

Police training and police services in Western Europe*

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1. Introduction

A close look at the development of police services in Western Europe since the Sixties soon reveals that important changes have occurred, not only in general management but also in the operational and internal organization of these services. It is therefore not surprising that scattered attempts are being made to review these changes in an orderly fashion and subject them to overall interpretation¹.

This paper attempts to cast some light on recent police reforms via a review of the development of police training in various countries in Western Europe. The starting point is that if a police service is subject to marked change in its totality, this change should also become apparent in the training of police personnel. After all, training (and recruiting!) must provide the persons needed by the changing service or, at the very least, the persons required to change the organization and the functioning of the service. Consequently, training – in terms of its organization and content, and its position in the police service and in the careers of police personnel – constitutes an indicator of the development of the police services in Western Europe over the past few decades.

A major problem in this context is that little systematic research has been done into the police training system in Western Europe, even though this has been urged repeatedly (*e.g.*, by F. Perrick in The Netherlands)². This implies that a review of this kind must rely on the scanty, often formalistic publications which have so far appeared mainly in the police press³. Although a reviewer is at a disadvantage under these circumstances, I felt it was necessary to undertake such a review, because in these uncertain times there is a greater need than ever for general insight into the organization of the police service and its position and function within the community, and because this paper may encourage others to undertake the urgently needed research I mentioned.

After outlining police training reform in the past few years in Germany, France and The Netherlands, this article discusses the significance of this reform for the general development of the police service. It then goes on to demonstrate, on the basis of the Belgian situation, how much the development of police training is determined, not directly by changes in society as the police press and the general press like to suggest, but primarily and above all by (changes in) the overall police constellation. This case study also emphasizes that gross generalizations about certain developments in Western Europe should be avoided. Finally, a plea is made for development of police science in Western Europe. This science should first of all provide fundamental understanding of the way in which the police was, is and will (have to) be run in Western Europe. In this way it can give impetus and direction to the organization and content of the training which police personnel (should) receive.

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2. Training reform

The monopoly of force in a modern state rests in fact with two institutions: armed forces and police. It is remarkable that the armed forces have had for centuries an institutionalized training of officers (and to a lesser degree, other ranks), whereas the police forces did not institutionalize training until after World War I. The first *Model police school* in The Netherlands was established in 1919. The renowned *Preussisches Polizei-Institut* dates back to 1927⁴. The causes of this discrepancy are not immediately apparent. Perhaps an explanation lies in the fact that the formation of standing armies is of an earlier date than the establishment of the modern police service; in the fact that until the start of the 20th century the army still played an important active role in performing the most essential of police tasks: maintenance of public order; and in the fact that the police service has so far held but little attraction for young men from the political, socioeconomic or intellectual elite. Be this as it may, the reform of police training in the past two decades is all the more remarkable in the light of the fact that systematic special training of police officers is only about half a century old.

It is of course impossible to give a detailed account of this reform; nor can we discuss the differences in this respect between the various countries involved. A discussion of this reform must be restricted to its general characteristics⁵.

First of all we will examine the organization of training: the training system. The changes which this system has undergone are most of all characterized by *differentiation and specialization*. Not only have the various countries (various police services) set up primary training courses for the three major levels of police personnel, but they have also organized special courses to train junior and senior police personnel in the performance of special tasks; to an increasing extent, moreover, they have organized refresher courses and retraining of police personnel. One of the implications of the development of this complex training system is that police men and women do less and less work for which they are not prepared to some extent, and more and more work in a manner which has been presented to them as model or as alternative during some training course. More especially, the increasing application of socio-psychological theories in training will strongly promote this development into a separate 'police discipline'⁶.

The reorganization of training is also characterized by *centralization*, *i.e.*, the various schools and training courses are under the direct supervision of the central government and/or must adjust their organization and program to meet general (*i.e.*, central) guidelines. The immediate consequences of this centralization are evident. One is optimal *coordination* between the various schools and courses. Another is *uniformity* of training courses given at the same level but in different places. And this in turn favors the professional *mobility* of the policeman.

