through a consideration of their respective participating practices. Therefore, to distinguish between the two… [so that] one is formalised and the other informal ... is not helpful.

In other words, Billett suggests that they are inherently different from each other. Hodkinson et al (2005) have a different view to Billett and argue that whilst the majority of literature suggests informal learning occurs by participating in everyday life, family, communities, workplace and leisure, and formal learning through schools, colleges and

universities (p.165), they suggest "attempts to label learning as formal or informal are the constructions of practitioners, writers and researchers" (ibid., p. 172), and are used as terms to attribute learning. For this thesis I outlined the PIP programme and university connection in chapter two and reiterate that the combined programme was based on a national and university exam; a six-week classroom-based learning environment inclusive of both PIP and university assessments, followed by the completion of a work-based portfolio. To enter into the wider debate about the origins of the various attempts to classify learning as formal and informal is therefore beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the broad definition discussed earlier by Eraut (2000) suggesting that formal learning involves a prescribed learning framework and informal does not follow any kind of organised learning programme cannot be ignored, and does present a baseline on which to sit the participants' perceptions about their professional development. What now follows is that analysis which incorporates identified themes which include self-confidence, police related personal development and work-based learning.

Professional Development

The PIP process combined with the university foundation degree provided a structured programme that produced a formal qualification for all three hundred participants involved. It contributed to their own particular development whilst reflecting on their own achievement and personal development. I re-iterated earlier Evetts (2013) view regarding professionalisation requiring the standardisation of education, training and qualifications. I also provide a reminder of Greenwood's (1957) view of the sociological definition of a profession;

> The sociological approach to professionalism is one that views a profession as an organised group which is constantly interacting with the society that forms its matrix, which performs its social functions through a network of formal and informal relationships, and which creates its own subculture requiring adjustment to it as a prerequisite for career success.
>
> (p. 45)

Introducing both Evetts and Greenwood here assists with analysis and evaluation as the PIP process fits within the above. Thomas had strong personal views about the PIP programme and the term profession;

Learn how to do the job; learn how to investigate crime properly. I don't know if it's a unique organisation, but it is certainly so diverse in the police and the incidents, investigations and the things that you have to deal with... There is so much more to it than the lower level stuff that you deal with as a response officer and I wanted to have the background to it and understand it.

He then clarified this;

To me I always thought that I was a professional police officer and I thought that what is taught to you in your initial probation period is geared up towards making you a professional police officer… and dealing with the incident according to policy and law is what I think defines a professional police officer.

The perception of Thomas was even more enlightening when asked about professional/professionalism having completed the ICIDP programme;

I feel now that I am a professional detective and I feel a lot of responsibility for the fact that I'm not only doing a job that you can technically do without this qualification but I'm capable of doing my job because I've got my qualifications in how to do the job… I feel I am now a detective who has been taught to be a detective and is practising that rather than just being someone in a detective's role.

Thomas placed value on the PIP process and suggests that there is more learning required in becoming a detective than being a police response officer. He places value on the qualification through the completion of the university foundation degree and describes the feeling of status that this has provided for him as a *field* change of unqualified detective to qualified detective within the northern police service. In other words, as Greenwood outlines, Thomas has become part of a subculture which has required adjustment for career success.

Taking a different stance on professional development, Jill, in relation to earlier police learning spoke cautiously regarding the police organisations' professional development. Her views were not dissimilar to Giblin's (Police Professional, 2007) assertion that the police service (generalised) had some way to go before it could be considered a profession in the truest sense;

> *I think the PIP process is the start of that journey to say that you are a professional person and you are in a responsible role and you have to take that responsibility seriously…*
>
> *…I think it should be and there is a lot of professionalism within it. I think it has kind of got that status by default because we are a disciplined organisation, but I think there are still massive gaps, if you like, and there is a lot of unprofessionalism still around.*

Continuing with the theme of profession and professionalism, and as a timely reminder, it was argued by Giblin (2007) that "it is an indictment that you do thirty years as a police officer picking up skills and academic knowledge but at the end of that you come out with no accreditation for what you have achieved" (p. 37). To the contrary, David suggests;

> *It's that recognition that you've put a lot of work into it and a lot of your own time and your own effort into something like that so to get that formal recognition rather than just a certificate from upstairs, but you are getting something that actually means something. If you have been at uni spending three years at university you get something at the end of it, you get that qualification. After you've passed your probation you don't really get anything whereas with this you get that formal recognition which is always there for good.*

David refers to recognition in the form of PIP accreditation and the completion of a foundation degree, comparing the strength of the cultural *capital* gained to that of the *capital* gained in obtaining a degree. Again, this adds weight to the discussion of acknowledging the police service as a professional organisation discussed in chapter two and three.

In respect of growth of their own professional development, the process of progressing through the ICIDP had quite an impact on Natalie who stated;

> *Well it's kind of the proof is in the pudding, you know, because you go through certain stages in your life and going back to when I thought I would never get into the police and I did, and I did fantastic at the assessment stages. So, all these stages carried elements of self-doubt but then I would think 'well what was I even worried about?*

Steven expressed a wider view of professional development and indicated how the completion of the ICIDP programme has also contributed to making the participant more rounded for promotion to sergeant;

> *I'd have felt a lot less confident about it. I think the ICIDP process has developed me massively… Confidence for one. The NIE exam doesn't give it to you and I think the major learning for me was in the classroom here over the four or six weeks where it was a change in attitude that was put into me about how to explain your rationale and your decision-making process, and to give me the confidence to do that.*

> *It's helped me with the communication and it's helped me with my confidence in my ability to communicate to any level including senior command level in the force.*

The development of Natalie and Steven are expressed very clearly from their own perspective and demonstrate their professional development through the PIP process and the acquisition of *capital*. Anthony provides a good example of the power of capital when he transferred from the northern police service to another police force;

> *When I transferred to a different police force I think there were about four hundred and fifty to five hundred applicants for seventeen posts and I came top of that process. I think the criminal investigation side of my learning has had the biggest impact on that because when you are dealing with jobs you've got a different level of confidence. It is not going into a job and muddling through it is having a set process to follow to achieve the outcome you want to achieve. I don't think any other training that I've gone through has come anywhere close to this. It sits right next to our values and purpose; it's the best thing that I've ever done.*

Anthony is referring to his application for temporary promotion. He has used his recently acquired qualification in PIP as 'purchasing power' through cultural *capital*. To be considered for a temporary detective sergeant the officer must have passed the promotion

examination to sergeant, and just as importantly, must be PIP qualified. Anthony had achieved this.

Learning in the Work Place

Question six on the questionnaire was included to try and understand how the participants had perceived their experience of learning within the workplace whilst completing the ICIDP process. I have included this result to demonstrate the overall response rate. The question was split into two areas and posed as a statement for the participants to respond.

1. I feel I was effectively supervised on the programme
2. I had the right level of support throughout the whole ICIDP programme

In respect of question one, 56.52% agreed whilst 40.22% disagree, 3.26% making no comment. In respect of question two, 53.43% agreed whilst 40.22% disagreed, with 4.35% making no comment.

The figures suggest a low satisfaction rate regarding supervision and support. They can only be viewed from the original three hundred who took the survey and cannot be compared statistically to the responses from the participants who were interviewed. It does, however, indicate disappointment in supervision and the organisational support encompassing this part of the PIP process. The participants who were interviewed provided mixed responses of satisfaction whilst addressing supervision and organisational support which blended into the context of work-based related themes. Work-based learning plays a major role in the development of the trainee detectives competency which is evidenced through a portfolio and (as indicated in chapter two regarding the ICIDP process), organisations need processes which help their staff to learn from their experiences, assist others with learning and help create a learning environment (Doornbos et al, 2008). Accordingly, Eraut (2000) suggests that informal work related learning

happens via various work related interactions. Thomas provides an explanation of his work related learning;

> *You go back out and back into the working world and you do your portfolio, which was basically a record of the work that you had to do, and you had to hit the competences on the portfolio which was very much written in a way that was breaking down what you do as a police officer anyway into almost minute detail from how would you start an investigation into an incident and how would you progress that through to dealing with all the aspects of the investigation through to the court. It was split into three areas if I remember rightly: there were the complex issues which were, to me, like the outset of an investigation and how you would manage that to dealing with suspects and dealing with witnesses. All of which most police officers would have done through their career but wouldn't necessarily have evidence for what they had done in as much detail as you do to get the course.*

Thomas provides a good example of the differences of *field* between a uniform response role and that of a detective. A detective completes the full investigation whereas the uniform response officer does not. Thomas emphasises the additional training and *capital* that he has acquired through the PIP process in respect of dealing with the start of an investigation, along with greater knowledge of dealing with witnesses and suspects. He then enters this evidence into a work-based portfolio, evidence which is then used towards the foundation degree, demonstrating a blend of continued study whilst working.

For Doornbos et al (2008) there are identifiable characteristics which influence work related learning. Firstly, personal characteristics and the individual's perceived level of competency and value of work related learning and secondly, interaction with colleagues, managers and the wider opportunities to participate in a network (p. 133). Anthony describes his interaction with colleagues;

> *It's that vicarious learning from mistakes of what other people had gone through that you can learn from. You are then taken through the process and the different elements and you get people from outside coming in then and one thing that will stay with me for the rest of my career was the Holly Jessica input by the Chief Superintendent. And it's things like that which really strike you and you think that although that was a massive national investigation you can see how you can use elements of that in every investigation that you do and how the ethics, that you put into every investigation – the honesty, integrity, the*

importance of making sure that the public perception of transparency is achieved – is important and I got something out of every element.

Anthony is referring to the murder of the school children Holly Chapman and Jessica Wells in 2002. The context of CoP is strong here. Anthony is conscious of developing his knowledge not just through a classroom, but by understanding the experiences of other detectives within his *field* through interpreting their experiences which contribute to his learning, an assumption of learning emphasised through Wenger (1998).

