

Policing Matters: Recruitment, Training and Motivation

*The Report of the Politeia
Police Commission*

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General Introduction

Sheila Lawlor

The London bombings of July 2005 put policing at the top of the policy agenda: the role of the police in preventing crime, gathering intelligence, guarding public places and apprehending criminals became a matter of utmost priority. But the attacks have done far more. They have focused public attention on the role of the police in upholding the law and public order without which there can be no individual security. They pose the question: are the police competent for their task. Certainly, when it comes to crime, few Home Secretaries will ignore public concern at its current levels and declining confidence in the police. Nor do they. The Home Office is second to none in issuing its plans, programmes and White Papers for reform: its initiatives to improve the country's policing suggest a bureaucracy in overdrive.¹

The most recent proposal is to cut down on the number of individual police forces from 43. The hope is that a more streamlined structure will equip the police to tackle serious crime as well as support local policing.² Indeed, recent Home Secretaries have been particularly keen to stress the importance of such local policing: reducing crime and promoting a 'citizen-focused police service' are amongst the political priorities of the day, to be achieved through the combination of central planning and managed localism.³

1 See below note 3 for the emphasis over the past year.

2 The announcement, made on 19 September 2005, followed publication of a report by HM Inspectorate of Constabulary *Closing the Gap*, suggesting that the current 43 forces structure was 'no longer fit for purpose' for the demands of the 21st century. In addition to local teams forming part of a basic command unit, there is to be a tier above the local basic command unit, 'to support...every locality and...deal with serious and sophisticated crime'. HMIC was asked to provide an assessment of whether the present 43 force structure was the right one to meet the challenges posed by the current and future policing environment (Press release ref 140/2005 19 September 2005, www.homeoffice.gov.uk). The individual forces have now been asked to submit their proposals for the best way to create the new strategic framework. For HMIC's report *Closing the Gap* (16 Sep 2005), see <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/hmic/new.htm>.

3 *The National Policing Plan 2005-08* (November 2004) set out the Government's policing priorities and guidance on how they might be reached. The priorities are: to reduce overall crime, provide a citizen-focused police service, take action 'to increase sanction detection rates and target prolific...offenders, reduce people's concerns about crime and anti-social behaviour and combat serious and organised crime in and across force

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The approach is not unique to the police. Education and health have also been subjected to the Whitehall planners and their strategic documents, performance indicators, criteria and targets, all of which are supposed to result in those doing the job performing like puppets on a string, to the standard approved by their Whitehall masters. The evidence does not bear out the theory. The UK's public services are pitched at a level far lower than those of other rich industrial democracies, and policing too appears to be failing along with the systems of healthcare and education.

This study sets out to consider the more fundamental questions which tend to be overshadowed by the official plans: the kind of people recruited to the police, their quality and whether they are up to the job. In recruiting officers, does the Home Office compete with other employers to encourage the high calibre recruits needed for to-day's policing, without which reform is doomed? Does it also seek the 'high fliers', the most able and talented candidates to lead and manage the police in the future to give direction as senior officers? Does the training system equip probationers to succeed in policing? And does the system of employment, encourage and reward good police officers at every level, providing a structure of incentive for success?

The answers to these questions are vital to successful policing, for without the best candidates, and without the right training and employment structure, the initiatives of the Government and the efforts of all concerned are doomed to failure.

Part I of this study, the report by the former Deputy Chief Constable of Bedfordshire, Anthony Howlett Bolton, analyses the system of

3 continued...

boundaries' (<http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/national-policing-plan/>). The plan was to be understood in the context of the White Paper *Building Communities, Beating Crime: A better police service for the 21st century* (CM 6360, Home Office, November 2004) which set out the direction of change intended by the Home Secretary, with three aims: the spread of neighbourhood policing to every community, the modernisation of the police workforce and the greater involvement of communities in determining how they were policed. The aims would be underpinned by minimum national standards and performance measurements (<http://www.policereform.gov.uk/policypaper04.html>). Earlier, *Confident Communities in a Secure Britain: The Home Office Strategic Plan 2004-08* set out the Government's overall strategic plan for building a safe society and putting the citizen first. Its aims included: people being and feeling more secure in daily life, more offenders being caught, punished and stopped from re-offending, tackling drug and alcohol abuse, managing migration, and engaging communities in tackling social problems (Cm 628, Home Office, July 2004, www.homeoffice.gov.uk).

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recruitment, training and employment. In Part II, Politeia's specialist commissioners David Ramsbotham and Chris Woodhead, formerly HM Chief Inspectors of Prisons and Schools respectively, join specialists from the world of police and business, Anthony Burden, Kate Rutherford and Tony Caplin to analyse the findings of the report and its implications and lessons for future reform.⁴ Part III draws together the conclusions of the report and the Commissioners' analyses and proposes a series of recommendations for future reform.

⁴ Part II, The Commissioners report, is by Anthony Burden, Chief Constable of South Wales Police (1996-2003), Tony Caplin, Chairman, Durlacher Plc, David Ramsbotham, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (1995-2001), Kate Rutherford, former partner Accenture and Christopher Woodhead, HM Chief Inspector of Schools (1994-2000). Part III, Conclusions and Recommendations is by Sheila Lawlor.

Part I
Report
Anthony Howlett Bolton

Introduction

The historic role of the police

Public confidence in the police has, in recent decades, declined to such an extent that successive Governments have resorted to an increasing number of measures since the 1980s in the hope of rebuilding it, most recently the Home Office plan for policing in the new century (2001). The task facing the police, according to the plan, is clear – ‘to prevent, detect, apprehend and convict the perpetrators of crime’ and to introduce whatever system is necessary to allow them do their job effectively, whether by reducing bureaucracy or adopting more modern techniques.⁵

Looking back over nearly two centuries to the beginnings of the force, the role has changed little. The 1829 instructions for the Metropolitan Police officers made clear that the principal object was ‘the prevention of crime’ which in turn was the most effective way to ensure ‘the security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquillity, and all the other objects of a police establishment...’. Through vigilance and activity, the officers should make ‘it extremely difficult for any one to commit a crime within that portion of the town under their charge’.⁶ At the turn of the 20th century that object - preventing crime – remained paramount, reiterated by the Royal Commission Report of 1908 on the duties of the Metropolitan Police, with the additional task of detecting and punishing offenders if crime was committed.⁷

Again in 1929 (The Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedures) the prevention of crimes and offences came first – and was indeed seen by the police themselves as their most important duty – and next in importance came the duty of investigating crimes and offences and the detection of offenders, followed by a range of other varied duties, which increasingly fell to the police though were unconnected with crimes and offences.

⁵ *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform*, Home Office, 2001, Foreword.

⁶ Metropolitan Police, *Instructions to police officers*, 1829.

⁷ *Report of the Royal Commission on the Duties of the Metropolitan Police 1908*, CD 4156, Part I para.1.

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By the 1960s, the role of the police was seen to be more comprehensive. To the tasks of maintaining law and order, preventing crime, detecting criminals, activities such as the interrogation of suspects taking part in the judicial process, deciding on whether to proceed with prosecutions and conducting prosecutions for the less serious offences, were added by the 1962 Royal Commission. In addition they have traffic duties and responsibility for other duties devolved by government, e.g. conducting inquiries into applications made by persons who wish to be granted British nationality as well as a long tradition of befriending those who need help or lending support with minor or major emergencies.⁸

The complexity of policing

Policing has become – and is recognised to have become – a complicated and unique occupation especially by those responsible for policing who see the task as extending from the individual initiative and skill needed for policing to a much wider and more complex role.⁹ The range of duties and responsibilities is demanding and varied and requires the use of individual skills, judgement and initiative. Often the demands made on police are in conflict with each other. Discretion is needed, as are rapid judgements, often of a crucial, instantaneous nature, while the officer on solitary patrol must often work alone. The emotional demands of policing are considerable and the police often operate in an emotionally highly charged environment, under conditions of physical danger. At the same time police are subject to the exacting demands of the criminal justice system and must, at all times, maintain the highest standards of honesty, integrity and fairness.

Management also poses difficulties of a unique nature. In most organisations, managers work in the same buildings as their staff or alongside them. They can easily talk to them during the course of the day, and it is not difficult to call a meeting to explain policy and discuss an issue. By contrast in the police, most front-line staff are out of the office spread around the community engaged on different activities, on duty around the clock, with only a proportion of the staff being accessible. There are also many different specialities, all of which require their own individual support and supervision. 'It is therefore more difficult to talk to staff personally than in many organisations...a factor, perhaps more

⁸ *Royal Commission on the Police 1962*, Cmnd 1738 HMSO, para.59.

⁹ Bettison N, *Forget about middle management - what about middle leadership?*, Criminal Justice Management, July 2002, pp.40-41.

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than any other [which] is responsible for the perception by some ... staff that police management is uncaring and unsupportive.¹⁰ Little has changed over the last twelve years to alter this basic position statement.

The need for reform

The Inspectorate of Police (HMIC) has identified a number of issues prompting increased pressure for reform. These include the high levels of crime, especially violent crime, by historical and international standards (though levels of crime in England and Wales have fallen sharply since the mid- 1990s); declining public satisfaction with the police; concern about police responsiveness to local needs and community. In addition there are doubts about the effectiveness of existing structures with greater emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness and demands for increased accountability, against a background of rising budgets and increased wage and pension costs. There are also the increasing problems associated with technology, globalisation, terrorism, migration and the increasing range and complexity of crime. At the same time there are changes in working practices: an increased emphasis on forming partnerships with others, both voluntary and official bodies, on community engagement and using multi-agency approaches to tackling crime and disorder. These trends have been accompanied by doubts about the adequacy of personnel ('HR capacity') and whether existing employees are being used to best advantage. The Inspectorate suggests that modern employment trends are also making for change. The gulf is widening between the police service and other employers in terms of flexibility, mobility and giving staff more control and autonomy over their career choices and paths. The 30-year career commitment is increasingly anachronistic. Indeed, evidence from community safety officers (CSOs) in one force suggests that this was a significant reason why many chose to become CSOs rather than choosing the police officer route. The message appears to be that if the police service is to build a representative workforce, it needs to be attractive to as wide an audience as possible.¹¹

Such thinking had already been reflected in recent measures and proposals. For instance, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 had reinforced changes to the organisation and management of police forces and the manner in which they carry out their business. It introduced a strategic dimension to the setting of objectives and performance measurement, as

10 'Getting things right', ACPO Quality of Service Committee, 1993, p.3.

11 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004, p.33.

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well as allocating additional responsibilities to the local authorities. In addition, the White Paper on police reform - *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform* - led directly to the Police Reform Act 2002. This Act had a direct bearing on increased political control of the police, namely: police authorities to produce a three-year plan based on the Government's one-year national policing plan; powers to ensure consistent application of good practice in England and Wales and regulation of police practices.¹²

The aim was to improve matters against a background of declining detection and conviction rates in recent years, so the Government continued to look at the ways in which it wished substantially to improve the standard, reliability, consistency, and responsiveness of the service. To achieve this, its White Paper took the view that there was a need for a streamlined and reformed management system, more modern employment terms and conditions and better use of forensic and technological tools to aid prevention, detection and conviction.¹³

A number of fundamental principles were identified for reform such as the need to promote high standards, to improve training, leadership and professionalism, and to introduce a new framework covering pay and conditions of service with more effective scientific and IT support. In addition the system should allow for better use of time and skills, an enhanced role for police support staff and scope for working in partnership.¹⁴

More recently, the Inspectorate expressed the view that an ideal police force would be a modernised organisation which exists as an integrated service with a clear vision about future direction and the people and skills needed. Leadership was vital and the police should work in partnership with other organisations. It would have a clear focus on improving operational performance. It would engage with the local community. In terms of its employees it would have flexible entry and exit points, along with a flexible and integrated system to reward employees. It should also be locally managed within enabling national frameworks and standards, and have an inclusive culture.¹⁵

The trend therefore in recent decades has been to address the role of

12 Donnelly D et al, *A national police service - Any day now?*, Police Journal, vol. 75, No 4 2003, p.293.

13 *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform*, Home Office, 2001, p. 1.

14 *ibid*, pp.2-3.

15 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004, p.32.

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policing in the light of declining public confidence in the police. To the traditional tasks of crime prevention and detection of offenders a number of roles have been added over the past century and a half. The momentum for reform has led to a series of official proposals, discussion documents and analyses of the direction for future policy, in terms of the structure of the force, the need for greater efficiency and accountability, the redefinition of the balance between central and local control and the nature of the employment and working practice model. But at the heart of the problem –and its resolution - are the police officers themselves. How are they recruited? How are they trained? How, when admitted to the force, are they motivated with a system of incentive and reward for able policing at each level?

The answers to such questions will help shape the direction of the reform of policing. The aim of this report is to explain how, at present, candidates for the police are recruited, trained and motivated.

I

Recruitment

Recruits to the police force are expected to meet certain – rather low pitched – national guidelines in terms of character, age, fitness and health and the skills currently seen as important for the job. There are no minimum academic requirements and for the most part entry is at a single point, though there has recently been more emphasis on a new graduate or high ability track. In recent years, most probably as a result of declining public satisfaction with the police, greater emphasis has been given to the recruitment process and to attempts to ensure a set of minimum national standards for entry. However, there is little evidence that the system has improved as a result of recent emphases (on such things as communication or ‘customer’ skills, team work and initiatives), or that the attempt to have a fast track entry has proved successful. The academic and other criteria set for entry remain pitifully low. Despite the popularity of policing to new applicants – there are 8 applicants for every place, with the figures for the last available year suggesting that c. 12-13 % of applicants were recruited (2002-3)¹⁶ – it does not seem to result in a successful and effective police corps. By and large recruitment remains characterised by wastage, and as the large numbers who joined in the 1970s complete their service of 30 years, the problem will become critical.

(i) Recruitment – the Background

From the start Sir Robert Peel’s plan was for the police to be recruited very differently from the army with no separate officer class recruitment and able recruits working their way up through the ranks, with pretty rigid entry qualifications set at the outset. More recently, however, the idea of a distinct recruitment stream for fast track entrants has been introduced, though this remains somewhat limited.

From the inception of the police force in the early 19th century, the idea was that it would be distinct from the army. Sir Robert Peel’s ideas for the new force in 1829 were clear. Applications from military officers on half pay and from gentlemen in reduced circumstances would be rejected. Recruits were to be respectable young men from the working class, with

¹⁶ PSSO, *Skills Foresight 2004*, p.133.

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height and age limits set - at least 5'9" tall and under 35 years – and both physically fit and literate, as well as having good command of temper. Such men were to fill all of the ranks up to Commissioner; ability and merit were to be the sole criteria for promotion. The legislation establishing the County Constabularies introduced similar requirements, though initially permitting the recruitment of men up to the age of 40.¹⁷ Peel insisted that the police must be a disciplined working force and not seen as a sanctuary for the incompetent and the genteel. Subordinate positions in the police should be given to men who had not the rank, habits, or station of gentleman.¹⁸ Thirteen of the first seventeen superintendents were former sergeant majors, who, according to the first Commissioner Rowan, 'were usually of great intelligence, integrity and activity not disinclined to do what men of superior requirements in point of education and higher station would think beneath them'.¹⁹

The same considerations are relevant today. The evidence suggests that the police attract a large number of 'blue-collar', less well-educated recruits. Though a High Potential Development Scheme is available for graduate applicants, all such schemes have had limited success and all applicants still have to pass a physical fitness test and start at the bottom of the career ladder. Research suggests that only one out of ten people will ever seriously consider a police career.²⁰

Government opinion has recently changed on the issue of a single point of entry, partly out of a desire to alter the composition of the officer ranks more swiftly. The recent Home Office White Paper suggests that 'given the changing labour market, and the need for more specialist skills and managerial experience at every level, the single point entry risks denying the service access to some of the people it needs. Without the ability to recruit directly into officer ranks, the pace of change in the composition of promoted ranks will be slower than it needs to be, in terms of skills, gender and ethnic composition. The current model also denies the service the opportunity to recruit those promoted in comparable jobs –such as the probation service, HM Customs, financial crime investigation or the armed forces. The Government proposes to introduce multiple points of entry to the police service, and to remove the requirement that all police

17 Emsley C, *The English Police*, 2nd edition, Longman, 1996, p.191.

18 Gash Norman, *Mr. Secretary Peel. The life of Sir Robert Peel to 1830*, Longman Group, 1961, p.502.

19 Emsley C, *Policing and its Context 1750 to 1870*, Macmillan Press 1983, p.62.

20 Cherry C, *The Problems of Police Recruitment in the 21st Century*, MA thesis, September 2002, York University, p.1.

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officers serve specific amounts of time at junior ranks before being promoted to more senior positions.²¹

(ii) Admission Requirements

Admission requirements and eligibility criteria for police recruitment are set nationally by the Home Office in line with national standards. Although each place is oversubscribed by a factor of eight, criteria for entry are not particularly onerous, and hardly go beyond the normal minimum expected by most employers (or by the law) as a matter of course (e.g. nationality, health and character), or seem mainly to be of a negative (or screening) nature (e.g. having a dubious past or criminal convictions). Home Office circular 54/03 sets out the criteria in respect of age, previous applications, financial checks, criminal convictions, references, security checks on applicants who have lived abroad, tattoos and body piercing and swimming. All recruits to the police service start at the rank of constable.

An applicant, to be eligible to serve as a police officer, must be a British, Irish, Commonwealth citizen or a foreign national with unrestricted right of residence in the UK; and be over eighteen and a half, with a high standard of physical fitness. The upper age limit may vary between police forces but the normal retirement age for a constable is 55. The applicant must also be in good general health, with a good command of the English language and of good character. Whilst any previous convictions/cautions will not automatically disqualify an applicant, they are given careful consideration.²² (The requirement that police officers be British subjects was removed by section 82 Police Reform Act 2002.)

In particular it is thought that police officers should have certain characteristics or abilities, such as:

- An ability to communicate effectively. They must communicate all needs, instructions and decisions clearly, and adapt the style of communication to meet the needs of the audience.
- An ability to focus on the community and the customer. They must see things from the customer's point of view and encourage others to do the same. They must build a good understanding and relationship with the community.
- A sense of personal responsibility. They must take personal

²¹ *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.89.

²² <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk/default.asp?action=article&ID=24>.

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responsibility for their own actions and for resolving problems that arise.

- Resilience. They must remain calm and confident, responding logically and decisively in difficult situations.
- An ability to solve problems. They must gather information from a range of sources to understand situations, ensuring it is reliable and accurate. They must identify risks and consider alternative courses of action to make good decisions.
- Respect for race and diversity. They must understand other people's views and take them into account. They must treat people with dignity and respect at all times no matter what their background, status, circumstances or appearance.
- Team working. They must work effectively as a member of a team and help build relationships within it.²³

(iii) The Recruitment Process: Recent Trends

Though the trend towards national recruitment is strong, the individual forces retain responsibility for recruitment. Successful candidates may be sent to one of the national training centres run by Central Police Training and Development Agency (Centrex), though such recent trends have been criticised because of their costs, success rates and inflexibility.

While recruitment remains the responsibility of the chief officer of each of the 43 forces in England and Wales, it takes place within a policy formulated - and agreed - in consultation between the Home Office, the police service and police authorities.²⁴ The aim of a more consistent approach across police forces has for some time been seen as important, having been the subject of recommendations by the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee. In April 1999, the Home Secretary announced that national recruitment standards should be developed²⁵, the purpose of which would be to:

- Achieve standards of good practice
- Ensure consistency and fairness throughout the service (and therefore minimum vulnerability to challenge)
- Provide nationally agreed criteria for recruitment
- Provide clarity for applicants on the standards required for

²³ www.policecouldyou.co.uk

²⁴ Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume I, Report and Proceedings of the Committee, 1998-99, p.183.

²⁵ Home Office Circular 1/01, *National Recruitment Standards for Police Officers and the Proposed Extension of the Disability Discrimination Act to Police Officers*.

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recruitment

- Help ensure an efficient and cost-effective recruitment process
- Make the best use of potential applicants and ensure that police forces can select the most suitable
- Enhance the 'professionalism' and image of the police service.²⁶

By 2004-5, the Home Office's National Recruitment Standards Programme was fully implemented.²⁷ Although the Home Office protocols are not binding, there has been a marked shift towards centralisation and a reduction in the freedom of individual forces to determine their own standards for appointment. The process of centralisation is further reinforced in the Home Office paper, *Building Communities, Beating Crime*.²⁸

Under the standard process for recruitment applicants apply to the force of their choice using a national application form (introduced in 2003), which is checked for eligibility and the competency questions are marked. The successful applicant is passed on to an assessment centre. Before attending the assessment centre the applicant is sent the literature needed for familiarisation purposes. Subject to successfully passing the assessment centre, the applicant will be invited to attend a medical examination and a fitness test. The applicant will then be offered an appointment by the relevant force, subject to satisfactory references and security checks.

The assessment centre is designed by Centrex as part of the Home Office project on national recruitment standards with written texts, role play and a structured interview. A force can run the assessment centre either on its own, in collaboration with other forces, or through Centrex itself. The aim has been to have assessment centres operational in all individual forces by this year.²⁹ At the national assessment centre applicants sit and pass the Police Initial Recruitment Test (numeracy and verbal reasoning skills), two written exercises (normally a letter and a memo), four interactive role play scenarios (each lasting five minutes) and a structured interview. All this takes place on one day.

Although the tests remain confidential, examples of the numerical and verbal reasoning tests and of a role playing scenario can be found at

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ Police National Plan 2004-7, Home Office, 2003.

²⁸ *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.89.

²⁹ National Policing Plan, 2005-8, p.29.

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Appendix (see page 148). A new police initial recruitment test was issued to forces in 1992. In May 1998 the test questions and pass mark were revised to lessen or remove any adverse impact on particular ethnic minority groups.³⁰ They are not directed at any particularly academic level and no applicant, however well qualified, is exempt from the test.

The system has prompted some criticism on account of the costs involved, its success comparative to other systems and its lack of flexibility. For instance, the Chief Constable of Essex (in a report to his Police Authority's Resource and Finance Committee, relating solely to his force) has raised questions about the costs involved, given that the resources needed to run the assessment centre 'are enormous' with significant financial implications in introducing the model.³¹ He suggested also that there might be a detrimental impact on candidates' success rates by comparison with the current process, and this in turn might affect the filling of vacancies and training places. Besides the system might be unnecessarily onerous for candidates. Furthermore, the logistical complexity would make it less flexible than the interview process which could lead to delays in the selection process.³²

(iv) Examinations and Qualifications

There are no formal minimum educational standards for joining the police and historically never have been. Whereas originally the emphasis was on basic standards of education and physical fitness, the focus is now less sharp, with official pressure for diversity of intake and with the Home Office not requesting data on the educational standards of recruits.

At the beginning of the last century, for instance, the Metropolitan Police required candidates to be examined for their physical fitness for the position of constable, and to take an educational test in reading (reading dictation - from Royal reader, number three, or book of a similar standard) and arithmetic (remuneration to 100,000, and four simple requirements, viz: - addition, subtraction, multiplication and division).³³ Today minimum

30 Home Office Circular 15/98, p.2.

31 He reported that the total bids prepared for the last full year's budget setting process (2004/05), were for £300,000 revenue costs (£100,000 of which will be for one year only), and £130,000 capital.

32 *Police Recruitment: National Assessment Centre*, Report by Chief Constable to Essex Police Authority 233/03, 10 November 2003.

33 The Report of the Royal Commission on the Duties of the Metropolitan Police in 1908, (Part I Para 6).

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entry standards are reflected in the Police Initial Recruitment Test. This was last modified through Home Office Circular 15/98 to lessen or remove any adverse impact on particular ethnic groups. The revised test contained the same basic framework as the original test, but some of the questions were rewritten with others deleted. The pass mark was increased and set at 69.8% with a reduction to 64.2% some six months later.

Whilst the national assessment centre is operational, it remains true to a degree that 'every chief officer of police is at present free in effect to recruit men of what educational standards he likes, provided they can read and write and do some arithmetic'.³⁴

The drive for diversity and the pressure for a representative police service in terms of ethnicity and gender may help explain why the Home Office does not request data on the educational qualifications of recruits or applicants.³⁵

(v) Percentage of Applicants

There are far more applicants each year to join the police than there are places. Information for applicants is available from a number of sources, including the official recruitment campaigns and websites. The success rate for applicants varies – from 8% to 17% (year ending March 2003) – and recruitment as a percentage of enquiries has been estimated by the Met 1-1½: 20, or 5.5%.³⁶

In the year ending 31 March 2004, 13,137 full-time equivalent officers were recruited by the 43 police forces, of which transfers between Home Office forces accounted for 12%. (Transferees are officers who have already been appointed and have completed their probationary period of training.) Of these new recruits, 30% were female and 97% of all joiners came in at constable rank. New recruits to the police service start as constables, so joiners at other ranks are likely to be transfers.³⁷ To help try and reduce the applicant pool to those who have a genuine interest in a police career and a reasonable chance of completing the recruitment procedures

34 Hart J, *Royal Commission on the Police*, Public Law 1963, p.299.

35 *Police Numbers Task Force, Report and Recommendations*, December 2001.

36 Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, 1998-99, Memorandum by the Metropolitan Police Service, p.298.

37 Christophersen O and Cotton J, *Police Service Strength England and Wales, 31 March 2004*, Home Office Bulletin 13/04, p.7.

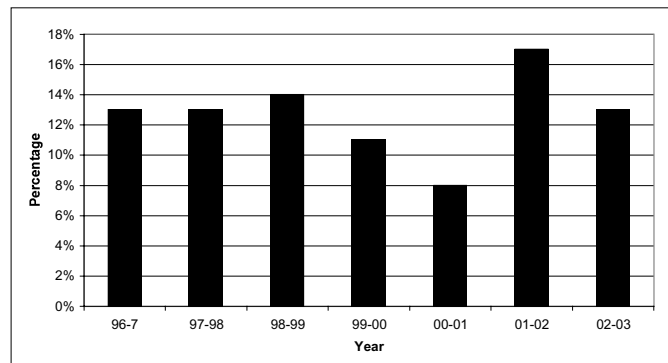
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successfully, the existing Police Officer booklets and information were revised to introduce more of a self-assessment theme.³⁸

A number of sources of information exist for would-be candidates including the internet, which gives advice on how to apply to the service as well as practice papers for the assessment centre. However, the Home Office does not endorse training courses advertised as assisting the recruiting process, since all the required information is contained in its official 'Could You' recruitment site,³⁹ which originated with the 'Could You' advertising campaign, funded out of the Crime Fighting Fund, though now seen by some senior officers as dated. The campaign illustrated 'the challenge rather than the excitement of police work'. The choice of celebrities used in the campaign has been criticised by Richard Allsop, Deputy Chief Constable of the Cumbria Constabulary, as being out of date.⁴⁰

Despite the lack of a need for formal qualifications, on average only about 13% of new applicants are recruited to the service. In the financial year 2003-4 data from 21 out of the 43 forces suggest the reported success rate for applicants currently stands at 42.7%. This interim conclusion – pending the provision of all data – is nevertheless consistent with that currently being experienced in the Metropolitan Police.⁴¹

Figure 1: Percentage of recruits per applicant, 1996-2003



Source: Home Office Statistical Bulletins

38 Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, Police Training and Recruitment, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, 1998-99, Memorandum by the Home Office, p.195.

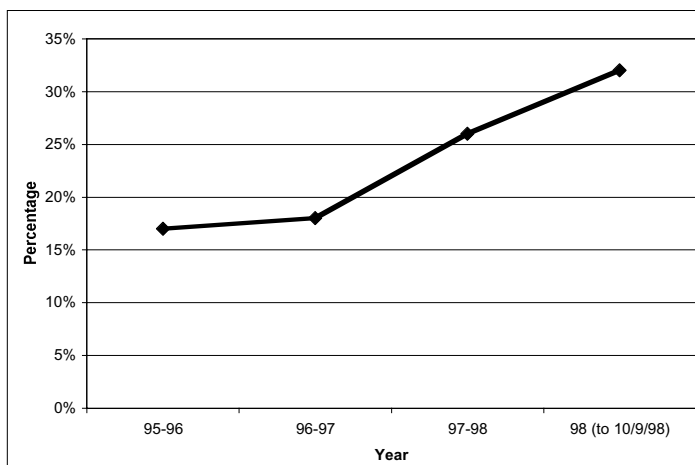
39 <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk>

40 This was especially true for those individuals who appeared slightly dated. Some of them were 10 years too old for people in their mid-20s and early 30s, Mulraney S, *Altered Images*, Police Review, 8th Sept 2000, pp. 28-29.

41 Mulraney S, *Altered Images*, Police Review, 8th Sept 2000.

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Figure 2: Recruits per applicant to the Police force, 1995-98



Source: MPS data submitted to the Home Office

The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) submitted the following data to the Home Affairs Committee on police training and recruitment in 1999.⁴²

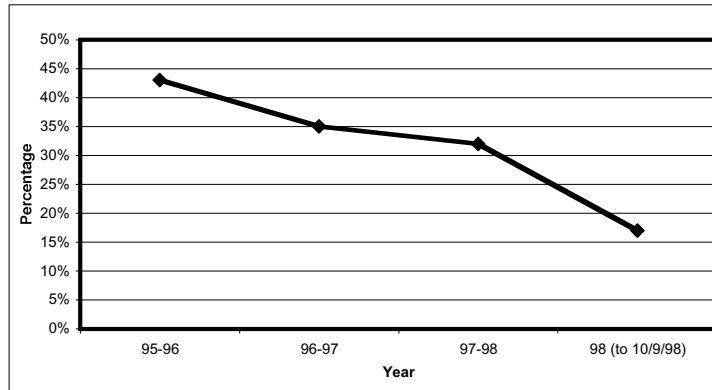
Whilst the success rate for the MPS remains low at 35%, it is more than double the national rate and virtually double the level in 1995-1996, due to the campaigns run by the Metropolitan Police to attract recruits and transfers from other police forces, as well as the more attractive financial incentives on offer, such as London weighting allowance and free travel. Its success has been at the expense of surrounding forces, which have had to fund special payments to stem the exodus of experienced officers.

