

Antilocution & Trust in the workplace: Perceptions of Higher Education trained police recruits in England and Wales

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Abstract

This study seeks to examine the relationship between antilocution and trust in the workplace by reflecting on the perceptions of police officers who are undertaking the new Higher Education pathway into the policing profession in England and Wales. This relationship is considered through Allport's (1979) concept of antilocution and the lens of trust in the workplace, to understand how new police students think they are regarded by their policing colleagues and its impact on practice. Utilising a survey of police students from five different forces in England and Wales, indicative results suggest that, whilst broadly supportive of new police officers, there may be some division regarding their education and training pathway through higher education, engendering levels of prejudice and bias towards the new recruits. Police student responses indicate that many of them feel that more is expected of them and that they are under closer supervision because they have undertaken the Higher Education route. Arguably, this prejudice and bias has an adverse effect on trust within the workplace, a concept which is front and centre of policing which ultimately can have a negative impact on public safety and security. The results of this study indicate that the interaction between new recruits (out-group) and established colleagues (in-group) is complex and not straightforward, and suggested implications for police practice are presented.

Key words

Police Practice; Police Education; Police Culture; Police Organisation; Trust; Public Safety.

Introduction

Recent changes to police officer education and training have received significant academic attention of late (Rogers & Wintle, 2021, Rogers & Frevel, 2018, Green & Gates, 2014). In

many instances these changes are including a partnership between Higher Education providers and Police Training, a result of this has meant the creation of a different type of police officer in the contemporary landscape of policing compared to the type of police officer of previous generations. England and Wales have not been immune to these changes in police education and training with the College of Policing, UK driving the professionalisation of the police service, utilising higher education establishments in providing qualifications that underpin police education. This is radical in that the traditional method of educating police officers in England and Wales has been delivered through dedicated police training centres, or latterly by individual police forces, sometimes in collaboration with other educational providers, namely universities (Rogers, 2010).

Consequently, there is a new generation of police officers being introduced into the police organisation, with different qualifications and possibly different perceptions concerning police work. This new group is also being introduced into a police occupational sub culture that tends to value tradition and conservatism (Bowling *et al.*, 2019). The question arises, therefore, as to how this new group of police officers interact with the traditionally educated, and currently larger, group of officers who have been primarily police academy trained. Utilising Allport's ideas concerning prejudice particularly that of anti-location between in groups and out groups, this research has explored the reception of new student police officers in five forces in England and Wales which has revealed a level of suspicion and differential treatment towards these new recruits. This adverse working rapport arguably has an adverse effect on all police officers and their working relationships, creating a level of distrust amongst colleagues which can negatively impact on the delivery of police practice.

Police Education in England and Wales

Police education in England and Wales has, and is still, undergoing significant changes. Historically, current changes can be linked to previous documents such as the Her Majesties inspector of Constabulary (HMIC) report entitled training matters (HMIC 2002) which suggested that there was scope for partnerships with further education sector to exploit the existing preparation for public services programmes to provide another source of training and education for potential recruits. Reasons for the changes in police education are, of course varied, but the increasingly diverse nature of society that has also impacted upon policing. Increased cybercrime and terrorism, coupled with environmental, political, economic, and

other global problems mean that police officers today need skills and knowledge that previous generations of police officers may find hard to understand. In part this has also been driven by organisational changes that the police service have undergone, including a workforce modernisation programme sponsored by the Home Office (Mawby et al 2009). In addition, the rise in technology such as the use of mobile phones, has increased police workload significantly, and appears to be continuously increasing (College of Policing 2020). Whilst some police forces still offer the 'traditional' entry route for appointments, more and more the police service is becoming a 'degree entry' occupation within the concept of a professionalisation process driven by the College of Policing (Tong and Hallenberg, 2018). Basically, there are three entry points for new recruits, namely:

- The pre-join degree is a professional academic knowledge-based degree, based on the national police curriculum. Applicants need to complete this qualification before applying to join the police.
- The degree holder entry programme route: Here if the applicant has a traditional degree, they can join the force and follow a work-based programme supported by off the job learning. This route normally takes two years for completion and is a recognised academic qualification.
- The traditional entry –the initial police learning and development programme (IPLDP): This is the original route into the service which is gradually being replaced with the three new entry routes but is still offered by some forces.