For David the challenge of individual competency and wider integration to develop knowledge and skills presented a different story;

> *When I went back I was treated as a substantive detective, the notion of being a trainee lasted for about three days and before you know it you were left on your own and it was quite daunting.*

David then clarified the meaning of daunting from his perspective;

> *The responsibility of what you were dealing with. It was similar to when I first went out at Gorton because within about three weeks of going independent I would be the only police officer dealing with a case and that was quite daunting. So I would be sent out to scenes and I would be thinking 'what am I doing? I've only been here a few weeks'. It's about having something else to confirm what you are doing is right because you are dealing with a lot more serious stuff because you've got response sergeants who used to tell you what to do and, six months later, they are looking at you as if you should know what you are doing and that is a big step to make.*

Sean presents a similar perspective to David and reveals personal characteristics in his learning around competence and introduction into their work-based learning;

> *…I had a significant culture shock and when people say you should put yourself outside your comfort zone I certainly did that because I went back to policing having been away from mainstream policing for a long time.*

As detailed earlier, Sean had worked in an intelligence arena for a number of years which would remove him from front line policing and investigations from his daily work. Sean then described the complexities of the cases ranging from rape, arson and kidnap which

he became involved in and what was indicative of his response was how the process of formal and informal learning had been transferred from the classroom to the workplace for him;

> *I actually can say that I looked back at that scenario, and looked at some of the investigative and intelligence opportunities that came out of it, and used that for at least two rapes that I dealt with.*

Eraut (2010) suggests "the workplace context brings new perspective to research on learning because it encompasses a wide range of more or less structured environments which are only rarely structured with learning in mind" (p. 247). He also argues that formal education can also be viewed as a workplace and that "it is usually the work that is structured and not the learning (ibid., p. 247). Sean demonstrates both of Eraut's points combining both the taught element of the ICIDP programme, and applying it in complex cases whilst in the workplace. Furthermore, Sean is describing a *field* change moving from his role as an intelligence officer into a criminal investigations role where new experiences and learning occur. With the field change comes a new CoP and he has to adjust to the people and environment and develop new relationships and new learning if his development is to progress.

Organisation and Supervision in Work Place Learning

Turner et al (2006) suggest that a problematic area for the development of learning in the workplace is getting middle and senior managers to understand the concept of work-based learning and to get them to understand their role. Stelfox (2011) suggests that the PIP process within the police service can contribute towards improving practitioners' professionalism by developing learning programs within organisations which support continuous professional development and an accreditation programme (p.16). At the same time, he advocates that this requires supervisors to be able to supervise and manage the trainee detectives' development. Stelfox argues that to achieve this requires the

supervisor to develop a relationship with the individual investigator and understand their case load. He sees the supervisor's function as;

- Quality assuring the work of investigators.
- Helping investigators to develop investigative strategies.
- Manage the initial response to serious crime.
- Mentor and develop staff.

(ibid., p. 16)

The above functions are implicitly connected to the development of the trainee detective and are defining factors within the formation of a CoP through developing personal relationships. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to interview middle managers, which in the northern police service would have included Detective Sergeant (DS) and Detective Inspector (DI), some of the interviewed participants commented on the relationship between supervision and the perceived impact it had on their learning. Steven talked about a good relationship;

> *That was good for me because your assessor or your tutor and your supervisor – generally a DS or a DI – they've been through the process to get to where they are, so they have an appreciation of what you need to do and how you need to do it. They are there not only to validate what you are doing but they are experienced, and they can help you through it.*

A similar experience was explained by Sally;

> *She was very supportive. If she was going on a decent job, if you like, she would always pick me to go with her and trust that I would do a good job. She gave me an SPI investigation to complete which required the potential to prosecute somebody and she gave me the full file to go through. I think she allowed me to develop… it was a situation of go away and do it and then there was a security blanket afterwards to check and make sure that I'd done it correctly.*

Steven and Sally describe a good working relationship that supported and facilitated learning. Both described what their working relationship entailed and provide evidence that *capital* is being acquired as a result of support from their supervisor. This was not the case for Jill who described supervision from a distance;

> *I think, by and large, there was this expectation that you were going to get through it. It's hard for me to comment on whether that was due to how I am as*

a person or whether they would be like that with everyone doing the course. But I didn't feel any sort of close monitoring in relation to it.

Patrick has been in the police for fourteen years and works in the economic crime unit. He described a more generalised view to the process of learning via the ICIDP programme and the support of the organisation;

It all depended on supervision, shift numbers and the consistency just wasn't there across the different reliefs and shifts. I know some shifts who were working with a tutor constable that got a lot more assistance than others.

Patrick did describe his perception of how the supervision and organisation attempted to support the work-based learning;

He couldn't have been any more apologetic, to be honest with you. He was put between a rock and a hard place because he had the demands of day to day policing…but if an armed robbery comes in and something else comes in somewhere else and you've only got three staff to deal with it then you have to use everybody…

Patrick is referring to the demands of day to day policing. He uses the example of an armed robbery which can be allocated to the detective at the start of their day or allocated to them midway through their shift. Patrick is alluding to the fact that because of a shortage of staff it was not always possible to have a supervisor available for support. For Patrick with his previous experience this did not appear problematic. However, Kate spoke about the impact this could have addressing completion of work-based learning;

Likewise, while they [supervisor] knew it was important, a new job would always take priority over it.

The issue of continuous study in the workplace certainly raises questions of the management of the process by individual supervisors. Yet balancing the learning of the individual officer and the requirement to service the public requirements would appear to be problematic. Patrick put this into perspective;

Yeah, it took a back seat. So, for the organisation, the study was secondary to the demands of day to day policing.

There is a tension between everyday policing and the completion of the work-based element. Balancing the development of the individual officer enrolled on the ICIDP programme against the requirement to provide a 'day to day' policing service reinforces the difficulties alluded to in Greenwood's (1957) professional culture. As a reminder Greenwood suggests that it is the responsibility of the organisation to maintain its development of resources through recruitment and education, providing the necessary resources to support this reproduction. It also serves as a reminder of subculture that develops within the cultural organisation (Greenwood, 1957, p. 52). It is important to understand that the police service must serve the requirements of the public in everyday policing matters. If as Stelfox (2011) suggests, managers and supervisors fail to recognise the importance of support to be afforded to the new to role trainee detectives, particularly in the work-based phase then the learning for the individual could be affected. It is the cultural issues that manifest themselves for the individual participants that I now turn to in research question three which incorporate agendas identified earlier in Johnson et al (2004).

Research Question 3

What are their experiences and understanding of organisational culture and its impact on the learning experience for the individual?

Defining Culture

Before I address the participants' responses to this question I will outline how this section develops. I revisit the difficult concept of defining culture which I mentioned in chapter three. I also invite the reader to begin to see research question three as a continuation of research question two as it further incorporates management and organisational issues as a generalised theme, and allows me to present them whilst explaining (if possible) the effect of culture and cultural impact within the participant's learning experience. The

themes I discuss incorporate from the participants' perspectives, feelings of job related isolation, police process featuring cultural issues, organisational change and supervision within their experiences. There is also the organisations perceived cultural issues of support of investigative tutors and the completion of the work-based portfolio all which I suggest have multiple cultural aspects embedded within which effect the participants. Finally, I introduce the concepts of 'Community of Practice' (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' and analyse the participants' responses against these concepts which I introduce in the methodology section.

I introduced earlier the concept of professional culture according to Greenwood (1957) in relation to policing. I now develop culture further in the context of this thesis. Reiner (1998) (cited in Campeau, 2015) summarised the core characteristics of police culture as including descriptors such as conservative, mission orientated, isolated, masculine, pessimistic, and suspicious – an ideal type that has withstood the test of time. Loftus (2010) suggest that the use of these descriptors within police culture are becoming 'timeless' and almost 'cliché' in understanding facets of policing, including how officers learn the craft of their job and develop social interaction with the public, and at the same time, the police identity (defined here through the descriptors) can undermine and impact on police reform and change (pp. 1–2). Chan (1996) has presented a similar view over the years stressing that culture is one of the main obstacles in the way of police reform. Cockcroft (2015, p. 88) suggests that the police are historically "characterised as having a role that is difficult to define" and that police culture is in many respects a contested term, prescriptive in nature around behaviour and the values that inform that behaviour. Cockcroft (2015) suggests that in attempting to understand and make sense of police culture, separate inter-related issues make understanding this area more problematic. These include informality within the formal organisation, the situational application of

beliefs (in other words accepted practices, rules and conduct that are situationally applied) and tensions which are integral to the job (ibid., p. 87).

Adding to the above, whilst I have suggested core individual characteristics which are more identifiable as descriptors, the research question envelops organisational culture into the debate. Cockcroft (2014) suggest that there is a complex relationship between police culture and transformational change. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the differences between 'transactional leadership' and 'transformational leadership', I follow Cockcroft's approach to transformational leadership. According to Silvestri (2007, p.39) (cited in Cockcroft, 2014) transformational approaches are based upon values of "participation, consultation and inclusion" which has the ability to erode the cultural barriers that may exist within an organisations hierarchy. This approach aims to transform the orientation of the workers' behaviour to adapt the organisations vision. However, as Cockcroft (2014) quite rightly points out, conceptual issues which centre on the relationship between leaders, organisational concepts, process and change is not to be viewed as a defining programme which lead to cultural change, "although organisations may seek to impose culturally driven values upon their staff, these values often conflict with occupational values associated with practitioner culture" (p. 8). In other words, is it the organisation or occupation that provides the cultural influences on individual behaviour and values, or is it a combination of both that makes police culture complex to unravel? (ibid., p. 8). Coliandris et al (2008) add to this discourse and suggest that whilst culture is firmly embedded within the police organisation, cultures can still change, particularly in response to internal and external factors, and suggest that it is most likely to be the outcome of the interactions between managers and staff that contribute to this change (p. 114).