The Metropolitan Police suggests that 'recruitment campaigns should generate at least 20,000 enquiries in order to find the 1,000 to 1,500 recruits needed each year to replace wastage.'⁴³ The success rate per enquiry currently stands at 5.5%. Though the number of applicants per enquiry has more than halved, this is believed to reflect the changes made in self-assessment and a more realistic realisation of what is required.

⁴² Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, 1998-99, Memorandum by the Metropolitan Police Service, p.298.

⁴³ *ibid.*

Figure 3: Number of applicants per enquiry to the Metropolitan Police



Source: MPS data submitted to Home Affairs Committee 1999

(vi) Graduate Recruitment

Although traditionally entry to the police has been through a single route for all, including the most able who are expected to work their way up to the highest positions, the system now allows a small percentage of graduate recruits (10%-16 % in 2004). It seems that the impact of the various schemes has been slight and there is pressure for a more successful one. There have been a number of schemes to encourage graduates to join the police and for their rapid promotion – the Accelerated Promotion Scheme (1962 - 2002), High Potential Development Scheme (since 2002).

The call for graduate recruitment owes much to the demands and complexity of modern policing and to the expectations now placed on constables. The modern police officer, it is thought, needs a wide understanding of social issues and the ability to translate that understanding into action. It is thought that if the necessary qualities can be encouraged by higher education then more graduates might be recruited or more officers encouraged to participate in higher education during their period of service.⁴⁴

However, the evidence on the standards of education of the police is patchy and little importance appears to be placed on academic qualifications.

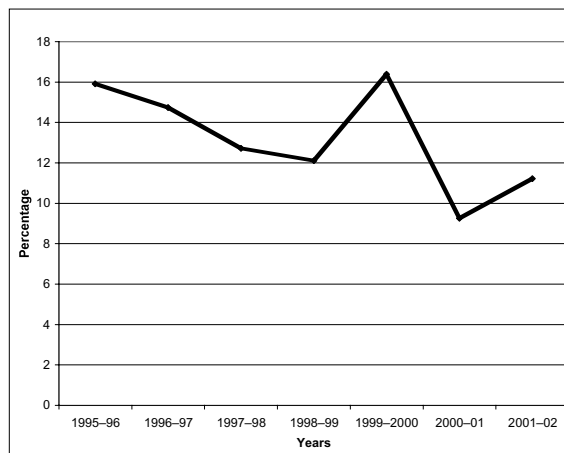
⁴⁴ Watson J. et al, *Police Recruitment: The Way Forward*, Police Journal, vol. 76, 2003.

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Data is not available on a national level, and as far as can be established no research in Britain has addressed the effects or benefits of higher educational qualifications on police officers. On the whole it seems that higher education is given little importance in the British police service.⁴⁵

There is considerable confusion about the percentage of graduate recruits, but the figure for England and Wales appears to have been somewhere between 10% and 16% throughout the decade ending 2004. The Government's view of the figures (which is probably the most authoritative) can be obtained from a reply to a parliamentary question printed in Hansard.⁴⁶ Figure 4 summarises the position. Of 7,543 successful applicants to the police service in 32 of the 43 forces in the financial year 2003-04, 2,913 (38.6%) were graduates. (This data must be regarded as provisional until all the returns to the Home Office have been analysed.) Research also suggests that educational qualifications are not seen as important, with only 7.1% of respondent forces taking police officers' academic qualifications into account in career planning and development and only 9.5% having policies (other than financial assistance) in place that provide incentives for higher education. Equally, only 9.5% had defined policies for using the skills, knowledge or experience gained by officers on higher educational schemes.

Figure 4: Graduate entrants as a percentage of recruits



Source: Hansard

45 Flynn P, *Education for policing for the millennium and beyond*, Cropwood occasional paper, 2000.

46 Hansard 30th January 2003 (written answers, House of Commons debates, from Minister of State, Mr. John Denham.)

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Furthermore, in the last decade (with the exception of 1999-2000), the number of graduates as a percentage of recruits appointed has been dropping, with an average of 13% up to 2003 (since 1995).⁴⁷ Given the rise in the number of degrees being awarded, the feeling is that the police service is not obtaining its fair proportion of the increase, at a time when the Government has set a target of 50% on those aged 18-30 to enter higher education by 2010. In addition the quality of the degrees themselves is dubious, with the 1999 report suggesting that many of them were in subjects such as leisure, sport and tourism.⁴⁸ The trend over the decade has therefore been one of a declining percentage of graduate intake and even where, in a given year, it may be significantly higher the Home Office still believes it is too low.⁴⁹ As a result the aim now is to review whether the incentives now offered to graduates by the police service are sufficiently attractive.⁵⁰

*Graduate Officers in the Service.*⁵¹ The MPS in their submission to the 1999 Home Affairs Committee gave the following figures for the percentage of officers with degrees.⁵²

	Male	Female
All Officers	8.75%	10.96%
Officers of 10 years' service or less	10.34%	12.13%

These figures tend to support the estimate in 2002 that there were approximately 9,000 graduates who were police officers (some 7% of the total number).⁵³

There are many reasons for the less than enthusiastic approach to graduate recruitment. For instance there are fears that the introduction of

⁴⁷ Hansard 30th January 2003.

⁴⁸ Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume II, 1998-99, p.299.

⁴⁹ The point was taken up in the more recent Home Office paper *Building Communities and Beating Crime*, which found that 31% of those passing the assessment centre in 2003-4 were graduates, which is considered too few by chief officers.

⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 90.

⁵¹ More officers than before fail to complete the foundation course. In some intakes this year the figure has been as high as 20 per cent. Educational qualifications alone are clearly not a guarantee of required performance in recruit training.

⁵² Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, 1998-99, Memorandum by the Metropolitan Police Service, p.299.

⁵³ *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2002*, PSSO, p.50.

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higher educational qualifications would discriminate against minority candidates whom the Government is determined to recruit with the aim of creating a more unified, representative police force.⁵⁴ The Home Affairs Committee on Police Training and Recruitment has made clear that 'there is no case for a system of graduate-only entrance to the police service and that such a system would deprive the service of many excellent officers'.⁵⁵

(vii) Age Profile of Normal Recruits

The trend in recent years has been to more mature recruits in their twenties, though there is a dearth of accurate and reliable official data.

Because published data on the age profile of recruits varies in its format from year to year and may not be entirely reliable in its compilation, it is difficult to draw any real conclusions other than to note that most recruits fall within the 22-30 years cohort, of whom half have been recruited by the age of 25. The data for the financial year 2003-04 only includes submissions by 30 of the 43 forces. Firm conclusions about the increased percentage of applicants in the 18-25 and 25-40 cohorts cannot be made until all the returns to the Home Office have been analysed.

The trend over the last twenty years or so has been to move away from the younger recruit, disbanding the police cadet schemes in favour of engaging recruits with some life experience. This may mean, however, that many 16-18 year olds who leave full-time education to begin careers can be bypassed. The figures reflect the relative unpopularity of a career in the police for graduates. The evidence from Skills For Justice (the body licensed to ensure that the sector has the skills needed to operate as a coherent whole) is that the age profiles show that 'large numbers of recruits join the sector from other occupations as a career change'.⁵⁶ No data has been found as to prior occupations of recruits.

The average age of recruits in 2000 and 2001 was 26 and in 2002, 26¹/₂.⁵⁷ No figures have been published for 2003; however, they are unlikely to be significantly different.

54 *Policing: Building Safer Communities Together*, Home Office 2003, p.26.

55 Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume I, Report and Proceedings of the Committee, 1998-99, p. xxxv.

56 *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice & Police Sector Skills Foresight*, PSSO.

57 *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2003*, PSSO, p.148.

(viii) Fast Tracking of Graduates

The Accelerated Promotion Scheme for Graduates, introduced in 1962, remained in place until 2002 to attract graduates with good prospects of promotion and rewarding careers. It allowed graduate recruits to undertake an extended interview with those successful being guaranteed fast-track promotion through to the rank of inspector, subject to passing the requisite internal promotion examinations. Once appointed to the force they would go rapidly through the next stages: a two-year probationary period followed by assessment for confirmation as a probationer constable, followed by residential training at Centrex with the qualifying promotion exam. Subject to passing that, they would then be promoted to the rank of sergeant, and become eligible to sit the next qualifying examination to inspector with guaranteed promotion thereafter to the rank of chief inspector. After that they would in theory be subject to the same processes for selection as every other officer.

How successful has the fast-track system been for rapid promotion? The estimate of the time needed (seven years) from graduate to chief inspector⁵⁸ – the 1990 Home Office target – was not met for the three decades before 1992, during which time 1,108 officers attended the fast track course.⁵⁹ The average time to secure promotion was longer, with a significant variation between the rates of progression of individual officers. The longest period from inspector to chief inspector was 21 years and from chief inspector to superintendent 13 years.⁶⁰

Although the sample numbers were relatively small, the same study indicated that graduate entrants did move from inspector to assistant chief constable somewhat faster than non-graduates. To illustrate these results, Figure 7 compares the progress of fast-track officers up to the rank chief inspector, based on the career profiles of almost 2,000 chief inspectors between 1988 and 1994. Although officers within the fast-track scheme progress more quickly through the ranks of constable and sergeant, the advantage is lost when it comes to service in the rank of inspector and progression to the rank of chief inspector. This finding had not been anticipated.⁶¹

58 Home Office, *From Graduate to Chief Inspector in Seven Years: Accelerated Promotion Scheme*, 1990 - Later versions of this brochure omitted the timescale.

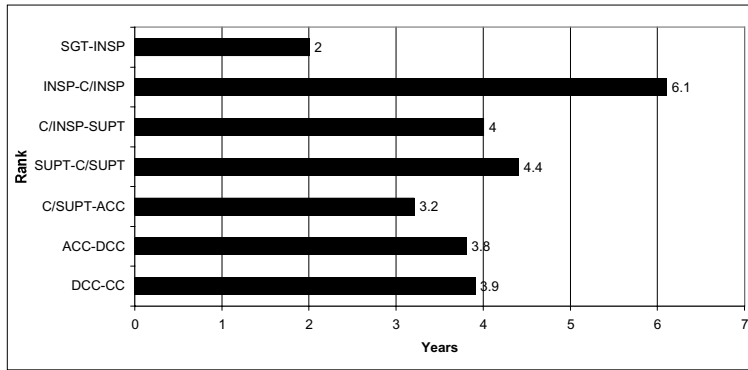
59 Adler Z et al, *Fast Track: A Review of the Career Paths of Special Course Students at the Police Staff College*, pp.20-22.

60 From an analysis of attendees, where 92% of surveyors responded.

61 Adler Z et al, *Fast Track: A Review of the Career Paths of Special Course Students at the Police Staff College*, p.22.

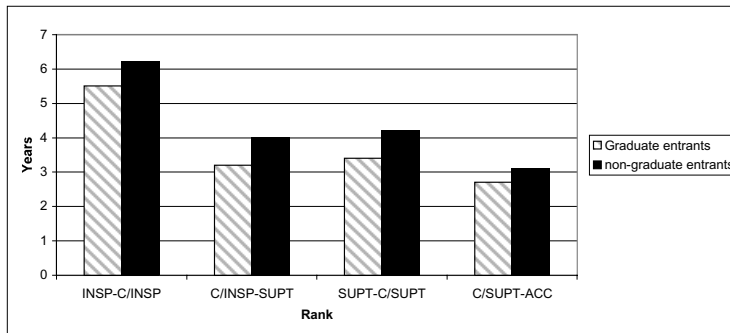
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Figure 5: Average number of years between ranks of fast track officers, 1962-92



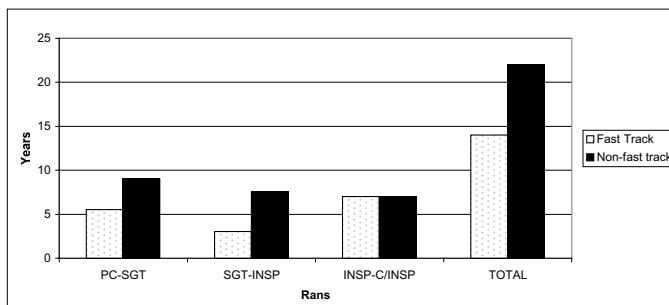
Source: Adler Z. *Fast Track, Policing*, vol.11 no.1, Spring 1995, p20

Figure 6: Average number of years between ranks—graduate and non-graduate entrants, 1995



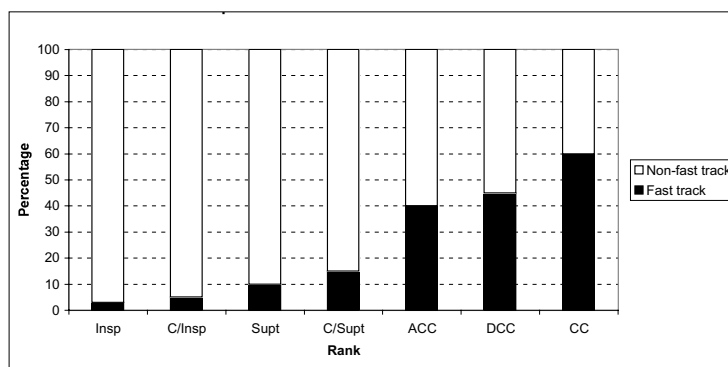
Source: Adler Z. *Fast Track, Policing*, vol.11 no.1, Spring 1995, p21

Figure 7: Average number of years between ranks of fast track and non-fast track officers, 1995



Source: Adler Z. *Fast Track, Policing*, vol.11 no.1, Spring 1995, p22

Figure 8: Rank comparison between fast track and non-fast track officers, 1995



Source: Adler Z. *Fast Track, Policing*, vol.11 no.1, Spring 1995, p24

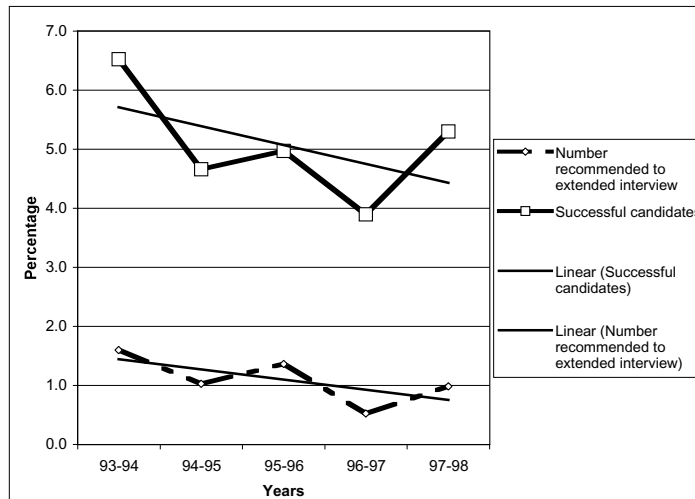
Though the proportion of fast-track officers has always been small by comparison with normal entrants, the survey found that their representation increased with every rank and exceeded normal entrants at the rank of chief constable. This suggests that the scheme succeeds in so far as it provides the police with higher calibre officers. Of those who attended in the first ten years of the scheme, a third reached ACPO rank and over half were promoted to the ranks of superintendent and chief superintendent.⁶²

The Accelerated Promotion Scheme for Graduates was replaced in 2002, having been seen in the Home Office as a 'fairly small operation, run very much on a shoestring'⁶³, and one where the low numbers of successful recruits was noted according to *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform*.⁶⁴ Although it had in principle been supported by the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, it was concerned about the costs and as a result supported a proposal that graduates rejected for the APSG should join as normal graduate entrants (following the Metropolitan Police Service, as recommended by the Home Secretary).⁶⁵

62 Adler Z et al, *Fast Track: A Review of the Career Paths of Special Course Students*, pp.16-20
 63 Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume I, Report and Proceedings of the Committee, 1998-99, p. xxxv.
 64 *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform*, Home Office 2001, p.112.
 65 Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume I, Report and Proceedings of the Committee, 1998-99, p. xxxv.

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Figure 9: Graduate Success Rates for Accelerated Promotion ^{66 67}



The scheme which replaced it, the High Potential Development Scheme (HPDS), was launched by Centrex so that all officers up to the rank of chief inspector could apply to reach the rank of superintendent. All candidates for promotion to sergeant and inspector must still qualify through an examination (the Objective Structured Performance Related Examination, OSPRE). Both graduates and non-graduates alike can apply to join the scheme upon recruitment and the scheme is one particularly suitable for candidates who can meet the criteria for acceptance. It is too early to reach a definitive verdict on this particular development.⁶⁸ Unlike the former scheme, it does not guarantee automatic promotion at various stages. Furthermore, young graduates for advancement come up against a hierarchical police service of which only 1.2% of all positions are occupied by the ranks of superintendent and above; constables form 79%.

Even some of the current graduates in the service will not progress up the hierarchy at all and many will hit a ceiling at superintendent level, regardless of their performance on the HPDS. If overall numbers increase, more will be affected in view of the wide range of duties available. Some may be unduly disappointed; others are likely to become frustrated and either look for an acceptable exit strategy, like short-term engagements

⁶⁶ Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, 1998-99, Supplementary Notes by HM Chief Inspector of Constabulary, p.264.

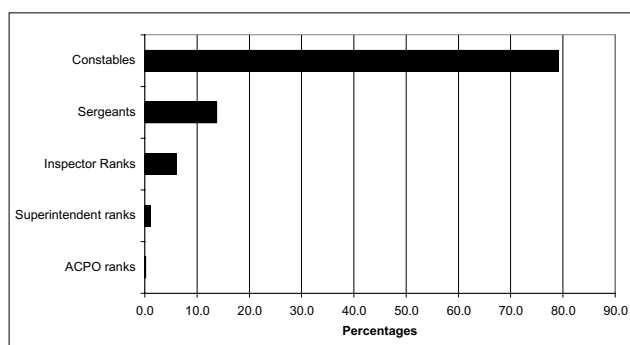
⁶⁷ *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform*, Home Office 2001, p.112.

⁶⁸ For the details, see: p.x.

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within the armed services, or the flexible working arrangements that modern employment often provides.

Figure 10: Percentage Service Strength by Rank, 2004



Source: *Police Service Strength England & Wales, 31 March 2004*

(a) Analysis of the High Potential Development Scheme: Numbers, Age Profile and Background

Recent evidence suggests there are only 346 officers on the scheme⁶⁹ - 0.2% in the ranks from constable to chief inspector inclusive. In the year 2003-4, 128 applicants were successful in the High Potential Development selection process and were given a place on the scheme, of whom 22 were external applicants and 106 internal applicants (Source: The Research, Development and Statistics Branch of the Home Office, January 2005). Though the Home Office does not keep an education profile of the

Table 2: age profile of successful applicants to High Potential Development Scheme		
Age	Numbers selected	as a %
20-25	2	1.6%
26-30	25	19.5%
31-35	41	32%
36-40	47	36.7%
41-45	11	8.6%
45-50	2	1.6%

Source: *Home Office*

⁶⁹ Don D, *Leading lights*, Police Professional Update, 17th June 2004, p. 11.

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successful applicants or ask candidates about their qualifications, it gathers data on the higher qualifications of successful candidates so that they can be advised on their academic route through the scheme. To date 82 (64%) of the successful candidates have been graduates when they applied and 46 (36%) have not.

External applicants filtered into the system for the first time last year (all applicants must first be successful in the standard recruitment process) with a success rate compared to internal applicants of 13%. The age profile of external applicants to the HPDS is no different to that of applicants for regular admission. Of the 22 external successful candidates, 15 were graduates and 7 non-graduates.

Age	Applications received	Successful	Success rate %
Under 20	2		0%
20-25	63	2	3.2%
26-30	39	9	23%
31-35	33	4	12%
36-40	14	7	50%
41-45	8		0%
46-50	1		0%
Total	160	22	13%

There is also a scheme for internal applicants. Table 4 reflects the length of service profile for the 106 successful internal applicants, whilst Table 5 reflects the rank profile and Table 6 their age profile.

Length of service in years	Numbers selected
1-5	22
6-10	30
11-15	23
16-20	19
21-25	2
Unknown	10

Source: Home Office

Table 5: rank profile of successful internal applicants	
Rank	Numbers selected
Constable	32
Sergeant	33
Inspector	36
Chief Inspector	5

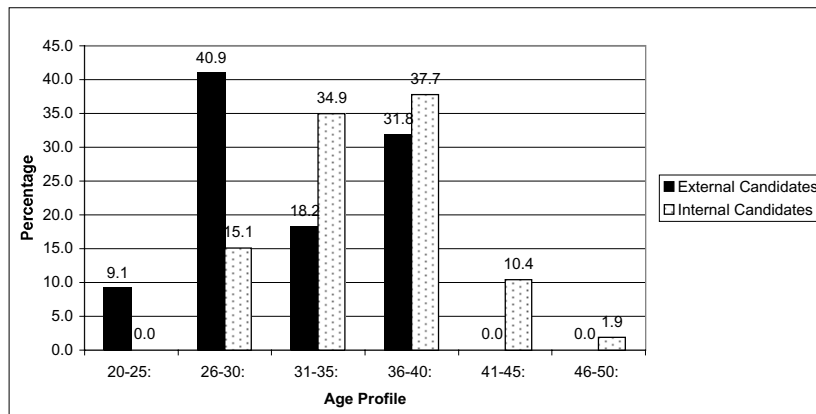
Source: Home Office

Table 6: age profile of successful internal applicants	
Age	Numbers selected
26-30	16
31-35	37
36-40	40
41-45	11
46-50	2

Source: Home Office

Whilst the numbers of successful applicants remain small, Figure 11 shows a comparison of the age profile of successful internal and external applicants. It can be seen that the profile of successful external candidates is older.

Figure 11: Comparison of Successful Internal and External Applicants by Age



Source: Home Office

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In view of its low success rate there are arrangements to review the HPDS again and to identify those with the greatest potential. Although the Home Office suggests the scheme is in general working well, the aim is to streamline recruitment and make the system more straightforward so as to develop a future pool of leaders. The review should indicate whether changes should be made.⁷⁰

The Government intends to look again at graduate recruitment. Although many graduates do join the service, it acknowledges that forces currently recruit too few of the best. It intends to review whether the offer which the police service is able to make currently to graduates is sufficiently attractive (with opportunities for accelerated career development) and whether more can be done to market police careers more effectively, and on a national basis.⁷¹

(ix) Police Wastage

Wastage and the loss of recruits or trained police officers remains potentially one of the most serious problems for the police, given the costs, in terms of time and money, of recruitment and training. Of those who leave the force, half do so for medical reasons and one quarter voluntarily. High wastage could be detrimental too in other ways, for instance to the pension scheme which tends to lock officers in after ten years of service, with an unattractive return on investment for those who leave early. It is tailored to a full 30-year career path.

Whilst wastage remains low overall at 5%, greater recruitment risks increasing this proportion.⁷² At the moment, of any given year's recruits 10% leave within the first twelve months of service and half within their first ten years. Including officers who transfer to other forces, in the last available year to 31 March 2004 7,139 full-time equivalent officers left Britain's 43 police forces, of whom 21 % were transferring to other England and Wales forces.

Wastage in recent years has been dramatic, with the highest proportion coming from officers in their forties and early fifties. For instance, in 2002-3 the service had 13,126 recruits - a 28% increase on the previous year.

70 *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.89.

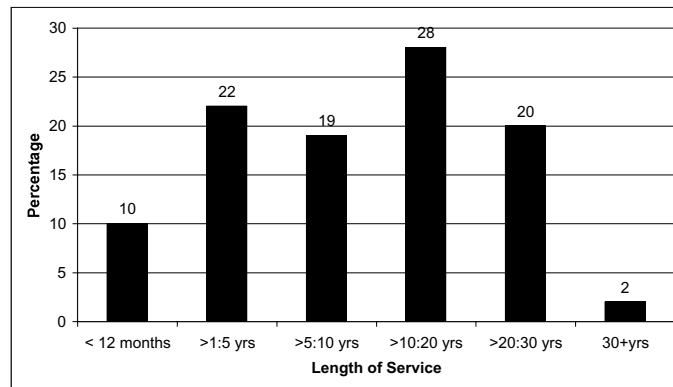
71 *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.90.

72 Christophersen O and Cotton J, *Police Service Strength England and Wales, 31 March 2004*, Home Office Bulletin 13/04, p7.

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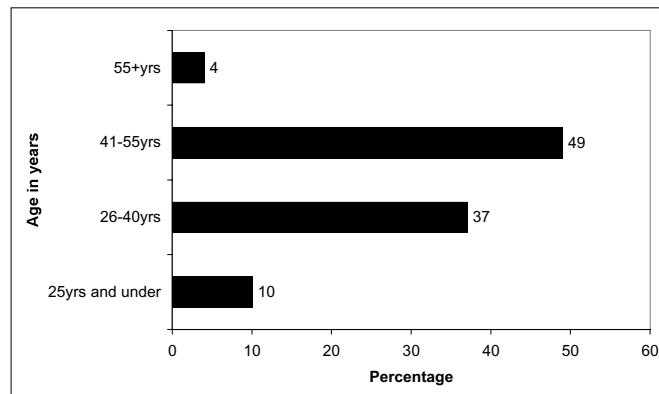
Wastage accounted for 10,454 officers, leaving a net gain therefore of only 2,672.⁷³ The establishment at 31st March 2003 was 133,366 officers. When one examines police officer wastage by age, the greatest wastage (53%) comes from the 41-55 year cohort and reflects normal retirement, but 37% leave under the age of forty.

Figure 12: Wastage by length of service of police officers



Source: Skills for Justice 2004

Figure 13: Police Officer wastage by age

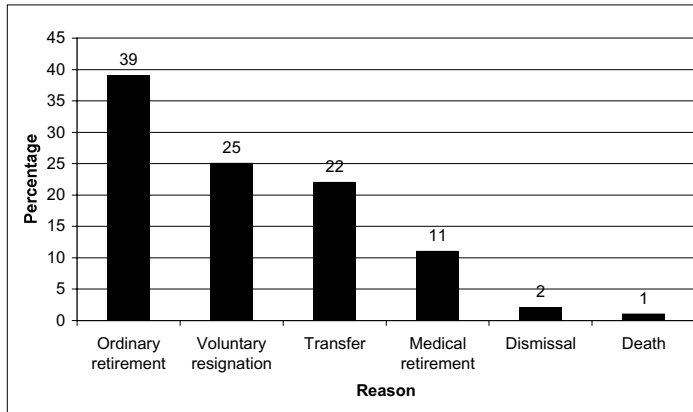


Source: Skills for Justice 2004

73 Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, PSSO, p.134.

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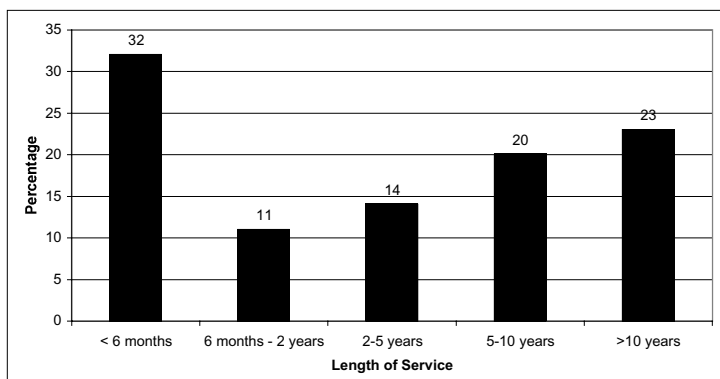
Figure 14: Police Officer wastage by reason



Source: Skills for Justice 2004

Of those that leave police forces 50% represent ordinary or medical retirement, but 25% leave voluntarily, reflecting the desire for more flexible working conditions and the need for multiple entry and exit points. The breakdown for voluntary resignations by length of service suggests that almost half (43%) leave before the two-year probationary leave is completed and a further 14% within 5 years. A number of these may leave to avoid being dismissed by a chief constable (who can terminate a probationer's appointment if the officer seems unlikely to reach the required level of competence). Alternatively they may simply be dissatisfied with what they discover once inside the service.

Figure 15: Police Officer voluntary resignations by length of service



Source: Skills for Justice 2004

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(x) Recruitment Targets to Maintain the Status Quo

Given the numbers joining and leaving the police, and given the imminent retirement of the large numbers who joined in the mid -1970s and who will complete their 30 years' service in the next two years 1970s, the police service will soon need to recruit significant numbers of new constables.⁷⁴

Centrex has estimated the number of recruits required to maintain police numbers at 138,000 over the coming years.⁷⁵

Given that the service only recruited around 10,500 new officers in 2003-04, the challenge is likely to be tough, unless the balance is redressed through the extended police family. With this in mind the Home Office paper, *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, proposes to remove barriers for police staff becoming police officers.⁷⁶ However, they will need to be replaced. 25,000 Community Service Officers and wardens will need to be recruited by 2008.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary 2002-3*, p.44.