Professional policing in one sense means that it includes being a reflective and knowledge based occupation, a matter of expertise rather than common sense, intuition or innate talent (Sklansky 2014). One way this can be achieved is believed to be through greater reliance and interaction with the work of academics who study policing and crime control (Neyroud 2011). In support, there appears to be a large body of evidence to suggest that police education rather than training, has a positive impact upon policing practice, yet there remains a significant number of police officers who appear to be ambivalent about the nature and value of education as opposed to police academy style training (Trofymowych 2007). Indeed, it would appear that for many in police organisations there is seldom any need for or interest in deeper understanding with the university approach, where police education and 'real police work' are at odds (Olsson 2013).

In countries where higher education has a longer history than in England and Wales, the debate in research in this area is far from conclusive. Holgersson (2008) suggests that policing involves problem solving that emanates from experiences gathered with colleagues, thus invoking a high degree of collective memories when it comes to making good use of skills and knowledge. Kyvik (2004) suggests that the debate about police education is purely between those who wish for a stronger connection between occupational education and the ordinary educational systems and those who prefer to preserve occupational training in separate institutions such as police academies. Some claim this will lead to a professionalisation of the police and possibly remove the negative aspects of the police culture. However, thus far, there is little evidence to suggest the new forms of police officer education has challenged such negative aspects of police culture (MacVean and Cox, 2012).

Historically, officers who attended university through various police schemes in vogue during the 1970s and 1980s in England Wales, for example, encountered puzzlement at best and open derision at worst. (Lee and Punch 2004; Punch 2007). Young (1991) describes officers' experiences of being deliberately cut off, socially and professionally and when returning to work following university attendance, being given fewer demanding jobs than they had held prior to their time at university. Young describes this not just as reintegration to working in the real world, but also as a re-establishing of control. This attitude seemed to be prevalent as Holdaway (1983), upon returning to work as a sergeant to his police force following a period of study at university, was told to get on with policing on the ground and to get back into policing again, which he took to mean re-joining the 'common sense' culture of policing.

This coupled with public recent comments a Police and Crime Commissioner and a Chief Constable in England and Wales concerning policing as a graduate entry occupation tend to support the idea that graduate entries and higher education for police officers may still be seen in a negative light. In this instance both the Police and Crime Commissioner and the Chief Constable stated that graduate policing does not produce the 'right' person for policing, believing the schemes could exclude older recruits, especially those from the military, and that police officers prefer a military colleague to those who have a degree in what one calls 'Expressive Dance'. It is also suggested that university graduates are not prepared to work

nights on weekends and have no life experiences, adding that training was no extension of Sixth Form College¹.

Such claims have serious ramifications for the policing profession, which are based upon nothing more than anecdotal evidence. However, the basis for these claims can be understood when one considers the origins of police education. Police education across Europe largely grew out of simple everyday learning, a craft rather than a profession (Rogers, 2010) but police training has increasingly needed far more theoretical knowledge as the occupation has become more diverse and complex (Marenin, 2004). Therefore, it appears that a potential exists for a frisson to occur between the new group of police officers educated through the higher education system, (the out group) and those who are in the police organisation educated through the traditional police academy route (the in group). An **in-group** is a social group to which a person psychologically identifies as being a member. By contrast, an **out-group** is a social group with which an individual does not identify (Tajfel 1970). In terms of policing, Fielding's research (1994: 47) outlines the stereotypical values of masculinity, which includes the operation of rigid in-group/out-group distinctions. One way of testing for any issues between the new out group (Higher Education recruits) and the in group (mainly traditionally educated police) is to utilise Allport's (1979) ideas concerning the concept of antilocution.

