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Professionalizing Criminal Investigation—An Examination of an Early Attempt to Support Specialization in Criminal Investigation

Stephen Tong and Martin O'Neill (Canterbury Christ Church University)

Abstract: This article explores perceptions of individuals involved in an early attempt to professionalize detective work in Kent, UK. In 2000, Kent Police developed a Strategic Policing Doctrine incorporating a learning and development strategy. These ideas resulted in a partnership between Kent Police and Canterbury Christ Church University producing the Advanced Detective Training (ADT) programme including a university qualification, the BSc (Hons) in Applied Criminal Investigation delivered between 2001 and 2006. This research, conducted in 2016, used semi-structured interviews with 27 participants including: trainers, academic staff, students, and the Chief Constable.
The research revealed that there were challenges in the selection of candidates, use of the term 'advanced' in the programme title and the abstraction of ADT trainees. A very high proportion of ADT officers valued the 'training' part of the programme with the majority valuing the 'academic input'. This research provides a useful analysis of previous attempts to develop detective professionalization and accredited learning relevant for programme designers responding to the introduction of the Police Education Qualification Framework and direct entry and fast track detective training.

Introduction

Criminal investigation plays an important part in informing political and public confidence in the police service. Rarely are the successes of criminal investigation celebrated in politics or in the media. At the same time, perceived failure can result in scathing criticism. Despite high levels of success for the most serious offences (e.g. homicide), the police have struggled to investigate other crimes (e.g. sexual offences, hate crimes) and attracted criticism. High profile failures have attracted critical appraisal and resulted in reform (e.g. Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, Murder Investigation Manual). At the same time, it has been acknowledged, that challenges in investigation have become more complex with societal changes (increased mobility, creation of the internet, mobile technology), development of science and technology in policing (e.g. DNA, databases, intelligence) and more legislation and procedure increasing the demands on modern day detectives.

Claims and discussions around police professionalization are not new (Holdaway, 2017; Hallenberg, 2016). Policing has historically been a craft-based occupation where learning occurs through training and on the job experience. At times of sustained police criticisms and calls for improvement at various times in police history, often calls for improvements and police professionlisation are made (Holdaway, 2017, Hallenberg, 2016). Kleinig (1999) points to a profession as having provision of public service, a code of ethics, specialist knowledge and expertise, higher education, autonomy and discretional authority and self-regulation. The College of Policing, introduced in 2013, is committed to the principles of evidence-based policing and has introduced a code of ethics. More recently, the College introduced the Police Education Qualification Framework (PEQF) providing pathways for accreditation for trainee police officers through apprenticeships, policing degrees and conversion programmes (for graduates with non-policing degrees). There are also plans for accredited programmes for managers and specialist officers. Holdaway argues, professionalization has had different meanings at different times and that there is a wide sociological literature to be considered to provide a comprehensive and critical analysis of professionalisation, particularly in a policing context.

The former Kent Police Chief Constable, Sir David Philips (1993-2003), developed a Strategic Policing Doctrine. This doctrine incorporated approaches to policing, the challenges of the sparse evidence base and the importance of a learning culture. These ideas resulted in a partnership between Kent Police and Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) that produced the Advanced Detective Training programme (ADT) linked to a university qualification, the BSc (Hons) Applied Criminal Investigation (delivered from 2001-2006). The ADT partnership represented a developing relationship between Kent Police and CCCU, comprising a scholarship model of partnership with shared curriculum, although Kent Police maintained responsibility for in-house police delivery and CCCU degree content (Tong & Hallenberg, 2018). The ADT pre-dated the national Professionalisation Investigation Programme (PIP) launched in 2005 (O'Neill, 2018).