The complexity of cultures therefore appears difficult to unravel from both an individual's perspective and one that is interwoven within an organisation. Schein and Schein (2017) comment in this area by suggesting that culture exists "at many levels of observability" (p.3) and arranges areas of culture into categories which are observable within an organisation or group. These are summarised as;

1. <u>Observed behaviour regularities when people interact:</u> language used and the interchange of language.

2. <u>Climate</u>: the way in which members of the group interact with each other, customers and outsiders.

3. <u>Formal ritual and celebrations</u>: promotion, accreditation, career milestones.

4. <u>Espoused values</u>: principles and values of the group such as quality, leadership, safety.

5. <u>Formal philosophy</u>: policy and procedures.

6. <u>Group norms</u>: standards and values that evolve within working groups.

7. <u>Rules of the game</u>: implicit and unwritten enabling the individual to get along within the organisation.

8. <u>Identity and images of self</u>: purpose of the organisation and how things are done.

9. <u>Embedded skills</u>: special competencies displayed by individuals by accomplishing tasks and passing on knowledge.

10. <u>Habits of thinking, mental modes or linguistic paradigms</u>; shared knowledge that influences perceptions, thoughts and language of the members of the groups.

11. <u>"Root metaphors" or integrating symbols</u>: the way different groups form and characterise themselves by creating environments within buildings or offices.
(ibid., p. 45)

By categorising culture in this way Schein and Schein (2017) produced a dynamic definition of culture.

> The culture of a group can be defined as the accumulated shared learning of that group as it solves its problems of external adaptation and internal integration; which has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think,

feel, and behave in relation to those problems. This accumulated learning is a pattern or system of beliefs, values, and behavioural norms that come to be take for granted as basic assumptions and eventually drop out of awareness.

(p. 6)

I use the above definition to demonstrate that culture is both inherent in the individual and present within groups and organisations. It also demonstrates how learning can become cultural and embedded within practice. As a reminder of this point Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest that acceptance and belonging is inherent in a CoP, but the acceptance can have a different sense of belonging to the individual dependent on their acceptance. To contextualise the above discussion in relation to the thesis places a wide description of what culture can be interpreted as, and allows the participants' perspectives to be viewed in a wider context and better understood from within their own professional development. I acknowledge that this discussion crosses over into Community of Practice and Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus, field and* cultural *capital* but it provides an opportune time to refocus on these concepts as I now discuss the participants' perceptions in relation to research question three.

Question five and question seven of the Survey Monkey questionnaire was designed to gauge how the participants had been supported throughout the whole of the ICIDP programme. Again, the questions were posed as a statement allowing the participants to respond accordingly. Question fives statements were:

1. I effectively managed the conflicting pressure of the programme and my job role.

2. My supervision understood and supported my abstraction from operational duties so that I could prepare for the NI Exam.

In relation to the first statement 71.74% agreed that they had time managed well, as opposed to 28.26% who disagreed. In relation to the second statement 70.65% agreed that supervision understood and were supportive, as opposed to 26.09% who disagreed with 3.26% offering no comment. These statistics are suggestive of a positive programme

for the participants who completed the ICIDP process. Again, the views of the participants in interview offered a different perspective and it allowed me as the interviewer to now 'observe' what the participants really felt about the whole programme as it is their perceptions regarding their learning experience as a trainee detective that contribute to a better understanding of organisational culture in this instance.

Feelings of Isolation and Conflict

Thomas shared a very open feeling in relation to career development, recognising the requirement to move on, to develop. Culturally, Thomas demonstrated a number of Schein and Schein (2017) categories, particularly categories three, eight and nine;

> I don't want to sound derogatory by saying from the run of the mill policing, but I was getting to the point where I had had enough of response anyway. I felt increasingly isolated on response and I felt that the support around you wasn't there because everybody else was always dealing with something else and there just weren't enough of us.

Thomas then talked about his career and how it was temporarily out of his control;

> I like the plain clothes unit and I felt we could have taken it further, but the culture of the police was changing; the culture of society was certainly changing, and politics was changing. We got told one day that we were no longer effective as a unit and we were being merged into what was the Volume Crime Team.

Diane discussed how early organisational culture and learning impacted on confidence and isolation *"I was out of my depth in FSU* [Family Support Unit] *and when it came to the files and things like that I felt constantly stressed"*. The reasons for these feelings became clear;

> I had no training whatsoever. I wasn't even given somebody to work with in the FSU, and there was a bit of a culture there at the time and there was one particular person who was a 'big I am', and you were made to feel that you were the lowest of the low. But I was carrying as many jobs as they were but just simple things like going to strategy meetings and things like that, where you don't know what you're doing. You go in and you feel a bit of a fool because you are mixing with different agencies and if you don't know what you're doing. So,

the actual pressure it put on you not knowing what you are doing, and trying to look professional at the same time is really hard.

Sean had earlier spoken around the euphemism of 'Plastic Detective' in the section on PIP and the university. Here, he shares his feelings on inclusivity which form part of Schein and Schein (2017) characteristics of climate and group norms;

Before I did any form of CID training 'no' is the honest answer. There was clearly a divide, but there were almost two disciplines within the Police. What I saw almost overnight, in 2009 about the time when the Pathway happened, which was the big CT [Counter Terrorism] *investigation, that detectives were all of a sudden expected to be intelligence professionals, and I saw experienced detectives with twenty years plus experience struggling to fill out forms and it was then that I realised the future would be very much intelligence focused. At that point it felt quite positive, and even though I wasn't a qualified detective I still have worth. But that divide was always there, and I think it is still there to an extent now. Some people take a great deal of pleasure in putting PC next to someone's name as opposed to DC. I've seen a very experienced DS change a whiteboard that said DCI to Chief Inspector. I don't think we will ever eradicate it but, as time goes on, the ICIDP will become the norm as opposed to the older generation.*

Sean's perspective presented a clear cultural divide within the department he works in. The integration of police officers into the Counter Terrorist Unit along with previously experienced detectives created a 'climate' (Schein and Schein, 2017). This is demonstrated through behaviour as Sean describes experienced Detective Sergeants changing names from Detective Chief Inspector to Chief Inspector, purely because this individual would not have progressed at any stage of their career through a detective training programme. It is not about the fact that the Chief Inspector holds the higher rank, it is the status of detective that is missing which, according to Schein and Schein, is the way groups characterise themselves by creating an environment within the office. Sean also alludes to this environment between the title changes of Detective Constable to Police Constable when in fact there is no difference in rank, it is purely about status.

Thomas, Diane and Sean all work in separate *fields* within the northern police service. If their views are examined under the lens of Community of Practice, then as Wenger (1998) suggests, "each participant in a community of practice finds a unique place and gains a unique identity, which is both further integrated and further defined in the course of the engagement in practice" (ibid., p. 76). What Wenger suggests is that the 'mutual relationship' which is formed does not entail homogeneity. At times the interpersonal relationship (as described above) can generate tensions and conflicts and, in some communities, conflict can even be a core characteristic of a shared practice. These factors and the cultural characteristic referred to by Schein and Schein (2017) which are not always visible within organisations, let alone to the individual. Furthermore, as Wenger (1998) stresses "disagreement, challenges and competition can all be forms of participation" (p. 77) and a shared practice connects participants to each other in ways that are diverse and complex. I make the point that whilst the participants have revealed difficult situations these have contributed to learning and understanding organisational culture within their learning experience, although the learning for the individual may not be truly recognisable to themselves.

Organisational Change

Organisational culture predominantly sits at the management level of the organisation and is filtered downwards, whilst occupational culture is prevalent with its frontline workers (Macvean et al, 2012). Chan (1996) suggests that police culture transcends knowledge and exists in a variety of sub-cultures which represents how an organisation shapes itself, and how they adjust and revise according to re-evaluation and change. For police officers, culture is constructed by themselves which provides a "vehicle for analogous thinking" (ibid., p. 14) according to their need and requirements. For Punch (2015) "there are many 'cultures' within policing and police culture is not monolithic: it is more of a complex, matrix

than an easily defined, one dimensional concept" (p. 107). Therefore, the learning experiences of the trainee detective can be influenced by both the organisational change, in this instance PIP and the introduction of a foundation degree, and by what those changes bring to them and their learning experience.

I detailed in chapter two the process of development through the ICIDP programme which demonstrated significant organisational change. Jill described organisational change which she feels she would have benefitted from for her own learning;

> *I think it is something I would have liked to have been part of – to see what the approach is to crime in general without everything being a specialist response. I didn't feel too lacking because I hadn't worked in this way just because I'd had enough knowledge of that world and it wasn't alien to me but, yes, I hadn't had that experience and I think it would have been beneficial to me really.*

Steven described having to accept organisational issues linked to the ICIDP programme as at that time he had no settled learning environment;

> *The way in which my division was doing it at the time was I was on a rotation between departments: we had the main CID office; we had a Serious Sexual Offences Unit and then the Volume Crime Team, and we had to spend approximately three months in each.*

For Jill, her transition as a trainee detective meant that she had been moved to a specialist post and did not have the benefit of working in a divisional crime investigation unit, providing a static learning experience with limited exposure to other departments. Steven had the flexibility of being involved in different departments to gain experience but the rotation was too much and too quick (an issue re-visited when discussing tutors and portfolio completion) for him to settle into a learning routine.

I have earlier discussed Communities of Practice and 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation' and having described the *field* which all the participants occupy suggests that these terms do capture the individuals as a member of a community (the northern police service), albeit

their association and learning experience are somewhat different as are the fields. More

so, the existence of a Community of Practice is not dependant on a fixed membership and

the constant change of its members causes perpetual evolution (Wenger, 1998, p. 99).