Antilocution in context

Allport, in his seminal work on prejudice, describes antilocution as a form of verbal rejection of individuals (Allport 1979). Detractors of the new higher education programme for the police have used words such as 'Expressive Dance' to attempt to illustrate that the degree entrants hold a qualification that does not fit into their idea of what policing is all about. The use of this expression of course may also hold connotations beyond that, including perhaps the holders of such a degree would be effeminate, not physically and mentally strong and also perhaps useless when it comes to helping out in situations that require the police to use force. The use of this language further cements the in group, as it helps them to name and disparage a perceived out group, as the speakers of such reflect the attitudes of their group or culture. They show a certain solidarity, and a mild animosity often underlies antilocution of the joking or derisive kind.

¹ These comments can be seen in full at: ['Scrap all-graduate police recruits plan,' urges police commissioner \(msn.com\)](http://www.msn.com)

Some of it is so gentle that it merges into friendly humour. The more intense hostility is reflected in the anti-locution of name calling. When antilocution reaches a high degree of intensity the chances are considerable that it will be positively related to open and active discrimination. Discrimination is apparent only when we deny individuals or groups treatment that is considered equal. It occurs when steps are taken to exclude members of an out group from an occupation. Restrictive practices against out groups are all devices of discrimination, and includes an inequality for sharing the benefits of culture. Occupational discrimination is also a subtle matter. However, as common as discrimination is, in its many forms, it is not as common as anti-locution.

The essential role of rumour.

The gradual building up of animosity preceding an outbreak of resistance to out-groups is assisted by stories of the misdeeds of this out group. One of the best barometers of tension is the collection and analysis of rumours in the community, nowadays including online communities. After preliminary rumours have done their work, new rumours may serve as a call to resistance parties. They act like a bugle to assemble the forces. The rumour becomes a spark that ignites the powder. Inflammatory stories that are shared become sharpened and distorted at each telling, and therefore becomes reconstructed. Regardless of the event details, others believe the rumours and spread it further.

Prejudice refers to primarily a prejudgement or a pre-concept reached before the relevant information has been collected or examined and therefore based on inadequate or even imaginary evidence. It can be defined as an unsubstantiated prejudgement of an individual or group, favourable or unfavourable in character (Klineberg 1968). Prejudice operates mainly through the use of stereotypical thinking, which means thinking in terms of fixed and inflexible categories. Stereotyping is often closely linked to the psychological mechanism of displacement in which feelings of hostility or anger are directed against objects that are not the real origin of those feelings (Giddens 1997). People vent their antagonism against scapegoats, people blamed for things that are not their fault. Scapegoating is common when two groups come into competition with one another for economic or other rewards. Scapegoating is normally directed against groups that are distinctive and relatively powerless, because they make easy targets.

Ethnocentrism is a suspicion of outsiders combined with a tendency to evaluate the culture of others in terms of one's own culture. Outsiders are thought of as normally morally or mentally inferior whilst group closure refers to the process whereby groups maintain boundaries separating themselves from others. These boundaries are formed by means of exclusion devices which sharpen the division between one group and another. As Vitale (2018) says when officers start working in the field, the first thing their peers tell them is to forget everything they learned in the police academy and their education. The view that resistance to the new police education programme is somehow noble and beautiful and designed to uphold traditional 'democratic' policing model beloved by all, is, of course, a false one.

Schein (2010) points to a survival anxiety displayed by a work culture which can occur when it is based upon such feelings as fear of loss of group membership. Here the shared assumptions that make up a culture identify who is in and who is out of the group. If by developing new ways of thinking or new behaviour, we may become a deviant in our group.

This fear and the resentment it may generate, is difficult to overcome because it requires the whole group to change its way of thinking and its norms of inclusion and exclusion. This is a rational response to many situations that require people to change, but responses include:

1. Denial, where people convince themselves that the changes are not valid, temporary and don't really matter.
2. Scapegoating, convincing themselves that the cause of the change does not apply to us, and the problem lies elsewhere.