Police education and training had received little research attention in the United Kingdom in terms of identifying strengths and weaknesses relating to transforming learning into practice (O'Neill and Jones, 2018). There are a few studies in relation to initial police training (for example: Fielding, 1988, HMIC, 2002, Kushner et al, 2003, Charman 2017) and accounts of higher education police qualifications (Heslop, 2011, Wood & Tong, 2009), but similar higher education qualifications in criminal investigation have not been available until relatively recently. There are key studies in criminal investigation but these are not as numerous as other areas of police research (Innes, 2003, Brodeur, 2010, Westera, *et al*, 2014, Bacon, 2016, Hallenberg *et al*, 2016; O'Neill and Jones, 2018), detectives still holding key to under-researched areas of police work (Brunger *et al*, 2016). This research focuses on an initiative introduced at a time when undergraduate policing programmes were few, the quality of criminal investigation training was questioned, and ideas around enhancing criminal investigation skills were being explored.

With a current estimated national shortage of 5000 detectives, police services have been exploring innovative ways to increase the recruitment of detectives. The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) introduced the Detective Constable Pathway (DCP) and other police services introduced fast track detective training (Kent, Hampshire and Thames Valley) training. These initiatives are designed to

address the serious capacity challenges in police investigations. The introduction of the PEQF also raises the issue of accreditation of police learning. The ADT research offers an insight into curriculum design, practical relevance, implementation and insightful reflections from participants looking back on the contribution of this programme to their professional development.

There are likely to be many new police/university partnerships in the United Kingdom with the development of the PEQF and the introduction of police apprenticeship schemes that perhaps do not anticipate the challenge of working in partnership with organisations with very different cultural outlooks. Young (1991) described officers' who were engaged in higher education experiencing exclusion by peers when returning to work. Hallenberg & Cockcroft (2017) provide accounts of officers studying policing degrees part-time feeling undervalued by their organisation or experiencing outright hostility. Helsop (2011) describes responses of police recruits on foundation degrees 'that they had been: 'talked down to', 'looked down on', 'patronised', 'treated like kids', and that some of the university tutors were 'condescending'. Partnership between the police and universities are crucial in terms of curriculum development, setting realistic expectations and managing the students and their entry into the workplace accordingly.

This research aimed to collect the experiences of detectives on the ADT programme, from their initial development and education in criminal investigation through to their post-ADT career to date. Trainers and academics contributing to the programme and Sir David Philips were also interviewed as part of the research.

The Advanced Detective Training (ADT) Programme

The ADT programme attempted an alternative approach to detective learning. The programme accepted successful candidates who were either close to completing their probation or had significant police experience. Detective Constables in England and Wales have traditionally been recruited from the ranks of uniformed officers. The recruitment and training of detectives without police experience has only been attempted on a small scale by the MPS on two previous occasions, pre and post 1878 (Shpayer-

Makov, 2010). Direct recruitment of investigators has been part of the National Crime Agency and Mi5 for some time. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States recruit candidates with a bachelor's degree. More recently, the MPS have recruited graduate candidates onto a Detective Constable Pathway (DCP), the direct recruitment of detectives. Thus, innovation and attempting alternative approaches to detective recruitment and development has a selective history. Sir David Philips outlined his thoughts around detective development that lead to the ADT:

> 'Well, I'd make a distinction between education and training. … In the same terms that training in a sense is teaching people routines. Education is teaching them to think. And a lot of police work, police officers are very process minded. They have to be. Because they have to report things in a particular way. Evidence has to be in a particular fashion. So a lot of police teaching is…giving people training in routines. One of the virtues of training in routines is, as the army has always known, that in a crisis you have to be able to act instinctively. Otherwise you freeze. …but the education side, particularly applies to detectives because they need to do reasoning. … and they need to think their way round, …the handling of a case. …. I think there's a, big case for saying, we need to teach detectives, select the right people … and teach them how to think'.
> (Sir David Philips).

Because of this rationale, the ADT programme intended to train and educate investigators to a higher level than before. The purpose was to create a pool of detectives with sufficient knowledge and expertise to enable them to effectively investigate crime, advise peers, and rival other professionals within the Criminal Justice System, who have an educational base to their professional development (i.e. solicitors, barristers, CPS).