Another fact to be considered in this context is that training is for the most part organized within the services. It is not entrusted to or integrated into other, more general educational institutions. And where it is, the police carefully supervise the training provided by 'outside' agencies. In brief, the reorganization of the training system is also characterized by '*internalization*'. In this way it is hoped that training will not become alienated from the police service and that the policeman will optimally identify with the service; that he will acquire a 'police identity' and become 'familiar' with the system (and the system with him). This dual identification is further reinforced in that most training programs are provided in a residential program setting, *i.e.*, within the seclusion of the system⁷.

Secondly, we can look at the content of training. Very generally speaking, since the Sixties, the training available to all police ranks has expanded substantially. This is apparent in the longer periods of training, the better quality of training, and a broader curriculum. The notion of *continuing education* is gradually taking shape in the police system. Today, any policeman not attending a primary training course is likely to be attending a special course or a refresher course. German investigators with good reason speak of a 'mobilization of intelligence'⁸. This mobilization also had and still has important implications for police recruiting. This will not

be discussed here as we are more concerned at present with the substance or content of the changing system.

The available relevant literature seems to suggest that the reform of primary police training in particular can be characterized by three concepts: *openness* toward the community, attunement to the *reality* of police practice, and promotion of individual *autonomy*.

Openness toward the community is a complex concept, but it boils down to three things: interest in general social developments and the social function of the police; discussion of the position of the police in public government and of the function of the police in relation to other government agencies; acquaintance with other organizations active in the field of social welfare and social service.

In training programs, this openness is emphasized in such subjects as sociology and/or social sciences, in discussions with a wide variety of organizations and population groups, in extensive study of the control over and the powers of the police, and in provision of information on a wide range of minorities and pressure groups.

Attunement to the *reality* of police practice is usually understood in rather restrictive terms. It is largely understood as the optimal linking of knowledge and skills taught in training to the concrete, actual duties to be performed in day-to-day practice. In terms of programming and organization this link is established via a system of practical training periods, via conceptual standardization of problems encountered repeatedly in actual practice and the designing of courses to deal with recurrent problems and their possible solutions, via simulation training in the principal forms of police intervention, via recruitment of mainly police officers as instructors (and regularly updating them about 'practice'), and via guidance of the rookie policeman during the initial period of 'real' service⁹.

Promotion of individual *autonomy* is not easily defined. On the one hand it expresses efforts to help the rookie policeman gain insight, not only into the police system and his position and function within it, but also into himself and his personality. On the other hand — although this may seem contradictory — it involves the deliberate stimulation of certain 'professional views, basic attitudes and feelings' required to help the policeman perform his duties in a careful and responsible manner.

The latest educational theory insists that autonomy and responsibility go hand in hand. In order to cultivate these two qualities, training should include psychology, ethics, training in responsibility, instruction about police organization, guidance and special training. Very evidently this means that the training of policemen extends far beyond the usual vocational training and in fact covers the entire personal and social life of the trainee¹⁰.

The ultimate goal of all these training efforts can in my opinion be summarized in a single word: *integration*, i.e., integration of the police in the community, of the training system in the police service, and of the policeman in the community and in the service.

Thirdly, training reform concerns the types of training and the teaching methods used. It is logical, for example, that 'opening' the training toward the community is accompanied by 'opening' the residential program training system; and that promotion of individual autonomy requires increasing trainee activity. Likewise, it is not surprising that closer attunement of training to actual police practice leads to introduction of project training and *team work* of the instructors.

Before discussing the immediate consequences of training reform for the police service we must consider the question of the extent to which the above outlined changes have actually been implemented and the extent to which they have proved to be merely *wishful thinking*. I have doubts about the extent to which the (reformed) training has in fact contributed to the integration of the police in the community. In my opinion training is still largely linked (both institutionally and in terms of content) to the police service *per se*, rather than to the police service-in-the-community. However, the fact that many of the changes so far made have been the subject of discussion or even conflict, emphasizes the need for prudence in relating training re-

form to the development of the police service. Consider, for example, the training of *Polizeikommissare* at the *Fachhochschulen für Öffentliche Verwaltung* in Germany¹¹, to the (direct) hiring of university graduates for the highest police ranks in The Netherlands¹², and to the introduction of a subject like sociology in the curriculum of police schools¹³. Finally, it should be borne in mind that the literature, even research on the training of police personnel, as a rule fails to relate training to police organization¹⁴. That such a relationship should in fact be acknowledged I hope will be clear from the following discussion of some consequences which training reform has (had) for the police service in its totality.