⁷⁵ *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004*, Skills for Justice, p.140.⁷⁶ The figure of c.13,000 reflects recruitment from 2002-3. In 2003-4, of the 13,137 recruited c 12% were transferees giving the above figure of 10,500.

⁷⁷ *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.6.

II Training

The system under which police are trained continues to prompt criticism and dissatisfaction amongst those professionally responsible for training, and the representative police bodies. The problems are many. There is a problem of divided authority over training itself between the forces and the central training agency, Centrex. In addition, there are concerns that training is thought to be too unevenly distributed within the forces and that trainers themselves may not be properly qualified. The emphasis tends to be on what are perceived to be practical, rather than academic, skills, and it is difficult to ensure a consistent measure of standard. There have been difficulties in auditing the costs and assessing how well money has been spent. The content and emphasis of courses may not be focused for best results. In-service training is also problematic.

(i) Training: The Problem of Divided Responsibility: The Central Police Training and Development Agency (Centrex) and the Individual Forces

Responsibility for training and supporting all recruits over a two-year probationary period is shared between the central body, Centrex, and the individual forces. Established by the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001, Centrex began its work in April 2002 as a non-departmental public body. Its purpose is to identify and promote policing excellence through the use of best practice in police work as well as to develop training programmes that police officers will find valuable throughout their careers. Centrex consists of a range of specialist divisions which provide the expertise which will help officers operationally and in training. It does not confine its expertise to police operations in the UK and offers training courses, consultancy and support worldwide.⁷⁸ Centrex, in sharing responsibility with the individual forces for training, works with officers confirmed in appointment as constables, developing specialist and general skills needed for implementing policy.

It operates independently, as a non-departmental public body. It does not receive direction and strategy as a department of the Home Office. Its board and senior staff are responsible for implementing all of the key

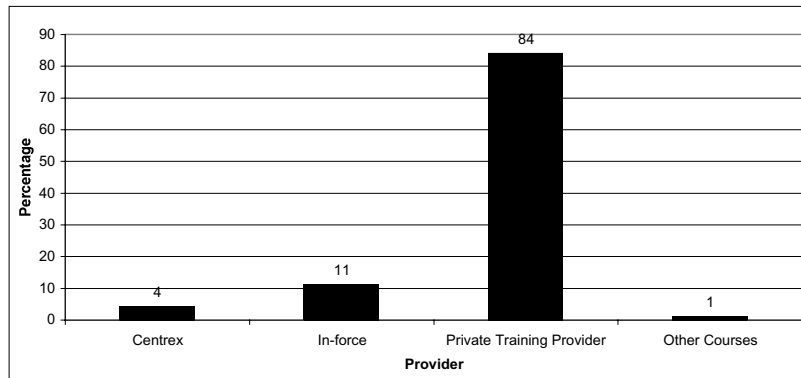
⁷⁸ Centrex Incorporating Business Plan, 2003 – 2004.

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internal processes and systems. The budget in 2004-5 was £74.8 million, a cut of 17.8% on the previous year - 26% in real terms - since it lost its ability to reclaim VAT, and other official bodies, e.g. the Police Federation, ACPO and the APA, are concerned about the funding cuts.⁷⁹

The system for training the police is problematic. It is seen as insufficient and as varying too much between forces. In particular, the police officers' body, ACPO, suggests funding is inadequate for the National Centre for Policing Excellence.⁸⁰ The Inspectorate had already found, having examined the 43 central training sites and compared them with businesses and other bodies (e.g. BP and Xerox), that the forces failed to maximise the return on spending and at seven regional sites across the country, there was no overall strategy, little effective co-ordination and the result was fragmented and confused training. Only two police forces in England and Wales had comprehensive strategies in place to evaluate the effectiveness of their training.

Figure 16: Training Delivery



Source: *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice*

(ii) Who is Trained?

The amount of training received by constables and sergeants is greater proportionately than for superintendents and above and it may be that radical changes are needed.

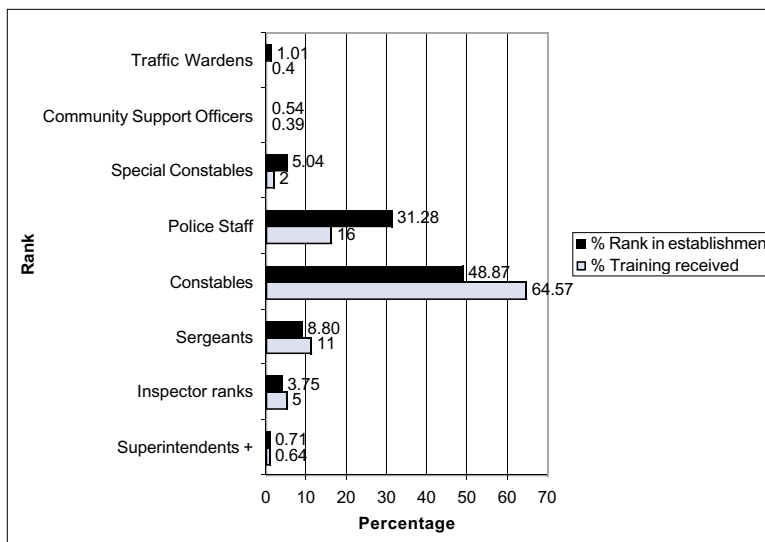
79 Home Affairs Select Committee Evidence, 27th October 2004.

80 Home Affairs Select Committee Evidence, 27th October 2004.

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Of the training courses provided in 2002-3 to police officers (rather than staff), 94% was delivered to constables and sergeants with only 1.5% being provided to superintendents and above. Whilst this is in line with the numbers reflected in the establishment, it is the senior officers who are charged with the strategic direction and leadership of the force and therefore the training figure might be expected to be higher for these ranks. According to the HMIC, too little is spent on police staff training as compared with police officers.

Figure 17: Percentage of training received against extended establishment 2002-2003



Source: *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice*

(iii) The Trainers and the Qualifications

Police training has, historically, been conducted by police officers, though there is an increasing trend towards non-police trainers (such as support, Home Office and externally contracted staff) being employed in providing training. The roles of trainer, tutor constable and supervisor are seen as fundamental to the success of the probationer training programmes.⁸³ Generally, trainers are trained in-house and complete a Centrex-designed

81 Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice.

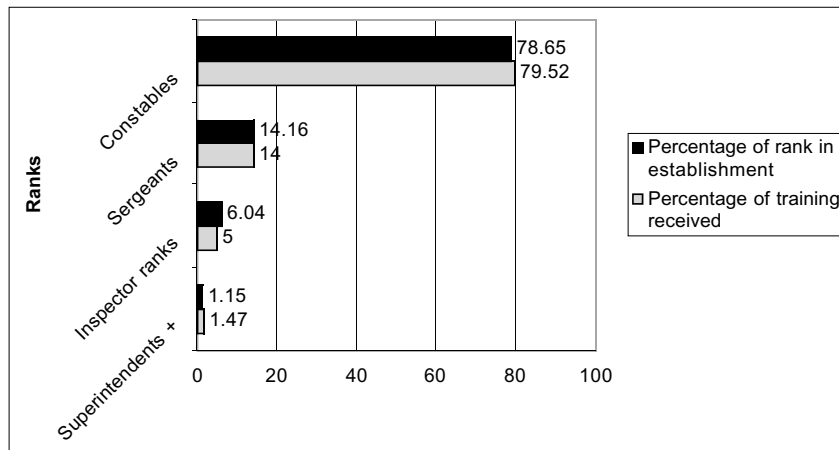
82 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004 p.15.

83 *Training Matters*, HMIC, 2002, p.73.

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'train the trainers' course, without external accreditation. These courses aim to enable the trainer to understand and reflect the practical skills needed to provide training, rather than enhancing professional knowledge or academic knowledge. This is also true of the majority of trainers operating within forces, although some will have completed an internally organised course. There is no obligation to follow national standards; so trainers are equipped to differing levels of competence to provide a national programme. HMIC has also found examples of untrained staff being actively involved in the probationer training, mainly in forces, but occasionally in regional training centres administered by Centrex.

Figure 18: Percentage of training compared with police establishment 2002-2003



Source: *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice*

A Police Skills and Standards Organisation (PSSO) survey revealed that 74% of all in-house trainers were male and 26% were female (a 6% over-representation compared to the establishment) and that 47% were constables.⁸⁴

Despite the findings of HMIC in 2002, the majority of in-force trainers hold some sort of training qualification, some hold more than one, and others none. 42% of in-force trainers have an internal Centex qualification, which is not recognised outside the police sector as a qualification to

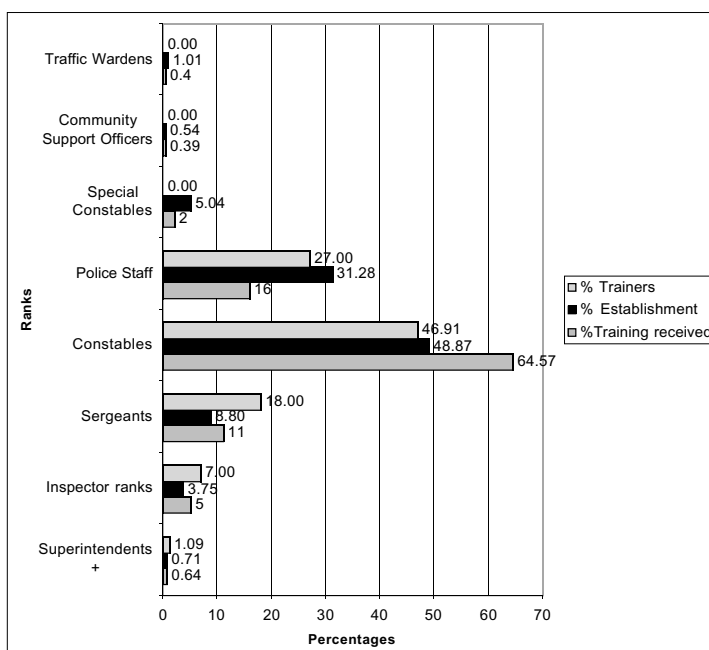
⁸⁴ *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice*, p.185.

⁸⁵ *ibid*, p.185.

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deliver training.⁸⁵ Internal training qualifications should be accredited by appropriate academic institutions not only to validate the standard obtained, but also to ensure that teaching skills are kept up to date. Of the training qualifications identified above, the highest qualified in-force trainers are in the lower ranks, with qualifications at constable and sergeant level representing 67% of all the qualifications and qualifications of police staff representing a further 26%.⁸⁶

Figure 19: Percentage of trainers compared with training received and establishment, 2003



Source: *Police Service Strength 31st March 2003, Home Office*

(iv) The Cost of Training

It is not possible to calculate the costs of training accurately.

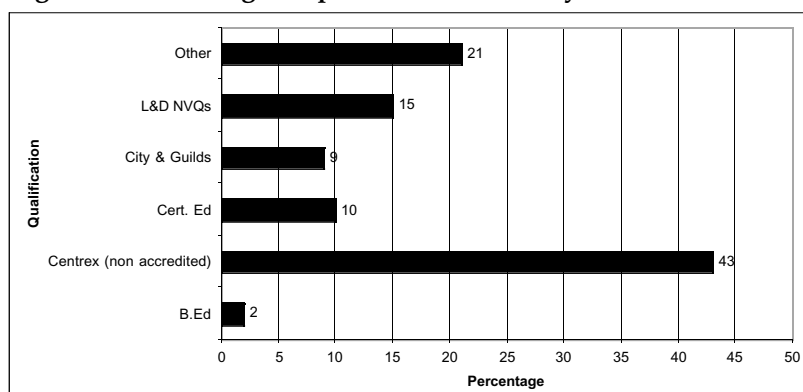
Despite the 1989 instruction to forces by the Home Office to calculate the cost of training on an annual basis (for which it provided guidance to chief officers), the data collected and held centrally by the Home Office until 1993 lacked consistency. Some forces did not follow the prescribed

⁸⁶ *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice*, p.186.

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methodology for data collection, and others adapted the system. As a result of the subsequent difficulties in interpreting and comparing training costs between forces, the central collection of the data was discontinued. In 1999 HMIC concluded that the majority of forces do not know the true cost of training.⁸⁷

Figure 20: Percentage of qualifications held by in-force trainers



Source: *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice*

The figures given for annual training costs vary, with those of the Audit Commission being pitched higher than those of the police inspectorate. In percentage terms, approximately 8 % of the total budget went on training provincial forces with c. 70% of the cost relating to lost operational time. In addition £200 million of capital was tied up in force training establishments.⁸⁸ The cost in 1996-7 was estimated to be £298.6 million annually. The total costs have been pitched between £500 million, the figure reached by the Audit Commission and the Association of Police Authorities and the lower figures estimated by HMIC at between £151.6 million and £391.4 million. The figures take no account of the costs of training civilian support staff or members of the special constabulary. So on each occasion that the service provided one day of training to every police officer, or wasted one day of training for each officer, the total cost was between £11.2 and £27.7 million.⁸⁹

If the estimates by the Audit Commission and CIPFA of 8% of total police revenue budget continue to hold true, then the cost today is £717.4 million

⁸⁷ *Managing Learning*, HMIC 1999, pp.33-34.

⁸⁸ Audit Commission – Police Paper No.4, *The Management of Police Training*, 1989.

⁸⁹ *Managing Learning*, HMIC, p.14.

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based on the financial settlement for 2004-5. On the basis of the provisional settlement announced for 2005-6 it will be £749.7 million next year.

If costs are difficult to pinpoint, so is the content of training and the strategy, despite the guidance by the Home Office (Circular 18/2002), proposing more professional training. The Home Office required a full analysis of the priority training needs linked to the overall strategy of the force, a specification, and a costed delivery plan. It provided the pre-defined headings. Nonetheless the Police Skills and Standards Organisation (PSSO) 2003 survey of 37 Home Office police forces and 21 non-Home Office forces found most difficulty in providing a full and accurate picture of training provided either by themselves or by others.

This was partly because training is not always commissioned by the centre in a number of forces, nor is the budget so held. A number of forces do not require their devolved commands to provide data, and personnel records are not generally updated with learning and development. Such difficulties in establishing or quantifying training raise questions about the accuracy of costed training plans.⁹⁰

(v) Training Routes

Currently only one route exists into the police service. The Government accepts that the police service remains unusual, if not unique, in securing all its senior officers from those who join at the rank of constable. It proposes to introduce multiple entry points.⁹¹ But even if the Government carries through its proposals for multiple levels of entry, 79% of the police service are constables and the position is unlikely to change.

(vi) Content and Emphasis of Courses

Courses are wasteful with inadequate attention being given to covering the ground or ensuring a strategic framework. The Inspectorate⁹² found that national courses tended to have been run at less than optimum capacity, with drop-out rates on some courses as high as 29%. A third of forces were found to have weak or ineffectual training strategies and 14 did not deliver the National Sergeants Development Programme to the

90 *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004*, Skills for Justice 2004, p.179.

91 *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.89.

92 *Managing learning*, HMIC, April 1999.

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prescribed standards. Seven did not implement the national course for detective foundation training. Distance learning was found to be underdeveloped and poorly supported in the workplace. Only 15 forces evaluated its effectiveness. The problem remains partly one of divided authority with some training coming under the authority of Centrex (which is the major strategic partner and single supplier in delivering national learning and development), and the remainder under local responsibility (within individual forces or alternatively on a regional or collaborative inter-force basis).

What sort of emphases does Centrex give to training? Take, for instance the 2004-5 training programme, which identifies 258 courses for all officers grouped under a handful of business headings: for foundation training for probationer constables, international policing development, and learning and development which focus on training design and training the trainers. The aims are to define and promote excellence 'by providing a centre of policing excellence and support, and by creating and implementing the means to develop competence through policing careers.'⁹³ Funding is allocated from the total police budget and a high proportion of staff are seconded police officers. Core responsibility for setting police practice and providing support for operational policing matters remains with Centrex.⁹⁴ It serves both individual police forces (who send officers for training) and individual officers engaged in continuous personal development as generalist police officers, or as specialists such as detectives or trainers.

Centrex has been criticised (e.g. in 2003 after the inspection by HMIC) for being isolated in its organisation and practices, and it is not sufficiently known to the police service. Too little scope exists for in-house benchmarking, competition or comparison. Although a number of cross-directorate working initiatives exist, such as the development of draft codes within NCPD using specialists, nonetheless Centrex business areas appear to operate in isolation. Many directorates had their own internal cultures where staff operated distinctly and differently, depending on the unit in which they worked. The management data currently used to monitor organisational performance make few comparisons between units. So far Centrex has not been able to compare its performance with other public or private sector bodies of a similar nature, such as those

⁹³ See www.centrex.police.uk

⁹⁴ *Central Police Training and Development Authority, Annual Report, HMIC 2003, p.5.*

⁹⁵ *Centrex Central Police Training and Development Authority, HMIC 2003, p. 12.*

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found in academia, or where appropriate, other policing organisations.⁹⁵ And to the outside world, most notably the police service, too little is known about Centrex. Until its role is properly defined and understood, most of the information currently being monitored will serve no useful purpose. Little information exists about Centrex's impact on society, either at a local level or as part of the national or international community and performance indicators are needed for all parts of its business.⁹⁶

(a) Probationer Training

Probationers spend 12-15 weeks at Centrex and have 16 weeks' training in the force, with subsequent development training of c. 4 weeks spread over two years in the force.

Probationer training is currently the responsibility of Centrex, and combines a mixture of full-time training at a regional training school and training on the streets, working under the supervision of a tutor constable. In the late 1980s, following the recommendations of Lord Scarman, skills-based training and training in community and race relations were introduced.⁹⁷ The object was to equip probationer constables with knowledge of the law and the qualities of judgement needed for effective operational performance on the street. Using the probationer training scheme as accredited learning, many officers also study with the University of Portsmouth for a national certificate allowing them access to

Induction and familiarisation	2 weeks	In force
Residential course	12 weeks ⁹⁸	NPT/ Centrex
Local procedures	2 weeks	In force
On patrol with tutor constable	10 weeks	In force
Review	2 weeks	In force
Development work	20 days, possibly spread over 2 years	In force

⁹⁶ *ibid*, pp. 19-20.

⁹⁷ Home Affairs Committee, Fourth Report, *Police Training and Recruitment*, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, 1998-99, Memorandum by National Police Training.

⁹⁸ www.centrex.police.uk/news/whats_new/whats_new_05.html

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degree-level university courses in policing issues. On joining a police service in England and Wales (excluding the Metropolitan Police Service), an officer must complete a two-year, six-stage probationer training programme before being confirmed in appointment as constable.

All stages, apart from stage 2, are undertaken locally (i.e. in the force). Stage 2 is residential and provides the core of training delivered over 12 continuous weeks at one of five Centrex training centres. Other satellite centres are used as and when necessary. The Metropolitan Police Service conducts similar training at Hendon, North London.

Stage 2 foundation training includes core policing skills, provides basic knowledge of the law and strengthens the qualities of judgement needed to perform well on patrol. Probationers are continuously monitored and sit three formal, knowledge-based, multi-choice examinations as well as being assessed on their core skills in a five-station skills development exercise. Training comprises classroom-based lessons and a variety of simulated incidents in mock public houses /bars, shops and houses.⁹⁹

(viii) Who Trains?**(a) Tutor Constables**

Since 1984, the probationer training programme has involved probationary constables undertaking a 10-week attachment with a tutor constable. This period is transitional between the formal training received in district training centres and in-force training centres, and the start of independent patrol. It takes place on the streets with the probationer constable pairing up with his tutor and being coached in practical patrol duties. However, the system may be weakened by the absence of a national, objective basis for appointments and by the shortage of trained tutors.

The tutor system, should, if well run, introduce the probationer to the activities and experiences they might expect to encounter once qualified. In order to maintain national consistency in the measurement of standards, probationer constables are issued with a personal development profile that extends over the training period. Appointments however remain at the discretion of individual chief constables. This system of appointment is regarded as unfortunately subjective, particularly given

⁹⁹ Source: www.policereform.gov.uk

¹⁰⁰ *Training Matters*, HMIC 2002, p. 86.

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the HMIC findings on the assessment of trainees often being inadequate.¹⁰⁰ The success of the probationary phase has varied possibly on account of the shortage of constable tutor volunteers. There may be inadequate selection processes in the forces and officers may be obliged to take on responsibility as a result of staff shortages.¹⁰¹ The training itself varies, with 3-10 days of formal instruction and, although NPT has designed the course, it has not been adopted nationally leaving individual forces free to administer it as they judged. The shortcomings of the tutor constable system may affect the quality of probationer training and HMIC suggests that the failures may be due to a lack of interest by the police service in the system as well as poor support and career prospects for tutoring officers.¹⁰²

Besides its failure to develop key skills, the tutor system is dangerous in encouraging many of the cultural and policing attitudes that the service is attempting to eradicate. It is also not uncommon for probationer constables to share tutor constables (sometimes within a probationer training unit), or on occasions be forced to patrol without any guidance at all. Inadequate training is given to those responsible for training probationers and they lack regular supervision and appraisal and higher management is not closely in touch.¹⁰³

(b) Police Officers and Staff involved in Residential Training

Most training falls to police constables and Centrex, which prior to April 2005 provided probationer training, with 362 seconded police officers (79% constables and 72% police staff), mainly specialist and civilian trainers, in its central and district sites.¹⁰⁴

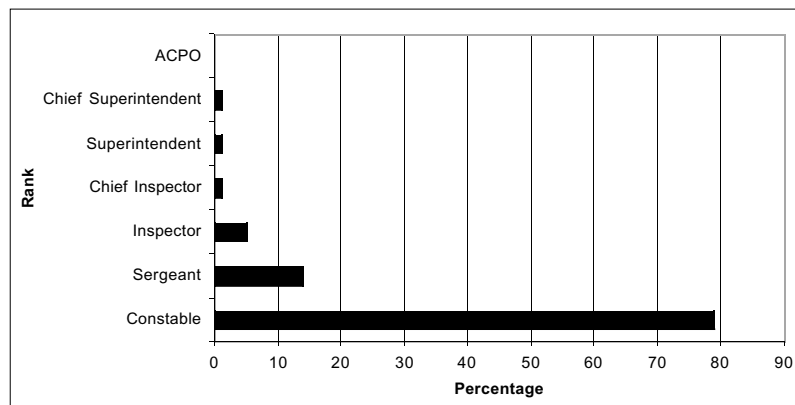
101 *ibid*, HMIC 2002, p.80.

102 *Ibid*, pp. 79-83.

103 *ibid*, p.9.

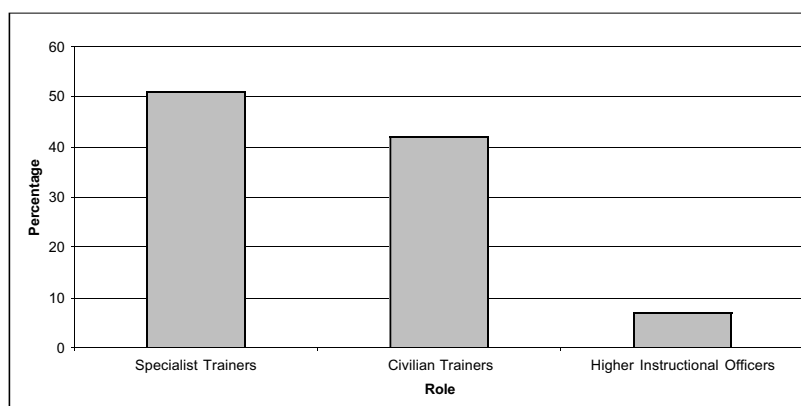
104 *Central Police Training and Development Authority*, Annual Report, HMIC, 2003.

Figure 21: Police officers involved in residential probationer training



Source: Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice

Figure 22: Police staff involved in residential probationer training



Source: Police Sector Skills Foresight 2004, Skills for Justice

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(ix) Future Plans: Decentralised Training, Locally Provided.

(a) Probationer Training - The Initial Police Learning and Development Programme

Probationer training has not been judged a success by the police themselves or by the Inspectorate.

Individual forces have long been dissatisfied with the quality of probationer training provided both by National Police Training and Centrex. Serious consideration has been given to restoring it to the control of the police force or to establishing regional or local collaborative arrangements to improve standards. In 2000 it was decided to retain the existing arrangements.¹⁰⁵

Two years later the Inspectorate found the system extremely outdated and poorly focused on the modern demands of policing. Individual responsibilities were poorly defined, learning requirements were not clear, training delivery was inconsistent and there was an absence of quality assurance. It noted the weaknesses in the tutor constable system and the inadequate supervision offered to probationers and the general lack of community involvement. From April 2005 responsibility for probationer returned to individual forces. Centrex's role will change from the provision of residential training to a wider responsibility for programme development, maintenance and quality assurance at national level.¹⁰⁶

The Minister for Policing before the 2005 election, Hazel Blears, emphasised that the improvement of training is a Government priority and that modernising the probationer training schemes is vital. Without ensuring the right probationer, there will not be the necessary change in 'culture'.¹⁰⁷ To reform probationer training, the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) was created to develop a new curriculum that meets the modern demands on policing. It is hoped the IPLDP will adequately balance the needs for local diversity and accountability through national standards, accreditation and quality assurance.¹⁰⁸

105 *Police Training: The Way Forward*, 2000.

106 Centrex press release, 29th July 2004.

107 Home Affairs Select Committee Evidence, 27th October 2004.

108 www.policereform.gov.uk/ptdb/probationertrg.html.

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The new programme was piloted in five forces (Cleveland, Kent, West Midlands, Metropolitan Police and North Wales) in October 2004, and in January 2005 several other forces (including West Yorkshire and Lancashire) decided to join the IPLDP, before its extension nationwide in April 2005. Its key features include a curriculum (with 22 learning modules, divided into four phases: induction, community safety and partnership, supervised patrol, independent patrol).

As in many other areas a framework has been introduced based on a number of National Occupational Standards (NOS), which are supposed to define the skills, knowledge, understanding and level of competence expected of individuals to perform key tasks in their work. As a result of consultation with the bodies concerned – forces, Home Office, Association of Public Analysts (APA) and community representatives – 22 units of NOS were identified as the level of performance at which probationary officers need to be operating prior to confirmation. Student officers will be assessed against these 22 units of NOS during their two-year training period.

The current reform programme aims, therefore, to decentralise and return responsibility to individual forces and they will now have responsibility for providing probationer training, whether through Centrex, their own facilities or other specialist providers.

The idea is that by turning the residential training element into a non-residential course held locally and in partnership with a local further or higher education college, it will become more accessible. Although training cannot under such a system be standardised across the country, the Government believes the core elements can be maintained at an equally high standard everywhere. Centrex is to have a quality assurance role and ensure that all recruits who now join through initial training have the requisite modern policing skills (neighbourhood policing in particular), in a manner relevant to the 21st century.

A further advantage envisaged for decentralised training is the opportunity offered for engagement with local communities. The programme involves extensive work with local communities, with members of the public involved in the training cycle and probationers spending time with community groups.¹⁰⁹

109 *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.90.

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The IDLP programme is supervised by a central authority, established in October 2004, with representatives from the Home Office, ACPO, APA and the National Training Managers Forum. Centrex, Skills for Justice, HMIC and academic and diversity specialists are represented, though only in the role of advisers. The IDLP Programme Board is chaired by an ACPO representative, with members from the Home Office, APA, Centrex, the Metropolitan Police, Skills for Justice, HMIC, the Police Federation, the Superintendents Association, National Black Police Association, British Association of Women Police, Gay Police Association and the Crown Prosecution Service.

(b) Post-probationer developmental training

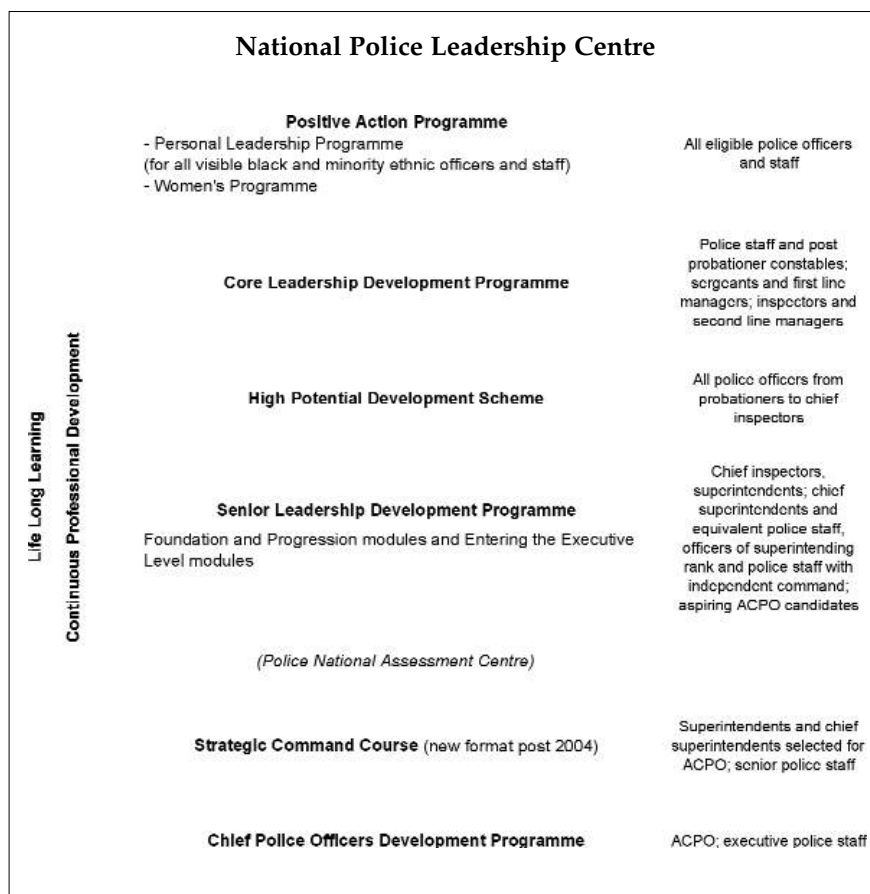
The post-probationer training programme for police officers once confirmed in their appointments depends entirely on the career aspirations of individual officers. Several years may pass between training courses for those who choose to spend the bulk of their careers on street patrol. At the other extreme, certain officers may spend several years being trained as they advance up the ranks. One of the principal recommendations made by *Training Matters* was to encourage a culture of continuous professional development after the end of probationer training. The aim was backed by the National Police Leadership Centre at Centrex, where police leadership is recognised as critical for success and is no longer confined to senior management. A set of programmes linked to the national competency framework and national occupational standards was introduced in 1999. The aim of the national competency framework is to improve operational performance by setting national standards for police officers and police staff.¹¹⁰

The national occupational standards build on the work of the national competency framework, describing competent performance in terms of outcomes. As in other areas, the hope is that the standards will define the competence required of each member of staff and enable each member's performance to be measured in terms of the outcomes.¹¹¹

110 *Police Sector Skills Foresight 2003*, PSSO, p.190.