According to Cuddy et al., (2007) evaluations of a certain group or member of a group, typically dictates the kind of behaviour that person elicits towards that group, or member of that group. These evaluations can often be drawn from gut reactions, or can be purely emotionally driven, whether they be positive or negative, or a mixture of both (Glick and Fiske, 1996). If there is a mixture of both positive and negative emotions towards a group or person, that person will often have an ambivalent response. Researchers have previously assumed a close relationship between prejudiced intergroup attitudes, hostile, and discriminatory behaviour within groups. However, the types of emotional responses towards certain groups or individuals of a group, often originate from various sources (Kite and Whitley, 2016). For example, when people perceive other groups (out-groups) to their own (in-groups) as a threat, they may experience anxiety, fear, or hostility. Some groups of individuals can be viewed as a threat simply because of their goals are different (Esses et al., 2010). Other people often exhibit

opinions of disgust, when referring to certain groups of individuals, such as drug or alcohol addicts, homelessness, and people who are obese (Vartanian, 2010). People can also be intolerant of social groups, specifically those who are considered as, or consider themselves as, right-wing. Right-wing authoritarians often exhibit prejudiced behaviour towards a number of different social groups, especially those who are unfavoured by authority figures, or often go against traditional values (Altemeyer, 1996). The difference with these types of individuals is that their negative emotional behaviours towards such people are often a result of their personality traits rather than aspects of that situation. Even individuals who do not consider themselves to have any negative emotions that are considered to be prejudice, can adopt negative attitudes towards social groups without knowing themselves. Such negative attitudes often manifest themselves as feelings of discomfort, anxiety, and uneasiness, rather than hate or hostility, but still can affect a person's feelings (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Individuals who feel this way tend to hold democratic values and show feelings of guilt or shame when they are made aware of their prejudices. It is more often than not, that these individuals have learned their prejudices from non-democratic cultures they would have been situated in whilst growing up (Kite and Whitley, 2016). Further to this, the way a person reacts could be dependent on the context in which they encounter members of a certain group (Deaux & Major, 1987; Fiske et al., 1999).

Antilocution, can therefore result in distrust emerging between those who are involved, the 'in-group' and 'out-group' and as recognised by Birch (2016), trust in the police workplace is considered critical in the delivery of policing. While further research into police organisations have found that internal problems supersede external pressures of police work in the field (Jaramillo et al, 2005; Noblet et al, 2009). This study therefore seeks to examine the relationship between antilocution and trust in the workplace by reflecting on the perceptions of police officers who are undertaking the new Higher Education pathway into the policing profession in England and Wales.

Research methodology

Access to student police officers was obtained through the delivery of the new higher education programme to five forces across England and Wales with the consent of the forces themselves. Ethical approval for the survey and scrutiny of accompanying documents such as informed consent was approved by a Universities ethics procedure. Consequently all students within the

five forces were contacted via a university student email address provided to the researchers which contained information regarding the research, full details concerning informed consent and confidentiality and a link to the survey itself. It was made clear to students that taking part in this survey was voluntary and confidential.

The survey was run through the late winter/early spring of 2021 for a period of six weeks. This length of time was allowed due to the fact that the students also were working shifts full time as police officers and to give them ample time to consider the questions and details of the questionnaire. 78 individuals responded to the survey request which was approximately 15% of those engaged in the education programmes across the five forces. This was a disappointing return rate, but understandable due to the fact that Covid-19 restrictions were still in place and the police were heavily engaged in enforcing those at the time, as well as these individuals were working shifts as full time police officers. Despite that, this data can be considered to provide indicative perceptions from the student police officers concerned and was analysed using SPSS (Statistics Package for the Social Sciences).

Results

In terms of gender of respondents to a question regarding their gender, 60% (n=48) described themselves as male whilst 40% (n=39) described themselves as female. In terms of ethnicity 99% described themselves as mainly being British and white.

When seeking perceptions of how one is treated within a new working cultural environment, length of service is quite important. The length of employment of respondents in this research can be seen below in Table 1.