3. Immediate consequences for the police service

The first conclusion that can be drawn from the above analysis of the reform of training is that, in the past two decades, the police service must have become a very complex, fairly highly specialized and centralized institution. For the execution of tasks at all levels in the organization and in all its areas of activity, more and more extensive training is provided. Probably it is no exaggeration to assert that, during this period, the police service has been radically rationalized and has undergone a significant degree of 'intellectualization'.

Secondly, it is almost superfluous to point out that training reform has provided and still provides the personnel required to man the multitude of posts in this complex system and, more specifically, to manage this organization at its various levels and in its various areas of activity.

Thirdly, the expansion of a more sophisticated but centralized training system has facilitated and will facilitate the integration of a police service which at first glance may seem to have become too intricate. This effect is produced in two ways: by the establishment and maintenance of numerous personal relations across a wide variety of dividing lines within the service, and by the dissemination of identical norms and values, methods and procedures throughout this colossal system.

This introduces the fourth point: that, precisely by virtue of its integrative effect, the modern training system enhances the possibilities of large-scale mobilization of the police organization.

The fifth point to be made is that the above discussed changes in the training system have enhanced what could be described as the social preparedness of the police, *i.e.*, its ability to observe and understand itself and its environment; both the social and political environment and the administrative, law enforcement and support environment have grown because of these changes. This is demonstrated even more clearly by the formation of research units and documentation centers within the police system. This enhanced preparedness goes hand in hand with increasing social flexibility: the police service can act in the community more quickly and in a more differentiated way, and can also react to changes which occur in the community.

This brings us to the sixth point: partly because of training reform, the manageability of the extensive, complicated police organization has been ensured, if not expanded. In this respect we are thinking not only of possibilities to navigate the police organization in its totality within a turbulent community, but also of possibilities to direct individual police activities to more or less general aims and norms. While modern police training may promote the individual autonomy of the policeman, even a superficial analysis of the pertinent literature clearly shows that the policeman is at the same time taught that (and how) he must exercise his personal autonomy and liberty within the framework of certain views, norms and procedures. It is this normative framework of the policeman (which can be achieved with greater precision with more broadly trained personnel) in particular that is politically relevant because in this way actual police activities are more precisely attuned to the policy advocated by the authorities, and to sudden changes in this policy. And this in turn is of importance for the legitimacy of the political system. Politicians evidently understand this quite well, for the Minister of the Interior of North Rhine-Westphalia, addressing a meeting at the Hiltrup Police Management Academy on 4th

November 1981, stated that: 'Police activities are . . . political activities . . . They are molded to a large degree by value decisions, and aimed at controlling social conflicts'; and the police is 'the most political of all civil services', because 'no other civil service branch confronts the citizen more directly and more impressively with the authority of the state'¹⁵.

The final point to be made is that this training reform has enhanced rather than reduced the internal control over police personnel and their loyalty to the police service and the existing political system. Training is a fixed feature of every police career; the modern policeman is almost continually subject to specific assessment and influence, and career improvement constantly demands his (her) optimal adaptation to the police service. Loyalty is cultivated almost indiscernibly via the extensive but sophisticated, and consequently intense familiarization with the organization and functioning of the service. There need be no particular fear that 'democratization' in the police could jeopardize the preparedness and loyalty of the institution, as some voices occasionally whisper!

4. A 'new' police (or) a more professional police?

Apart from the question of the immediate consequences of training reform for the police service, the more fundamental question can be raised of its significance for the overall development of this organization.