Whilst I have provided the perspectives of Jill and Steven within organisational change,

Wenger (1998) suggests that Communities of Practice are "not havens of peace" (p. 101)

and their continued development involves political change of both the organisation and the

individual, and of the distinct perspectives that each of them directly or indirectly impose

on the practice. Understanding CoP helps here. Wenger relates the peripheral

engagement of the participant as being provided with a sense of how the community

operates. Both Jill and Steven have experienced different legitimate participation which

has contributed to their learning and knowledge. Thomas provides an enlightening

response to organisational change and the culture that sits within;

> *I think the organisation, as a whole, was supportive of the process and that is*
> *certainly the way the organisation wanted the detectives to go. They wanted an*
> *organisation of trained detective constables, so they could say they had*
> *professional police officers who had been trained to degree level and follow the*
> *national accredited process, and I think that would only benefit the police and I*
> *think that the skills that we learnt through the process were beneficial to the*
> *police. But then individuals within the organisation would probably be a little bit*
> *more sceptical of it, certainly those who would consider themselves detectives*
> *but had never gone through the process.*

Thomas described a cultural barrier of being new to role with the required accreditation as

opposed to the "*older*" non-accredited detective who had undergone a totally different

learning programme. However, according to Wenger (1998);

> …practice is an ongoing, social, interactional process and the introduction of
> newcomers is merely a version of what practice already is. That members
> interact, do things together, negotiate new meaning, and learn from each other
> is already inherent in practice – that is how practice evolves.
>
> (p. 102)

This evolving concept of community is perceived by Thomas;

> *Certainly, where I am now there are people who are in my office who are*
> *waiting to go on the ICIDP process and they are getting a lot more support now*

from the supervisors that are evident to me than when I was going through it that I got.

I detailed earlier within the thesis that Wenger et al (2002) defined CoP as a group of people with a common interest, problems and passions which may also develop a common sense of identity. Whilst there is a common sense of identity through the police service, the trainee detectives also have to develop knowledge and experience across a variety of internal *fields,* attempting to understand the different internal organisational cultures that may occur.

Work-Based Portfolio and Tutors

The relevance of the completion of the work-based portfolio and the support and guidance of a qualified tutor presented itself as a major theme for the interviewed participants. Indeed, this theme prompted research questions to be constructed for the interview phase as a result of the initial data collection via the Survey Monkey questionnaire. Again, these questions were posed as a statement which is detailed below.

1. I was allocated a tutor throughout the period of study.

   53% agreed, 43.82% disagreed, 2.25% no comment.

2. The tutor assigned to me gave me the sufficient support I needed to complete the programme.

   55.06% agreed, 37.08% disagreed, 7.87% no comment.

3. The tutor was accessible when I needed her/him.

   58.43% agreed, 32.58% disagreed, 8.99% no comment.

4. The tutor was constructive and aided my learning on the programme.

   59.55% agreed, 30.34% disagreed, 10.11% no comment.

These initial questions provided a foundation for development within this research. The participants were quite vocal around the allocation of a tutor and the work-based portfolio

as some of the participants' responses demonstrate. However, I take this opportunity to re-visit my position as an 'insider' researcher as detailed in chapters one and four. Whilst I was aware of the organisational difficulties of allocation of tutors and the completion of the portfolio, the questions were posed to understand the deeper perceptions of the participants, in other words to try and understand root causes from an organisational perspective so that learning requirements could be adjusted and accounted for accordingly. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss operational and organisational transition to cope with demand it is fair to say that these issues were addressed for future participants.

What follows are the perceptions of the participants that I interviewed, dealing with the allocation of tutors first and portfolio second. Re-visiting the 'observability' of Schein and Schein (2017) regarding complexity of culture and being mindful of Lave and Wenger's "Community of Practice" the responses cross over both the subject of tutors and of portfolio frequently. Additionally, the responses to both questions were covered by all participants, and findings from the participants suggested that those who had a tutor for the ICIDP programme also had a positive experience whilst completing the portfolio. Those without a tutor similarly did not have a good experience of completing the portfolio.

Jill describes her relationship with the tutor whilst recognising her own ability and limitations;

> I think he gave me the actual confidence to deal with things. From a practical knowledge point of view, we were going out to jobs and it was maybe jobs he'd been to before and so there was some experience being transferred. But in terms of what I actually learnt from him maybe I can't list a load of things… but he was genuinely a positive person who attacked each day with enthusiasm and if there was a job there to do then he would go and do it… I think it is really important that kind of positive outlook on how to crack on and deal with an investigation rather than from just a knowledge point of view.

John shared a similar experience;

> *I was lucky to have a tutor who enjoyed tutoring and who was a really experienced and competent detective who worked with me quite closely on things until he was happy that he could loosen the reins a little bit.*

Anthony presented a further positive relationship with his tutor whilst acknowledging that not everyone was fortunate to have the same support from the organisation;

> *My tutor was great, and he'd been a detective for nearly eight years in different roles but every job that he went to we'd debrief, not in a formal way but informally afterwards to see what we'd learnt. He'd even do things before you had to do them; even things like taking samples if you'd not done that before and he'd show you. So, it was a really effective two way process where you felt that you were a part of that team.*

Focusing on the portfolio aspect of the ICIDP programme was for some a continuous piece of work that did not present any difficulties or present any complex learning issues other than the blending of core policing into completion of the portfolio. Jill remarked;

> *The portfolio itself was a straightforward enough thing to do once you sat down and looked at it properly and considered what you'd been doing. But, generally, it becomes a challenge to complete that segment because you are back in the working arena and your priority is dealing with your daily work.*

As a contrast, whilst John enjoyed a good relationship with his tutor, the completion of the work-based portfolio cause work related issues;

> *…there was no protected time for me to do that during work, so it was mostly done at home.*

Inequality and management of process was discussed with John, and although he was supported by direct supervision when available, John still generally talked of a positive learning experience compared to others;

> *I know some officers who have been on the course and come out of it, and who had not been assigned a tutor, and don't feel that they'd been sufficiently supported or developed through that process.*

Anthony had no work related issues and linked the process to their own learning regarding the completion of the portfolio;

> *I tended to do mine at home rather than in work time because you don't have the time to put the right amount of effort into it, you do not have the time whilst you are at work.*

For other participants, the relationship between the tutor and the support offered around the completion of the portfolio differed and therefore had an impact on the individual. The concepts of *field, capital* and CoP demonstrate their strength in social relationships. Understanding where the trainee detective worked and the community that they were aligned with, along with an understanding of the actual benefit to the trainee detective presented different and complex views of how they perceived their learning experience. Whether individually analysed or observed at the same time, the participants' responses identified issues of support both from a tutoring perspective to a perspective that organisationally appeared disorganised and messy. The participants' *field* and differentiation in the type of work streams that they were involved in may have been a contributing factor. I suggest that from the results presented from the questionnaire and responses from the participants the key reason for lack of tutor support was simply that there were not enough.

Significantly, the final phase and most importantly the putting into practice of what was learnt theoretically in the classroom being transferred into the workplace was critical as the completion of the portfolio and its associated competencies was required to enable the participant to be PIP level two accredited. At the same time the accreditation had to be assessed by the university for completion of the process, and to be awarded the foundation degree. This process was time driven and should have been completed within a six to twelve month period. However, there were occasions, due to individual or organisational issues, that this was not met.

Adding to these issues, organisationally, the participant had been provided with some verbal reassurance that a tutor would be allocated once they left the classroom phase. The tutor should have been a qualified detective to PIP level two but, in some instances, tutors were by title only as they may have been a qualified detective but may not have completed a tutor's course which was additional training provided to support their 'trainee'. This research suggests that the tutoring could be unpredictable at best, and for some participants poorly managed and unsupportive of their learning which is not professional and not conducive with the components of CoP.

These points are reiterated by David regarding relationships with tutors;

> I think I had four but none of them lasted longer than a couple of weeks.

David gave the reason as there were two trainee detectives on his team at the same time and of the five detectives on his team, only one was a tutor. He also talked of a disjointed work-based learning phase but with a positive attitude, particularly when the opportunity arose to work with his tutor;

> …when I did work with her it was brilliant because she was teaching me so much practical stuff and how to behave at a scene. It was the stuff that you don't learn in a training course.

Whilst David's contact with his tutor was infrequent, he did mention that his direct supervision provided support when she was not available. It is difficult therefore to judge whether the elements of CoP were present, or indeed, whether the process was professional in structure. From David's perspective, whilst support was disjointed in process he was satisfied that his skills and abilities were being supported. In respect of completing his portfolio, he describes the difficulty of having appropriate time. This was evident in his response and identified differences within the organisation;

> It was frustrating because there were certain departments that I was aware of that was getting days at work to do it whereas that just wasn't practical for me

> *where I was …I had to do a lot of it in my own time and that is probably the reason why it was late.*

Interestingly, whilst he describes his experience as disjointed, he had a very strong view on how he saw taking responsibility for learning;

> *Personally, I saw it as part of my professional development it was not something just to do with work it was to get me onto a better career path and a lot of other professions would not have given you time, not in a million years to do it. So, I was reluctant but happy to do it.*

For Sally, her contact with her tutor was succinctly answered; *"non-existent if I am honest"*, although earlier within the analysis section she had described a good supportive relationship with her supervisor, "*Officially, 'yes' but unofficially, 'no'"* .

As detailed in chapter two the PIP programme required a tutor, but an officer of supervisory rank could fulfil this role in the absence of the designated tutor. Even then, Sean was still disappointed with the outcome; "*I would say that I had a constructive relationship with a difficult character"*.