The ADT programme consisted of two complementary streams. Firstly, students undertook six three-week investigative courses within the first two years. Some of these courses (such as the SIO modules) were usually only attended by senior detectives. In addition, new courses were designed to ensure effectiveness in key areas of practice, such as police disclosure. The police courses were as follows:

> (1) CPIA and the HRA,
> (2) investigative interviewing (equivalent to the previous tier three advanced interviewing course),
> (3) law, evidence and procedure,
> (4) intelligence and proactive investigation,
> (5) investigating sexual offences, and
> (6) the SIO modules existing at that time.

Each course was assessed, usually by way of multiple-choice examination *and* written examination. A model of investigation was written 'borrowing' concepts from the academic world (and scientific research in particular). Based upon the hypothetico-deductive method, the ADT model posited a series of stages where investigators were required to think through their investigation, and record decision-making, whilst having wide discretion in relation to the strategies and tactics they could employ. The model suggested the more complex a case was, the greater number of reviews would be necessary to ensure investigative focus.

The model, containing six identifiable stages, did not represent a process model of investigation from start to finish (as Core Doctrine does), but provided a strategic thinking model for investigations. ADT students were taught to utilise the model in practice, and part of their competency related portfolio was a requirement to prove use of the model in real cases. Unlike modern competence portfolios, ADT students were required to demonstrate competence across a range of criminal investigation phases on *six* separate occasions. The individual courses and the workplace competency elements made up the police stream of investigator development.

The academic programme recognised 180 academic credits of prior professional learning that placed the students halfway through a traditional degree, entering the programme at level 5. The degree involved students completing six complementary academic modules (delivered by CCCU) in the first two years of the programme. In the third year, students were required to submit an 8000-word dissertation on an aspect of criminal investigation. The modules are identified in the table below.

Table 1: *Academic aspect of the ADT Programme*

Level 5	Policing, Social Control and Crime	Law, Evidence and Procedure	Investigating Volume and Serious Crime
Level 6	Issues in Law and Policing	Managing Crime	The Science and Technology of Criminal Investigation

Methodological note

A number of universities throughout the UK have been involved in innovative policing programmes, but few studies have collected empirical data into police officer views of them (Heslop, 2011). There are reflections and observations relating to police training and education in university settings (Wood and Tong, 2009; Bryant et al., 2013; Lee & Punch, 2006), with a few small studies on detective training in the UK (Hallenberg, 2012, 2016; James & Mills, 2012; Tong, 2004). The lack of this type of research (Westera *et al*, 2014) prompted the present authors to design research based on retrospective views of police officers who had completed the ADT programme. There was a danger of losing valuable insight from programmes pre-dating the College of Policing and the Police Education Qualification Framework (PEQF). Although a significant time has passed, this research offers useful insight into the value or otherwise of this particular programme, with the benefit of extensive post course professional experience. In this respect rather than collecting the views of candidates at the time of their training and education, this approach offers a more informed sample reflecting on their experience as learning and the contribution or otherwise this has made to their professional lives.

The research intended to gain a range of perspectives from the various stakeholders involved in the implementation of the ADT programme. In total, 27 participants including ADT trainers (4), academic staff (2) students (20) and Sir David Philips agreed to be interviewed. The views were retrospective with officers completing the ADT programme between 7-11 years before their accounts were collected (2016).

The research proposal received ethical approval from CCCU in May 2016, and interviews were conducted between May and August 2016. All names were changed to maintain anonymity (Except Chief Constable Sir David Philips who agreed to speak 'on the record'). The average length of

interviews was 1 hour and 20 minutes, with a range of 36 minutes to 1 hr and 48 minutes. In total, the data amounted to over 32 hours of accounts from interviewees. Analysis was conducted using analytical software (NVivo). The inductive thematic analysis focused on key themes relating to candidate experience and their perceptions of the value or otherwise of the programme (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

This research adopted a case-study approach, as the ADT programme was an initiative designed and delivered by Kent Police and CCCU and was not replicated elsewhere in the country. All participants were interviewed using a semi-structured approach to gain a balance between relevance of responses and flexibility for individual comments and perspectives. Inevitably, there are strengths and limitations to this research. We were unable to interview all officers on the programme. Some former ADT students could not be traced, and 2 declined to be interviewed. The research data relies on the perceptions of participants and does not assess performance data, effectiveness or analyse practice. There was no external funding available but internal university funds covered the cost of the transcription of interviews.