First of all it should be noted that, both within and outside the police, training reform is often evaluated in terms of 'old wine in new casks' or 'new wine in old casks'¹⁶. Given the present situation of police research, this discussion is futile in my opinion. No really thorough historical study of police training has been carried out, making a fair comparison of its past with its present impossible. The authors in question as a rule fail to go into the earlier situation of police training. It is clear to any observer that, for years, police training has undergone important changes in organization, form and content, but in my opinion it is still too early to evaluate these changes *per se* and their immediate implications for the police organization in terms of 'old' and 'new'. The need for further research is also apparent from the fact that perusal of the literature on police training between the two world wars immediately yields information on programs and views which strike me as highly contemporary¹⁷.

Another possibility to revive the discussion about 'old' and 'new' training is to relate training to the incipient debate about the question whether a 'new' police is now developing. Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then it would be natural to speak of a 'new' training system, because training and organization interact continually.

The notion of a 'new' police has been introduced by A. Funk, U. Kausz and U. von Zabern of the Free University Berlin¹⁸. It implies:

- that the preventive function of the police is emphasized today, whereas the repressive function is relegated to the background;
- that this general change is expressed in the reorganization of the execution of preventive police tasks;
- that the police are beginning to operate more and more in terms of 'general suspicion' and 'general security';
- that the police exert an increasing degree of influence on the general organization of social life.

Although this view, including its empirical foundation, encompasses much that is true and corresponds in many ways with the above outlined reform of police training, it is not acceptable in its totality because many of the characteristics of the 'new' police were also features of the police system in the past¹⁹. Moreover, A. Funk *et al.* themselves have recently contended that in the matter of police training it is merely a question of a little new wine in old casks!²⁰

Is it in fact impossible at this time to present a general interpretation of a training reform which has been carried out or is now being carried out? In my opinion it is not. Also, consider-

ing the nature of the subject at issue, it should be possible, I believe, to interpret this reform in terms of professionalization.

The term professionalization should be used with some prudence because it is often used, in the police service also, in a rather rhetorical manner²¹, more or less as a means to suggest to oneself and to others that activities are (or should be more) professionally executed. It is also possible, however, to proceed from a reasoned definition of professionalization, and then to see whether, and to what extent, this definition applies to the institution or group considered.

I am inclined to proceed from the definition of professionalization given by G. Teitler in his magnificent study of *The evolution of the corps of professional army officers*²². According to his definition the term profession applies if:

- members of a group possess knowledge and skills which enable them not merely to execute certain tasks but to do this better than and differently from others; in other words: possess technical competence enabling them to establish and maintain a monopoly within a given field. The postulate is that all members of the group possess the same degree of technical competence and are consequently interchangeable and able to attain identical achievements; this can be ensured via their training;
- the members of the group are aware of belonging to a separate community; this *esprit de corps* is readily cultivated by shared training, and reinforces the separation of the professional group from the outside world; it fosters the cultivation of group-specific traditions, views, norms and values;
- the members of the group are convinced that, via their work, they render valuable services to a particular agency, in this case to the state.

Teitler also asserted that the prerequisites for a flourishing military profession are: (a) the possibility to standardize the problems on which the military focus, and to outline corresponding standard solutions; (b) the presence of a reasonably strong and centralized state which has acquired an effective monopoly of applying force; (c) the presence of social groups which can furnish the manpower for the 'technical' and the 'corps' elements of the profession.

The question whether this definition applies in its totality to the other holder of the force monopoly – the police – need not be considered here. It is clear, however, that the above described reform of the police training has undeniably and quite significantly furthered the professionalization of the police. It is beyond doubt that this reform has significantly enhanced the professional technical competence of the police. There is abundant evidence that intensified training in the police service – in the military as well as in the civilian forces – has enhanced the *esprit de corps* and the notion of service. In addition it can be observed that a start has been made with systematic research into 'practice', and therefore with the standardization of the problems with which policemen are confronted in the execution of their tasks.