111 *ibid*, p.196.

Figure 23: Summary chart of Centrex leadership training



Source: <http://www.centrex.police.uk/nplc/policeleadership>

(c) The Core Leadership Development Programme

Another programme to encourage leadership, The Core Leadership Development Programme, is pitched at post-probationer level, to be available to everybody throughout the service. The idea is a locally delivered 'workbook' comprising an e-learning programme of 16 self-managed modules, written to conform to the integrated competency framework. The programme is designed as a foundation course to improve how police do their job, the police officer's knowledge and their leadership skills. In future, it is intended that the programmes will be

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linked to an accreditation framework, offering academic, vocational or professional qualifications.¹¹²

(d) Highlighting 'High Potential' Police Officers

A further scheme for the more exceptional officers, the High Potential Development Scheme (HPDS), introduced in 2002, is jointly run by Centrex through the National Police Leadership Centre and the Home Office's Police Leadership and Powers Unit. It is open to existing and prospective police officers and replaces the accelerated promotion and graduate entry schemes. It was designed to overcome the application barrier that the traditional schemes were believed to suffer from and serves as the graduate entry route, though degrees are not compulsory for acceptance.¹¹³ The scheme is designed to fast-track those identified through national assessment as the highest potential candidates for progression to senior ranks. It develops personal leadership skills for police officers from post-probationer constable through to chief inspector. Successful graduate entrants join the scheme on confirmation of their appointment after completing the two-year probationary period.¹¹⁴

Successful candidates are invited by their local force to complete a competency-based application form which is considered by the Home Office. Once on the programme candidates are expected to progress at a pace in keeping with their individual abilities. Though there is a technical law-based element to the course, its focus is on skills, attitudes and behaviour and it offers contact with senior officers. Officers on the scheme are assessed for promotion through an HPDS promotion assessment review (in lieu of local force selection) up to and including the rank of chief inspector, though promotion is decided by the local chief officer of police on the basis of competence. Promotion to superintendent and chief superintendent still remains in the hands of individual chief constables. Officers on the programme are supported by regional scheme managers who liaise with individual forces. They have access to mentors and are entitled to up to £6,000 sponsorship for academic development.

112 Deere J, *Developing Excellence in Police Leadership*, Public Service Review, Home Office, Autumn 2004, pp. 106-107.

113 Don D, *Leading lights*, Police Professional Update, 17th June 2004, pp10-11.

114 Training modules offered to HPD officers include Leadership and Self, Critical Incident Command, Leadership and People, Diversity, Management and Organisations, Effective Grievance Management, Introduction to BCU Skills, Managing Finance and Resources, Crime and Policing Partnerships, Effective Media Strategy.

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(e) High Potential Police Staff

Police staff (i.e. those working in the police service who are not police officers) who see themselves very often at the bottom of a two-tier service, may be encouraged in such a view by their exclusion from the HPDS which is not open to them. There may be a case for opening the scheme to staff given that some of the modules (the four dealing with leadership and self, leadership of people, management of organisation and diversity leadership) are not police officer specific and another, that on finance and resources management, has a wider application. With 50% of the modules designed for generic application, it would not be difficult to accommodate police staff on the programme, if only a mechanism was in place for identifying those with 'high potential'.¹¹⁵

The Government recognises the scheme should be open to both existing and potential police staff, and that a mechanism needs to be introduced to identify suitable individuals. The plan now is to consider how arrangements for police staff similar to those already in place for officers, can be introduced and how to rationalise the appointment arrangements for senior police staff along the lines of those in place for chief officer applications (i.e. through police authority appointment panels having previously successfully attended Part II of the new senior leadership course).¹¹⁶

(f) Senior Leadership Development Programme

The Senior Leadership Development Programme is aimed at commanders and their teams in middle and senior management. It is open to both police officers and staff to enable them to develop the qualities needed to improve operational professionalism and performance.¹¹⁷ The programme attracts significant interest from officers rather than from staff (913 police officers 2003-4 attended phase I, compared to only 73 members of police staff (7.4% of attendees).¹¹⁸

The most prestigious leadership course is the strategic command course. Attendance follows a rigorous six-month selection process at the Police National Assessment Centre and is designed to prepare candidates for

115 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004, p.109.

116 *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office November 2004, p.86.

117 *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.92.

118 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004, pp109-111.

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appointment to chief officer positions. The course is mandatory for promotion to the senior ranks and 40-60 officers attend each year (but five members of police staff took it 2004). These figures do not however proportionately represent the numbers of chief officer posts within the service or the likely demand for adequately qualified senior officers in the coming years.¹¹⁹

The strategic command course was replaced in September 2005 by Part II of the Senior Leadership Development Programme. Candidates will no longer be assessed for their potential ability to reach chief officer ranks, but rather on their readiness to undertake the role. The new programme will be a six-week course followed by the Chief Police Officers Development Programme, with a series of seminars and events focusing on current issues and themes.

119 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004, pp110.

III

Motivation

Successful policing depends not just on having able recruits and training them well, but on having the right framework for incentive and success for working officers. Such a framework must strike the right balance between encouraging initiative and responsibility and rewarding success. In addition the terms and conditions of employment and the system of rewards and sanctions should encourage good policing. As matters stand, the current terms, though they are attractive – possibly more so than for other professional public bodies – are not particularly successful in retaining good police officers. There should also be a sensible basis for measuring success, but despite much emphasis from the centre on achieving given targets or using different performance indicators, a fundamental problem remains since there is a gap between what the public want and what the performance measures indicate.

(i) Responsibility, Control and Accountability

Control of the country's police forces (43 in all¹²⁰) – and each is independent with its own headquarters, chief constable and management structure – tends to be increasingly balanced between the local level – police authorities and chief constables – and central government and the Home Office. The trend of policy is to tilt the balance of control further to central government.

There are five basic types of force:

1. Forces based on large conurbations or groups of conurbations
2. Forces incorporating more than two counties
3. Joint authorities of two counties
4. Larger forces based on a single county
5. Smaller forces based on a single county¹²¹

Below the level of the police force is the basic command unit (BCU), an administrative body which provides local policing to local partnerships. The BCU has removed much of the need for a local headquarters

¹²⁰ Their number has been reduced over time by amalgamation.

¹²¹ O'Byrne M, *Changing Policing: Revolution not Evolution*, Russell House Publishing Ltd, 2001, p.126.

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bureaucracy. Some BCUs in metropolitan or amalgamated forces are bigger than some of the smaller existing forces.

Since the 1960s a number of measures have been introduced which move control further to the centre. The 1964 Police Act, which repealed and replaced the nineteenth-century legislation on which the system had been built, set out the functions and responsibilities of the different parties: the Home Secretary, the local police authorities, and the chief constables.¹²² The three parties shared responsibility for the running of a police force in a tripartite arrangement based on a partnership between central and local government. Operational direction and day-to-day control remained vested solely in chief constables. Subsequent policy under the Conservative administrations of the 1980s and 1990s aimed to tackle perceived deficiencies in the service, e.g. failure to be consistently fair, courteous and sensitive in police work.¹²³ The 1996 Police Act gave the Home Secretary increased powers, with police authorities being obliged to secure an efficient and effective police force for their areas. The Act confirmed that the force itself would remain under the direction and control of the chief constable.

More recent policy under the Labour Government has accelerated the trend with the Government acquiring a clear role in setting the national direction and strategic framework for policing in England and Wales under the national policing plan. It now sees its role as establishing priorities for equal standards in police services throughout the country. The idea is local policing within a national strategic framework.¹²⁴ The Police Reform Act 2002 increased central regulation and monitoring of all aspects of policing¹²⁵ and changed the organisation and control of police forces - prompting constitutional concerns about police independence from political control (Sections 1 to 9). All in all the traditional balance of power within the tripartite structure of police management and accountability has been changed with the Home Secretary acquiring greater powers over matters of an operational nature.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p.103.

¹²⁵ Ormerod D & Roberts A. *The Police Reform Act 2002-Increasing Centralisation, Maintaining Confidence and Contracting out Crime Control*. *Criminal Law review* 2003, p.141-163.

¹²⁶ Ormerod D & Roberts A. *The Police Reform Act 2002-Increasing Centralisation, Maintaining Confidence and Contracting out Crime Control*. *Criminal Law review* 2003, p. 142.

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This trend towards greater control of the police by central government has proved controversial, prompting, as in the case of the 2002 measure, criticism of a move 'by stealth...unnoticeably and slowly towards a national police force'.¹²⁷ The level of central control over the police was seen as unprecedented outside times of widespread civil disorder by *The Times* in a leading article on 3 July 2002. Criticism has not been merely on account of the principle, but also because of the practical implications. Centralisation has proved itself to be a singularly inefficient policy. 'Running a large county police force is a full-time job which demands sensitivity to local concerns and priorities'. It ought not be done part-time by remote control from Whitehall by ministers or enforcers, however gifted.¹²⁸

By contrast, the Government claimed that greater accountability was needed to prevent widespread misunderstanding of who is responsible for what in terms of policing in England and Wales.¹²⁹ The Government reiterated its commitment to strengthening the existing accountability arrangements for policing; to building a more 'bottom-up approach' where the public can hold to account those responsible for community safety.¹³⁰

(ii) Terms and Conditions of Service. Rewards and Sanctions**(a) Terms of employment, working hours, leave**

Police officers are not employees protected by general employment law (other than where it is specifically prescribed, such as in sex or race discrimination), but office-holders under the Crown. On appointment, a constable becomes a member of the Police Federation. Police officers may not join a trade union, but those who are members and join the police service may, with the consent of the chief officer, remain in a union. A police constable is under the direction and control of the chief constable, but has autonomy and total discretion as to how he uses his powers in his daily duties. He cannot be lawfully ordered to arrest someone by a senior or supervisory officer, though chief constables are liable for the actions of their officers.

127 Lord Carlisle of Bucklow, Hansard, H L.vol.632,col. 156 (March 5).

128 *Remote Control: failing forces need devolution not diktat*, *The Times* first leader, 03 July 2002.

129 *Policing: Building Safer Communities Together*, Home Office November 2003, p. 14.

130 *Policing: Building Safer Communities Together*, Home Office November 2003, p. 19.

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Officers must meet nationality, age and physical fitness requirements. To be eligible to serve as a police officer, an applicant must be a British, an EC/EEA national or a Commonwealth citizen or foreign national with unrestricted right of residence in the UK; be over 18 and a half (with no maximum age), with a high standard of physical fitness. The upper age limit may vary between police forces but the normal retirement age for constables up to chief inspectors is 55; for the superintendent ranks 60; and 65 for chief officer ranks (the Metropolitan Police have a lower retirement age limit for their chief officers). There are fixed-term appointments up to the rank of assistant chief constables. Chief and deputy chief constables serve for 4 and 7 years respectively.¹³¹

The working week of around 40 hours tends to reflect that of other occupations, as does the period of annual leave, 4-6 weeks. Officers may work part-time with an average of 24 hours per week during probation and are paid on a pro-rata basis. Annual leave entitlements for ranks up to and including chief inspector range from 22 to 30 working days per annum depending upon length of service. Officers can be posted anywhere within a force area for whatever purpose instructed. No undertaking can be given to post anyone close to home, or to a selected district, either on appointment or in service. Officers must find their own accommodation, with the place of residence subject to the approval of the chief officer.¹³²

Officers must behave with honour and integrity and must not have any conflict of interests – for example, business interests – or be politically active. They are obliged at all times to follow the police code of conduct and avoid behaviour likely to discredit the service or impair the impartial discharge of their duties. They must promptly settle all debts and honour their financial commitments. Failure to discharge debts must be reported to the chief officer. Upon appointment, constables are required to have their fingerprints taken and a record is kept for elimination purposes. They are also required to provide a DNA sample, which will be retained on a separate database for elimination purposes only.¹³³

Maternity and paternity leave are offered. Women officers are entitled to maternity leave, and all officers have the right to return to work following maternity leave.¹³⁴ In addition officers are entitled to five days' paid maternity support leave if they are the child's father or the partner or the

131 <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk/default.asp?action=article&ID=24>.

132 <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk/default.asp?action=article&ID=364>.

133 <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk/default.asp?action=article&ID=364>.

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nominated carer of an expectant mother. Adoptive parents are also given five days, paid adoption leave at or around the time of adoption.¹³⁵

A sick pay scheme also operates and officers may take advantage of career break opportunities. While absent due to sickness or injury, officers receive full pay for six months in any one year and then become entitled to half-pay for six months in any further one-year period. Officers will be regularly tested during probation and are required to maintain their levels of fitness during their service. Failure to pass the fitness test may lead to their discharge. Police officers who have completed their probationary period may apply for a career break up to a maximum of five years to enable them to carry out caring responsibilities for example. Approval is a matter for the chief officer, taking into consideration matters such as health, attendance and conduct.¹³⁶

(b) Police Pay

Police salary scales are far higher across the board (for the most senior to the most junior officer) than those for the armed forces. Those of the more senior officers are higher than those for senior teachers.

Police pay ranges from just under £20,000 per annum for the lowest paid constables to c. £154,000 for the highest paid chief constables.¹³⁷ By contrast salaries are lower in the Army (£13,000 - £189,000) and for teachers (£18,000 - £92,000). Since the 1978 pay review¹³⁸ basic police pay has increased according to a fixed formula year-on-year. In April 2003 a new package of reforms to federated ranks was agreed which include a minimum increase of £402 a year in basic pay – on top of the annual police pay award and a competency-related threshold payment of £1,032 a year for those at the top of their scale and special priority payments for officers in the most difficult and demanding posts, worth between £500-£3,000, or up to £5,000 in exceptional circumstances. In the each of the last two years, basic police pay has increased by 3%.

134 Women's maternity leave is for the whole (or part/s) of the period between six months before and nine months after the expected date of birth. They are entitled to three months paid maternity leave, subject to having served continuously for a year or more by the start of the 11th week before the date when the baby is due and are still pregnant or have given birth 15 weeks before the expected birth date.

135 <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk/default.asp?action=article&ID=364>.

136 <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk/default.asp?action=article&ID=364>.

137 <http://www.policecouldyou.co.uk/default.asp?action=article&ID=39>.

138 Davis, Edmund, *Review of Police Pay and Conditions*, 1978.

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Whilst the nature of policing, the disciplined environment, the need to work shifts and anti-social hours may well deter a number from joining the service, the pay remains attractive. Table 10 reflects the maximum and minimum basic pay for individual ranks (excluding the Metropolitan Commissioner who earns a salary of £221,451 and his deputy £182,826). It should be noted that chief officer remuneration is somewhat more complex depending upon the weighting given to a police force.

Rank	Minimum	Maximum
Constable	£19,803	£31,092
Sergeant	£31,092	£34,944
Inspector/Chief Inspector	£39,840	£45,909
Superintendent/Chief Superintendent	£53,046	£66,951
Assistant Chief Constables	£77,250	£90,126
Deputy Chief Constables	£92,700	£118,452
Chief Constables	£10,727	£154,500

Organisation	Starting Salary	Maximum Salary
Police	£19,803	£154,500*
Army	£13,045	£189,000
Teachers	£19,023	£92,619
Nurses	£10,375	£54,181

**excludes the Metropolitan Commissioner and his deputy*

Constables and sergeants also receive overtime payments which are incrementally increased in line with basic pay at rates. These payments vary from time and one third for normal overtime through to double time for public holidays.

(c) Police Pensions

The police enjoy a valuable final salary pension scheme. The scheme is contributory at 11%, but, like the basic state pension, unfunded. Police authorities are concerned at rising costs, year on year, which use an increasingly large proportion of the total budget, often in excess of 8%.

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The independent actuarial projections of future police pension costs have indicated that annual budget increases of 6-7% would be required over the next decade.¹³⁹

Separate pension provision for the police has existed since 1921. The main benefits of the scheme include a maximum pension of two-thirds of final salary after 30 years' service. (Pension entitlement accrues at 1/60th of pensionable pay for each year of service up to 20 years and at 2/60th for the next 10 years. Accrued benefits can also be paid on retirement from the age of 50 with 25 years' service, or from the age of 55 with less than 25 years' service.) Up to one quarter of a pension may be given in the form of a lump sum. There is also an ill-health pension (determined by length of service) for officers retired on medical grounds, a widow/widower's pension, and allowances for dependent children and preservation arrangements for early leavers and rights to transfer accrued benefits to a new employer's scheme, or to a personal pension scheme.

Pensions for those of 55 and over are increased each April by the same percentage as the annual increase in the Retail Prices Index to the previous September.¹⁴⁰

The system is under review, especially on account of the costs of the group pension scheme and the option for new entrants to opt out of the final salary scheme and place their pensions elsewhere. A pilot scheme with the aim of enabling forces to retain the skills and experience of officers (below ACPO rank) who have completed 30 years of service, has therefore been introduced. Once selected, officers will be able to take their lump sum commutation entitlement and re-engage at the former rank and pay level. The 2003 proposals for reform suggest that a maximum pension under the new scheme should be built up over 35 years.¹⁴¹ The new scheme would include a full pension – excluding lump sum – of half final salary; a fixed lump sum in addition to the pension and an even build-up of benefits over a career – without accelerated accrual after 20 years. The minimum pension age would be 55 with deferred pension age of 65 (consistent with Government policy on extending working lifetimes and higher public sector pension ages) and there would be benefits for life-long survivors

139 See the Metropolitan Police Authority's Finance Committee report on 9 June 2003.

140 The increase applies immediately whatever the age to medical retirement pensions and survivors' benefits. Preserved pensions and lump sums are also increased to maintain their value to the date they become payable.

141 *New Police Pension Scheme for Future Entrants*, Home Office, December 2003, p. 4.

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(i.e. no cessation on remarriage or co-habitation with a new partner), survivor benefits for unmarried partners; and provision also for ill-health benefits.¹⁴²

How do pensions for the police, civil service, nurses, teachers and the army compare? Though all are index-linked final salary schemes, there are some variations. They are more attractive than those enjoyed by the private sector and are part of the conditions of service. They are seen to be a motivator for recruitment and are designed to supplement public sector pay. All are currently under Government review. Police officers are able to collect their pension entitlements immediately after 30 years' service, whereas army officers can collect theirs once they have completed 16 years' reckonable service from the age of 21. Soldiers may receive an immediate pension on discharge once they have completed 22 years reckonable service from the age of 18. Nurses' pensions are payable after the age of 50 years, civil servants at normal retirement age or after the age of 50 subject to actuarial reduction and teachers are similar with the actuarial reduction cutting in at 55.

Teachers and nurses have identical contributory schemes (although the normal retirement age varies), whilst civil servants and the army enjoy non-contributory schemes. All schemes are actuarially reduced for early retirement. Table 12 below reflects the key components.

(d) Sickness and Medical Retirements

Levels of absence through sickness have been a serious concern in terms of both financial costs and the impact on the effectiveness and efficiency of a force.

Between 1990 and 1995 on average each officer was sick for 12 days. This

¹⁴² Additional features proposed in the consultation paper (*New Police Pension Scheme for Future Entrants*) include: a pension lump sum of four times pension, giving a maximum of twice the final salary – although less than the present maximum; police pension lump sum of about 2.5 times final salary for those who retire by age 51, this is more than some officers currently receive and compares favourably with the maximum of 1.5 times final salary lump sums in other public service schemes; a survivor's pension in respect of an officer accruing the full pension of half final salary would be at the rate of 25% of final salary rather than the present 33%. This reflects changing lifestyles with financial interdependence, a feature of modern relationships, and enables the scheme's costs to be kept down; a lump sum death-in-service grant of three times final salary instead of twice final salary at present.

Table 12: A comparison of key pension benefits				
Organisation	Contribution	Accrual rate	Normal retirement	Lump sum
Police	11%	1/60th years 1-19 2/60ths years 2-20	49 years (30 years' service)	Up to _ final salary
Army	Nil	30%	55 years (immediate pension from age 38 years or 16 years service – whichever is the longer)	3x annual pension
Civil Service	Nil#	1/80th	60 years	3x annual pension
Nurses	6%	1/80th	50 years	3x annual pension
Teachers	6%	1/80th	60 years	3x annual pension
# Some members pay 1.5% towards family benefits				
Source: Home Office www.armedforces.co.uk www.nursinguk.nhs.uk www.civilservice-pensions.gov.uk www.teacherspensions.co.uk				

represents 5.5% of the workforce and cost £210 million per annum. Other

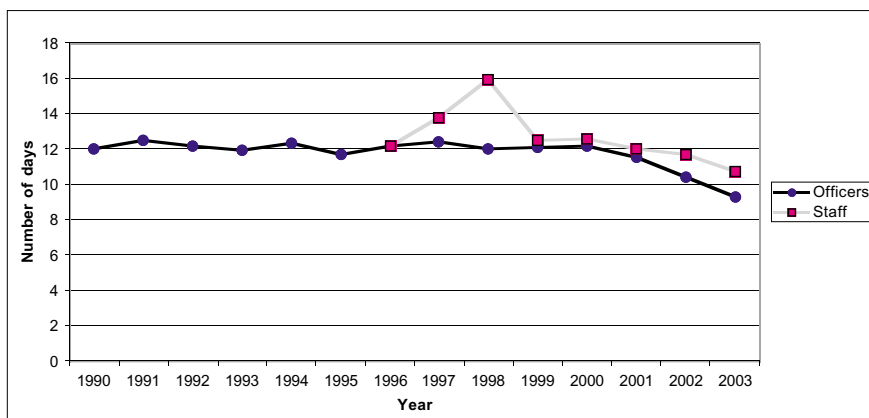
police staff absence was worse, as can be seen from figure 25.¹⁴³ The UK average at the time was 8.4 days lost in industry and 10.4 days in the civil service.

The Home Office proposed in November 2002 to reduce police officer sickness to 11.5 days and police staff sickness to 12 days by 2006 as set out in the national policing plan for 2003-6. The figures are not encouraging. For example in nine forces (in 1998-9), half or more of retirements from the service were due to ill health. (See figures 26 & 27 for changes in retirement over time.) The counting method changed in 2000-1.

143 *Lost Time*, HMIC, 1997.

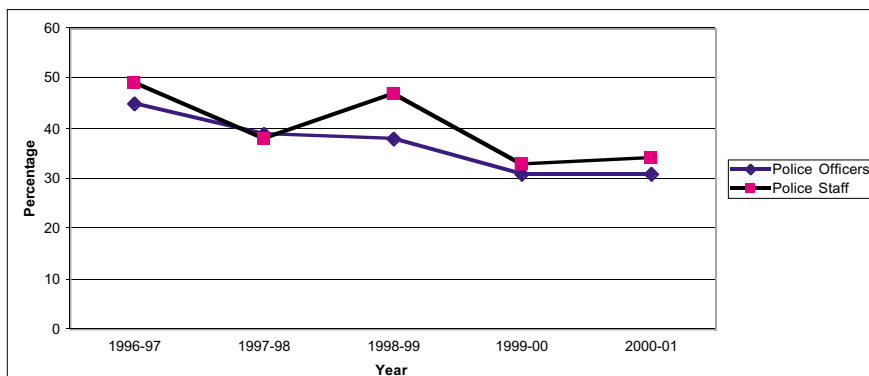
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Figure 24: Police establishment days lost per head per annum



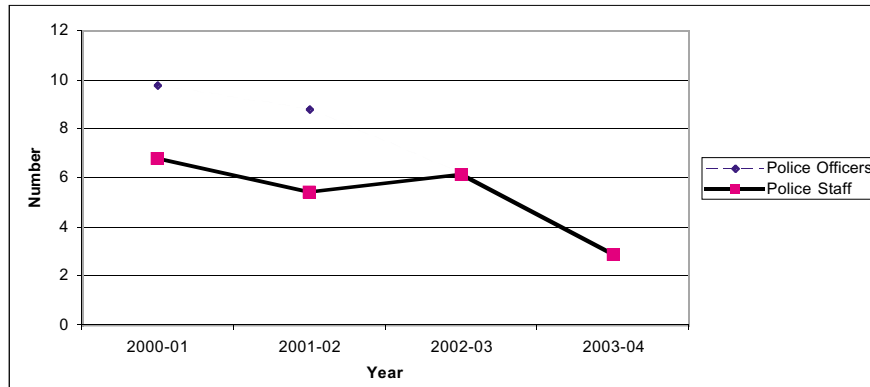
Sources: HMIC Lost Time 1997
 HMCIC Annual reports 2002-03 & 2003-04
 Home Office RDS 143 *In sickness and in health*

Figure 25: Medical retirements as a percentage of ordinary retirements for the police



Source: HMCIC Annual reports 1997- 2001

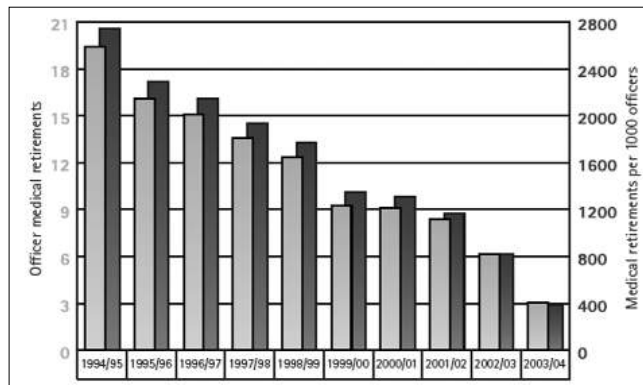
Figure 26: Comparison of medical retirements per thousand officer/staff



Source: HMCIC Annual reports 2001-04

Figure 27 shows actual officer medical retirement numbers as well as those per thousand officers since 1994-5.

Figure 27: Police officer medical retirements 1994 – 2004



Source: HMCIC Annual report 2003-04

(e) Sanctions and Personal Development

Discipline in the police must be central to policy. The procedure, sanctions and appeal arrangements for those who transgress are laid down in law. However, personal development requirements are less clearly defined. All officers (including chief constables) are subject to an annual performance appraisal. In the first two years of service, probationary constables complete a personal development profile, and though this should be followed by a

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development action plan, that tends on the whole to be subjective. One problem, according to the Inspectorate, is that probationer constables appear too often to be confirmed in their appointment before being ready, often being signed off on the basis of time served rather than competence proved.¹⁴⁴ Statutory procedures leading ultimately to dismissal from the service exist for all other officers who fail to perform their duties competently, but they are so protracted and convoluted as to be ineffective in practice.

(f) Career Prospects and Promotion

Constables form 79% of the police establishment, sergeants c13%, the inspector ranks a further 6%, and 2% of the police ranks comprise superintendents and above. The chief constable has discretion for promotion to the ranks of sergeant to chief superintendent inclusive. Appointment to chief officer ranks is made by the relevant police authority, which is advised by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary. In respect of chief officer ranks, candidates must have been selected by the senior officer appointments panel and attended the strategic command course.

Promotion to the ranks of sergeant and inspector is by qualifying examination (OSPRES¹⁴⁵) and selection. Thereafter up to the rank of chief superintendent no further formal qualification is required. The exam, in two parts, consists of a single, multiple choice paper lasting three hours which comprises 150 questions to test knowledge, application and understanding of the law relevant to the rank under Part I held at centres around the country at a set time and date. Part II consists of a series of practical work examples, incorporated into an assessment centre, spanning a period of approximately 90 minutes and is also relevant to the rank under examination. Assessment teams are drawn from a bank of specially trained serving police officers and civilians.

To enter the exam for promotion to the rank of sergeant, a candidate must be a regular constable with at least two years' service and have been confirmed in their appointment. To enter the exam for promotion to the rank of inspector, candidates must be sergeants who have attained the substantive rank.¹⁴⁶

144 *Training Matters*, HMIC 2002, p.86.

145 Objective Structured Performance Related Examination conducted on behalf of the Police Promotion Examinations Board.

146 From May 2002, the national competency framework (NCF) replaced the performance and development review (PDR) competencies as a basis for assessing potential for promotion. The NCF is now known as the integrated competency framework.