In total, 40 students enrolled onto the programme in the years 2001 (22), 2002 (8) and 2003 (10). Where contact details were available, as many potential participants as possible were approached to take part in the research. The sample of 20 ADT 'student' participants represented 50% of the total intake over the duration of the ADT programme. Respondent students included officers currently at the rank of constable through to senior policing roles. Interviewees had a wide range of qualifications at the beginning of the ADT programme, ranging from 'O' and 'A' levels, through to higher education qualifications. Biographical data is listed in Table 2 below:

Table 2: *Biographical data of ADT student respondents*

Average age (at time of programme)	33.4 years
Gender balance	11 female, 9 male
Average length of police experience prior to ADT programme (including probation period)	6 years
Average operational police experience since ADT	11.6 years
Average amount of time spent in investigative role since ADT	9.6 years

All applicants were required to complete a selection process designed to identify officers with potential to succeed on the programme. The process utilised was similar to methods used at that time for accelerated promotion within public services. A variety of selection tools were utilised, ranging from an occupational personality questionnaire, verbal and numerical reasoning tests, multiple assessment series (identifying skills such as convincing, written and oral communication, initiative, problem solving, fact finding and quality orientation), a structured interview, and references and recommendations from supervisors and managers. Many of the tests related to specific skills and qualities, and did not relate to policing tests or problems.

Analysis: Perspectives from the coal face

The following analysis identifies selected themes relating to the experience of ADT officers during training/education and practice.

Views of the ADT programme from the workplace

ADT officers reported a mixture of views about the programme from other officers in the workplace, with 14 reporting predominantly negative views, and 7 reporting more positive comments. ADT officers mentioned abstraction (11), special priority payment (3) and the 'special' status of the ADT (6) as sources of negativity. Supportive comments and views were more likely to come from supervisors (6) and middle management (7). . Operational demands were seen as more important than attending ADT classes, and this was made more difficult as the time allowed for training, away from operational duties, was more than previous training arrangements allowed. The lack of investigative experience of some ADT officers undermined their perceived credibility as detectives in the workplace.

> 'I think it was a big clash between old school policing and new school policing, if I'm honest. My own DI wasn't particularly in favour of it, because he was an old school DI and you don't want, it's about that perception of 'know your place', I think.'
> ('Emma', ADT Candidate)

'I think, we're very much, 'ah you can't do that'. And particularly taking a two-year officer was …you know, really not considered the thing to do … I had great resilience to deal with some of that nonsense. … I think ADT in the entire service wasn't seen that badly, you know, and I, and others on the program who'd got a lot of years in the organisation would be able to probably answer for that differently. I got a bit of a different response because of my level of service … there any difference in terms of peers, supervisors, managers, other detectives, in terms of …. their perceptions of the ADT? No I think some were very supportive and thought it was a great idea. Some thought 'well it's not fair. Why shouldn't everybody have it? And do you know what? I'm firmly of that view.
('Jamie', ADT Candidate)

Previous research has raised issues around resistance to learning in classroom environments within police culture (Chan, 2003; Heslop, 2011), the dislike of training abstraction and the importance of parity between uniform and detective police officer (Wood & Tong, 2009). Officers in this research did receive support from peers, supervisors and managers. However, abstraction was an issue for some teams, with ADT officers receiving more training and therefore more time away from operational duty. Abstraction can leave officers covering workloads of officers in training feeling as though they have an additional unfair workload. The personal investment of time to study and prepare for assessments were not always recognised. As articulated in other policing studies (Wood & Tong, 2009) operational time is crucial to police priorities. Abstraction from duty has always been a challenging issue and one that has framed detective training in the past, with standard initial detective training reduced from 10 weeks in the 1990s through to 5-6 weeks presently (Morgan, 1990, O'Neill, 2018). Other sources of tension concerned the selection of inexperienced officers over more experienced detectives for the ADT programme.