The above also indicates that I do not share S. Harring's view on 'Taylorization of police work', *i.e.*, 'the process of breaking down police work into a number of simpler elements under the control of police administrators'²³. This view implicitly rests on a too narrow definition of profession and it takes a far too simple view of current developments in the organization and function of the police service.

5. The situation in Belgium

The following outline of police training in Belgium demonstrates the need to avoid oversimplification with regard to the development of the police organization, particularly in an attempt to analyze this development at a Western European level.

Focusing solely on the reform of police training in Belgium, one cannot escape the impression that this reform is primarily conditioned by the general organization of the police service rather than by the numerous, far-reaching social changes so often mentioned in the police literature. If the police organization is highly centralized, if the various service branches are in-

tegrated at several points and if the political-administrative control of these branches is not too divided, then the reorganization of training can follow a relatively smooth course. Otherwise one can expect marked differences in training between the various service branches. And this is the case in Belgium.

If there is one thing that can be said of the Belgian police system it is that it is a very divided system. Firstly, there is the state police: a 18,500 officer strong military police force, primarily responsible to the Minister of Defense and secondarily to the Ministers of the Interior and Justice and to the attorneys general. Secondly, there is the municipal police: a civil service organization encompassing over 300 small and large police forces with a total strength of about 13,800 officers and, like the rural police (almost 1500 members), mainly dependent on the municipalities and to some extent on the prosecutorial office. Thirdly, there are 23 units of the criminal investigation division (some 1050 members), responsible mainly to the public prosecutor's office and (to a lesser degree) to the Minister of Justice.

A look at the training systems of these diverse organizations shows first of all that training in the state police at present largely corresponds to the analysis presented above. Since the latter half of the Sixties there has been a five-year training course for senior officers — partly at the military academy, partly at the royal state police school and partly at the state universities of Ghent and Liège. The mid-level officers are trained entirely at the royal state police school (three-year-course). Patrolmen receive 12-15 months of training according to a uniform program at five regional schools. Moreover, the state police school provides a broad range of special courses. This training system faithfully reflects the complex, specialized and centralized organization that the state police service has become in the past few decades^{23a}. And as we are discussing an old military organization, it takes but little imagination to understand that the professionalization of the state police has made substantial progress in this period.

Training in the other police organizations is far less advanced than that in the state police. The senior officers of municipal police forces attend normal basic police training, and in their spare time attend a two-year training course at a provincial 'school', which provides them with little more than the most elementary knowledge needed. Cadet training as a rule takes a few months and is provided at municipal or provincial schools. In the past few years, scattered attempts have been made, with varying degrees of success, to more closely attune training to the demands of practice. There is virtually no specific training for officers at mid-level. There is nothing like systematic retraining or extended training, and good training courses for special tasks are generally lacking²⁴. This 'training system' likewise faithfully reflects the situation of the municipal police departments. Apart from a few large (or medium-size) forces, municipal police organization is still very traditional, lacking differentiation and operational organization. In terms of professionalization, little or no progress has been made in the past few years. More and more, however, it is being acknowledged both outside and within the municipal police that 'this cannot go on' and that the training must be radically reorganized along with the political-administrative statute of the municipal police.

Superintendents and inspectors of the criminal investigation police receive their training at the school for criminology and criminalistics in Brussels, which is responsible to the Minister of Justice. The fact that the training courses at this school are generally still organized along the traditional pre-war lines clearly demonstrates that the professionalization of the criminal investigation division has stood still since World War II! And, unlike the municipal police, the criminal investigation division and the prosecutorial office seem to take little notice of this²⁵.

The situation in Belgium thus clearly shows the close link between the training and the organization of the police. This does not mean that the training of, say, municipal police forces can be reorganized without difficulty, even though there are sound social, managerial and police-technical reasons to do so. Such change above all presupposes reorganization at the political-administrative level, not only of the municipal police but of the entire police organization.