For Sally, her portfolio was late due to ill health and no other reason. Sean expressed a very positive experience completing his portfolio on time and updating it every time he had a 'job' to reference. Both Sally and Sean invariably still presented a positive outcome even though organisationally they did not feel overly supported.

Steven had three tutors across three separate departments and although change and consistency of approach by the individual tutor was lacking, he reported a very positive outcome experientially as a wider depth of experience was learned. Consequently, although evidence had been gained across different locations, his last supervisor was understanding and provided '*protected time*', in other words, time away from operational

work whilst the portfolio was completed due to not having been supported with this on his other attachments.

Kate suggested a tolerable working relationship with her tutor, which she said worked both ways and stated that her supervision became dogmatic whilst her portfolio was completed as they saw it as a distraction to other police work which was more pressing and important. To describe the perception of the participants mentioned without referring to the organisational culture presents a singular view and cannot be judged as a generalisation. As an organisation, it appeared to be managing under a shortage of resource, particularly for tutors, yet no one participant went unsupervised or they could not have completed their learning programme. This to some degree identifies with Schein and Schein (2017) "rules of the game" which allows the individuals to get along within the organisation. Nonetheless, and regardless of what each participant discussed, they all made it clear that no matter what difficulty or issue they encountered they had all had a different learning experience from which they had benefitted. The use of *field* and its understanding has enabled me to view the learning experiences of the participants interviewed from a holistic perspective and understand the complexities that each one of them faced. This will be developed in the concluding chapter.

There was also a perceived need to meet the required standard of the PIP programme along with the six week classroom based phase which included the trainers and a representative from the university. They were also aware that the portfolio would not only be assessed by their tutor and/or supervisor but it would be assessed by the training school trainers in conjunction with the university assessor.

A 'Bourdieusian Analysis' – who they are

The process and collection of data demanded decisions as to the presentation, relevance and significance of the material collated. With this in mind, I always intended the material, specifically from the interviewed participants to be a representation of their perspectives borne out of their experience throughout the PIP programme. Simultaneously, I was interested in the individual's *habitus* which, as Bourdieu advocates, is a product of history producing individual and collective practises, "it ensures that active presence of past experiences … a present past that tends to perpetuate similar structured practices" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 54). For these reasons, the research interviews included rich and truthful revelations of the participants' family background, education and influences that had either consciously or subconsciously contributed to the participants' identity from an objective and subjective experience of their reality. Their *habitus* critically formed outside of the police establishment provided an impression of who they are and how they are managing their transition, not just within the police, but managed in their private lives. It also reveals, for some, a demonstration of the 'hysteresis' effect of their transition in life, notably, the effect education has had on them and how the participant explains their continuous development, represented in this thesis as the acquisition of Bourdieu's concept of cultural *capital*. I return to this in the concluding chapter.

Participants' Habitus

I detailed earlier in the analysis section that of the thirteen participants who agreed to be interviewed, seven already hold a degree whilst the remainer did not. Whilst this provides a statistical overview of the participants, what it does not reveal is how their *habitus* was developed, what support and circumstances they individually encountered and what it means to them. What follows is an insight into their history as I presented mine in chapter one. I say insight as it would be impossible to include everyone's full account and this

thesis is not about life stories but to better understand their perceptions of learning as a new to role detective officer. However, to understand this learning required understanding the participants' history in more detail and I have chosen to highlight five participants, three of whom have a first degree, two who have progressed from not holding a degree to a foundation degree (as have all participants involved). Bourdieu suggests, "these practices can be accounted for only by relating the objective structure defining the social conditions in which this habitus is operating, that is to the conjuncture which, short of radical transformation, represents a particular state of this structure" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78).

I earlier discussed what defines police culture from an individual perspective and how this is then situated within the organisation. The participants I interviewed may have demonstrated a working practice of police culture but by engaging with them around their *habitus* provided a different perspective of who they are. As Bourdieu expressed;

> …in each of us, in varying proportions, there is part of yesterday's man; it is yesterday's man who inevitably predominates in us, since the present amounts to little compared with the long past in the course of which we were formed and from which we result.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 79)

The discussion that follows is a combination of my interpretation and the words of the participants in relation to their trajectory of becoming a police officer, but more importantly what has contributed to making them who they are today.

Thomas achieved eleven good GCSE grades. He describes taking three 'A' levels inclusive of Physical Education, Geography and Psychology, describing Psychology as his passion;

> *I enjoyed them all and I really fell into Psychology and I loved the way it kind of opened up ideas on the reasons why we do certain thing.*

Thomas was very keen to pursue his passion for Psychology and had decided that he wanted to attend university. His first choice was Cardiff University, but he was not successful and therefore went to his second choice where he obtained a 2.1 Bachelor of Science in Psychology. He wanted to complete a Master of Science in the same discipline at Surrey which was one of the leading places to study. Unfortunately, he was not successful in the application and put that down to not having enough life experience. Thomas showed an interest in study yet at the same time showed an element of disappointment by not being able to realise his choices of university and follow on degree. He summarised his decision as;

I had no preconceived idea of what I wanted to do which was quite scary at the time and I had a friend who had applied and joined the police and it opened my eyes to that world.

He expressed that by joining the police, it would be a way of gaining the experience he needed. It was not clear at this juncture what he was referring to, whether it was policing, or, experience for further study in psychology, but it appeared by is tone and his body language that this would be an area he would return to later in the interview, which he did.

Steven went to a comprehensive school in a difficult area, which from his perspective did not achieve good results. However, he worked hard and gained ten GCSEs (General Certificate of Secondary Education) which encouraged him to go onto sixth form. He describes taking on four advanced level ('A' Level) qualifications but found it difficult as he was not "the golden student" that he was at his previous school;

My attendance wasn't so good, and I didn't put the effort in that I did at school because I realised that, after my first year at college that I wanted to be a police officer. I knew that I didn't need to have 'A' Levels or a degree to become a police officer, so my interest waned.

Diane described her potential for qualifications as succinctly as;

> *'O' level and that's it. University wasn't ever discussed because you didn't go to university when I left school unless you were particularly academic.*

She then went on to express an element of disappointment regarding formative education, scraping through 'O' Levels and Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE). She also described how her economics teacher did not think that she was good enough to pass the exam and how her parents paid for her to take it. This still affected her learning as she felt that money was the driver and so she had to pass it, so she did. Diane finally obtained six 'O' Levels but said that she did not enjoy it. She put that down to not doing the subjects that she wanted to do;

> *All I wanted to do was to be a police officer from the age of eleven and I was very short for my age and I was quite girly, so I was made to do shorthand and typing and the usual things, so I didn't really do the exams I wanted to do.*

Diane spoke about a relatively unhappy childhood which had an impact on her learning and this influenced her earlier choices. I return to this in more detail shortly.

Anthony describes a whole different story regarding educational development. He describes living in a good area and attending a good school in his home town within the district of Cumbria. He described himself as an average student achieving ten GCSE grades A to C and then completed 'A' Levels. He knew that he wanted to join the police and had a desire to attend university where he had the choice to study exactly what he wanted to do. He had an exceptionally positive experience of university life;

> *Academia doesn't define who I am, but it gave me the tools and the understanding and a way of challenging my own assumptions and belief. I did my degree in criminology and I got a 2.1 and, from there, I got a distinction in masters and everything I've done has progressed from that quality of work.*

Anthony then acknowledged that this positive experience of learning is something that he has continued to use as a police officer having gained the confidence through a university environment;

> *I think it's helped me now because I think I've got a combination of common sense and an understanding of academia and how to learn and that understanding of knowledge and what it can do for you.*

Natalie charts her formal education as totally disjointed with a lack of interest in advance level study having achieved six 'O' Levels and then taking on 'A' Levels without any real advice. The only reason for remaining at school was;

> *Because I had no idea of what I actually wanted to do and so I thought it was best to stay in education than go and just get some kind of low paid job.*

She also described how she had avoided telling her parents how she felt about studying for 'A' Levels and how she did not come from a family where everybody had been to university, and so she did not feel as though it was a natural progression, and suggested that it was a bit out of reach. She displayed a very mature approach to this period of her life, knowing that study was not what she wanted to do, and that it was her choice. She worked overseas for about three years describing work ranging from nannying to tour representative, dancer, cleaner, pot washer, barmaid and waitress, developing her language skills (Spanish) and her confidence of dealing with members of the public, using a mixture of personal and social skills which were under developed prior to this section of her life. On returning to work in England, Natalie describes how she worked for the Inland Revenue, and then as support staff for the police;

> *… that fired an inquisitive side into what it would be like being a police officer. Prior to that I had no desire to be a police officer whatsoever.*

She attributed her development towards being a police officer as having a wider experience of dealing with people in conflicting situations having developed good listening skills and being non-judgemental.

Fuller (2012) suggests the term 'conatus' appears infrequently in Bourdieu's work. When Bourdieu used the term it was used with a particular reference to social class and position. Where he does refer to 'conatus' within his empirical work it is assigned a simple definition as a concept that has a 'taken for granted' attitude utilised in ordinary social research, more of a 'life trajectory' status and one that passes within family history as cultural *capital* (ibid., pp. 169-175). What follows are descriptions by the participants of parental support in relation to how the participant viewed their trajectory into early adulthood or university.