In police culture, experience is considered a valuable commodity in relation to perceptions of effectiveness and the learning of the police craft. It is this point that Stanko and Dawson allude to (2015: 66) when they argue '… training is severely limited because it presumes it is training a craft and not drawing on knowledge that also exits in journals, systematic reviews and other scientific knowledge'. Experience from some perspectives is closely aligned with learning a craft, the policing craft is learned on the streets over time not through classroom learning and reading books. So a multitude of potential objections can feed into this view. Namely, some police knowledge that is not valued (science), absence of staff resource from the office during busy times, additional pay for training away from the workplace

and selection of officers with little experience.. However, given the fundamental change in approach to training and the challenges this initiative presented to traditional approaches to policing, the views of other police officers about the ADT programme was not as negative as might be expected.

Views on approaches to assessment

Although many officers described the frustration and time-consuming nature of collecting evidence for competency fulfilment, the large majority of respondents (16) believed the use of competencies was a positive form of assessment. A minority (4) believed providing evidence of competency was overly bureaucratic and unnecessary.

University assessments were seen as different to previous assessment methods experienced by the non-graduate ADT officers. While some officers initially felt concerned about the requirement for essays and presentations, these officers became comfortable with university assessment methods as the programme progressed. Of the 10 officers who commented upon university assessment, the majority were positive (6), and a small number of officers expressed mixed (2) or negative views (2). The course was delivered and assessed by academic and police training staff.

> '….if I'm honest, I think the assessment that we were engaged with was just typical kind of academic assessment … for me, if the program had … been running for longer … I think the thing I would have really wanted to explore was how do we start developing assessment strategies that bring the two worlds together more'
> ('Paul' Academic)

> 'I know from doing my own dissertation … you learn a phenomenal amount in … by writing. You know, I think, personally … and that gives you …. because they were doing an applied degree and they were having to do academic work, you learn so much from having to write something, I personally learnt more by writing essays than probably anything else. … because you often read and research around it. And I think people were engaged in that process'.
> ('Melvyn' ADT Trainer)

> 'The competencies was to prove that what we had learned and had the exams about was actually applied. … I think to be able to demonstrate that what you've learned, and then put it into a case file, was a really good idea because it works. And you see it for what it actually is. … once we finished the whole program, where we had to show every single competency that we'd learned.
> ('Leslie', ADT Candidate)

ADT candidates were subject to scrutiny and a wide range of assessment that was more comprehensive than previous detective training. The introduction of an undergraduate degree alongside training brought with it new forms of assessment that the non-graduates in the sample had not experienced.

Views of the University involvement in the ADT programme

Although the majority of ADT officers commented positively (11) in relation to the relevance of the university contribution to the programme, a smaller proportion (6) expressed mixed views and a smaller minority believed the degree was not relevant (3). Officers who commented positively mentioned the content on law modules, subject matter relating to profiling or theories relating to crime. Respondents expressing mixed or negative views pointed to issues around the lack of relevance in relation to practicality of investigation and applying what they had learned directly to the workplace.

Previous qualifications of the ADT officers at the start of the programme appeared to have no correlation with the outcome of the degree award for the BSc (Hons) in Applied Criminal Investigation or successfully passing the ADT programme as a whole.