6. To conclude: a plea for police science

To conclude this paper I wish to revert to what first struck me when I started to examine the literature on police training in various countries of Western Europe. In this literature, little or no relationship is established with the organization and functioning of the police service or the problems encountered in police work. These two points are usually dispensed with in a few commonplaces, or at best an outline is given of various 'preoccupations' of the police. But the dilemmas, the paradoxes, the conditions and the limitations of police activities are not discussed in any detail, although it is precisely these that make police work so difficult, so delicate and so fascinating.

In practice training may well take these aspects into consideration to a greater extent than the literature would seem to suggest. I am nevertheless left with the impression that the police services in Western Europe still lack carefully worked out general views on policing. In every country there are doubtless some policemen who have formulated interesting ideas about the internal and operational organization of the service, about the relationship between the police and the administrative and justice systems, between the police and the public, etc. In this context I mention R. Mark and J. Alderson in England, A. Stümper, H. Herold and R. Rupprecht in Germany, and H. Stuitje, F. Perrick and N. Peyster in The Netherlands. None of these, however, has developed particularly coherent general ideas about the police organization *per se* and about its role and position in the state and in the community. This is why I take the liberty to make a plea for the development of a police science in which such ideas are generated and tested.

This police science no longer has the ambitions of the *Polizeiwissenschaft* of years gone by, which was the science of internal national government²⁶; its place has been taken by the theory of management. This police science has little or nothing in common with the *scientific police* that flourished at the end of the 19th century²⁷. Nor does it purport, as the *American police science* does, to encompass everything even remotely connected with the police. As I see it, *police science* should consciously confine itself to the areas I have just outlined.

The development of this type of police science is all the more urgent as the professionalization of the police service (of which it may well be itself an expression) makes progress. For, the major danger of professionalization lies in alienation – alienation from the other state agencies, from the community and from the public. The reality of this danger is quite evident from the criticism which the Belgian state police²⁸ and the London metropolitan police²⁹ have had to accept in the past few years.

Notes

1. Consider A. Funk, U. Kausz and Th. von Zabern: 'Die Ansätze zu einer neuen Polizei – Vergleich der Polizeientwicklung in England/Wales, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland'. In: E. Blankenburg (ed.): *Politik der inneren Sicherheit*, Frankfurt/Main 1980, 16-90. Also C. Fijnaut: 'Tien jaar Nederlandse gemeentepolitie'. In: Ch. Nuyts (ed.): *Politieproblemen 1979*, Antwerp 1979, 97-172. And also A. Stümper: 'Die Wandlung der Polizei in Begriff und Aufgaben', *Kriminalistik* 1980, 6, 242-245, and J. Susini: 'Une autre idée de police', *Revue de Science Criminelle et de Droit Pénal Comparé* 1982, 2, 411-423.
2. The situation in the USA is somewhat better. See A.Z. Gammage: *Police training in the United States*, Springfield 1963, and L.W. Sherman and the National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers: *The quality of police education*, San Francisco-Washington-London 1978.
3. I would like to thank H.U. Störzer, senior executive officer at the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation in Wiesbaden (FRG), for supplying literature on the evolution of police training in Germany.