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An alternative system of work-based assessment for promotion is now being tested in seven forces for qualifying officers to the sergeant and inspector rank. The trials will run for approximately 18 months in order to include sufficient OSPRE Part 1 and Part 2 exam cycles for both ranks, and to make comparisons alongside the workplace assessment trials. The OSPRE Part 1 law-based examination will remain unchanged. The trial affects Part II and introduces a five-step process built around workplace assessment against national occupational standards.¹⁴⁷

The general problem, however, remains a dearth of qualified candidates suitable for promotion.

For constables aspiring to be sergeants¹⁴⁸ there has been a marked reduction in the number taking the Sergeants' Part I. From a peak of approximately 7,800 candidates in 1997-8 numbers progressively declined to about 5,900 in 2001-2. Allowing for annual variation in the number of substantive constables, this is a real decline of about 24%. The pattern of results is similar for the Sergeants' Part II with the 2001-2 intake comprising approximately 2,500 candidates. For sergeants seeking to qualify to inspector level, candidate numbers have risen progressively to a stable plateau. Over recent years the annual intake for the inspectors' Part I at about 2,100 candidates and for the Part II it has stabilised at about 1,300 candidates. The intake for the recent 2003 Part I examination was approximately 2,700.¹⁴⁹

There are also problems of managing the sudden growth across the service.¹⁵⁰ After many years of declining officer numbers there has been a dramatic rise, but this has not been accompanied by investment in the supervisory, management and support infrastructure, contrary to normal practice for planning and organisation personnel.¹⁵¹ HMIC is supported in this view by the former chief constable of Merseyside who has drawn

147 Source: www.policereform.go.uk. This follows a review led by the Police Leadership and Powers Unit (PLPU) in the Home Office into the current OSPRE system.

148 Bradshaw J, *Officer Promotion to Sergeant & Inspector: Supply & Demand*, eIKONIKA, November 2003.

149 Bradshaw J, *Officer Promotion to Sergeant & Inspector: Supply & Demand*, eIKONIKA, November 2003, p3.

150 The inspectorate notes the Crime Fighting Fund (CFF) approach has led to difficulties in managing sudden growth. See *Training Matters*, HMIC 2002 for the effect of the Crime Fighting Fund on the quality of training.

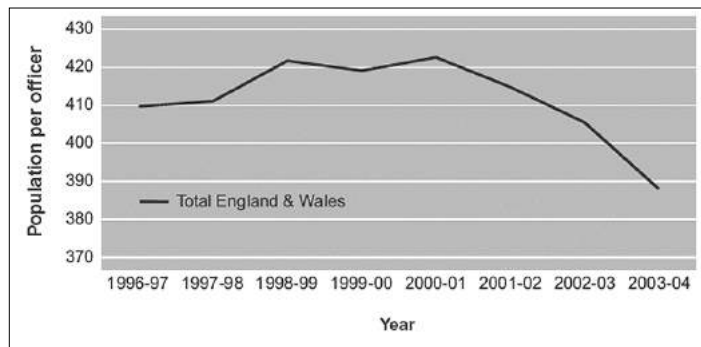
151 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004, p.70.

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attention to the diluted leadership creating a danger of inability to cope with today's policing.¹⁵²

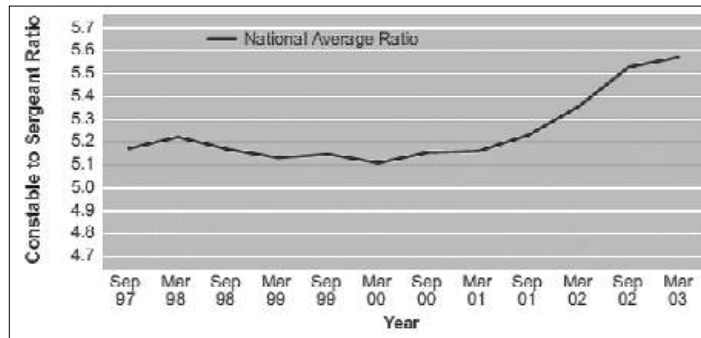
Figure 28 shows graphically the dramatic rise in officer numbers from a low point of over 420 people for every officer in the year 2000-1 to fewer than 390 in the year 2003-4.

Figure 28: Head of population per officer in England and Wales, 1996-7 to 2003-4



Source: *Modernising the police service*, HMIC 2004

Figure 29: Ratio of constables to sergeants for England and Wales, September 1997-March 2003



Source: *Modernising the police service*, HMIC 2004

152 Bettison N, *Forget about middle management-what about middle leadership?*, Criminal Justice Management, July 2002, pp.40.

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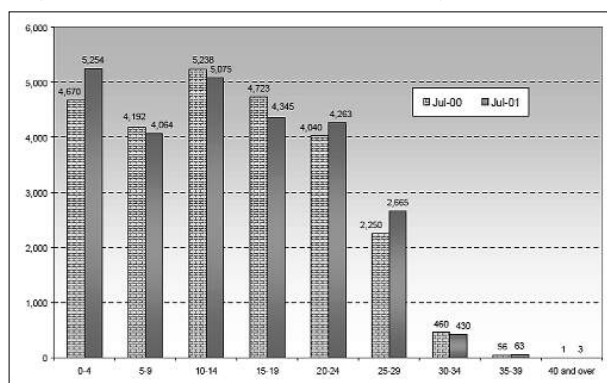
However, as can be seen below, the increase in constables has not been matched by a similar growth in the number of sergeants (Figure 29).¹⁵³ The sergeant to constable ratio for 2004-5 deteriorated further to 1:5.76 as a direct result of the recruitment increases. Whilst inter-force transfers are a regular occurrence, they disproportionately disadvantage married female officers and single parents. Quite clearly this needs to be redressed if career prospects are to be enhanced.

(g) Length of Service

The average length of service for the police is not readily available, though individual police forces such as the Metropolitan Police keep some information. The average length of service per police officer does not form part of data that are held centrally. The Government maintains that such information could only be collected at disproportionate cost.¹⁵⁴

The Metropolitan Police, however, produced information in a paper of 6 September 2001. It showed that increased recruitment added to the number of officers with less than 4 years of service.

Figure 30: Metropolitan Police Length of Service in 2000 and 2001



Source: Metropolitan police report to Authority 6th September 2001

The average age of men serving in the Metropolitan Police in 2001 was 37.26; for women it was 33.59 years. The average length of service for men was 14.11 years; for women it was 10.31 years.¹⁵⁵

153 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC, July 2004, pp.70-71.

154 *Hansard*, 11 November 1999.

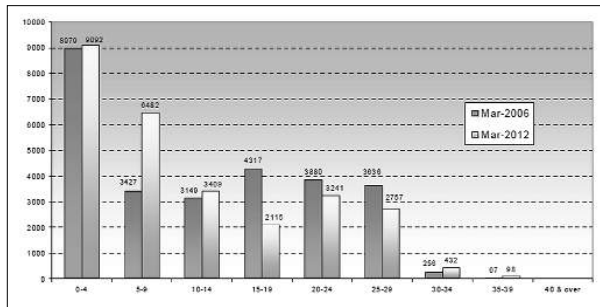
155 *ibid.*

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This compares with further education teachers (2003-4) of whom 31.7% were in the age band 45-54 and 19% over 55 years. 59% were female.¹⁵⁶

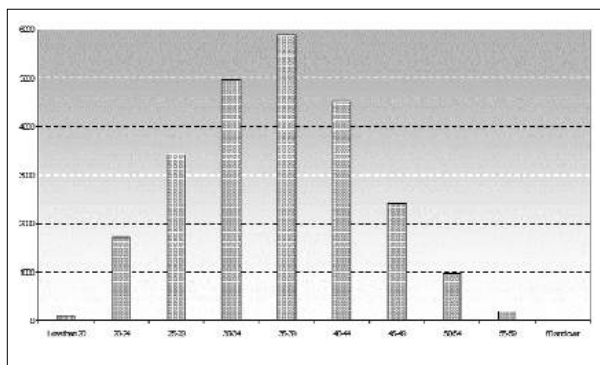
A projection has been made for the years 2006 and 2012. It forecasts a significant increase in the number of officers with under four years' service as a result of the significant wastage at normal retirement age which means higher recruitment levels to maintain strength – a rise from 20% to 32% with 45 % having less than 10 years' service. By 2012 the proportion with less than 5 years' service is predicted to be 49% - with 84% having less than 10 years' service.¹⁵⁷

Figure 31: Metropolitan Police - Projected overall length of service profiles for 2006 and 2012



Source: Metropolitan police report to Authority 6th September 2001

Figure 32: Metropolitan age profile sergeants and constables 2001



Source: Metropolitan police report to Authority 6th September 2001

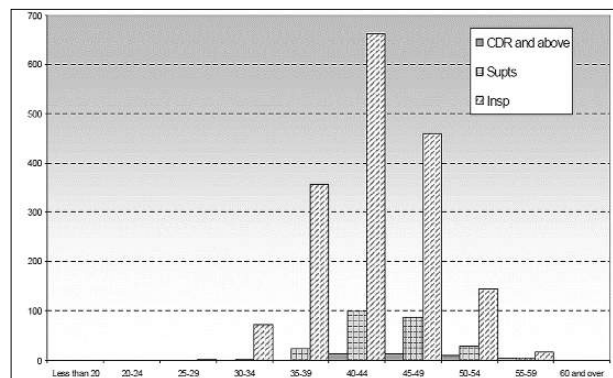
156 Source: www.isc.gov.uk

157 *ibid.*

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Figures 32 and 33 reflect the age profile of constables and sergeants compared with inspectors and above. They show both the amount of time it takes to achieve the middle management ranks and the extent to which the brunt of policing is borne by its youngest and most inexperienced officers who invariably carry out the patrol function.

Figure 33: Metropolitan age profile inspectors and above 2001



Source Metropolitan police report to Authority 6th September 2001

(iii) Measures of Success and Failure

The measures used to establish how well the police succeed at their job are problematic. Although the Government and professionals agree on the importance of having such measures, there is a problem about the type of measures used, whether they are sensible and whether they measure the sort of things the public considers important.

(a) What Framework for Measuring?

The Home Office suggests that ‘a robust framework to judge performance is a prerequisite to any earned autonomy regime’¹⁵⁸ and the professionals support such an emphasis, suggesting the police need a performance management system that enables senior managers to measure how effectively the service is using its staff and how changes to the make-up of staff affect performance.¹⁵⁹ But how is performance to be measured? While ACPO accepts that Government should set demanding and comprehensive performance standards, it warns against judging by

158 *Policing: Building Safer Communities Together*, Home Office November 2003, p28.

159 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC July 2004, p.14.

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narrow, short-term considerations.¹⁶⁰ The problem arises partly because the Home Office and the police have so far failed to produce a satisfactory framework, despite considerable work to finalise the Policing Performance Assessment Framework (PPAF).¹⁶¹

For instance, there is a failure to monitor the impact of decisions on allocating resources, particularly in respect of civilianisation. The release of officers for operational duties, for example, is taken as given in many forces and is not adequately monitored. Evaluation of initiatives is also poor, with little systematic before and after comparison. As a consequence, the service does not have a good knowledge base as to what works and why. Structures for the identification and dissemination of good practice both within and across forces are poor.¹⁶²

Take the measures used. The statutory performance indicators for 2004-5 replaced all police-related best value performance indicators and police best value indicators. The statutory performance indicators (a full list can be found at Appendix F) include such things as measures for user satisfaction, confidence, fairness and equality, crime level(s), offences brought to justice, detection, enforcement, traffic, quality of life, capability.¹⁶³ They are the primary indicators upon which the police are measured¹⁶⁴. The official purpose of the framework is to improve the performance of the police service by focusing on the key strategic outcomes of policing. These measures tell us what the Government considers to be important, but are they equally important to the public?

(b) Public Confidence

There is little doubt about the gap between what the public on the one hand and the professionals on the other believe to matter in policing, or about the fact that public confidence is declining. Public confidence in the police must, however, be a fundamental measure of success or failure and

160 *Policing In The 21st Century: A Programme For Change*, ACPO?

161 *National Policing Plan 2004-2007*, Home Office Annex 'C', pp30-42.

162 *Modernising the Police Service*, HMIC July 2004, p.15.

163 *Guidance on Statutory Performance Indicators for Policing 2004/05 version 1.8a* Home Office, August 2004.

164 Section 4 of the Local Government Act 1999 gave the Secretary of State the power to specify performance indicators and performance standards in respect of the way in which best value authorities exercise their functions. They were developed by the Home Office, working with the Association of Police Authorities and the Association of Chief Police Officers, as part of the Policing Performance Assessment Framework programme.

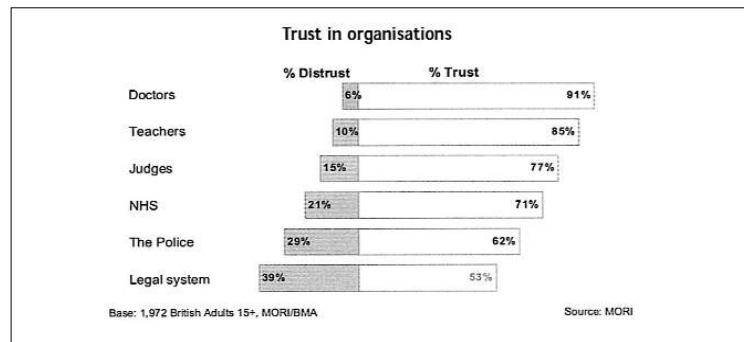
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it matters especially because it is to the public that the police must look to provide intelligence and to act as witnesses. There is also a link between levels of trust and how people use a service.

The evidence is of decreasing confidence, overall, in the police. Londoners ranked the Metropolitan Police Service below firemen, nurses, teachers and doctors and on a par with social workers, though it came above all other criminal justice agencies, according to the survey 'Policing for London'.¹⁶⁵ The proportion of Londoners saying that the police did a very good job fell from 32% in 1982 to 20% in 2000. The proportion thinking the police did a bad job doubled, from 9% to 18%. Nationally the number of people thinking the police do a good job currently (2003-4) stands at 47.7% - down 0.2% on the previous year.¹⁶⁶

MORI in its paper for the Audit Commission *Exploring Trust in Public Institutions*¹⁶⁷ makes clear that the level of trust affects the way in which people use services.

Figure 34: Trust in organisations



People want the police to give priority to tackling burglary, mugging, hard drugs, violence, sexual crime and racial attacks. They see the solutions as more (and more visible) police officers on the beat and more community policing. They want not just more visible policing but a style of policing that is more responsive to local problems and local needs. Successive surveys have revealed that, when asked about crime levels, the majority of respondents say they are rising (HMIC).¹⁶⁸ Falling crime levels have not

¹⁶⁵ *Policing for London*, p.xiv-xvii.

¹⁶⁶ *Police Performance Monitoring 2003-2004*, Home Office, p.4.

¹⁶⁷ *Exploring Trust in Public Institutions, Report for the Audit Commission*, MORI, 21/05/03.

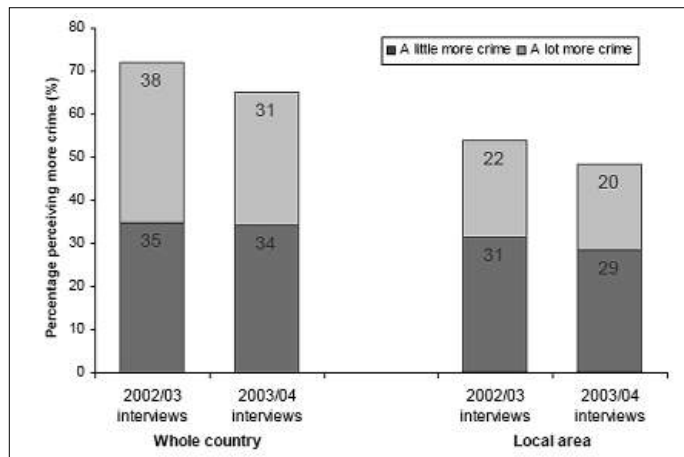
¹⁶⁸ *Open All Hours*, HMIC2001, p.viii.

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been accompanied by increases in public perceptions of safety, or confidence in the police. People remain unimpressed by the success of crime reduction partnership work.¹⁶⁹

It may well be that the tide is now changing in the direction that the Government seeks. The latest Home Office report¹⁷⁰ indicates that the proportion of people believing that crime has increased has fallen compared with the previous year. Two-thirds of the public thought crime in the country as a whole had increased in the previous two years, with about one-third believing that it had risen ‘a lot’. These proportions are lower than for 2002-3 (73% and 38% respectively), but these high figures are occurring at a time when the total number of crimes is falling, according to the British Crime Survey (BCS).

Figure 35: Public perceptions of changing crime levels, BCS 2002/03 to 2003/04



Source: Dodd T. et al, *Crime in England and Wales 2003/2004*, July 2004. p17

(c) Deployment

Having police men and women on the beat is what the public wants but over the years a gap has existed, or has seemed to exist, between this simple demand and what the establishment provides. People want to see uniformed police officers patrolling the streets. This is where (as HMIC

169 *Open All Hours*, HMIC 2001, p.viii.

170 Dodd T. et al, *Crime in England and Wales 2003/2004*, July 2004.

171 *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform*, Home Office 2001, p.22.

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has acknowledged) the gulf between expectation and reality is at its widest. For instance, only 20% of respondents were satisfied with levels of foot patrol and 43% with levels of vehicle patrol (in 1999-2000). By contrast, 82% were satisfied with the response to 999 calls and 90% were positive about the way their burglary had been investigated.

	Response to 999 calls	Enquiry counters	Response to Violent crime	Response to burglary	Service at road accidents	Level of foot patrols	Level of mobile patrols
98/99	85%	90%	82%	91%	92%	23%	47%
99/00	82%	87%	79%	90%	91%	20%	43%
00/01	80%	84%	77%	89%	90%	N/A	N/A

Sources: Audit Commission (2001) Local authority performance indicators 1999-2000. London: Audit Commission.
Op. cit. Audit Commission, 2000. [HMIC data for 00/01]¹⁷¹
Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform, Home Office 2001 p.22

Part of the difficulty may be with the distribution system where availability of police officers for operational duty is determined by the - increasingly complex - shift systems negotiated nationally, leading over the years to four rotating shifts covering 24 hours. This means that there are not enough officers available at some times of the day and a surplus at others to deal with the fluctuating levels of crime. There is, however, little agreement on how to devise an effective shift pattern, though one Home Office study recommends the development of a flexible shift arrangement to provide up to 70% more officers on duty at peak times.¹⁷²

(d) Tackling Crime

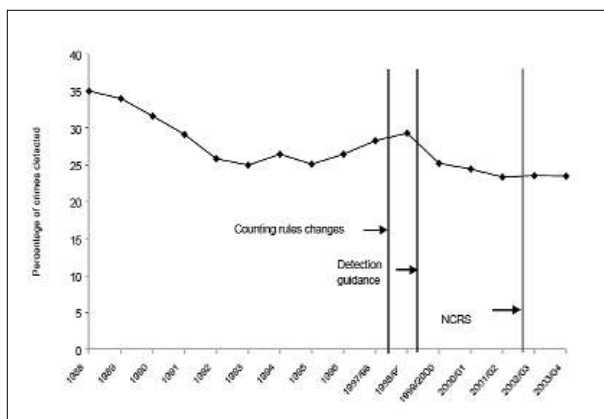
People expect the police to catch criminals, but the detection rate for crime in England and Wales remains stubbornly stable at 23.5%.¹⁷³ Fewer than one in four crimes is detected.

172 Details of the Home Office study of police resource management and rostering arrangements in October 2004.

173 Dodd T. et al, *Crime in England and Wales 2003/2004*, July 2004, p.6.

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Figure 36: Overall detection rates, 1988 to 2003/04



Source: *Dodd T. et al, Crime in England and Wales 2003/2004, July 2004. p106*

56% of the people at local level sampled in a 2003 MORI survey (commissioned by the Home Office) were satisfied with the way crime is dealt with and 27% were dissatisfied. However, at the national level only 34% were satisfied, 48% were dissatisfied, 16% believed matters had improved, with 39% believing that things were getting worse. Looking to the future, 22% expected things to improve whilst 42% predicted further deterioration. When asked directly what would convince them that crime has been dealt with more effectively, an increased police presence topped the list at 27%.

The reduction of crime and increased safety are only possible if the police have access to consistent, reliable and timely information, according to the Audit Commission in 2004.¹⁷⁴ Whilst progress has been made over the last two years, more is needed; 60% of forces have still to achieve the overall Home Office standard. In some cases performance has deteriorated and there remain quality variations across the country. In some forces the drive to implement victim-focused crime recording that was evident two years ago has lost some of its impetus.¹⁷⁵

174 *Crime Recording, Improving the Quality of Crime Records in Police Authorities and Forces in England and Wales*, December 2004.

175 *Crime Recording, Improving the Quality of Crime Records in Police Authorities and Forces in England and Wales*, Audit Commission, December 2004, pp2-3.

176 *Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform*, Home Office 2001, p18-19.

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(e) Detection and Conviction Rates

There has been a marked decline in the rates both of detection and of conviction in the last two decades, a position acknowledged officially by the Government. In 1980, 40% of recorded crime was detected and 18% resulted in a conviction. By 1999-2000 the figures had fallen to 24% for detections and 9% for convictions, an 'unacceptable' position to the Government. It may be that efficient and appropriate judicial processes will be necessary.¹⁷⁶ More worrying than the decline in detection and conviction rates over the last twenty years, are, it suggests, the variations and lack of consistency between the best and the worst policing in different parts of the country. The Audit Commission finds no explanation for the differences in performance, even allowing for varying local circumstances.

The performance variations at force level are striking. The recorded crime detection rate for burglaries varies between 43.5% and 7.9%, for vehicle crime between 28.3% and 4.7%, and for robbery between 50.8% and 14.4%.¹⁷⁷ At local level standards vary too. Basic Command Units (BCUs), which are grouped into 'families' with broadly similar characteristics so that performance can be compared, show marked difference in performance. A group of 30 comparable BCUs, for example, all in urban areas, had very different results in relation to the key crime targets. The best and worst performers are set out in the table below, based on figures for 2000-1. Such variations lead to a lack of confidence for there can be little justification for such variations in performance in similar parts of the country. Nor is it acceptable that the risk of being burgled is four times higher in areas with the greatest economic hardship as compared with the most affluent.¹⁷⁸ Certainly the performance gap, identified by HMCIC, between the highest and lowest performing forces must be addressed, a point reiterated in his latest annual report.¹⁷⁹

There appears to be a link between recorded crime figures and detection rates – detection rates are higher when crime is lower, and vice versa.

177 *ibid*, p18-19.

178 *ibid*, pp 19-20.

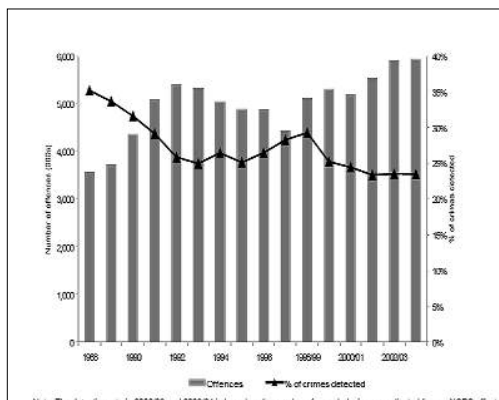
179 Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary 2003-2004, Home Office, December 2004, Home Office, December 2004, p.11.

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Offence	Best change in crime rate on 99-00	Worst change in crime rate on 99-00	Best detection rate 00-01	Worst detection rate 00-01
Violence against the person	-25%	+48.5%	89.6%	54.9%
Burglary dwelling	-35.5%	+5.6%	27.7%	5.5%
Theft of motor vehicle	-27.7%	+21.2%	19.3%	8.5%

Source: Povey, D., (2001) Recorded crime, England and Wales, 12 months to March 2001. Home Office Statistical Bulletin 12/01. London: Home Office. [Tables 11 & 12, family 4]

Figure 37: Offences and detection rates, 1998 to 2003/04



Source: Dodd T. et al, Crime in England and Wales 2003/2004, July 2004. p111.

There were just under 1.4 million detected crimes in 2003-4, up very slightly on 2002-3 (an increase of less than half a per cent). The number of recorded detections in 2003-4 was up very slightly on 2002-3 figures (an increase of less than half a per cent). The number of detections per officer fell slightly. In 1995, there were 9.8 detections per officer. This rose to 10.7 in 2002-3, and then fell to 10.4 in 2003-4. Excluding the Metropolitan Police and the City of London (the two forces which had the lowest number of detections per officer), there were 11.7 detections per officer. Four forces had 14 detections or more per officer, but otherwise the figures were within a relatively narrow range.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Dodd T. et al, *Crime in England and Wales 2003/2004*, July 2004, p.116.

(iv) Costs and Police Service Strength

The cost of policing is high with the Home Office budget pledging nearly £12 billion in 2005-6 for policing, an increase of 39% on 2001. This equates to 2.3% of Government spending, with public order and safety component accounting for 5.9%.¹⁸¹ This compares identically with the figures for 2004-5.

Total public spending in 2004-5 was £488 billion of which law and protective services constituted £29 billion (5.9%). Figure 38 shows that since 1984, as a percentage of total managed expenditure, there has been an upward trend.¹⁸²

Estimated outturn for spending in the police for 2004-5 is £14.5 billion which represents 50% of Government spending on public order and safety and 4.5% of resources budgets in real terms.¹⁸³ Any measure of success must take account of whether the police give value for money.

As matters stand, 78% of police budget goes on salaries and pensions. Take the example of typical revenue spending can from the Thames Valley Police breakdown for 2004-5.

Thames Valley Police 2004-05	£000's	£000's	%	%
Total police pay and allowances	160,238		46.68%	
Police pensions	32,197		9.38%	
Police staff (civilians)	71,543		20.84%	
Other employee expenses	6,572		1.91%	
Total Employee costs		270,550		78.82%
Premises costs	14,203		4.14%	
Transport related costs	8,944		2.61%	
Supplies & services	38,449		11.20%	
Capital financing costs	5,489		1.60%	
Other running costs	5,611		1.63%	
Non Employee costs		72,696		21.18%
Total		343,246		

Source: Thames Valley Police Authority 2004

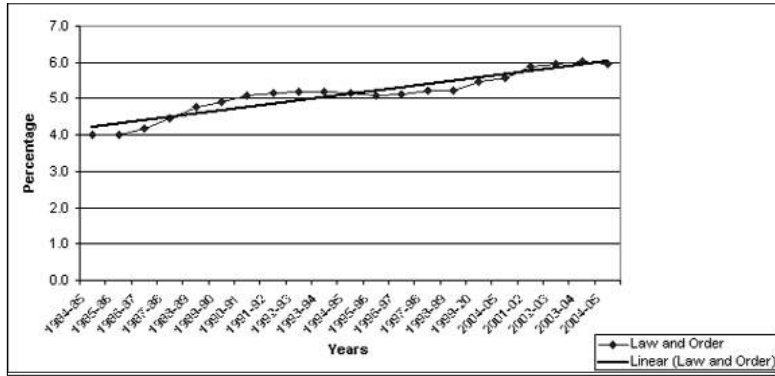
181 HM Treasury, *Budget 2005 Summary*

182 HM Treasury, *Budget 2004 Summary*

183 Public Expenditure Statistical Analysis, 2005.

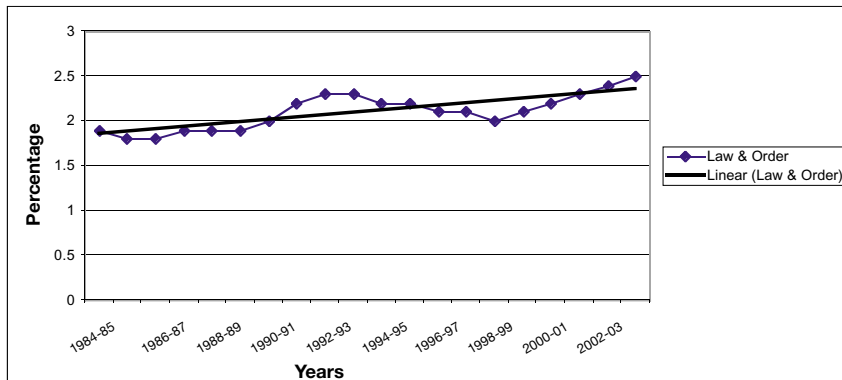
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Figure 38: Law and Order as a percentage of total managed expenditure



Source: Public Expenditure Statistical Analysis

Figure 39: Law and Order as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product



Source: Public Expenditure Statistical Analysis

(a) Police Funding Settlement

The costs to the taxpayer of policing continue to rise as Government spending on the police is distributed on a formula basis, across the board, with additional sums for special projects. Plans provide for continued increases in spending.