Table 1. Length of employment of respondents

Length of employment	Responses, n
Less than 1 year	48 (61.5%)
1 to 2 years	30 (38.5%)
3 to 4 years	0
5 years and over	0

Total	78 (100%)
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The majority of people taking part in this survey, some 61.5% (n=48) indicated that they had less than 1 years' service, whilst the remaining 38.5% (n=30) indicated they had between 1- and 2-years' service. This is of course unsurprising as the education programme is for newly appointed constables. However, length of service is important in the context of in- and out-groups. Being newly appointed through a system that the police occupational sub culture may not like or even resents, can be daunting for individuals who have not yet been accepted and told that they know very little about policing. In addition, being young in service may mean that they have not been exposed to 'tacit' knowledge or 'the way we do things around here' that has been found to be a feature of police work (Taylor et al. 2017).

To test for antilocution, respondents were provided with a number of statements. These statements were designed to allow the respondent to provide their perceptions, but also to see whether or not words and activities that would accord with the concept of anti-locution were to be found. The first statement can be seen in table 2 below. Here respondents were presented with the statement that colleagues who have not undertaken the degree programme were supportive of their education. The responses can be seen in the table below.

Table 2. Colleagues who have not undertaken the degree programme are supportive of my education.

	Responses, n
Strongly Agree	6 (7.7%)
Agree	15 (19.2%)
Somewhat Agree	26 (33.3%)
Somewhat Disagree	15 (19.2%)
Disagree	8 (10.3%)
Disagree Strongly	8 (10.3%)
Total	78 (100%)

Some 60.2% (n=47) of respondents agreed in some form with this statement. This would indicate that in this survey, there was a majority of colleagues who supported the individuals

who had undertaken the degree programme. However, there was quite a large minority who disagreed with this statement. Some 39.8% (n=31) of respondents disagreed somewhat with the statement that colleagues who had not undertaken the degree programme were supportive of their education. This suggests that there is still a large number of serving officers who do not support the new higher education programme for newly appointed officers.

This statement asked the students to consider how they were received once they joined the working group.

Table 3. I was welcomed and integrated into the workplace.

	Responses, n
Strongly Agree	38 (48.7%)
Agree	33 (42.3%)
Somewhat Agree	7 (9%)
Somewhat Disagree	0
Disagree	0
Disagree Strongly	0
Total	78 (100%)

All respondents stated they were welcomed and felt integrated into the workplace. This is an important aspect when testing antilocution, as very often members of an in-group deride members of the out-group upon meeting.

The following statement examined whether or not students had been made fun of by colleagues because of their degree style education.

Table 4. I have been made fun of by colleagues because I undertook the degree training programme.

	Responses, n
Strongly Agree	2 (2.6%)
Agree	6 (7.7%)

Somewhat Agree	10 (12.8%)
Somewhat Disagree	12 (15.4%)
Disagree	20 (25.6%)
Disagree Strongly	28 (35.9%)
Total	78 (100%)

Whilst the majority, 76.9% (n=60) stated they disagreed with this statement, some 23.1% (n=18) of respondents agreed they had been made fun of. This is an important question to ask. Verbal rejection, to name and disparage an out group is an important component of antilocution. Mild animosity often underlies antilocution of the joking or derisive kind. Even when jokes seem friendly they can mask genuine hostility by providing a discerning method of the out group and exalting of the in group.

The next statement presented to students considered the relationship between the students themselves and their colleagues by stating that they did not get on with some of my colleagues because of their attitude to the degree programme. Table 5 below illustrates their answers.

Table 5. I don't get on with some of my colleagues because of their attitude to the degree programme.

	Responses, n
Strongly Agree	1 (1.3%)
Agree	1 (1.3%)
Somewhat Agree	2 (2.6%)
Somewhat Disagree	12 (15.4%)
Disagree	24 (30.8%)
Disagree Strongly	38 (48.7%)
Total	78 (100%)

Clearly the vast majority of students, some 94.8% (n=74) disagreed with this statement, thereby indicating that there appears to be minimal animosity from students towards their colleagues who had undertaken different educational approaches to policing. This may of course be the consequence of acquiescence on the part of the newly initiated police students into a dominant

culture who are reluctant to challenge others regarding their attitudes and behaviour towards them and may result in a level of distrust towards such colleagues.