Thomas talks of his father as being quite clever having attended a grammar school. He says he was academically minded but was unsure if he had attended university. He emphasised that he would always go to his father if he needed help with his homework. His mother was described as being more resourceful, providing the emotional support for the family. He described his mother as not being particularly academically minded and put his mother and father's grounded relationship down to their culture as they matured. He described his father as working in insurance and his mother being employed in various roles throughout the retail industry, finishing her career as an administration officer for the National Health Service. Thomas' decision to go to university was not wholly a family decision but recalls his parents expressing a view around furthering a career through a university, and being proud once he had obtained a degree. However, he expressed disappointment in only achieving a 2:1 degree, believing he was capable of a first. This reflection was not dissimilar to Thomas' feelings around 'A' levels and lack of success with his first choice of university, yet he stated;

> *Very proud that I was the first person in the family to get a degree, still am very proud of that. Even prouder now that my cousin has gone to university and got a degree, I think that it is brilliant. I have been able to help her out with the whole process and what it's like. Parents are very proud, very pleased. My brother was equally as proud and supportive of what I had done as were the extended family.*

Thomas described being quite a close family with a good relationship with his brother and his wife and her extended family, always sharing life successes and disappointments. He has shown a strong mental attitude towards his learning, supported by his family and described his formative learning at university whilst working as a volunteer youth worker as a positive experience;

> *It certainly opened my eyes to the fact that working in those types of areas would give your life skills in talking and dealing with people.*

His experience of university transferred into his police career which is explored later in cultural *capital.*

Steven talks about the support and influences that have imprinted on his life choices and career. He described his relationship with his father as emotionally difficult after his father had had an affair and left the family home when he was ten years old. He saw him infrequently for the following two years, attempting to re-establish a relationship when he was around eighteen years old and last saw him in 2006 when Steven was married. His father was a skilled cabinet maker who had not attained any higher education qualifications. Steven described his father as having no involvement in his schooling and college education. His relationship with his mother was significantly different. His mother had brought him and his sister up whilst working full-time as a serving police officer, recently discovering that his mother had kept a newspaper cutting of his success in this GCSE results. He stated his mother had been a big influence on his career decision;

> *I see my mum as a good person essentially, and the way in which she helps people is probably the main thing which made me want to join the police.*

Steven had shared a difficult time in his life regarding his trajectory and this changed again having met his future wife at seventeen and marrying her at twenty five. He described her as an academic who obtained a first class honours degree from Manchester University

who then joined British Telecom on a graduate scheme as a human resource business manager. He described how she has helped plan his development within the police;

She professionalised my approach really. Instead of me just sitting there thinking that I'd apply to the police she's introduced a kind of planning element for me questioning why I want to do things and where I ultimately want to get to and is that the best way of getting there and achieving my goals. Not just that but also pushing those goals as well: so why just do this; why aren't you aiming higher? Because she believed that I could do that.

The strength and influence of his mother guided Steven in his early educational development and although he did not attend university his ambition and determination have developed through support of his mother and more latterly his wife. His achievement of obtaining a foundation degree as part of his continuous development is detailed later in this chapter.

Diane had a similar experience to Steven, describing her earlier life as living with her grandma from being an infant until she was five as her mother left home and entered a different relationship. Her father re-married and her relationship with her step-mother was poor. Educationally, her father was a panel beater who eventually owned his own business and her mother did not work full-time after re-marrying only working occasionally in shops and did not develop a career. Diane describes her childhood as *"shitty"* with no support in her earlier years.

Having joined the police, Diane met her first husband who did not like the fact that she was a police officer. This as she describes broke up the marriage and she said;

I could see history repeating itself because I had two kids and I thought that they were going to have to go through what I went through as a kid, broken home and that, it is not going to happen.

Diane describes how her children admire her for taking an eight year career break so that she could support them. She emphasised how she did not want to mirror the experience

of her childhood for her children and saw the opportunity of supporting the children as her choice. This meant a great deal to Diane regarding family support and the potential of sacrificing her own career so that history did not repeat itself. She describes not going to university and explained the support provided by her for her children as her middle son is on his second degree. She recalled a conversation they had had;

> *Mum, you always put yourself down. Why do you always think that you're stupid because you're not? Look how well you've done. Under different circumstances and if you had been given the chances that I had you would be where I am.*

Diane's earlier experience regarding family life and education had been difficult yet her strength taken from these experiences pushed her to support her children and, as mentioned earlier in the analysis, she scored 82% in the NIE and went onto pass the foundation degree.

Anthony's *habitus* developed from an early age. His father had his own business and through helping him he believes common sense was instilled into him from an early age. He described a steady common sense approach being influenced by his father's attitude as his father left school at fourteen working in a steel works, later transferring into joinery and acquiring a BTEC qualification. Now his father manages a local business being in charge of health and safety and also gaining qualifications as a yacht master. His father did not attend university as his father stated that it was not really an option that was available to him. However, he describes his father as a very practical person and states that his qualifications are based around the practical side of life. He describes his mother as a bright, caring and skilfully emotionally intelligent mother who did not attend university but focused on marriage, children and supporting himself and his brother and sister in his schooling and career choice. He described his parents as providing a steady, supportive environment which nurtured support without pressure. His parents showed a keen interest in his schooling whilst enjoying his formative years yet skilfully reminding him and his

siblings of the importance of a good education so that it would enable them to have different choices in life that his parents did not choose.

Anthony further described how his parents did not hesitate to support him through university and how they had paid for his master's degree describing how he was grateful for the emotional and financial sacrifices that they had made. Anthony described how proud his parents are with the living room wall of photographs of all the children's graduations. He described his achievements in academia as;

> *I think it's a combination of coming from a very caring home with those values of helping other people and I do get a lot of satisfaction out of helping other people.*

He also describes being influenced by his uncle who was a police sergeant and having a strong supportive family which allowed him to tailor his education through undergraduate to Masters in Criminology so that he could pursue his passion of being a police officer. Anthony's *habitus* provided a strong supportive progression which he has taken into the police services, prevalent in his earlier answers within this chapter.

Natalie describes the development of her *habitus* from the perspective of being emotionally supported and loved as opposed to understanding what education could mean to her. She states that neither of her parents had progressed in education past the age of sixteen and suggested that neither of her parents never really understood what she was doing educationally. What was clear, was a loving settled environment were her parents trusted and supported her in other ways, both financially, and in allowing her to make her own career choices which she described earlier in the analysis. This had a strong influence on how she has managed her own police career and at the same time informed Natalie of the benefits of education and the opportunities that qualifications provide.

I clearly didn't take to further education [seriously] *and having had my own children now and seen them go through GCSEs and A Levels and university and seen all the support that is there from the schools and how much parent support is expected.*

This provided Natalie with a more defined view on her own continuous professional development.

Cultural *Capital*

I earlier defined cultural *capital* as connected to an individual's general education, disposition and learning, connected to qualifications and institutions of learning, such as a college or university. It has also been described as Grenfell and James (1998) as having the feature of being able to buy other products within the *field* (p. 20). This is explained as having a tangible benefit which can be used by the individual as purchasing power in fields of occupation and education.

Thomas shared his 'conatus' in respect of family and further education. Having completed the ICIDP process he described how it has contributed towards his professional development as a police officer;

It's the evidence that I can do my job and that I feel confident that I can do my job and I have a document now to prove that I've done my job to this level and it's been accredited by police officers and by a university.

He continued to describe how he had benefitted from the structured training programme and how having come from a background of learning that others should understand that the ICIDP helps learning rather than being something that just has to be completed. Thomas discussed other benefits of the ICIDP and foundation degree describing a change in his role from a divisional detective to now working in a specialist unit;

If you were to apply for a job within the police in a detective role now one of the essential criteria is that you are willing to do the ICIDP process or you've already done it. If you are not willing to do that then you aren't going to get a detective's job.

Despite the acquired cultural *capital* from university and through the police service it now seemed troublesome for Thomas who talked at length about the complexities of investigation and changing police priorities such that he was considering a career change and re-entering education in Psychology. His passion for this path of education and career lingers in his *habitus.*

Steven described the benefit of having completed the ICIDP programme and foundation degree as having a piece of paper with his name on it that could be referenced in his continuous work-based portfolio. But, in reality it meant much more than that as he had clearly thought through the benefit of taking the promotion examination to sergeant with detective status as opposed to being a uniform constable;

> *…I always had it in the back of my mind that I wanted to do the part one sergeant's exam and I knew that if I did that in uniform and got promoted to a sergeant in uniform then it would be much more difficult to move to a detective role so the best way of doing it was to open the detective door and then open the promotion door. So, it widened my career opportunities in the future…*

Diane also spoke of improved confidence from the whole learning programme in having the skills and abilities to make better informed decisions whilst involved in investigations. Diane saw the process from a different perspective. Having discussed her *habitus* with her parents and transition into education and the police she was pleased that she had succeeded and thought that she should have completed the full degree but was hesitant because of the impact that it would have caused on her work life balance.

Diane also presented one of the strongest views on the whole programme when asked about personal benefit;

> *I get nothing more. When I look at my crime page I look at the files I'm carrying and the amount of work I'm carrying, and I look out of the window and I see uniformed officers walking round earning exactly the same money as me without a care in the world and no pressure. So, for me, the organisation does not recognise it unless I go for a job and I can tick a box to let them know that*

> *I've got it. They don't care whether I got eighty percent or fifty-five percent in my exams. So, I work with people who scraped through on their second or third attempt and who get exactly the same for it as I do. I feel very strongly about that.*

Diane also alluded to *culture* with the organisational context and suggested that all that matters for the organisation was to make sure that it had sufficient numbers of officers qualified as opposed to valuing what the individual had achieved. This view is not to dissimilar to Cockcroft (2014) regarding organisations imposing change programmes upon their staff which conflict with the values of the staff they are imposed upon.