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Total provision for policing in 2004-5 is £10,086m, an increase of 4.2%. Since 2000-1, there has been an increase of over £2.3 billion, more than 30%.¹⁸⁴

£m ⁽¹⁾	Provision		Variance	
	2003/04	2004/05	£m	%
1. Direct funding for police authorities:				
Home Office Police grant	4288	4380	92	2.1
Formula Spending share ⁽²⁾	3776	3988	212	5.6
Specific grants for police authorities	663	657	-6	-0.9
2. Capital Grants & Support	333	355	22	6.6
3. Central spending on policing ⁽³⁾	623	706	83	13.3
Grand Total	9683	10,086	403	4.2
(1) Rounded to £m (2) Includes Revenue Support Grant/National Non Domestic Rates grants and product of assumed national council tax precept. Both years' figures exclude technical adjustment for resource equalisation (£600m). (3) Includes provision for NCS/NCIS & Airwave core service charges. Source: Home Office November 2003				

Police forces are principally funded annually through direct central Government grant, calculated by a complex formula which includes a population and deprivation index. An element is also contributed by the local taxpayer via a precept, the size of which is determined by the police authority and collected on their behalf by district councils. Additionally the Government makes specific grants which are ring-fenced.

The figure £657m set aside for specific grants for police authorities in 2004-5 was divided up as follows¹⁸⁵:

Crime fighting fund £277m

Counter terrorism £202m

Basic command unit funds £50m

Special priority payments £50m

Community support officers £41m

Rural policing fund £30m

Street crime initiative £25m

184 Press Release, *Police Authority Funding – Statement from the Home Secretary*, Home Office, 5 Aug 2004.

185 Hansard, 19 Nov 2003: Column 36WS.

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Looking ahead, spending is set to continue to rise. Government proposals for 2005-6 include putting an extra £750 million into policing, taking total spending to nearly £12 billion, an increase of £3 billion (39%) on the 2000-1. Direct funding, including formula and specific grants, will increase by 5.1% on the previous year. The additional £350 million of police grant is designed to ensure that forces can maintain their current police establishments and increase the number of community support officers by £5,500 by April 2005 and 24,000 by 2008. The settlement takes account of the recommendations of the Government's Gershon report under which the service is expected to deliver efficiency gains of 3% per annum.

Table 18: Police funding settlement for 2005-6 compared to 2004-5				
	2004/05	2005/06	Increase	
⁽¹⁾	£m	£m	£m	%
1. Direct funding for police authorities:				
Home Office Police Grant	4,380	4,574	194	4.4
Revenue Support Grant/Business Rates	2,889	3,045	156	5.4
Total General Formula Grant	7,269	7,619	350	4.8
Assumed Local Funding ⁽²⁾	1,699	1,753	54	3.2
Total Formula Grant Spending Provision	8,968	9,372	404	4.5
Specific Grants for police authorities	708	766	58	8.2
2. Capital Grants & Support	355	358	3	0.8
3. Central Spending				
Policing ⁽³⁾	491	653	162	33.0
Crime Reduction	164	172	8	4.9
Counter Terrorism, International and Organised Crime ⁽⁴⁾	401	512	111	27.7
Grand Total	11,087	11,833	746	6.7
<i>Source: Home Office December 2004</i> (1) Rounded to £m (2) Product of policing share of assumed national council tax. (3) The £162m increase represents mainly £65m for the Bichard agenda; an extra £47m for Airwave core charges; £23.5m for Criminal Justice Systems (IT); £15m for ANPR and £10m for NAFIS. (4) Includes provision for NCS/NCIS (£257m), Serious and Organised Crime Agency (£24m) and counter terrorism.				

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	2004/05	2005/06	Variance	
	£m	£m	£m	%
Crime Fighting Fund	279	277	-2	-0.7
Counter Terrorism	84	96	12	14.3
PNB Special Priority Payments	50	69	19	38.0
London & SE Allowances (incl Pay Lead & Travel)	52	58	6	11.5
Basic Command Units	50	50	0	0
Community Support Officers	41	50	9	21.9
Neighbourhood Policing Fund	13	37	24	184.6
DNA	52	46	-6	-11.5
Rural	30	30	0	0
Airwave Grant - mainly Menu Costs	7	24	17	242.9
Wales floor	14	14	0	0
Street Crime	25	6	-18	-72.0
Other	11	9	-2	-18.2
Total specific grant	708	766	58	8.2

In addition, the Home Office will increase central spending by £281million, taking the total to £1,337 million in order to support police forces in countering terrorism, in tackling organised crime and crime reduction. It will also fund major elements of police communications and IT including work in response to the Bichard Inquiry, science and technology facilities, training, the National Crime Squad and the National Criminal Intelligence Service which will merge with other organisations on creation of the new Serious and Organised Crime Agency.

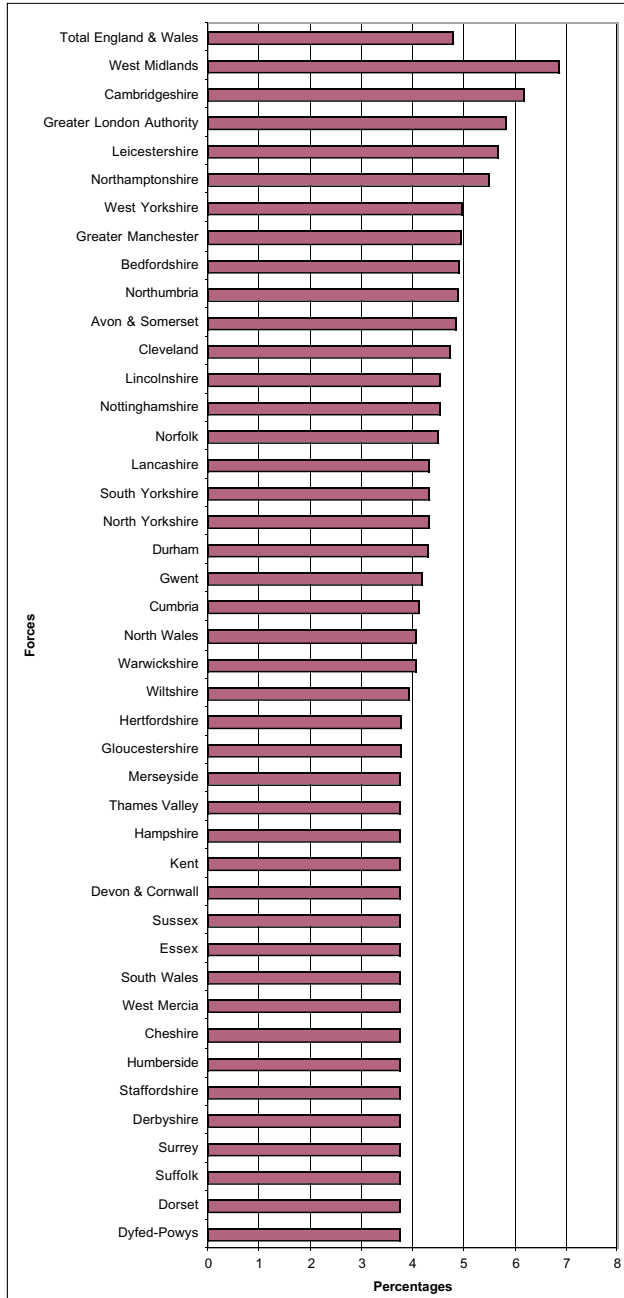
Government will also provide £358 million of capital investment, including grants to police authorities for their own capital projects like police stations and force communications and IT¹⁸⁶.

Figure 40 shows that compared to an across the board 3.3% increase in 2004-5, in 2005-6 26 Police Authorities will benefit from a minimum increase of 3.75% with the remainder obtaining a higher settlement.

186 Home Office Press Release, 2 Dec 2004.

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Figure 40: Police revenue grant allocation percentage changes 2004-5 – 2005-6 (excluding specific grants)

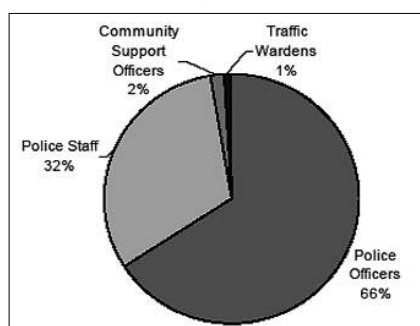


(a) Police Strength

While the number of police per head (i.e. police officers excluding support staff) of the population compares well with other countries, one of the most dramatic changes in the overall profile has been the increase of non-police personnel (police staff) in the service.

On 31 March 2004, there were 214,365 full-time equivalent staff working in the police service in England and Wales. Police officers accounted for 66 per cent of the total, community support officers 2 per cent, traffic wardens 1 per cent and other police staff c30 per cent.¹⁸⁷

Figure 41: Police service strength by type of police worker as at 31 March 2004, England and Wales



Source: National Statistics Police Service Strength, England & Wales, 31 March 2004

The dramatic change since 1994, when 70% of the establishment comprised police officers, has been the comparatively small increase in the number of regular police officers of 8.8%, by contrast with the increase in the police staff establishment of 31.6%, a figure which reflects increased civilisation (see Tables 20 and 21). A further increase of staff is expected with the appointment of an extra 25,000 Community Safety Officers, the recruitment of whom has been pledged by the Government by 2008.¹⁸⁸ Overall the extended 'police family' has grown by 15.7%. By contrast the volunteer special constabulary has dropped by 45% over the same period from 20,026 to 10,988.

187 Christophersen O and Cotton J, *Police Service Strength England and Wales, 31 March 2004*, Home Office Bulletin 13/04, p.2.

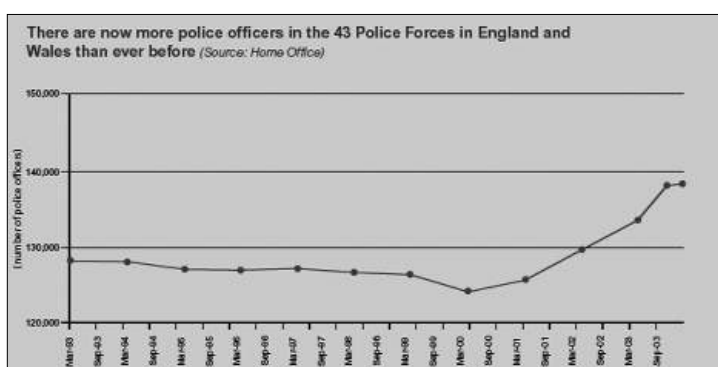
188 *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, Home Office, November 2004, p. 77.

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Year	Total Strength (at 31st March) (FTEs)
1994	127,897
1995	127,222
1996	126,901
1997	127,158
1998	128,814
1999	126,096
2000	124,170
2001	125,682
2002	129,603
2003	133,366
2004	139,200

Figure 42 shows that on 31 March 2004, of 140,563 full-time equivalent police officers, 137,699 were available for duty. This is an increase of 5 % compared with the previous year. The total includes 2,095 full-time equivalent police officers employed by the National Crime Intelligence Service, the National Crime Squad and central services.¹⁹⁰

Figure 42: Police officers in England and Wales September 1993 – September 2003



Source: Home Office

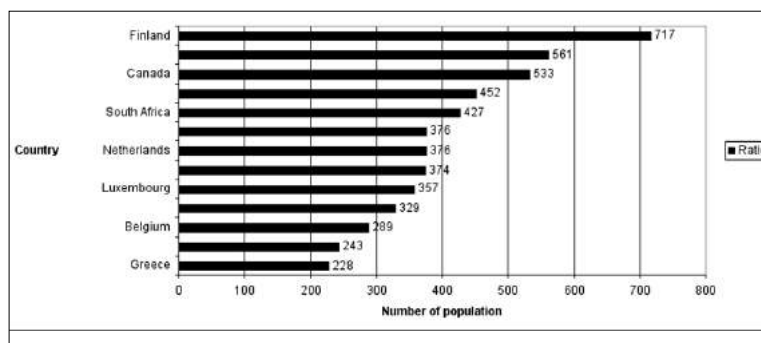
189 Christophersen O and Cotton J, *Police Service Strength England and Wales, 31 March 2004*, Home Office Bulletin 13/04m, p.13.

190 *ibid*, p4.

Year	Police Staff (FTE)	Specials (head count)	Traffic Wardens (FT/PT)	Community Safety Officers
1994	50,229		4,968	
1995	51,096	20,026	4,691	
1996	52,933	19,775	4,385	
1997	53,011	19,874	4,180	
1998	52,975	18,256	3,788	
1999	53,031	16,484	3,342	
2000	53,227	14,347	2,855	
2001	54,588	12,738	2,516	
2002	58,909	11,598	2,233	
2003	62,172	11,037	2,067	1,176
2004	67,597	10,988	1,652	3,417

The cost of policing per head of population in 2004-5 was £187. This is set to rise by 7% in 2005-6 to £200. This compares favourably with a number of other European and non-European countries as shown by figure 45.¹⁹²

Figure 43: Ratio of police to population



Source: Home Office

191 Christophersen O and Cotton J, *Police Service Strength England and Wales, 31 March 2004*, Home Office Bulletin 13/04, p.13.

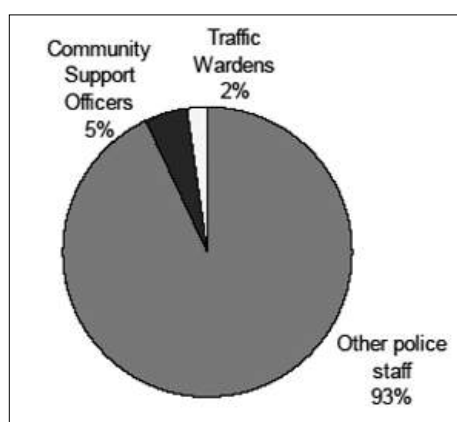
192 Christophersen O and Cotton J, *Police Service Strength England and Wales, 31 March 2004*, Home Office Bulletin 13/04, p4.

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(b) Police Staff

Of the full-time equivalent police staff in supporting roles, Community Support Officers made up five per cent of the total, compared with two per cent in March 2003. Traffic wardens made up a further two per cent. The remainder, 93 per cent, consisted of supporting staff who do not patrol the streets.

Figure 44: Police staff in England and Wales as at 31 March 2004



Source: National Statistics Police Service Strength, England & Wales, 31 March 2004

IV Afterword

Anything that alienates the public or reduces their confidence in the police must be of grave concern. Today there is general disquiet about the effectiveness of the police service and its ability to respond to the challenges of modern society. The service currently accounts for 2% of total public expenditure and 37% of spending on law and protective services. Spending is set to increase, but there is no guarantee of increased police effectiveness in tackling crime as a result. Since the 1960s there has been a significant increase in the number of crimes reported, but the detection rate remains stubbornly low at 23.5%. This means that fewer than one in four crimes is detected and only 9% result in convictions.

It is hardly surprising that public confidence in the police has declined. Policing England and Wales has traditionally meant visible patrolling by 'the bobby on the beat'. This changed in the 1960s. Police officers walking the streets were not thought to represent value for money. The police retreated into vehicles, disappeared behind screens and disengaged with the public. As a result public order has declined – and so has confidence in the police.

The public may not study the latest statistical trends in detail, but they have an intuitive understanding of what is going on and why the police service is failing to overcome its serious problems. The sheer difficulty of cutting through the bureaucracy, and getting the police quickly to the scene of a crime means that many people have given up hope and do not even bother to report crime. They know that effective action will not follow.

The Government's response has been a programme of appointing community safety officers and other 'top-down' initiatives, paid for by a series of ring-fenced special grants. Whether they will be successful in rebuilding confidence is doubtful. More far-reaching reform is needed.

If the service is to enjoy serious professional status once again, then urgent consideration needs to be given to how it recruits. No formal qualifications are now required to join the service. Entry follows a series of low level tests. The service does not attract its fair share of graduates and those it does attract seem to have more than their fair share of

questionable degrees. Inflexible conditions of service require a single point of entry for all and provide no satisfactory exit routes, other than after 25 or 30 years service.

The management of the service has not proved particularly successful, despite the successive attempts at reform. This is also true of structure and performance. While much attention is paid to the strength of the service in terms of raw numbers, not enough has been given to how it is run and how successful it is. Indeed in respect of performance measurement, it has been inundated with papers and demands for statistics with little thought being given to the ways in which they can enhance policing. The theory may have once seemed laudable to some experts, but practical results have been counterproductive. The police today need things like multiple entry points, renewed criteria for senior selection, cross fertilisation and better use of police staff – along with the development of proper accountability and real penalties for failure.

Effective reform therefore must tackle the serious weaknesses to which this report has drawn attention.

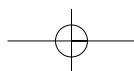
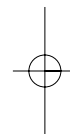
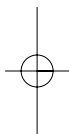
In particular, recruitment policy should concentrate on improving the standard of recruit accepted into the police service for normal duties. Minimum educational qualifications should be established and new routes of entry created. The nature of policing today is such that the service can no longer rely on omni-competence and a single point of entry scheme. Fast tracking, high potential development training and multiple entry and exit points must also be developed and implemented to attract higher calibre officers in today's more flexible employment environment.

Training at present lacks clear direction and systematic records are not kept at every stage. Measurable outputs are needed and resources must be properly targeted in areas where the greatest return can be achieved. The true costs of training should be identified. Professional development training is also vital. The existing system lacks proper accreditation to a recognisable professional standard and is not organised in such a way that it broadens the perspective of the student and becomes a transferable skill. The planned changes to the probationer training programme should be re-examined. Whilst attractive for part-time recruits, it may prove a costly exercise for individual forces. Ensuring consistency of standards will be even more difficult. If forces opt for regional co-operative arrangements then the whole object of the exercise would be defeated.

In terms of motivation, many problems will need to be addressed, for example, the basis on which grant is awarded each year, the present structures of the force, the conditions of employment needed to attract good officers either as a first or as a later short term, career, working conditions, the use of information technology and the style of leadership. If these matters are addressed effectively – and a vigorous reform programme rooted in common sense values is undertaken – then the police service will at last be able to recruit and retain first-rate officers in the numbers that it needs. Public confidence will be restored, and Britain will have the capacity to crack down successfully on its serious crime problem which is undermining its social well-being today.

Part II

Commissioners' Reports



IV

Current Problems: The Broader Context

Anthony Burden

Anthony Howlett Bolton's report attempts to lay bare the current position as regards police recruitment and training and does so in a very explicit way. However, to understand more fully what is happening, the findings must be considered in a broader context.

Although the public, when formally surveyed, nearly always nominate as their priorities, issues such as burglary and youths out of control, in the everyday reality of community life, priorities tend to be somewhat different. It is a fact that the public rely heavily on the police service to undertake a social welfare role and fill the gap left by others, e.g. services which have contracted or moved away from communities. This is nothing new. Although formed to fight crime, the professional police service has always been diverted away from its primary task – little wonder therefore that the public when questioned voice dissatisfaction at the police efforts to come to terms with crime rates.

The last time, to my knowledge, that the Home Office undertook any research in this area, the result attributed over 120 separate core functions to the police service. The majority of these tasks were not crime-related. Although some of the simpler distractions have been taken away and in some cases given to private sector providers, there is a real dilemma when the public has come to rely on the police service for support and assistance in areas unrelated to crime.

The Government and others responsible are therefore reluctant to grasp this issue and as a consequence, it has a direct impact on policies relating to the recruitment and training of young police officers.

How then, can the recruitment profile and training needs of a service be met when the core functions are so diverse? How, when faced with the task of training the youngest and most inexperienced officers does one prepare them for the reality of policing in today's society?

That reality is rather stark. From the moment they undertake their first independent patrol, and on a daily basis, young and inexperienced police

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officers are deployed not knowing what form of crisis or human tragedy they may have to face: from being the first officer at the scene of a fatal traffic accident, attending a shooting, talking down a suicide victim, dealing with domestic violence, through to the full horror of a terrorist attack. Because such challenges require instant decisions it is unusual for them to be placed in the hands of the least experienced elements of an organization. However the reverse is true of policing and I would argue is virtually unknown elsewhere.

I would also argue therefore that if training is inadequate or just plain wrong, the fault does not lie with trainers. They are attempting to do a difficult job in an ill-defined world. There will be no improvement until those responsible grasp the issue of redefining the role of policing and then and only then will training professionals feel confident to design training which will meet current demands. I am not optimistic.

Even then, there is a real danger that training will remain too general in the attempt to continue to train police officers in a generic set of skills. It may be time for people to think the unthinkable: recruit direct into a particular stream of policing so that training can be concentrated to skill up officers in their chosen specialism.

Is this really so unthinkable? Perhaps the mould has already been broken with the creation of a quite separate national policing body designed to fight organised crime, and capable of recruiting direct.

Wastage of officers when still relatively early in service is not in my opinion indicative of a poor quality of recruit. Far from it. What it does indicate is a highly stressful career with a high burn-out rate. Not all people who feel they want to be police officers and are accepted, make the grade. I am not referring here to the type of formal assessment that is carried out, which I agree is not as demanding as it might be. The reality of policing, to put it crudely, is that very young and impressionable people join the service and find themselves dealing with society's dirt, death and violence. For many there is only so much of this that they can take. This has been recognized in countries like the USA for a long time. In the States there is a much more flexible exit system which allows for pensionable service at regular intervals. For those very young in service it is necessary to recognise the culture shock that many face when they come up against difficult and violent situations.

Anthony Burden

The introduction of the High Potential Development Scheme in 2002 has in effect dismantled the Graduate Entry Scheme. That scheme involved active trawling of universities and was important to attract good graduates. Officers went to the universities to encourage applicants on degree courses to apply to the police. They could attend a three day selection process. If successful, they could go on to the Accelerated Promotion programme. Dismantling the scheme was a retrograde step which needs correction.

Finally, the introduction of an officer class into the police service is a debate in itself and arouses bitter argument on both sides. In my opinion, like redefining the role of the police service, this may fall into the too difficult box.

V

Fundamentally Flawed?

Tony Caplin

The failure of the police today to prevent crime, tackle disorder, or catch offenders effectively is a source of public and official concern. Levels of violent crime have increased by historical and international standards and new problems are emerging, often with a global dimension, such as terrorism, migration, the use of technology, and the increasingly complex nature of crime. All of these highlight the need for more effective policing and concerted action at a time when performance is poor and attention misdirected to side issues (e.g. speeding or minor traffic offences).

Anthony Howlett Bolton's report suggests that the system itself may be fundamentally flawed in its framework for recruitment, training and motivation. Recruitment is not designed to attract able candidates or to encourage outstanding applicants of the highest calibre. Training is weak in that the emphasis is misdirected and the focus misplaced, while the model for employment will not provide the motivation or incentive for successful policing. Confidence in the police has collapsed and public satisfaction with the police is declining. The report also indicates a serious failure of management to reform internally and problems of low expectation. As a result it is more difficult to retain existing staff, disillusioned with the inefficient management structure or the slow and hierarchical basis for promotion, and to attract and retain high achievers.

The report highlights the need for urgent reform, so that the police are equipped to deal with the problems of the century, react to changing events, and recover the lost and basic skill of dealing with the public. (*This was brought forcefully home when an American shopper in Covent Garden asked for directions from a young police woman only to be told 'why do you think I should know'.) Many of the failings highlighted by the report have been perpetuated because of ineffective or failed management. Recruitment has been pitched at a very low entry level and the system does not compete against other professions or business for able young people. Low standards at entry deter able candidates from applying and there has been a failure to attract new blood, particularly younger recruits (under 25s) and to run a

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successful scheme for attracting graduates. That would be seen as disastrous in business and industry. The impact on leadership will also be serious for the future and the danger is of the police perpetuating the status quo.

Training is poorly focused with time lost on vague topics, possible duplication and tasks (such as traffic control) which could be delegated, and the IT framework is inadequate. Tasks, such as file management, could be done more efficiently using IT and there is also a problem of inadequate information. There are serious problems of incentive, reward and motivation. The measures of success reveal a gap between the public's priorities and those of the professionals. There is a dearth of information on which to reform and a reluctance to tackle perceived complexities. Police and professionals do not reflect the public's concern with rising crime and lawlessness or do enough about it, by contrast with the rising levels of satisfaction amongst the public in other spheres. The salary scale is good and the pensions attractive and the problem does not lie in remuneration, but in management and motivation. For reform to succeed, there must be a change to management – with skilled, trained, experienced senior executives from industry taking senior management positions and implementing a more efficient and relevant plan for police management. Such a team would ensure that the police can police and executives manage. Reform must recognise that being a policeman does not necessarily equip an officer to be a good manager. At the same time the police themselves will need to ensure they can continue to respond to the changing, evolving and demanding pressures of society today and in the future.

The slowness to reform has a number of causes. The deficiencies in the system, even the absence of basic information, make reform from within difficult. According to the Audit Commission, basic performance has in some cases deteriorated and little progress is being made on the quality of the crime reports presented. However, reform of management will be difficult if the data is not available or is unreliable or so long as there are doubts about the data's integrity. Policing is, and is seen to be, a complex matter, yet it is no more complex than many other professions in the UK or abroad and the police management may hide too easily behind the excuse of 'complex' though that should not prevent sensible reform.

The police authorities recognise that changes are necessary and a number of attempts have been made to reform. The management of the police is problematic. Effective change requires management to be in control of and responsible for implementing change. Mere tinkering about the edges

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simply is not enough and the weakness may be a symptom of a greater illness within the national picture of police.

The system for recruitment and training needs to encourage both new blood and to attract good and able people, with higher levels of entry. Given that elsewhere the best employers are courting the very best candidates, the police will have to raise their standards to those of others competing in the labour market for able recruits. In addition the age profile must change to attract more younger people. Given the failure to attract new blood, to reform from within, more dramatic measures are needed and promotion should be based on ability.

Training, at each level and for each aspect of the job, needs a major overhaul so that the police know exactly what they ought to do and are trained to do it. By contrast in other spheres, for example supermarket retailing, the vast workforces – including part-time employees – are trained to meet the expectations of the customer. This should also be true of the police. For the police training should have priority, not just training for the body of police but also for managing the police force. The prestige of the police force can be raised by improving standards of recruitment and training and by encouraging a model based on success. The training model to advance standards should be a priority as should the adoption of a high behaviour standard.

The motivation of the police force is not helped by its chaotic structure of accountability and management or by the incessant changes including increased central government control which have exacerbated the difficulties. The problem is partly one of management, where the force has suffered from a lack of modern management and the impetus to manage. By contrast other organizations employing large numbers of staff have clearer structures. The fact that the force is so widely dispersed is no reason to avoid reform. This is no more than a management challenge, which, with modern communication, should no longer be seen as problematic. Whether a force is a small one based on a single county or a larger one based on two counties or conurbations, neither should be excused poor performance. Modern procedures and structures and a fresh approach are needed, together with the will to implement the urgent changes. Line managers throughout the force should impose their own standards and attract those who can identify with, and succeed in, the role.

High motivation and incentive reflect a number of factors: leadership, reward, ambition, personal performance and results. Above all there must

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be a belief by the officers that they are making a difference by doing their work and that they are contributing to society's wider good. If the structure or professional approach within an organization is stifling, then no amount of good motivation will work, nor will the incentive for change be found in a text book or government reports. What is needed is wholesale behavioural change related to achievement of a greater goal. It was achieved in New York and has not started in UK.

In addition there are a number of other issues from police numbers to state control, monopoly control, of policing. The number of police officers should be examined and their deployment in the overall context of a need for more policing hours. It may be that the policing / non-policing ratio of our police force needs improvement (a matter of management process which will require radical change of management and behaviour of the police). Police strength should not be measured in numbers employed but in effective hours worked. Or, take the question of the model of policing under a state-owned monopoly. Why not allow independent but regulated bodies do some of the investigation work, forensics etc. The New York experience of zero tolerance has dramatically improved law and order in New York. To achieve this, the authorities made massive changes in the way police were managed and how the police operated. A by-product of all of this as well as a better city to live in was a greater respect for police themselves. The system for motivating police officers must be addressed and should include fast-track promotion, promotion within different parts of policing, training and human resource teams providing the necessary support for professional development.

Above all the management of the police needs to be tackled with the core functions of the police distinguished from other, ancillary activities with such functions as traffic and 'soft' policing (e.g. desk work, form-filling, red tape) separated from core functions and a number of specialist highly focused units created. Bureaucracy must be cut so that police spend time policing, not paper pushing. All police should be trained to a high standard in use of IT and a good IT system introduced. This would enable police to increase their hours, policing by reducing form-filling, court waiting etc. It is said that over two-thirds of a policeman's life is spent off the beat. Management must be streamlined and equipment standardised, with unnecessary levels and tiers of management cut, modern management techniques, structures, disciplines and procedures introduced, equipment standardised and policing focused where it matters most.

VI

A Failing Framework?

David Ramsbotham

In the years ahead there are likely to be more, rather than fewer, demands on the police. Yet public confidence in the police is diminishing. Attempts to tackle declining confidence have, so far largely failed, not least because the public instinctively dislikes solutions that seem to be more bureaucratic with more paper targets than actual policing. It is timely therefore that Anthony Howlett Bolton should concentrate on what really matters within any operational organisation – its people. He has concentrated, rightly, on answering three fundamental questions:

Why should anyone join the organisation?
How are people trained to carry out their role within it?
What is it that persuades people to stay?

Before turning to the commentary, this response will first consider the overall framework for policing arrangements, especially the question central to much of the discussion about policing: should there be one national force, or a number of local police forces ?

The question is fundamental to how one responds to the three questions and has, in one way or another, been part of the discussion of policy in the decades since the 1960s, as reflected, for example in the work of the Royal Commission on the Police of 1962, and, very directly, in the 1992 Police Foundation lecture by Sir Hugh Annesley (then Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary).