Much has been made of the use of Higher Educational programmes to professionalise the police service and produce ethically, informed police officers who are able to problem solve effectively. The next statement concentrated upon student’s perceptions of the expectations of others towards them. This statement revolved around people expecting more of the newly educated recruit because they had undertaken the Higher education programme. Table 6 below illustrates the results.

Table 6. I believe people expect more of me because I have undertaken the degree entry route.

	Responses, n
Strongly Agree	10 (12.8%)
Agree	12 (15.4%)
Somewhat Agree	12 (15.4%)
Somewhat Disagree	13 (16.7%)
Disagree	23 (29.5%)
Disagree Strongly	8 (10.3%)
Total	78 (100%)

Again 78 individuals responded to this statement. Here we see a more evenly distributed response, with 43.6% (n=34) broadly agreeing with the statement, with 56.4% (n=43) disagreeing with the statement that more was expected of them. Of course, this perception may lie within the police recruits themselves, but the fact that there is a perception and expectation of ‘more’ because of their education is important, as if they do not live up to it, this may potentially be used to reinforce any antilocution by the ‘in-group’. Such a finding also leads to increased feelings of surveillance in the workplace, contributing to a level of distrust amongst colleagues. Table 7 below illustrates the responses to this notion of increased surveillance of new recruits by considering if they feel under close supervision due to their educational status.

Table 7. I feel I am under closer supervision because I have undertaken the degree education.

	Responses, n
Strongly Agree	8 (10.3%)
Agree	13 (16.7%)
Somewhat Agree	18 (23.1%)
Somewhat Disagree	14 (17.9%)
Disagree	16 (20.5%)
Disagree Strongly	9 (11.5%)
Total	78 (100%)

Those in agreement and disagreement with the statement equalled 50% (n=39) each. This is an important finding and suggests that higher education recruits may be discriminated in terms of supervision due to a lack of trust and may suggest a possible segregation at work. In this instance, there may be ‘boundaries’ in supervision, which segregate higher education recruits, which may lead to them being disadvantaged, and eventually accentuate the overall disadvantage of members of higher education out-groups.

Policing has been historically described as a craft-based occupation, rather than a profession (Rogers, 2010), and as previously discussed being based in collective memory and experience supported in part by folk tales (Holdaway, 1984). Consequently recruits were presented with a statement that they had been told that they would learn about policing on the street not in the classroom.

Table 8. I have been told that I will learn about policing on the street not in the classroom.

	Responses, n
Strongly Agree	28 (35.9%)
Agree	32 (41%)
Somewhat Agree	12 (15.4%)
Somewhat Disagree	2 (2.6%)
Disagree	4 (5.1%)

Disagree Strongly	0
Total	78 (100%)

The majority of respondents in this survey, 92.3% (n=72) respondents indicated that they had been told that they would learn about policing on the street not in the classroom.

In some sense perhaps, this should not be surprising given the ‘practical’ social interaction that police officers deal with on a daily basis. However, this finding tends to support the view that higher education input into recruit’s education is at least undervalued, if not completely dismissed. This perhaps is also indicative of an occupation that still considers itself a craft rather than a profession and tied to the idea that tacit knowledge is perhaps the only knowledge required for policing ‘on the streets’ (Rogers 2010; Vitale 2018).

Discussion and Conclusion

Any change or introduction to a system that has operated under traditional methods is bound to have some form of resistance from current members. However, the challenge for current police agencies appears to be that police officers of the future cannot be selected, recruited, and educated by processes of the past. Increasing critical thinking skills, integrity, problem solving and communication skills and greater use and understanding of technology can help to produce a workforce capable of dealing with difficult future challenges.