Anthony had a very positive view of the ICIDP programme demonstrating a continuous trajectory over his future continuous professional development. He simplified his answer to include aspects of initial criminal investigation which had boosted his confidence and how the completion of the programme and the attainment of the foundation degree and PIP level 2 contributed to his acceptance in another police service but immediately assisted in a temporary promotion and attachment to a working group dealing with death in custody. He also had an acceptance of organisational culture for learning and development and took a more pragmatic view of it than it was perceived by Steven;

> *…I think that when you are dealing with top end jobs where you are exposed, as an organisation, to massive levels of risk then you learn how to deal with things a lot better. You learn how to cope with serious crime and, as a result of that; there is a process in place to make sure that the new detectives that are coming through are prepared to a level that will allow them to do that job.*

Natalie explained the cultural *capital* that she gained very succinctly;

> *Yeah, definitely. Well, I wouldn't be in that job I'm doing now if I hadn't done that programme.*

The whole programme had a transformational effect on Natalie in respect of learning as she described how she continued her professional development and completed a Level 4

teacher/trainer certificate.   She also described how her parents were very proud of her now that she was a qualified detective who trained detectives.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I introduced the data collected from the Survey Monkey questionnaire and from those participants who were individually interviewed.   With the aim of this study constantly in mind, I presented the analysis of the participants' responses whilst integrating the topics of higher education within the police, work-based learning and culture set against the three main research questions.   The use of the concepts of Bourdieu has enabled me to provide an interpretation of the responses which have demonstrated diversity between the *fields* in which the participants occupy and present their interpretation in relation to obtaining the PIP qualification and foundation degree whilst contrasting their responses to their own biography.   The analysis has exposed a diverse CoP within the northern police service, particularly around organisational culture and in the final chapter I address each research question and provide an answer before my final conclusions.

Chapter Six

<u>Conclusions</u>

In this final chapter I commence with a reminder from the opening paragraph in chapter one that the concept of the police as an occupation with a professional status is not new (Holdaway, 2017), being described by White and Heslop (2012) as having novel and inconsistent structures in place in respect of the training and development of police officers through higher education. Whilst White and Heslop (2012) present their argument in the wider context of policing, this study has attempted to identify and understand how trainee detectives have perceived their learning experience in relation to their professional development and accreditation through he PIP process and a university foundation degree. The previous chapter provided an analysis of the data that I have collected and what I present here is a refinement of the three questions bringing each question to a conclusion. I then reflect and re-visit the concepts of Bourdieu and CoP and discuss their value methodologically through the conceptual and theoretical framework that I have used. Finally, I address the contribution this study makes to knowledge in the context of police service professional development for detective officers and suggest areas for future research within this field.

I start the discussion on conclusions with the first research question.

1. How do trainee detectives perceive the experience of studying for the foundation degree and PIP accreditation within their role?

The findings in the previous chapter indicated a very separate and diverse process being employed within the northern police service, particularly around initial entry into the PIP process and the subsequent NIE. The detectives involved in the study all occupied a different field and each detective interviewed possessed a different level of cultural capital, (Table 1, Chapter one, page 11). Understanding the diversity of the departments that each

detective works in, and the different level of cultural *capital* that they individually possessed provided an opportunity to understand how this may impact on the individual and their experience. Whilst White and Heslop (2012) have argued in the wider context regarding inconsistences in training and development, PIP was introduced in 2003 to provide a robust process aligned to national standards (College of Policing, 2016). PIP also provided national guidelines along with rules and conventions that are applicable to all forty three different police regions to provide consistency of process, (Chapter 2, page 57). The importance of having a fair admission policy is the foundation on which to build a professionalised process and this was found to be inconsistent across the northern police service which had an organisational effect on the management and allocation of places onto the PIP process. Individual perspectives varied involving the admission process from Natalie feeling pressurised, Diane feeling anxious, Jill feeling very little pressure and Anthony feeling fully supported, to the extreme of Kate revealing an unpleasant, isolated and discriminatory experience. I cannot make any generalisations about the initial admission process and on reflection I should have included this area within the research questionnaire as it may have presented a wider opportunity for analysis. However, the comments made by the participants and the fact that they were all situated in separate *fields* suggest that at the time, the process of induction onto the PIP programme was as White and Heslop (2012) suggested, novel and inconsistent.

In respect of the NIE process, the study time allocated to the detectives prior to the examination appeared to be appropriate for the three hundred participants who took part in the survey, 68.13% being satisfied with 31.87% suggesting that more time to study was required. Similarly, the participants who were interviewed presented a mixed response which varied from having appropriate time to compete their study to not enough. Whilst the NIE rules and syllabus detailed in chapter two state the number of times the candidate

may take the examination this appeared different in the views of the interviewed participants with no direct consequence attached or none that were revealed should the candidate fail. The connection to the university did not elicit much comment from the participants interviewed except that the assumption was that a process between the northern police service and the university was in place, and was being managed through the northern police service training department. There were no adverse comments made regarding the attainment of the qualification with those who already possess a higher qualification seeing it as part of their professional development. For those without any higher qualification, the achievement of being awarded a foundation degree was of significance to the individual both as a personal achievement and as recognition of continuous professional development within the detective arena.

The data compiled from the interviews presented a clearer picture in relation to the individual detectives as those who had previously undertaken further educational qualifications appeared comfortable with their preparation for the exam. The age, experience and location of the interviewed participants varied as did their attitude towards examinations and general experience of studying. Applying Bourdieu's concepts, revealed their individual *habitus* both externally regarding educational attainment and attitude to previous study compared to studying internally towards PIP and the foundation degree, disclosing perceptions and attitudes formulated by previous experiences, developed from past experiences, and more recently influenced by their current *field* of employment. Significantly, this change (hysteresis) revealed a positive outcome for the participants enriching their cultural *capital* both educationally, and from a status perspective, within the organisation. The conclusion to the first question is that the overall experience does differ depending on the trainee detectives' *field* location and organisational support that is afforded to them. Paradoxically, though, the evidence from my data reveals that attitudes

to work and study can change with age, experience and the understanding of what educational attainment can bring.

2. Has the foundation degree or PIP process contributed towards their professional development?

A key point emphasised throughout this thesis is the point made by Giblin (2007) regarding completing thirty years' service in the police and then leaving without any accreditation for what has been achieved. The northern police service, through the implementation of PIP, indirectly subscribes to a work-based learning process. The discussion regarding whether an individual learns formally or informally (Eraut, 2000), whilst important to learning, has less meaning if the organisation does not support either process. The overall low response rate of satisfaction regarding supervision and support discussed in chapter five reflected this. I have detailed how Evetts (2103) suggests that professionalism within the public sector is constantly evolving and signposted how profession, professionalisation and professionalism integrate into police professionalisation through the lens of Evetts (2013), (chapter three, page 75). The significance of education, training and quality assurance for the individual and organisation (Evetts, 2013) is paramount if the northern police service is to argue professionalism in supporting detectives engaged in the PIP process. Additionally, being informed by Greenwood (1957), I have applied the attributes described by him in respect of preparing professions to become professional through lengthy training programmes, combined with systematic theory in my argument for professionalisation for detectives through PIP and their professional development. However, the interviewed participants provided a mixed response which revealed that support and the quality of the support differed depending on the department that the trainee detective worked in. Again, *field* became a dominant characteristic in analysing the trainee detectives' responses. Stelfox (2011) identified supervisors' functions which

contribute towards managing the trainee through the PIP process. Responses by the interviewed participants presented both positive and negative experiences which placed value on their work-based experience. This revealed a break in LPP and CoP for them. This inconsistency, explained in the previous chapter through Sean's perception of having moved from an intelligence department into a divisional CID office, required him to not only adjust to a change in culture through CoP, but experience hostilities from old detectives regarding comments related to being a 'plastic detective'. By applying Bourdieu's interpretation of culture, outlined in chapter one, presented the opportunity for the participants' to express their perception of their learning through being exposed to their own experiences and the processes imposed on them (in a positive way) by the organisation around PIP. What this question did reveal was the strength and resilience of the trainee detective whilst trying to develop their professional status. Day-to-day policing always took a priority yet the perceptions indicated that the trainee knew of these issues yet pursued their development with enthusiasm.

The conclusion to this question is that each trainee detective interviewed presented a different experience, again subject to the *field* that they occupied. The characteristics of CoP were not always present, yet knowing that the end result led to the qualification of detective, experiencing these different feelings and attitudes overall contributed to their growth of knowledge and professional development.

3. What are their experiences and understanding of organisational culture and its impact on the learning experience for the individual?

The influence of change programmes have been identified throughout this study in the guise of HMIC (2004) and Neyroud (2011). Constant change for the police has the prospect of leading to the service becoming "MacDonaldised" according to Heslop

(2011b), suggesting that the organisation will be able to complete a large number of tasks in a predictable mode therefore causing de-professionalisation. Organisational change is filtered down through management (Macvean et al, 2012) yet the management of PIP and the process of delivery detailed in chapter two appear to be inconsistent with supporting the trainee detective. This has led to perceptions of isolation and conflict for some of the trainee detectives, particularly subject to the *field* that they were working in. Significantly though, the trainees appear to have worked through their own idiosyncrasies and following Billet (2015) has allowed me to better understand the importance of learning and development in the workplace through making their own judgements and monitoring their own progress (pp. 214-217) irrespective of organisational cultural barriers that appear before them. Their past experiences from both their private and working lives has contributed to the trainee being aware of what they can and cannot change whilst having little or no influence on organisational process.

The impact of culture historically, organisationally, and from an individuals' perspective were deeply embedded within the northern police service. Attitudes towards completion of portfolios and the support from supervisory officers varied from the perceptions of the interviewed participants. The completion of the portfolio by the participants was in some instances supported by the organisation in relation to time allocation yet for other participants this was not the case. Significantly, the availability, efficiency and accessibility of the tutor presented a low satisfaction percentage from all three hundred trainee detectives (55%), reflecting an organisational cultural attitude towards providing support. Lack of consistency across the departments where the participants worked had an impact on the individual's continuous professional development. This presented a strong image of organisational culture in the lack of support being afforded to the participant which demonstrated a disjointed and often unfair process for the individual. Whilst this was not

acceptable to the trainee detective, the positive outcome for those who had the benefit of a tutor reported a satisfactory working relationship that was constructive and contributed towards their learning.