> So I think the two distinct lines, I think created a divide, and possibly a bit of … potentially a little of a confusion with the students as to whether or not they were on a university program or a police program, rather than that hybrid that brought it together and, and I think we could have done that better.
> ('Jody', ADT Police Trainer)
>
> I think its biggest impact, or the biggest positive about it, was the marrying of academic and, and professional things, really. And that was primarily through the case …. the case study. Where they had to document, you know, what they'd, the criminal investigation, they had to explain it"
> (Gareth, Academic)
>
> 'The academic element…I think there was a slight disconnect with it. I think it didn't really merge for me. So, we went down the academic line, so if I remember rightly we looked at geographic profiling, we looked at offender profiling, we looked at a load of stuff around homicide. The homicide stuff was good. We looked at other aspects around various bits and I think, the problem was, the application of that learning in the workplace didn't necessarily happen as well as the application of the in-house stuff in the workplace'.
> ('Steve', ADT Candidate)

The variety of comments above illustrate some of the views of officers in relation to the university contribution to the programme. Using Sir David Philips quote in the early part of the article, he drew a

distinction between training, education, application and thinking. Often in policing there is a resistance to learning as opposed to practice (Fielding, 1988) and although there was no resistance to learning in this sample, from those who were critical of the university input there was a perspective that the university delivery was sometimes not practical or relevant. Some of the broader issues such as the role of the police are important in terms of thinking strategically about policing although it is not something that would necessarily be considered practical. This raises two issues, firstly, the expectations of ADT in relation to adopting different approaches to learning (e.g. training vs education) and secondly, the ability of the university and police service to manage expectations and articulating the relevance in relation to the training vs education dichotomy. As indicated by the trainer and academic in the comments above, these are the kind of issues that programme designers would have attempted to developed further if the programme had continued.

Overall thoughts on the ADT programme

Views of the overall programme include the in-house delivery and the university contribution. All student interviewees expressed positive views, three expressed mixed views, with one of these expressing mainly negative views.

> '…I think part of the demise of the ADT … was to do with the fact that he called it 'advanced detective training' … and what … meant by that wasn't quite what people took it to mean … didn't help by the fact that they had an incentive allowance … So you got paid more for doing it… and that sort of helped to … cement the differences between others.
> (Gareth, Academic)

> 'Well, at the end of the day, when you go on your CID course, the CID course is there to teach, it's to give you the knowledge for your investigations as a DC. The Advanced Detective Program was deliberately that, advanced detective training, it, one up, two up, in fact it's probably about ten up, from what the CID course is all about. … the whole purpose of the ADT is to give you, to prove, should make you the person that everybody else should almost aspire to be. That you are an all-round, well developed, detective who looks at absolutely everything. So that, should you get promoted and you be an SIO, without question looking at major investigations, you have it there to hand, and it's not something that you would have to ask anybody else. Apart from, sort of, peer conversations about the way you do things. But your knowledge-base is way above everybody else's. Your investigations skills are way above everybody else's.'

('Leslie', ADT Candidate)

In many ways, there is plenty to celebrate in reflecting on an innovative approach to professionalising criminal investigation. Two partners with very different organisational cultures were able to work effectively (Kent Police and CCCU). ADT officers demonstrated a clear preference for the police input when compared to the university delivery. However, there was still a great deal of positivity across the ADT cohorts for the programme as a whole, avoiding the considerable friction and conflict described in Heslop's (2011) research on police foundation degrees. This might in part be due to officers on the ADT having already completed their probation or had post probation operational experience. Kent Police and CCCU worked together closely on the delivery of the programme, although both trainers and academics pointed to improvements that could have been made. A high proportion of students remained in an investigative role or had spent a large part of their police service in an investigative role since completing the ADT programme. This finding reflects an important consideration when making resourcing or investment decisions in specialist training/education.

Conclusion: Reflections on early attempts at detective professionalization

This paper raises a number of issues of particular relevance to the introduction of the College of Policing, Evidence-Based Policing Principles to policing and the PEQF. Firstly, it identifies the challenges around the balance between education and training content within curriculum and higher education accreditation. Secondly, it reflects on the challenges in changing the learning model from a craft based experiential training model to a hybrid of combining education, training and more dedicated time to learning. Thirdly, it identifies the problems of perception concerning the abstraction of staff from operational duties. Fourth, it identifies negative responses in the presentation of the programme as 'advanced' and additional pay for ADT officers. Finally, it provides an illustration of some of the innovation that has taken place between universities and police services that has not fed into the development of the police professionalization agenda in policing.