Since the foundation of Sir Robert Peel's force, crime has become 'nationalised' as communications have eliminated purely geographical boundaries. Though there are now 43 separate police forces as opposed to the 125 at the time of the 1962 Royal Commission, there is still no national force. In his memorandum of dissent to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Police, Professor A L Goodhart recommended: 'a single police force for England and Wales, comprising all public police forces, other than that of the City of London, which might be kept separate because its functions are unlike those of any other police force. (Arthur Lehman Goodhart's 'Memorandum of Dissent' to the *Royal Commission on*

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the Police (1962) CMND 1728). Goodhart also proposed measures which appeared necessary if the police force were 'to be made efficient in the circumstances of the present day' and did not concede the view that such a force would not be accepted by the public. Subsequently, Annesley in 1992 proposed a single National Crime Squad and a single National Anti-Terrorist Unit.

Looking at the practical side there is some evidence that the system has in the past inhibited effective policing. For example, when in the 1980s, the Army Special Investigation Branch wanted to pursue a drug-dealing gang, which appeared in Hampshire, but had tentacles in Northamptonshire, Derbyshire and County Durham, they were hampered because of separate procurement policies. This meant that police communication equipment was not compatible, while two of the county forces did not have drug squads. It was thus almost impossible to mount a consistent surveillance operation on the gang. This is not a recipe for effective policing.

Other countries recognise that two separate types of policing are needed – one to detect crime and apprehend offenders and one to uphold law and order in the community. Both are at the heart of policing as a whole, but both have separate demands and require different types of people to provide them. The question is whether it is more sensible to maintain separate forces for each, or whether every police officer should be regarded and trained as a jack of all trades. I come down firmly on the side of maintaining two separate forces.

We live in communities, which have the same fundamental needs to survive, but which will have different local perspectives. One essential of any community is that those who live in it should feel and be safe. Unless community safety can be assumed there can be no normal life within it. The police are responsible for that safety, not least by the presence of officers on the ground, known to those who live there and known to respond to any concerns. Such policing can only be provided by people who are motivated to do such work: it is not particularly exciting and it requires a degree of patience as well as the ability to deal with people. Such police are best found from within the community they understand. This suggests that, as now, they should be recruited at a local level and join a local community force.

Local policing may not be to the taste of those with senior professional career ambitions, or those whose interest is in crime-related policing.

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These people should be centrally recruited, centrally trained and centrally equipped. This would make for consistency across the country and allow maximum advantage to be taken of developments in technology. They should be in a position to treat the country as a whole as their 'parish', with the right to contact, and work with, anyone, anywhere, who can help them with their work. This will include local forces who can help with details of individuals or, for example, by tracking suspects or observing movement. They would have working with them locally units of specially trained crime police, trained centrally.

Each of the two tasks requires a different type of person. Of course there must be normal recruiting procedures for each one, but, to boost numbers for community policing it is worth remembering that retired servicemen and women make ideal community constables. They are accustomed to dealing with people and have matured by the time they leave the forces. They probably want to settle down to life in a community, without having to move constantly. Senior non-commissioned officers, retiring at around the age of 40, tend not to be interested in further promotion. Their training and experience makes them admirably equipped to provide that steadiness that is so essential to public confidence building. I would recommend that those responsible for recruiting them should work with the Ministry of Defence to develop 'second career' opportunities for those leaving the Services interested in becoming community policemen or women.

Those joining the second force, a National Police Force, could be trained in crime detection from the outset without their being distracted by other activities such as spending time on traffic or as community constables, as part of what is regarded as a balanced career. Such specialisation gives advantages such as time and opportunities for career planning whereas too many diverse courses inevitably eat into the time available to specialise. Performance too would improve.

It may seem odd to begin with my conclusion and then work back through the evidence. But nothing in the Home Office's National Recruitment Standards Programme is against such a proposal, particularly that to make 'the best use of potential applicants and ensure that police forces can select the most suitable'.

Anthony Howlett Bolton provides an admirable survey of the current process and conduct of recruitment and raises some issues which may

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need to be addressed. In the case of standards at entry, while formal minimum educational standards may not be necessary for community forces, they might be reconsidered for a National Force. Could it be that trying to make people what they are not is one of the contributory factors to poor detection rates?

He also includes a series of extremely helpful and revealing charts about ethnicity, age and a table of targets to maintain the status quo. What would be the implications for separate forces? Rationalisation could produce cost savings, which could then be applied elsewhere within policing as a whole. The figures in the table could be refined to show how many are required to enter each part of the force, which in turn could sharpen the focus of the recruiting process.

There is also a case for distinct graduate entry, not just to attract the able people who will help raise aspirations and performance across the force, but to encourage vital leadership.

If there is one issue that links Bolton's three subjects – recruitment, training and motivation – it is leadership. Sir Robert Peel established the principle that chief constables should rise through the ranks. This has not always been the case because in the last two centuries, many chief constables were ex-military officers, appointed not to be professional policemen but to provide 'leadership' for the members of their force. This was also the practice in the Prison Service, for governors of prisons. They were expected to lead their staff, not be the professional expert on custody. Leadership is essential in any operational organisation, for it is necessary for the motivation of people. For a time the police had a graduate entry through a College at Hendon, but this was dropped soon after the Second World War. In an army background, I have seen the advantage to officers of having served as officers from the start of their careers, not least from the career planning point of view. Professional development in the army is based on ensuring that, as far as possible, those destined for high command are given the appropriate experience during their careers. If the police are to be headed by leaders, rather than practised professionals, they must give serious thought to the early identification and subsequent special treatment of those destined for such posts.

At present it appears that both training and motivation are linked to the organisation of careers. If there were two types of police force, it would be easier to plan training around the chosen career path, community or

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national. Motivation and career satisfaction go hand in hand. As Bolton says:

‘Successful policing depends not just on having able recruits and training them well, but on having the right framework for incentive and success for working officers’.

It is the framework that is at the back of many of the present concerns. For such reasons I recommend that the structure and organization of the police be re-examined.

VII

Counter-cultural Lessons

Kate Rutherford

Successful Recruitment, Training and Motivation in Industry – The Principles

This response tackles each of the three areas covered by the report by attempting to outline current good practice in industry in recruitment, training and motivation.

(a) Recruitment

Good practice in identifying, recruiting and retaining the right people for an organisation is how a competency model is defined and anchored. This type of model includes a statement of skills, knowledge and personal attributes an organisation requires from its people at any given grade, level or job role in order to fulfil their responsibilities. The definition of these competencies reflects business strategy and specific business goals as well as organisational culture and values.

A well-thought through competency model should provide:

- Clear guidance for recruitment profiles
- A simple mechanism for understanding and articulating the levels of skill and the skills needed.
- An indicator of the gaps in skills to be filled by recruitment or training and development.

Defining a competency model encourages an employer to think through and articulate the type of organisation needed to achieve the goals, and to break it down to its component parts. If skills needs have changed they will focus on how new skills can be brought in or developed. If the personal qualities and attributes needed have changed, perhaps placing an emphasis on diversity or outlook, they will consider the type of people who should be recruited and where they might be found. If different types of experience are required – where can that experience be found?

The competency model helps articulate recruitment needs. It also provides a framework for identifying and quantifying the current state of

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the organisation. This type of audit of current capability against the competency model enables a clear definition of the current skills gap that needs to be filled and thus enables decisions on whether potential recruits should be versed in skill 'x' to level 'y' or possess attribute 'a' or attribute 'b'. Testing or assessment associated with the recruitment process should be based purely on the skills, knowledge or attributes required for each job role.

(b) Training

In addition to recruitment, skills gaps identified by comparing existing skills with an organisation's competency requirements, can also be addressed through training and the management of continued learning. By relating specific training interventions to defined skills gaps, training can be focused on specific outcomes, rather than adhering to the 'one-size fits all' model. It also allows for the effectiveness of training to be measured.

As well as focused and defined outcomes, good training in industry now tends to steer away from one-off interventions regarded as a 'holiday' from real life, and instead is anchored in the day-to-day business of the participants – both in terms of content and the chosen medium. For example, e-learning which incorporates simulation, is increasingly used in the workplace to maximise the realism of the training. This training is also anchored by the use of other complementary interventions to help sustain skills – for example, monthly conference calls with the attendees to discuss progress, the distribution of related articles to refresh interest or the provision of learning coaches to provide one-to-one follow-on training. Self-assessment or 360 degree assessment tools are also used increasingly before and after key developmental training to increase self-knowledge, place training in personal context and measure effectiveness.

The search for efficiencies in providing training is leading to greater centralisation of its organisation. Whilst the curriculum and content must be determined by the front-line business, the logistics of procurement and provision are often best served through a central department or an outsourced provider. Bulk buying from training providers will ensure lower costs and better service. Uniformity and central regulation of content across a dispersed organisation can help the use of one common language and a set of processes that enable an organisation to present a seamless service to its customers.

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(c) Motivation

The factors which drive motivation are varied and success depends on the nature of the business, the culture and the type of person recruited. Three important factors should be considered: the career path, performance management and leadership.

First, a clearly defined, visible career path for all employees in an organisation is essential to motivation. This will allow employees to understand at any point in time where they are in the organisation, where they can go in the future and what skills, knowledge or experiences they need to possess to get there. It should clarify internal roles and make promotion decisions visible and understandable.

Allied to a clear career path is a detailed performance management process that again makes very clear to each employee how they are progressing in the firm – where their strengths and weaknesses lie and what they need to do to progress to the next level. Important components of good performance management include giving regular feedback on a timely basis, training for those making judgements and writing appraisals and messages conveyed personally to allow for open dialogue and discussion.

Thirdly, a key driver of motivation, and often a cause of demotivation, is the standard of leadership in an organisation. Good leaders who can maximise opportunities for their people, coach them to achieve their potential and create a climate of trust and honesty will increase motivation and morale. People in positions of leadership who are divisive, manipulative and self-interested will demotivate a workforce, dampen performance and often increase attrition.

VIII

The People, the Police and the Politicians

Christopher Woodhead

Having spent thirty years working in the education service, I read Anthony Bolton's report with a depressing sense of *déjà vu*. Public confidence in the police is low. Results in terms both of crimes detected and convictions achieved decline. Spending, he tells us, has increased without any discernible impact on police effectiveness. So, too, with education where a majority of parents would educate their children privately if they could afford the fees, where ever-improving examination results are greeted with ever-deepening scepticism, and where billions of pounds of taxpayers' money have in recent years been poured down various bureaucratic drains. The area of activity and the operational detail might be different, the headlines are the same. The police service, like the education service, and, for that matter, the National Health Service, is in a deep mess.

In analysing the reasons for this mess, Bolton is clearly right to focus on issues of recruitment, training and motivation. What matters ultimately in a school is the quality of the individual teacher. The better a teacher teaches, the more a child will learn, and the effectiveness of the teacher depends in turn upon his academic abilities, personal characteristics, training and motivation. So, too, with policing and policemen. The only thing that matters when you hear the burglar in the middle of the night is the competence of the individual human being who answers your call for help. In policing, as in education, our sense of the effectiveness of the service is determined by the quality of the professionals with whom we come into contact.

If we want better policemen we have, obviously enough, to sharpen up recruitment processes, to ensure that more appropriate training is more readily available than is currently the case, and to reflect and act on the fact that so many policemen become so demotivated so quickly. But the fact that state monopoly provision is failing across a number of different services means that we should step back from the details of what is happening or not happening in the police service and note five fundamental problems in Labour's approach to the improvement of our public services.

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The first of these problems is that the Government wants policemen, as it wants teachers, to be all things to all people. Bolton notes that in 1829 the principal duty of the Metropolitan Police was, as one might expect, 'to prevent crime'. The Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedures in 1929 restated this responsibility. But, Bolton says, 'by the 1960s the role was seen to be more comprehensive'. Now the police are expected to interrogate suspects taking part in the judicial process, to decide on whether to proceed with prosecutions and conduct prosecutions for the less serious offences, to conduct inquiries into people who wish to be granted British nationality, 'to befriend those who need help', and heaven knows what else. Some of these duties may be the proper responsibility of the police, but the first rule of any successful business is that it sticks to the knitting. A business which, in attempting to undertake too many and too different tasks, strays too far from its basic remit, almost always fails. The police service, like the education service, is being asked to do too much.

The second problem is perhaps linked to this. The Government, and to an extent Bolton makes the same mistake, tends to exaggerate and complicate the nature of the role both teacher and policeman have to discharge. I do not for one moment underestimate the demands of either job. When Bolton writes that the 'police often operate in a highly charged and emotional environment, under conditions of physical danger', I am sure he is right. But not every policeman in, say, West Cornwall where I am writing this, is routinely involved with 'problems associated with technology, globalisation, terrorism and migration', just as not every teacher faces the daunting task of teaching immigrants who don't speak a word of English. Dock Green has long gone, but in many parts of the country it is Dixon the public want and need. As Bolton recognises, 'the police have retreated into vehicles, disappeared behind screens and disengaged with the public'. We don't like it.

To complicate the essential mission and to lose touch with the policeman's basic role is a recipe for disaster. It leads to fantasies about the nature of the policemen we want and to nonsense about recruitment procedures and training needs. This, it seems to me reading Bolton's report, is what has happened over the last decade. It is an issue to which I will return later in this commentary.

There is, then, the belief that the Home Secretary, and, in education, the Secretary of State, know best. Bolton notes that the operational autonomy

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of the chief constable has been undermined by procedures dictated by politicians remote from the fears of those who live in the communities local policemen are meant to serve. The wholly specious defence is that Whitehall sets the strategic direction, leaving the local command to get on with the day-to-day business. The truth, of course, is that the daily business is driven by the centrally determined priorities and that many of these priorities reflect aspirations, often politically correct, that are remote from the average member of public and policeman. Bolton should have said more about these tensions. They are central to the story he is attempting to tell.

Neither, perhaps, does he sufficiently emphasise the extent to which the bureaucratic demands associated with this centralisation have distracted the constable on the beat from the contribution he should be making to the maintenance of law and order. The macro question here concerns the implementation of 'civilianisation' and the worrying fact that there seems to be no systematic understanding of what works in terms of policy and operational change and what does not. But the micro reality is that policemen across the country, whatever their innate ability, academic qualifications or recent training, are being distracted from the job they should be doing by paperwork which they should not have to be doing. I am tempted to say that this is the most obvious and damaging absurdity in the whole story, as, perhaps, it is in education.

And, finally, there is the fact already noted: expenditure on the police increases year by year and we see little benefit. Money does, of course, need to be spent, and budgets, as in schools, do need to be increased. But money in itself is not the answer. It is what is done with it that matters, and, in particular, the good sense of management, that recognises, to return to my starting point and Bolton's main focus, that what matters most are the front-line staff who deal with the public and, hopefully, arrest the criminals.

Bolton begins, logically enough, with the recruitment of police officers. He thinks that admission criteria are insufficiently stringent and that in particular 'academic requirements' are 'pitifully low'. Low they most certainly are. 'An officer starts her shift at 0930 hours and works through till 1800 hours. How many hours has she worked?' 'Eight tickets are issued over a four-hour period. On average, how many were issued per hour?' It is pathetic, but standards of literacy and numeracy amongst the public at large are pathetic. Having winced more times than I can

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remember at spelling mistakes on blackboards, I suspect that the police service has no option other than to be pragmatic. And how important are academic requirements to the policeman on the beat? Here we come back to our concept of the role. Bolton argues that 'the increasing complexity of policing and the expectations now placed on constables' mean that 'the modern police officer' must have 'a wide understanding of social issues and the ability to translate that understanding into practice'. If he means that today's policemen needs to combine a basic decency with a streetwise savyness, I tend to agree; if he wants them all to have a doctorate in social studies, I worry. Commonsense, courage, integrity, practical intelligence: these are the qualities needed, not certificates in quasi-academic non-subjects and key skill assessments.

The situation is, of course, different when it comes to the leadership and management responsibilities of officers in senior ranks. Bolton notes that schemes designed to attract graduates into the service and to guarantee them (subject to their passing the necessary examinations) accelerated progress through the ranks have had 'limited success'. He does not explain why, which, in that the Government is now proposing to introduce multiple entry points into the profession and to remove the requirement that everyone appointed to a senior rank must have served time as a junior officer, is a pity. I have always thought that it would be a mistake to appoint headteachers from outside the teaching profession. So, too, with chief constables. Success as a constable or classroom teacher does not, of course, mean that the individual will have the necessary management and leadership abilities to succeed in a position of command, but there are important considerations of both practical understanding and credibility. It must, surely, be possible to recruit sufficient numbers of graduates into the service and to ensure that they progress through the ranks in a satisfactory way.

There are, equally, questions to be asked about the management of, and training offered to, junior officers who are never going to reach the highest levels. Wastage of officers has become a serious problem. 10% leave within a year, 50% within ten years. In 2002-3, 13,126 officers were recruited, Bolton tells us, an increase of 28 % on the previous year, but 10,454 left, leaving a net gain of only 2,672.

The key role in both services must be that of the experienced officer/teacher who inducts the new recruit into the job. In education, 'mentoring' has been turned into an esoteric art; in the police service,

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perhaps equally predictably, nobody appears to take induction seriously. There is a shortage, Bolton tells us, of tutor-constables. Their training (three to ten days) is inadequate. The result is that recruits are exposed to the very 'cultural and policing attitudes the service is attempting to eradicate'. These are serious shortcomings. It is, or ought to be, obvious that new constables need a basic grounding in elements of the law, first aid, and so on. The key element of their training must, however, be on the job, working with experienced colleagues to learn how to deal with the myriad of problems they will encounter. There is a direct parallel with the new teacher in the classroom learning his trade from someone who knows the tricks.

But 'knowing the tricks' is not what it is about these days. The police, and Bolton himself, appear to be preoccupied with the strategic overview. He quotes, for example, the National Police Leadership Centre at Centrex on the national competency framework: 'The overall aim of the National Competency Framework was to develop a generic framework to support an integrated human resource strategy for the purpose of improving operational performance by setting national standards for police officers and police staff'. It is a nice example of the way national bureaucracies like to substitute a convoluted and near tautological statement of the obvious for the commonsense approach which is needed, and which might be more often adopted if senior police officers were given the opportunity to develop training programmes that made sense in their own local circumstance. My experience in education leads me to believe that national, politically driven initiatives invariably lead to an obsession with process and mountains of gobbledegook.

It does not seem that the wastage Bolton notes stems from the unattractiveness of pay and pension schemes: both are attractive. The problem appears to be more one of leadership and management. In part this is because there has been no growth in management structure to support the dramatic increase in police numbers in recent years. I suspect, however, that the real cause is poor management and leadership. Who takes an interest in the police constable, the sergeant, the inspector, the superintendent? Who thinks about their careers? Schools succeed when a headteacher has a clear vision and a determination to 'grow' his staff. National plans, sophisticated training strategies, and politically determined targets are at best an irrelevance. I suspect that the situation is exactly the same in the police service.

Christopher Woodhead

The policeman's lot is unhappy for a further reason which Bolton rightly emphasises on a number of occasions. 'People want the police to give priority to tackling burglary; mugging; hard drugs; violence; sexual crime; and racial assaults. They see the solution as more (and more visible) police officers on the beat'. They are not getting them. There is, as Bolton puts it, 'a gap between these simple demands and what the establishment actually provides'. My impression is that many police officers want to do what the public want them to do. They can't. National targets, red tape, bureaucracy get in the way. Is it surprising that so many leave early? What could be more debilitating than to know what you should be doing, to know that those you are paid to serve want you to do it, and day after day to be prevented from delivering? That, it seems, is the reality of policing in 21st century Britain. Will things change? Not according to Bolton. The politicians responsible would do well to ponder his observations.

Part III
Conclusions and Recommendations
Sheila Lawlor

IX

The Report

The fundamental role of the police has changed little over the years since the police force was first established in 1829. The main task remains that of preventing and combating crime, a role in which the police, by and large, are perceived to be failing. Public confidence in the ability of the police to do their job is declining and crime levels are comparatively high. Anthony Howlett Bolton's report is set in a grave context: the police no longer command the confidence of the public they serve. While the report recognises the difficulties of policing and the complex, indeed often dangerous and isolated, nature of the job, it also suggests that the successive attempts by central government to improve matters have hardly helped. The trend towards shifting the balance of control away from the local police forces to central control by the government and the Home Office does not appear to have improved matters and may have exacerbated the problems.

While the balance to be struck between central and local control remains a controversial matter, there are other more fundamental questions to be raised about why the police fail or are perceived to fail. Such questions relate to the quality of officers recruited and the basis on which they are selected, to the way in which they are trained, and finally, to whether their career structure provides the incentives to do the job well or badly. Anthony Howlett Bolton addresses these fundamental issues in his report on the recruitment, training and motivation of the police. How far are many of the perceived failings due to the admissions system and the type of applicants accepted? Are recruits then trained adequately? And, once trained, are officers employed in such a way that they are encouraged – and have every incentive – to do well and to succeed in policing?

Recruitment

The report explains that the recruitment system is both arbitrary and vague, that standards for entry are low, and wastage is high. There is a single entry system for all candidates, irrespective of whether they are the majority (four-fifths) who will fill the role of police constables or the minority who will become senior police officers. The criteria for entry are vague about the standards – academic, health and fitness, physical – and

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type of character needed, but specific in listing what most employers would take for granted (the absence of a criminal record, sufficient good health or physical fitness to do the job). Implied in the report's findings is a sense of wastage: at entry, where the percentage of successful applicants, 13 %, is small, and during the first year of service where 10% leave.

Minimum admission standards and standards of entry

There is no minimum academic standard for entry and the pressure appears to be towards diversity of intake. Despite the high number of applicants for each place, there does not seem to be a mechanism for selecting the most able academically, the best equipped in terms of character, drive, purpose, or a sense of uprightness or the most fitted in terms of physique and health.

Recruitment appears to be based on a series of routine rules (e.g. nationality, health, character) and attributes commonly sought by employers (good general health, command of English and good character) and on some negative criteria (e.g. not having convictions, tattoos or body piercing). In so far as there are criteria for selection, they reflect the general ones for most employment such as: an ability 'to communicate', or 'to focus on the community and the customer', to 'solve problems', or 'a sense of personal responsibility' or 'resilience', a 'respect for race and diversity' or 'team working'. They avoid setting out the specific qualities needed for policing.

The recruitment process. Percentage and age of successful applicants

The report illustrates the trend towards a national framework for recruitment, with a national application form as the first stage, followed, for successful candidates, by assessment at one of the national training centres. Here tests in numeracy, verbal reasoning and language are taken, together with four interactive role play scenarios and an interview. More recently the Home Office has modified the initial test to lessen or remove the adverse impact on ethnic groups. Critics emphasise that the costs are high and too few able candidates are recruited through this system.

Recruits tend to be between 22-30 years of age of whom half have been under 25. The trend has been to slightly older recruits: the average age was 26 in 2000 and 26^{1/2} in 2002.

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Graduate recruitment and schemes for rapid promotion

The single entry system does not distinguish between graduates and others. Unlike the army (or civil service) there is no distinct entry for graduates who now account for c. 10%-16% of recruits (2003-4). Graduates can take advantage of a scheme for more rapid promotion, the High Potential Development Scheme, though it has not been particularly successful in encouraging graduate recruits, and the evidence suggests that over the last decade the percentage of graduate entrants may have been dropping. Nor has the scheme been especially helpful in accelerating graduate promotion, which has fallen short of the Home Office's aim of rapid promotion of seven years from graduate to chief inspector, although fast-track officers at each stage rose faster than normal entrants.

Even these figures may mislead with an absence of data at national level and degrees may be in softer options such as 'leisure' and 'tourism'. Indeed the evidence suggests that educational qualifications are not seen as important: only 7.1 % of respondent forces took officers' academic qualifications into account and no more than 9.5% had policies to use the expertise gained by officers on higher education schemes or to provide incentives for higher education.

The position is worse than it seems given that the low, or declining, levels of graduate entry to the police are occurring at a time when nationally the percentage of graduates in the age cohort is rapidly rising.

Wastage and recruitment targets

Wastage, the report suggests, is low overall at 5%. However, the figures suggest that retention may pose a problem with 10 % of officers leaving within the first year and 50 % within their first ten years. How far, however, the move to early leaving by the 41-55 age cohort should be seen as wastage, rather than a sensible option for those no longer suitable for the demands of the post, should be considered. Recently the trend has been towards officers in their 40s and early 50s leaving (53% in the 41-55 year cohort), though only 37 % leave under the age of 40 (2003 figures). Of those that leave, 50 % represent ordinary or medical retirements, and 25 % leave voluntarily.

In any case the current estimates of numbers required to retain police strength at 138,000 over the coming years, suggests that 9-10,000 recruits

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per annum will be needed. There may therefore be serious problems in recruiting and retaining police officers.

Training

The report suggests that the present model for training is problematic in terms of structure, content and emphasis. It is unsuitable for making good the poor standards expected for entry or for preparing trainees for effective and successful policing.

Structure

There is one training route for all including the most senior ranks. Although the intention is to introduce multiple entry routes, given that almost 80 %, the majority of the force, are constables the pressure will be for keeping one training route to accommodate the constables' training.

Training has been the victim of often conflicting interventions. Although local forces are autonomous, the Government and the Home Office lay down conditions and Centrex has had a strategic role. From this year, 2005, training is now being returned to individual forces, though it is not clear what role Centrex or the central bodies look set to play. At the same time criticisms have been made of the isolated nature of the system with too little comparison between forces. The focus for training is, on the whole, on constables and sergeants. The trend has been away from using police officers as trainers to non-police trainers (support, Home Office and contract staff) with trainers trained both in-house and through a Centrex course. A small percentage of the training is provided in force (11%) and by Centrex (4%) but most by private providers (84%).

Future plans to return probationer training to the individual forces began in April 2005 under a new programme, The Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) and a new curriculum (piloted since late 2004). Whether there are grounds for optimism remains to be seen, given the course looks set to follow unproven and dubious modular models.

Courses

The courses are wide-ranging, with 258 identified in the 2004-5 training programme, although the drop-out rate is high and not enough is done to

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ensure a strategic framework. Skills-based training and training in community and race relations were introduced in the late 1980s following the Scarman recommendations.

Probationers' training has involved a full-time course at training school (c. 12 weeks) complemented by training in the force on the streets, initially with the support of a tutor constable. Courses emphasise crime, personal development, traffic and patrol work with less emphasis on other activities such as public order, file preparation or drugs. However, the current changes aim to return responsibility for training to the local forces to be carried out in partnership with local colleges.

Costs

The total costs of training are not clear and the figures available may not be very reliable given the difficulty of collecting adequate data. The instruction in 1989 to calculate the cost of training on an annual basis did not lead to a consistent and reliable picture and the central collection of data has been discontinued. Figures for annual training vary between those of the Audit Commission £500m (1989 figure) and the Association of Police Authorities, and those estimated by HMIC of between £151.6m and £391.4m (1996 figures for each). Given the absence of record-keeping more generally on training throughout the individual forces, the figures are difficult to verify. The report indicates that the total cost of providing a day's training to each officer in a given year was between £11.2m and £27.7m (The Audit Commission and CIPFA estimate that, if the 8% of total police revenue budget continues to be spent on training, then the cost today will be £717.4m for the current year and £749.4m next year.)

Motivation

The report suggests that the system may not motivate officers – whatever their rank – to do well and succeed in the job the public wants, and expects, of them. A number of possible reasons are suggested by the findings such as the structure of divided control; the official, as distinct from general, view of what police should be doing; the terms and conditions of employment which, though generous, do not appear to be designed to reward the best policing; an ineffective system of promotion and sanction; and a system of pensions and remuneration, which though generous, is indiscriminate and offers little incentive for officers to do better or even to stay in policing.

*Policing Matters: Recruitment, Training and Motivation**Structure: responsibility and control*

The report shows that responsibility is divided between the central authority, the Home Office, which increasingly sets the strategic framework, and the individual forces under their chief constables and their authorities. Does such a division of responsibility with more and more central regulation and control make for the right incentives for good policing? The Government justifies these arrangements because they promote accountability; critics doubt whether they are right in principle, or effective in practice.

Pay, pensions and conditions of employment

The police are employed as office holders under the Crown (i.e. an official appointee, not an employee), as are members of the armed forces, and are therefore not covered by normal employment law. Their remuneration is more generous than that of soldiers or other public service professionals such as teachers or nurses. The starting annual salary is just under £20 K and can rise for the most senior officers, to £154K. By contrast the maximum a head teacher can earn is £94,098K (inner London), and nurses who start at £10K, can earn up to £54K. The armed forces earn less from the start, with annual pay scales ranging from £13K for the starting salary to £189,000 for the most senior officer.

The terms of employment are generally as good, if not better, than the average package offered in the current labour market, though paid leave for the police may be more generous with 22-30 working days annual holiday, leave for maternity and paternity, and sick pay with full pay for 6 months and thereafter half pay for six months in each annual period for absence due to sickness or injury. Wastage through sick leave is high with an average of 12 days lost per annum (1990-5 figures) by contrast with 8.4 days in industry and 10.4 days in the civil service.

Pensions are generous, in general more so than for comparable posts in the private sector, with entitlement to a pension of two-thirds of final salary after 30 years. The pension scheme is now under review.

Rewards and sanctions

The report suggests the system of rewards and sanctions is not effective. Although there is annual performance appraisal, the outcome seems to

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have little bearing on the officers' careers. For instance, probationers tend to have their appointment confirmed after a given period of time rather than on account of proven competence, and procedures for dismissal tend to be complex, protracted and ineffective.