The conclusion to this question is that whilst the significance of change and organisational culture is ever present, the ability of the trainee to recognise the everyday working and learning barriers that PIP has presented did not prevent their overall learning experience. The importance of understanding CoP as Wenger et al (2002) described earlier regarding groups of people sharing knowledge and expertise through interactions to solve problems is evident here, and in the answers of the participants in chapter five. Secondly, a driving factor for the participant was the attainment of cultural *capital* that the PIP process and foundation degree offered on successful completion. From a theoretical perspective, understanding the complexities of culture and utilising the two traditions of Bourdieu (1992) enabled me to better understand what culture means for an individual based on their own *habitus*, influenced by social and economic environments whilst situated in the participants' *field*. The wider understanding and interpretation of organisational culture enabled me to comprehend how factors can impact on the individual and how these factors vary dependant on the individuals' perceptions.

Bourdieu

To work with the theory of practice of Bourdieu has not been simple. His complex writing structure and interpretation of theory is described by Jenkins (2002) as "unnecessarily long-winded, obscure, complex and intimidatory" (pp. 9-10) yet he suggests that Bourdieu is enormously good to think with and that "Bourdieu's work offers the patient reader a tremendously useful intellectual source" (ibid., p. 11).

I have been patient throughout this thesis and at times perplexed by the concepts presented by Bourdieu. However, understanding *habitus*, *field* and cultural *capital* along with his two 'traditions' within his definition of culture, firstly defined as being developed through the individuals' *habitus* based on social differentiation, and secondly, through social and economic experiences within social infrastructures, has enabled me to construct meaning to the perceptions tendered by the participants. This has not been easy but the application of these concepts in relation to the research questions has contextualised their meaning and their perceptions described by the participants in relation to their continuous development. The *field* of each participant is different as is their individual *habitus* and its original and continuing formation. Bourdieu was clear about the inequality of *fields* and the affect on the individual. Combined with the exposure to culture and sub-cultures as discussed in chapter five has enabled me to interpret the findings from the data collected and present the participants' view as they describe their position within the *field* that they occupy and the factors that impact on them. Combined with the use of *habitus* in describing the personal attributes that the trainee detectives hold and how they interpret their *habitus*, their *field* and their cultural *capital* has helped to explain how the trainee has coped in similar situations to others within the northern police service. Kate who originally expressed concerns of feeling undervalued and not accepted throughout the selection and induction phase of the ICIDP programme, to expressing how she enjoyed engaging with learning once the barrier onto the programme had been overcome, is a good example of Kate's transforming *habitus.* It is this "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 68) that has enriched this thesis and every effort has been employed by me to present the finding as a representation of the individual involved. Bourdieu's 'relational thinking tools' have enabled this which presented me with the opportunity of becoming socially and intimately involved with the participants' responses in both the results from the initial survey and latterly within the informative interviews which followed. Without this framework,

comprehending the responses from the participants could have become confusing and meaningless. Bourdieu has enabled me to interpret the perceptions from the participants from the construction of the original survey through to the personal interviews that I completed.

Communities of Practice

I have utilised the framework of CoP to complement the theoretical framework of Bourdieu within this thesis to provide an analysis of how the trainee detectives learn when they "inevitably participate in communities of practitioners" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 29), as the site of the study is set in a northern police service which is a large organisational setting. My attempt to identify a CoP through the perceptions of the participants' voice revealed an uneasy and disjointed process for the participants whilst engaged in their work-based placement. Understanding CoP as a group of people sharing common characteristics, and that learning inevitably is a construct of being involved in the community enabled me to structure and identify through research question three the potential of new to role detectives moving "toward full participation in the social cultural practice of a community" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p.29). Combining Bourdieu's *habitus* and *field* of the participant into the different *fields*, different communities in which the participant worked brought different analytical perspectives to the thesis, examples via Kate's difficult entrance path and acceptance into the PIP process and Sean's into the wider description and analogy of being considered a 'plastic detective'. The understanding of culture and its place within organisations enabled an exploration with the trainee detectives of the influences and issues that presented themselves within their community. The findings presented various experiences for the participants particularly around supervision and the availability of qualified tutors even though the participants as police officers all shared similar interests, concerns and passion about the shared topic area of

policing. The use of CoP identified that there are numerous communities situated within the northern police service, each one identifying a different cultural aspect in relation to management and acceptance.

I now explain the relationship between Bourdieu and CoP for this study in bringing the above points together. In the conceptual and theoretical framework section in chapter one, I outlined my choice of Bourdieu, complemented by CoP. Bourdieu enabled me to understand the participant from a personal perspective. Utilising the individuals' *habitus* provided the framework to explore the participants' educational and family background, providing an understanding of the different influences which they have encountered from formative education into a working environment. Combining this data with the participants' *field* provided rich data to work with based on my research questions. The use of CoP within this study provided a different focus which has complemented the knowledge gained of the participant. This knowledge, then examined within the framework of CoP in the organisational *field* of the participant presented the opportunity to examine the wider organisational issues of the PIP process, revealing inconsistencies of process and a break within the detectives' community. This break has been discussed in chapter five regarding work-based learning, professional development and organisation and supervision in the workplace. CoP has been a useful analytical tool to identify these issues. The experiences and the different *fields* that the trainee detective has explained presented a complex and diverse background that has enabled a better understanding of their perceptions to be interpreted. The use of CoP has complemented the concepts of Bourdieu in analysing the data I have collected as the use of both theories connects knowledge and practice, particularly for this thesis.

Recommendations, Future Research and Reflection

In this final section I address the question of the contribution that this study has made in the context of police service professional development for detective officers. This thesis has generated new empirical data through the use of a structured survey and the recorded interviews of the participants. I have utilised existing literature and two complex theoretical frameworks and applied them to a specific area of policing that is relatively under researched in respect of the perceptions of new to role detective officers in their professional accreditation and development. The uniqueness of this study deals with the northern police services collaboration with a university to complete a foundation degree for three hundred new to role detectives. I do not claim generalisation for the number of detectives involved, but present rich, informative and enlightening analysis of data which illuminated the process of PIP, addressing the argument for professionalising police detectives. The participants' experiences, their perceptions and their detailed explanations has contributed to enhancing the knowledge of learning within the police service, particularly detective status being defined as a profession through a relatively consistent and structured process connected with higher education. In the background and rational section in chapter one, I detailed the professionalising policing debate which identified the requirement to improve police officer skills in line with other professions (Flanagan, 2008), whilst recognising the diminishing number of trained and experienced detectives (Chatterton, 2008). The PIP process for detectives has contributed to addressing the points made by Flanagan (2008) and Chatterton (2008).

In chapter two I provided a detailed explanation of the PIP process outlining induction, examination and work-based placement whilst at the same time, explaining the connection to the university foundation degree. This connection to academia, the recognition that detective work requires a range of skills and abilities along with initial policing skills

demonstrated characteristics resembling other professions which I discussed in the section of professionalisation in chapter three. This thesis has added to the argument of police professionalisation for detectives. I have demonstrated the development of the individual through education and training, promoting a professional process, and at the same time, uncovered organisational control and issues within the PIP programme. These factors combined reflect the changing dynamics of how professionalism is changing, which, as detailed earlier by Evetts (2013), is attributed to reflect policy change in the environment for professions in the public sector. Similarly, I have identified the difficult complexities of culture, contextualised to policing and further contextualised in respect of the effect of culture both personally and organisationally via the participants' responses which revealed unknown barriers to detective professional development.

A further contribution to knowledge of detective professional development is borne out of the interviews with the participants and those who completed the survey. Areas covering the detectives' benefit of obtaining a foundation degree added to their overall policing knowledge along with professional development opportunities within the detective environment, which had been obtained through the acquisition of *cultural capital.* This was positively accepted by the detectives. The point I emphasise here is that whilst PIP and the foundation degree provided the opportunity for enhancing knowledge and skills, this thesis has evaluated the professional accreditation in concrete terms through the perceptions of the detectives involved. These perceptions which were previously unrecorded provided an opportunity to identify and bridge the gap between theory/research and practical experience, and this thesis contributes to that gap in this relatively under researched field.

This research has revealed the senior police managers in the northern police service to be astute in respect of becoming engaged in a professionalisation programme, indeed ahead

of the recommendations made by Neyroud (2011). However, there are organisational issues of consistency in selection process for entry into the PIP programme and although an example was provided regarding a more centralised process being implemented this still requires closer management. The structure and support of the trainee detective in the work-based phase requires better management and supervision. More trained detective tutors are required and the allocation of these tutors would support the trainee better in respect of completion of the work-based portfolio

This research also identified possible future research in the area of professionalisation and suggests that the potential to develop the skills of police officers, contextualised to this thesis as those engaged in the investigation arena, would benefit from continued partnerships with higher educational establishments. The College of Policing (2017) have developed a 'Professional Development Platform' to provide an opportunity for police officers to develop their knowledge and professional profile. This is a big step forward in the professionalisation of policing debate, and is part of the Policing Vision 2025 which aims to improve the service to the public and be recognised as a profession by those who interact with or those affected by the policing service. Collaborative research and its connection to the PIP programme would provide one avenue for study regarding professionalisation programmes.

Finally, if time, money and resources would have permitted, I would have interviewed university representatives to have a perspective on the joint collaboration programme. The views of detective trainers' involved in the delivery of the PIP process, supervisors and tutors involved in the work-based placement and the opportunity to interview senior police officers within the northern police service would have added a different aspect to the study and complexity of the findings. This is a consideration for future research. The

contribution of the trainee detectives involved in this thesis reflects not only on their professional engagement with educational research but reveals their professional attitude towards the wider debate of recognising the police service as a professional organisation.

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