The current process involving higher education for new police officers is an attempt to achieve these aims. However, the approach, which involves integrating higher education trained recruits into an organisation that primarily involves individuals who received a police academy style training programme that focuses purely upon law enforcement is not without its problems. In particular this research tested to see if one particular type of problem occurred, that of antilocution as described by Allport (1979). The results have indicated that there is some division concerning the support of the Higher Education programme for new recruits by their colleagues already in the police role. However, while all respondents agreed that they felt welcomed and integrated into the workplace their experiences could lend to a level of distrust emerging amongst colleagues.

Antilocution consists of words that include derisive comments often wrapped in the context of humour. Most respondents state they have not been made fun of by their colleagues because of

their HE input. However, there still remained 23% of respondents who stated they had been made fun of, suggesting an element of such behaviour exists. Relationships between the HE trained recruits (out-group) and the mainly academic trained (in-group) appear to be generally good, with the majority of respondents (94.9%) disagreeing with the statement they didn't get on with some of the colleagues because of their attitude towards their training.

Interestingly, the perceptions of Higher Education trained police students appear to include a high number who believe people expect more of them because of their police education. This coupled with the belief by half of police recruits that they felt under closer supervision suggests new recruits face different and increased pressures to perform their duty to a higher standard.

Testing the overall responses by the in-group toward the out-group, 92.3% of respondents agreed that they had been told that they would learn about policing on the street, not in the classroom. This clearly demonstrates a strong cultural opinion upon the usefulness of police education to the perceived practicalities of police work.

This research indicates that there may still be resistance to the new HE route into policing by the current members of the police force in England and Wales. Further, in some instances, new officers face some form of antilocution, although this does not exist in the perceptions of the majority, evidence of its existence seems to be present. For example, the perceptions of the students themselves tend to indicate they believe that more is expected of them, and that they experience increased surveillance through closer supervision because of the way in which they have been educated for police work. This is an area of concern for when the importance of trust within the policing profession has been noted as paramount and how the positive exchange of trust is required by the police to do police work (Birch et al, 2017; Birch, 2016; Beckley, 2014; Herrington & Roberts, 2013). Therefore, this raises concern with regards to public safety and security when such professional experiences are being had by serving police officers.

Furthermore, trust is associated with positive organisational outcomes such as high performance, strong collaboration, effective teamwork and improved stability and success for the organisations who engage with it (Burke et al, 2007). Trust, as noted by Birch (2016) is a highly valued and sought after by police, with the need for trust by individual police officers and within police organisations considered a necessity for being effective in the activity of policing. Trust is essential in any workplace, however, arguably more so in emergency/first responder occupations. To this end, it is recommended that greater efforts be directed towards

communicating the requirements for new police recruits and why current police education and training pathways are in place in order to foster trust amongst all police officers. Such an output will not only benefit individual police officers, and the police organisation itself, but will also benefit the communities in which they serve through enhanced policing manifested on a platform of trust. While successful changes in organisations involves the collaboration and collegiality of all its employees, based upon understanding not just the process of change, but the reasons why the change is necessary, police organisations must do better in implementing new policies, procedures, and practices. This is no less important when it comes to changes in workplace education, training and recruitment processes and may be one way of avoiding antilocution against new Higher Education police recruits.

In conclusion, police organisations need to address the questions of trust that have emerged from this study, to enhance the effectiveness of the organisation, and to support officers to perform their job which ultimately centres on public safety and security. Developing and sustaining trust amongst police officers at all stages of their career, as noted by Birch (2016:63):

‘...will not only enable police to feel more protected and secure in their roles, but high levels of trust will have direct and materially positive outcomes on police officers’ ability to respond to adversity experienced in their workplaces. Feeling safe and knowing that their colleagues “have got their back” ...when undertaking police work’.

The research presented in this paper demonstrates that when implementing new policies, procedures and practices into the workplace, such as new education and training pathways, a by-product of such can create complex results involving interpersonal relationships between staff within organisations. Policy makers, police leaders, senior police managers and those responsible for police education and training, need to be aware of such complexities and plan for any arising potential fallout that can negatively impact on the core function of policing, public safety, and security. Arguably, more research is needed to explore these issues further in order to ensure Higher Education police recruits are being better integrated into the police workforce.

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