4. C. Fijnaut: *Opdat de macht een toevlucht zij? Een historische studie van het politieapparaat als een politieke instelling*, Antwerp-Arnhem 1979, II, 1052-1053. E. Rosenow: *Die Polizei-Führungsakademie in Hilstrup*, Münster 1975, 4-6.
5. So far as the development and situation of police training in The Netherlands is concerned, see C. Fijnaut: 'Tien jaar Nederlandse gemeentepolitie. In: Ch. Nuijts (ed.): *Politieproblemen 1979*, 150-152, and the literature quoted in it. The evolution and situation of the training of the French national police is explained in the special issue (No. 112) of *Police Nationale* (March 1980). For the English police training, see the *Report of the Committee of the Police Council on higher police training*, London 1962; the report *The recruitment of people with higher educational qualifications into the police service*, London 1967; R.S. Bunyard: *Police: organization and command*, Estover 1978, 196-225; and F. Brink: 'Nederlandse deelname aan Engelse politie cursus', *Algemeen Politieblad* 128, 1979, 9, 207-211. Information on the evolution and situation of German police training can be found in G. Baumgarten: 'Die Ausbildung des höheren Polizeivollzugsdienstes im 1. Studienabschnitt', *Schriftenreihe der PFA*, 7, 1980, 4, 324-340; H. Bröcker: 'Polizei ausbildung im Wandel', *Polizei-journal für Recht, Wirtschaft und Technik*, special issue: 'Polizei in Staat und Gesellschaft. Eine Dokumentation' 20, 1982, 1, 38-51; K-H. Pohl: 'Die Neuregelung der Ausbildung unter der Zulassung zum gehobenen Polizeivollzugsdienst in Baden-Württemberg', *Die Polizei* 71, 1980, 3, 72-81; H. Schäfer: 'Der Versuch einer Wertung der allgemeinfachlichen Fortbildung von Polizeibeamten des höheren Dienstes an der PFA Hilstrup', *Die Polizei* 71, 1980, 3, 84-88; H. Schult: 'Gibt es eine Konzeption für die Bildungsarbeit in der deutschen Polizei', *Die Polizei* 72, 1981, 10, 297-304; W. Steinke: 'Die Fachhochschulausbildung bei der Polizei', *Kriminalistik* 35, 1981, 11, 442-445; H-G. Tantor: 'Fachhochschulstudium für Hamburgs Polizeikommissare', *Die Polizei* 71, 1980, 1, 3-10; X: 'Die Fachhochschulen in Bund und Ländern – Fachbereich Polizei', *Deutsche Polizei* 1982, 5, 26-32.
6. A.C. Buitenhuis: 'Het pedagogisch-didactische systeem van de politie-opleiding', *Algemeen Politieblad* 128, 1979, 9, 203-205; by the same author: 'Wikken en wegen van onderwijsinspanningen', *Algemeen Politieblad* 128, 1979, 24, 558-563; S.M.S. Prevo: 'Gedragstraining in de primaire opleiding; sociale vaardigheid als instrument', *Het Tijdschrift voor de Politie* 43, 1981, 2, 66-68; J.C. van der Steen and L. Koppelaar: 'Onderzoek en trainingsontwikkeling gericht op dagelijkse agentenpraktijk', *Algemeen Politieblad* 130, 1981, 22, 495-498.
7. The best study published in this context is still that of R.N. Harris: *The police academy. An inside view*, New York 1973.
8. 'Polizei ausbildung und -rekrutierung im Übergang zu den 80er Jahren – Die Mobilisierung von Intelligenz'. *CILIP* 1982, 11, 3-24.
9. J. Junger-Tas et al.: *Relatie tussen de primaire politie-opleiding en de politieke praktijk*, The Hague 1978, and *Voorstel tot herziening van de primaire politie-opleiding*, The Hague 1982.
10. A.C.M. Broekart: 'De opleiding van de politie-ambtenaar ter discussie', *Het Tijdschrift voor de Politie* 40, 1978, 2, 67-72; A.C. Buitenhuis: 'Zonder vorming... geen uniform...?', *Algemeen Politieblad* 125, 1976, 2, 27-33; H. Cortie: 'Begeleiding politieambtenaar proces van zorg en aandacht', *Algemeen Politieblad* 130, 1981, 5, 103-108, and 'Vorming en beroepsethiek', *Algemeen Politieblad* 128, 1979, 12, 277-283; D. Hulsman: 'De vorming in de opleiding van de politie-ambtenaar', *Het Tijdschrift voor de Politie* 40, 1978, 3, 121-124.
11. Schulte: 'Schlussbericht (Protokoll) über das Seminar 'Fachhochschulausbildung der Polizei'', *Polizei-Führungsakademie 20th-21st November 1980*, Münster 1980; H.J. Hoeveler: 'Ausbildung im Umbruch. Fachhochschulstudium für den gehobenen Kriminaldienst des Bundes', *GDP special issue: Kriminalpolizei Aktuell* 1979, 49-51.
12. F. Perrick: 'Academici in politiedienst', *Het Tijdschrift voor de Politie* 35, 1973, 12, 373-377.
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