Taking Sir David Philips perspective on the aims of the ADT programme, the education vs training dichotomy reflects the diverse demands made on these detectives, to follow process and routines in criminal investigation with the ability to think creatively and strategically. The ability to complete tasks and respond to facts against developing criticality, interpret complex information and thinking creatively. These approaches are very different and further magnified when the police as an institution are historically wedded to a craft-based training culture. This organisational mindset takes time to change and evolve. Although, this innovative programme was instigated and led by the police and supported by the university, the programme only ran for three cohorts. Most training and education programmes evolve and develop in response to student, peer and external feedback.

The tensions created by the abstraction of ADT officers from operational duty and the perception that their work was left to others while they were away training are not new. Operational demands are seen as more important and a higher priority than training. This raises the issue of whether such trainees should be a central resource, loaned to Area/Borough whilst they are gaining experience rather than a local resource. That way, students are not perceived as abstracted during their training period. They could be seen as an extra resource so their presence would be valued rather than their absence criticised. There is also the important issue of raising credibility and improving perceptions of time spent in training. Culturally, time spent away from operational duties is seen as an inconvenience rather than a worthy investment in improving the effectiveness of workers. Until these views are changed resistance to abstraction of any sort will continue.

The ADT programme was recognised as something different, with prestige attached to those selected at the time. This is in stark contrast to current concern over the declining perceptions of detective status and the challenges in recruiting and retaining police investigators (Chatterton, 2008, O'Neill, 2018). While the presentation of an 'advanced' programme can be perceived as 'prestigious', it was also perceived as exclusionary or divisive. This is a real problem in the police where on the one hand they would like to pursue excellence while on the other they are primarily law and craft-based seemingly open to everyone (Tong & Bowling, 2006). The ADT programme challenged that thinking. It accredited

detective learning (which was not happening at the time), significantly increased in-house police delivery and added a higher education undergraduate degree. These were challenging changes to an organisation used to learning through instruction and experience. However, the additional payments to officers on the programme raised objections in relation to fairness and parity. In the context of a rank based organisation where promotion is based on the number of people managed and strategic roles, there is little recognition of expertise or excellence. The rank structure is flat, allowing a wide range of abilities and specialist roles within the rank of police constable. Therefore, although anyone in the police serve could have applied for the ADT programme, selecting a comparatively small number of officers for the ADT for this enhanced programme was problematic. The rigidness of rank structure in the police service remains a challenge for innovating and rewarding officers with higher abilities that do not fit in the narrow remit of promotion processes in the police.

Training, education and development does need time to evolve with the benefit of research and evaluation just like any type of operational police activity. Research seldom focuses on the transition from learning to practice. Similar to this research, Charman (2017) studied the socialisation of police recruits but was not supported by external funding. This can make it difficult for academics to find the necessary resources to conduct this important yet undervalued research. The ADT programme was an innovative programme developed at a time when partnerships between universities and police services were relatively rare in relation to the delivery of education and training. The programme was also in the early stages of development with only a few cohorts enrolled on the programme. The ADT could have benefitted from evolving practice and learning in tandem with a continuous cycle of development if it had continued. An added hindrance to the programme was the paucity of evidence base relating to both investigative practice (Brodeur, 2010) and evidence based training (O'Neill and Jones, 2018). Little is known, even today, about the skills or qualities required to be an effective detective. Whilst this has been explored in some studies (i.e. Smith and Flanagan, 2000; O'Neill and Milne, 2014; Westera et al, 2014; Fahsing and Ask, 2018), and elements such as good communication skills are often cited as crucial (O'Neill and Milne, 2014), because of the lack of evidence any 'advanced' programme would by definition be speculative. These considerations also resonate with current initiatives to either recruit

direct entry detectives or select officers for fast track schemes to become detectives. Created to help fill

a national shortage of detectives, such schemes will attempt to select individuals with potential to

succeed and will look to research to provide answers to some important questions about investigative

success and potential indicators. Little modern material currently exists (Fahsing and Ask, 2018)

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