Promotion from the lower ranks is the responsibility of the chief constable and that for senior officers is made by the police authority. Appointment to chief constable rank is the responsibility of the police authority, advised by the HMIC. There is an exam for promotion to ranks of sergeant and inspector (with an alternative assessment scheme now being piloted), but after that no further formal qualification is needed. There is a dearth of qualified candidates for promotion. Average lengths of service vary from 14.11 years for men (2001 figures) to 10.31 for women.

Measuring success

One of the underlying problems of policing remains the gap between what the public expects of the police and what is officially expected of them. For the Home Office and the police establishment a series of indicators are supposed to measure such things as 'fairness', 'confidence', 'equality', 'quality of life', as well as 'crime levels', 'offences brought to justice' and 'detection'. However, though fairness and equality are essential to good policing, they should characterise each officer's work and not be seen as a substitute for what the police ought to do and achieve. Public confidence in the police continues to decline and the proportion of the population who think the police 'do a good job' is falling. They want priority given to tackling burglary, mugging, hard drugs, violence, sexual crime and racial attacks. Nationally only 34 % of people are satisfied with the way crime is dealt with and 48 % are dissatisfied. Detection and conviction rates have declined and there are also large differences in the effectiveness of policing in different parts of the country.

Cost

The cost of policing per person in the country for the current year is expected to be c. £200-00 and the ratio of police to population is 374, a figure significantly lower than Sweden's 561 but more than Austria's 243.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ The budget for the overall cost of policing nationally in the UK for 2005-6 is £11.8billion. In March 2004 there were 140,563 full-time equivalent police officers in England and Wales.

X

The Commissioners' Reports

The commissioners (Anthony Burden, Tony Caplin, David Ramsbotham and Chris Woodhead) analyse the issues and the underlying problems, indicating the direction of reform. Kate Rutherford considers the way other bodies approach recruitment, training and motivation and her analysis implies considerable scope for change by the police.

(i) Common Concerns

The commissioners share a number of common concerns – though their solutions differ – about recruitment, training and motivation: Anthony Burden, Tony Caplin, David Ramsbotham and Chris Woodhead consider the problems and where the weaknesses and their underlying causes lie, from different perspectives. The weaknesses which they discuss suggest deficiencies in the system for recruitment and training and that the present arrangements for employment fail to provide the incentives needed for good policing.

Recruitment. The system of recruitment fails in a number of ways.

The basic standards at entry – academic or practical skills – seem to be too low (or have the wrong focus) and deter able applicants

The level of entry set by the key skills is too low. Even if it represents a pragmatic acceptance of the standards in the wider population, the low level of entry criteria may deter bright applicants or the most able potential officers. The police need to compete with other employers for good applicants, where entry levels are pitched higher (Caplin). The absence of formal educational standards may mean it is more difficult for police to do the job they are employed to do and make for lower detection rates (Ramsbotham).

The wrong qualities and skills are being sought

Recruitment, like training, has suffered because professionals and governments have lost sight of the role of the police. The aptitudes or key skills on which recruits are selected may be far less important than such

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qualities as basic decency, streetwise savyness, commonsense, practical intelligence, courage and integrity (Woodhead). The failure of the Government and others responsible to concentrate policing on crime related areas has a direct impact on recruitment policy (Burden).

There is no separate graduate entry scheme, or no successful schemes to encourage high achievers

While there is much to be said for senior ranks coming from within the service, there is not enough emphasis on recruiting graduates in sufficient numbers or on their progressing through in satisfactory way (Woodhead). The failure of the high development schemes is serious and in business, industry and the City, the absence of a successful senior leadership scheme would be seen as devastating (Caplin). There is a case for reconsidering the minimum standards of entry for those who will take on greater responsibility (Ramsbotham). The introduction of the High Potential Development scheme has led to the dismantling of the graduate entry scheme (along with the Accelerated Promotion Scheme) a retrograde step which should be reversed. Graduates who enter the service should have their career expectations met, and internal selection processes instituted which will reflect an understanding of the value of degree level education (Burden).

Training. The training system fails to prepare the police adequately for their job and is weak on a number of different counts.

The focus and priorities for training are misplaced

The emphases are diffuse and too many vague topics take up valuable time. More fundamentally, time is misspent training police to take on routine tasks which could be performed by others, e.g. traffic (Caplin). The training system may be overcrowded and trainees might benefit from greater specialisation, e.g. in traffic or community work (Ramsbotham). Part of the difficulty lies in the reluctance of those responsible to see that policing needs to focus on far fewer essential tasks. There will be no improvement in training until those responsible reconsider the role of policing and design the training to meet current demands. Instead of training officers in a generic set of skills, it may be time to recruit directly into a particular stream of policing and concentrate training on the chosen specialism (Burden).

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Insufficient attention is given to grounding in routine subjects

The routine courses taken by the police tend to lack the basic grounding in areas essential to their job, for example elements of the law, basic first aid etc (Woodhead).

The centralised system fails to encourage good training at local level

The remote and bureaucratic central system of training is unlikely to be as effective as that devised by local senior officers who know more precisely what is needed. National, politically driven initiatives lead to an obsession with process and mountains of gobbledegook (Woodhead).

The absence of an adequate IT framework hampers the quality of training

The inadequate IT framework weakens the training model and means that officers are not adequately equipped with IT and that standards and overall efficiency suffer. The absence of basic data makes it difficult to manage training (Caplin).

On the job training is not taken sufficiently seriously

Training on the job once essential subject knowledge has been mastered, is sensible and necessary. It allows trainee officers to work with experienced colleagues and learn how to tackle the problems encountered. However, police on the job training needs strengthening. There is a shortage of tutor constables and their training is inadequate (Woodhead).

The training needed to rise to senior ranks is a matter of chance. It may not be suited to the career path

Training for the transition from a policeman on the beat to senior officer is a lottery and senior police may be without training in management techniques and processes (Caplin). Existing training may not sufficiently motivate police officers or be sufficiently designed for the chosen career path (Ramsbotham).

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Motivation. The system fails to encourage and reward good policing.

The increasingly centralised nature of the system undermines local initiative and incentive

The central authorities, the Home Secretary (and Whitehall) decide too much and, as for other professions, there may be little understanding, centrally, of what works and what does not. The trend to a centralised framework for policing, complicated by the propensity for detailed bureaucratic centralism, makes it increasingly difficult for local forces to take proper responsibility for policing, as the daily business is driven by centrally determined priorities. These priorities are often remote from the public or the police themselves. The operational autonomy of the chief constable has been undermined by procedures dictated by politicians.

National targets, red tape and bureaucracy distract officers from what they should be doing to maintain law and order

The bureaucracy and the national targets and strategies leave the police with little freedom for the job of policing and deflect them from what they should – and want to – be doing (Woodhead).

The police are asked to do too much

The tendency to complicate the role of the police and lose touch with essentials is leading to failure. The wide range of tasks and complex brief now given to the police may distract officers from fulfilling their main responsibilities. An organisation which strays from its principal aims will tend to fail (Woodhead). The police are distracted from fighting crime, the primary task for which the force was formed, and are diverted by a range of other tasks, including social welfare tasks (Burden). Given that the Home Office has estimated that the police have c. 120 separate core functions, there is a conflict between the expectations the public have been led to have in terms of routine everyday work and the priorities the public want the police to have (Burden).

The measures of success do not reflect what the public wants

There is a great gap between the public's priorities and those of the professionals. The central targets are often remote from what public or police judge to be important (Woodhead). The performance indicators fail to take account of the three vital measures for the public – time to respond

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to requests, to reach the scene of a crime, to apprehend a suspect. Police and professionals have failed to reflect the public's concern with rising crime and lawlessness, or do enough about it (Caplin).

There are problems of leadership and management

The problems of leadership and management seem to have accumulated over the years, because there has not been enough vision and determination to 'grow' staff. Leadership is vital and the inadequate leadership may be partly due to the lack of a career structure where outstanding officers are identified and trained for leadership from the start of their career as in the army. There has been too little growth in the management structure needed especially with the increase in numbers over recent years and there is a dearth of information on which to base decisions to reform. While police constables, like head teachers, should have had experience of the job (policing or teaching), the system does not seem to allow for a sufficient number of able graduates to rise through the force to take such positions (Caplin, Woodhead, Ramsbotham).

Wastage is partly the result of the wrong structures. It reflects career burn-out rather than necessarily being a problem with the type of recruit and it may be sensible to recognise the position, as does the US where some forces encourage more flexible exit systems. But it may also be partly the result of the management and training offered to junior officers (Ramsbotham and Woodhead).

(ii) Shared Assumptions

Whereas there is much common ground amongst the Commissioners on the different weaknesses in the system, the analyses of the reasons and the causes behind them, have different emphases.

The general approach to recruitment, training and motivation might be considered against the model employed in industries

The contrast between the approach of the police and that of other bodies emerges from Kate Rutherford's analysis. For example, the models used in industry focus on what is needed for the job, with recruitment criteria setting out the specific qualities expected at each level. Employers are encouraged to articulate what is needed and to judge applicants against the criteria. Training also focuses on the skills needed as well as the

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results; and content is determined by the 'the front line business', though training might then be contracted to the most efficient trainers. The structure of employment focuses also on how well the job is done and how employees are rewarded, by a clear career path, good leadership and the management of performance, all linked to the company's goals (Rutherford).

Policing suffers from a single system

The present arrangements suffer from being a single system for policing across the local forces without a parallel national force for more complex crime. Direct recruitment into a specialist stream of policing with concentrated training would lead naturally to a parallel national force. Such an approach is heralded by the creation of the national policing body designed to fight organised crime and capable of direct recruiting (Burden and Ramsbotham).

The standards set for entry and their impact on the ability of the police to do their job are lacking in different practical and academic ways

The standards of entry for all recruits are too low in Caplin's view, whereas Ramsbotham suggests they might be reconsidered for those going on to become senior officers. Woodhead, who envisages a higher, graduate entry stream, considers the present skills sought for entry are not the best for identifying the best candidates.

Recruitment policy is insufficiently successful in attracting both abler and younger recruits

The police must attract recruits younger than the average age of 26, as well as abler ones, though a reformed structure for local policing might also benefit from recruiting ex-servicemen and women who would make ideal constables. Senior non-commissioned officers retiring at around 40 might be well equipped for the task (Caplin and Ramsbotham).

The present structure does not allow for the emergence of successful leadership

The system's failure to recruit high achievers and run a successful leadership programme may, Caplin suggests, be the result of the failure of management and an inability to reform from within. The present structure (a uniform system of local police forces) makes both professional

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development and the emergence of able leaders difficult to achieve and it should now be tackled with a radical change in structure, suggests Ramsbotham. Drawing on the experience of the army, he suggests the importance to leadership of junior officers being trained to take responsibility from very early on. Though Woodhead suggests that senior officers must first serve in a junior capacity (just as for head teachers to have taught in the classroom), the problem is one of not recruiting, or rapidly promoting, enough able candidates.

There is a problem of conflicting authority between individual forces and central government and greater autonomy for local forces is needed. The problem is not one of the size of the force, but of how it is managed and where accountability and authority lie

Many of the present problems are the result of attempts by the central bureaucracy to micro-manage –as well as macro-manage – each of the local forces and the problems arise from the chaotic system of accountability and management, where central government control is increasing (Woodhead and Caplin). What matters is not whether a force is a small one based on a single county or a larger one based on two counties or conurbations, but whether the management problems can be resolved with modern communications.

XI

Recommendations

The Problem: Low Level Recruits, Poor Leadership, the Wrong Structure

The lessons from this study are grim. Policing suffers from low quality recruits, poor leadership and a structure of divided authority. Both training and employment lack direction, and even a sense of fundamental purpose with confusion about what the police are employed to do and how well they do it. As a result the system is failing. It is wasteful and expensive, and each day it is brought closer to collapse by the incessant intervention of successive Home Secretaries and their officials in the Home Office. It is hardly surprising that the country has lost confidence in the police.

Recruitment is important because success depends on the calibre of those employed. Leadership is needed too, and that requires talented able people at all levels. And the structure of the organisation is also material to its success: whether it exercises responsibility and has a clear chain of authority; whether its employees know what they are to do, have the incentive to do it, and will be rewarded for doing it.

In all three areas the police have a problem. Take the standard at entry. In today's competitive labour market, companies and the public sector compete aggressively for the ablest candidates at every level. At the basic level they want a good academic standard and the personal qualities needed to succeed in the job. But they go further because they must also have good leaders. So they seek also the best graduates to provide the leadership their organisations will need at every level. And, not content with their initial recruitment drives, they seek to bring in new blood to fill roles at every level. The police show no signs of responding to the challenges over recruitment and leadership by adopting such measures. And, as the backdrop to these problems, there is the dominant difficulty of structure: the balance being tilted away from the forces to the Home Office, leading to divided authority between the local forces and central government.

Yet the police can hardly be blamed for a system increasingly devised, run, organised and micromanaged by the Home Office and its Home Secretary, for whom each blueprint for change, each target or directive, is

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part of the struggle for political sound-bite and departmental hegemony, and the funds and parliamentary time that go with them. The Home Office issues the blueprints, but what is needed is not another blueprint, but scope and freedom for radical reform to tackle poor entry levels and encourage good quality recruits, as well as high ability entrants for leadership; to bring in new blood, from business and professional life, with senior people to take over from existing officers. Radical structural change is now a matter of urgency. Local forces should be set free to police and concentrate on what matters, specialising or devolving some activities to others. Instead of having to treat their job as a complex, and sometimes irrelevant cocktail of activities wished upon them, they should be free to succeed, and the Home Office must make its mind up to stand aside. *It is part of the problem.* For the future the structure must allow for greater specialisation by local forces and a new national body, with each complementing and co-operating with the other.

There is also a further problem: the system of training for police officers. At present, training is unfocused, and not organised so as to produce the best results. It is in urgent need of re-organisation.

Where to Begin? The New York Example

Where should reform begin? The answer to emerge from this study is clear: with the quality of the police officers themselves. The study suggests that one of the fundamental problems with policing in this country lies in the weakness of the selection procedure, the calibre of officers selected and the failure at each stage to select the best people, to train them and to provide the right framework of employment for success. The failure owes much to the misguided policies of successive governments, the impoverished view of their professional advisers for whom mediocrity is institutionalised, the loss of direction by the police forces themselves and a general loss of nerve. Though serious, the problem is surmountable: solving it will make for better policing in the UK.

The link between good policing and the quality of officers is one of the most striking factors in New York City's successful fight against crime. The determination of the authorities to end the rule of crime and lawlessness has had remarkable success, and the city has been transformed from being a byword for mugging, assault, violence, theft, burglary and crime, to one where people can pursue their daily lives in safety. Today New York is a safer place than parts of the UK. While single-

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mindful resolution by the authorities has played a major part, much has also depended on the quality of the police officers and how good they are at doing their job. As every organisation knows, the ability and dedication of each employee leads to the success of the whole enterprise. The lesson has not been lost on New York's Police Department.

The New York Police Department sets high standards for admission and applicants must be better qualified academically than in the UK and have gained 60 college credits from an accredited college or university after their high school diploma (exceptions are made for those with an army background). As 120 credits would lead to a Bachelor's degree, 60 represents a stage below it, after one to two years of university or other higher education. In the UK, by contrast, there is no formal obligation to have reached a set standard or gained *any* academic qualification. All that is needed is to take two basic tests in literacy and numeracy.¹⁹⁴

Candidates for the NY police must pass a written examination before going on the list for the selection process and also have a range of qualities of character, physique, fitness and specific aptitudes needed for the job.¹⁹⁵ The exam tests ability and acuteness and the skills which a police officer will need: good memory for recall, spatial awareness, an ability to concentrate on detail and to memorise it in order to recreate an informed picture of e.g., potential scenes of crime.¹⁹⁶ Once candidates pass the examination, they must then pass a character pre-screening and investigation, written and oral psychological tests, drug/alcohol screening, a medical examination, a job standard (ie. physical) test and an interview. (By contrast the requirements here are more half-hearted, the fitness test explained as being 'no more than the minimum standard to enable you to work' at the job.)

Candidates must also be 21 (not 18 as here), live in New York City or the surrounding counties and be a US citizen, hold a driver's licence (not essential here), take drug and alcohol tests and pay for finger-printing. Both countries rule out those with a criminal record. For instance in the US those prohibited include criminals whose crimes get a year's imprisonment, those with repeated convictions who lack a good moral

¹⁹⁴ For entry requirements see appendix 1 – www.politeia.co.uk/policereport

¹⁹⁵ The exam is administered by the Department of Citywide Administrative Services (DCAS) which compiles the list of those who pass the exam.

¹⁹⁶ For a sample of the US and UK written tests see appendix 2 – www.politeia.co.uk/policereport

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character and those discharged from employment for poor behaviour or from the armed forces, dishonourably. In the UK those whose crimes have been punished with a prison sentence, or have committed crimes as murder, rape, kidnapping, firearms, would be ruled out.

Recruiting the best is not the whole New York story. The career structure and the opportunities to advance are all emphasised. So too is the sense of pride in the job - 'making history by making New York the safest city in America'. Nor is there any doubt about what the job entails. Uniform patrol is the backbone of the NYPD and New York has led the nation with 'the most dramatic crime reductions in our time'. Officers have a variety of tasks, with training in community affairs, crime prevention, investigation, narcotics enforcement, forensic science, law and youth relations. While pay and other benefits are good¹⁹⁷, though not very different to here, the striking feature is the incentive. Opportunities to advance are stressed, to specialise in different areas of crime, to acquire law and other degrees and to rise from police officer to police executive: 'you can go as far as your energy and determination will take you' and 'there are no glass ceilings or dead ends'.

The initial training salary of \$25,100 is increased after six months' training in the police academy to \$32,700 and rises annually by \$3-4,000 until year five, when a large rise brings it to just under \$60,000. Overtime, night shift, holiday pay, a uniform allowance and longevity pay every five years up to twenty years of service are all available. At retirement after twenty years, an officer could receive approximately \$1.75 million (assuming a life expectancy of 80) for 20 years service retiring at 42. The recruits also hear that management is being modernised, technology improved and training updated.

The lessons from New York could not be clearer. Good academic standards and a range of other important non-academic qualities at entry attract and encourage the able recruits who are needed for to-day's policing. Well qualified and talented young people help the overall success of the police and can be trained for senior leadership or specialist roles. Such success is reinforced by the right structure for employment, one which rewards good performance and offers a clear career structure. Recruitment and performance complement each other.

¹⁹⁷ 20 paid days holiday the first year rising to 27 paid days after five years, unlimited sick leave with full pay, paid medical programmes, and an optional retirement at one half salary after 20 years of service.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Recommendations

What then are the problems identified by this report? How can they be tackled?

Bad Recruits: *Poor entrance standards must be raised.*

Bad Leadership: *A fast stream entry for able candidates who will provide vital leadership and management should be introduced.* There should be a distinct graduate entry route. It will help raise standards throughout the force, and provide the officers for senior leadership and management posts. To accelerate the process, new appointments could be made at senior level bringing in people from the professions and the world of business.

A Bad Structure: Structural reform is essential so that good officers are encouraged to succeed and are rewarded for doing so. *Radical change is needed in the balance of accountability and control between central government and the individual forces.* Each force must have responsibility for preventing and tackling crime and promoting successful policing through good employment models. Care should be taken so that the future structure of policing encourages co-operation between individual forces and a new national body specializing in national and international crime.

Poor Training: Training needs to be reformed so as to increase focus and make full use of the new technologies now available.

What, in more detail, should be done?

How to raise poor entrance standards

What the police need is a good standard of education to a given level along with certain personal qualities of a non-academic type. At present, the standards to join are not high enough: the admissions criteria – a low standard of education and a number of vague skills and aptitudes – are neither academic nor related to important non-academic qualities of character. They do not attract the most able applicants or ensure that the best equipped for the job are selected.

The consequences are grave. Without adequate standards at entry, effective policing may suffer: poor standards of general education and of

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literacy and numeracy may make routine tasks (e.g. writing reports or making rudimentary calculations) more time-consuming and the overall job more taxing and difficult than would be the case for an abler person. At the same time the police are at a disadvantage too with the public: they may appear incompetent or little better than the criminals from whom they are supposed to protect the public, and are unlikely to inspire confidence. Poor general education affects a number of other aptitudes – good judgment, practical wisdom, an ability to think quickly and sensibly, good sense in dealing with people, impartiality and a capacity to avoid sentiment or obsequiousness.

The low expectations at entry also discourage able candidates from applying and make for a cycle of adverse selection where weaker candidates are more likely to apply than the abler ones attracted to posts with more demanding standards for entry. The upshot is a police force where entry standards, both academic and general, are such that the police have difficulty even with routine policing responsibility, fail to inspire confidence in those they serve and are unlikely to attract good recruits now or in the future. The general standard expected does not even reflect the national position where already 90% of the younger age group (15-16 year olds) take GCSE (2003-4 figures) of whom c.90% gain five or more GCSEs and 53% grades A to C. For A Levels the trend is also towards a higher percentage of the age group taking A Levels.¹⁹⁸

Successful policing (e.g. in New York) is based on good educational standards and a range of essential personal qualities and aptitudes at entry. Admission policy needs to change so that a good standard of general education is a prerequisite for entry together with the aptitudes needed for the job: character and integrity, courage, common sense, practical intelligence, judgment and physique.

198 See *GCSE and Equivalent Results and Associated Value Added Measures for Young People in England 2003/4*, <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s000585/index.shtml>.

The most recent figures (2003/4) for A level participation suggest that c.45 % of the age group stay on for A levels though the DfES can not confirm the exact percentage of the age group taking the examination. The DfES suggests that c.40% of 17 year olds achieve one A level and other figures suggest that around 30 % of the age group achieve 2 or more A levels (2003-4 figures).

See *GCE/VCE A/AS Examination Results for Young People in England 2003/2004* <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s000586/tab002.xls> and *Participation in Education, Training and Employment by 16-18 Year Olds in England: 2003 and 2004*, June 2005 <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s000587/tab004a.xls>. I am grateful to the DfES statistics team for supplying or confirming this information, October 2005 and to The Office for National Statistics (ONS) for answering additional questions.

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How to improve leadership and management

Many employers attract well qualified and talented young recruits by a special graduate or fast track entry. The police have no such route. As a result the police miss out to companies who do recruit the highly qualified applicants needed to lead, manage and bring success. The dearth of able people for senior jobs is compounded throughout the workforce as expectations, aspirations and standards tend to be pitched at a more mediocre level. Even the schemes to advance graduates who join through the ordinary route have proved unsuccessful.

While it may be that all entrants including those with high ability should begin by mastering the job before rising rapidly (as happens in New York, or as with other professions such as teaching or medicine), the first stage must be to recruit, specifically, high ability entrants. The army and the civil service and many companies in the city or business tend to have a separate high-ability entrance for the ablest recruits. In the army, for instance, officers are recruited directly from university or school or after a period in a civilian career, either graduates (80 – 85 per cent of trainee officers are university graduates of whom 10 percent are women) or a smaller proportion of school leavers (with at least A/AS levels).

More 'new blood' candidates should be recruited. External appointments from the world of business and the professions should be made to senior posts, and existing officers should stand aside. Present arrangements do not actively encourage new blood appointments throughout the force beyond the initial recruitment stage. The police, like other organisations, need to attract new blood at all levels, especially at the senior level; otherwise, the problems endemic in the force will be perpetuated through promotion and selection of internal candidates. To counteract present trends in recruitment, individual forces should invite outside help to appoint able people to serve at senior management level from the professions and the world of business and see that they are rapidly integrated into the force.

Three ways in which the structure of the police should be changed

Accountability and control must be returned to local forces

Local forces should be given full responsibility for employing their police. The Home Office and its agencies should cease their interventions in the activities of the police by directive or target. In this way, the leadership, essential to successful policing, would be encouraged to develop.

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The present arrangements for running the police by centralised bureaucracy, directive and 'strategic overview' undermine leadership, deter potentially good leaders and are remote from the true needs of policing. Central control has led to misconception and exaggeration about policing and left the police victim to serial directive and prescription by officials.

No organisation can succeed without good leadership and management. Increased government control has undermined local leadership and a sense by officers that they can make a difference. In other successful organisations today one of the distinctive features is the quality of leadership. Good leadership increases potential, motivation, morale and overall success. The first step is to remove the interference of Whitehall and to allow local forces to introduce a proper career structure.

The system of promotion should be more transparent with a clear chain of command and management.

The police should understand what exactly is expected of them in their role and the positions to which they can rise and what is needed to advance. The steps needed for promotion must be clearly identified, and officers should be encouraged by superiors to aim for promotion. A system which defines more clearly career opportunities and where leadership encourages officers to do their best will help reduce unnecessary wastage. But more needs to be done: salary levels which reflect and reward success; the pension system and the award of a defined benefit pension might be reviewed to allow for earlier retirement with some benefit for those ready to leave.

Greater specialism within individual forces should be complemented by a national force with responsibility for national and international crime. Local forces would co-operate with the national force

Local forces should encourage officers, once familiar with general policing, to specialise. They should support and co-operate with a new national crime force, ensuring that the work – and personnel – of the respective forces complement each other. Local policing is not only vital for the future, but must be strengthened by becoming more truly local so that chief constables are free to police and provide effective policing. A renewed emphasis on essential policing will allow for some specialised tasks to be devolved. For example some activities such as traffic policing,

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administration, could be contracted out or devolved to those trained to concentrate on traffic.

At the same time a national force responsible for national crime should be established to work in co-operation with local forces. Individual forces might select from existing officers or recruit afresh a potential cadre of specialists to work at national level on national crime. The forces should cooperate to establish (with external support) the nucleus of a national organisation with which their nominees would work on a range of specific tasks, both nationally and locally.

How training should be improved

Training should be reformed as a matter of urgency. The content of courses is insufficiently focused. The practical, on the job training, is inadequate as is the training of the tutor constables who provide it. The existing model should be replaced by a training programme where content is focussed, practical training 'on the job' improved and where probationers, to be appointed, must reach an agreed standard, and prove they have done so. The first stage should be to devise the initial training programme, its content, duration and the level to be reached so as to complete it successfully. A body which includes senior UK police officers and external specialists in each area of the curriculum or training programme, as well as representatives from the business and academic world and other professional bodies (e.g. the army), should make recommendations for a minimum training programme and curriculum on which individual forces can build. Advice should be sought from successful overseas forces (including those involved in the New York police training).

In particular:

Training should have a clear goal at each stage

There should be clarity about the aims and specific goal of training. All involved should know what the course ought to cover, to what level and in what depth and what trainees must master and know to succeed. With a clear level for entry, training courses can be designed to address the gaps or weaknesses and build on the levels of entry. At the moment the lack of a clear standard at entry or completion, implies that courses must be all things to all trainees, who are then, almost automatically, admitted to

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employment without necessarily meeting a definite standard.

The use of IT in training recruits and officers should be a priority.

Once the principles and practice of policing have been mastered, trainees and police officers should be encouraged to use technology, which will save time and improve quality. For instance, instead of the manual preparation of a file, the recruit could be taught the principles and how to use the right IT. E-learning, which can use training software, should be developed for existing officers: and examples from other employers suggest it works especially well when complemented by other teaching, e.g. conferences and tutorials.

On-the-job training should be strengthened

Training on the job suffers from a dearth of tutor constables, and those who do train are poorly prepared and themselves victim to the existing police culture. Tutor constables need to be trained and properly prepared and encouraged actively to do the job of training.

A rigorous assessment system should be introduced together with a clear indication of the standard needed to qualify

At the moment a candidate could automatically become police officer after training without having reached the standard needed. A formal assessment or examination which potential officers must pass before being appointed should be introduced, monitored by an external examiner or assessor.

In addition, there is a need for structural changes in how training is organized.

Each local force should train officers with the Government and Home Office standing aside

The local force should be able to recruit, train and employ candidates, and take clear responsibility for doing so. This means that authority must rest with the force while the shadow of Whitehall, the Home Office, or the various agencies, removed. Freed from misguided officialdom, the forces should tackle training, devising and set the level at which admission

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should be pitched and the precise aims, goals and direction of training.

Once the content and level of the training has been decided, individual forces should be free to build on the specification and commission the best advice and most able and efficient trainers.

Individual forces should be free to build on the recommended minimum as they judge best. They should also be free to find the most effective and efficient providers, externally, internally or from a central provider.

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www.centrex.police.uk

List of Abbreviations

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
APA	Association of Public Analysts
APEL	Accreditation of Prior Experiential Learning
APSG	Accelerated Promotion Scheme for Graduates
BCS	British Crime Survey
BCU	Basic Command Unit
CENTREX	Central Police Training and Development Authority
CIPFA	Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy
CSO	Community Safety Officer
HMCIC	Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
HPD	High Potential Development
HPDS	High Potential Development Scheme
IPLDP	Initial Police Learning and Development Programme
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
NOS	National Occupational Standards
OSPRE	Objective Structured Performance Related Examination
PPAF	Policing Performance Assessment Framework
PSSO	Police Skills and Standards Organisation

Appendices

The appendices are posted on Politeia's website: www.politeia.co.uk

Appendix 1 – Recruitment Criteria UK and NYPD (US)

- (a) Police Service Recruitment (UK)
- (b) New York Police Department (US) Recruitment Criteria

Appendix 2 – A Sample of Verbal Reasoning and Numeracy Tests for the UK and New York (US)

- (a) UK Recruitment Tests
- (b) New York Police Department – Police Officer Candidate Test (US)

Appendix 3 – Training and Career Development

Appendix 4 – Police Performance Indicators

Appendix 5 - Police grant allocations by English and Welsh Police Authority