

**MOVING TOWARDS AN EVIDENCE-BASE OF DEMOCRATIC POLICE TRAINING:  
THE DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION OF A COMPLEX SOCIAL INTERVENTION  
IN THE ISRAELI BORDER POLICE**

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## **Abstract**

The centrality of the police in everyday life means police officers are in position of power to actively support or threaten democratic activities (Sklansky, 2008) for example during protests. In democracies, policing duties should be performed in ways that sustain democratic values, rather than undermine them (Loader, 2006), yet that is not always the reality. Police training is one of the tools for aligning officers' behaviour with societal norms; it is considered a protection against the possibility that police officers abuse the wide-ranging powers they hold (Manning, 2010). Training programs are therefore a basic feature of all police forces' organizational approach. Despite its centrality, training has not received extensive academic attention; there is a pressing need to understand the impact of training on police behaviour and the mechanisms thorough which it operates (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

This thesis attempts to advance the evidence-base of democratic police training following the Medical Research Council's framework for the development and evaluation of complex social interventions (Craig et al., 2008). The Israeli Border Police was chosen as the context to examine the potential of training to advance democratic norms. The three stages of the research project included: theoretical modelling of the existing complex training intervention to assess its alignment with existing evidence; participatory development and piloting of a training curriculum on policing of protests in a democracy that used an Adult Education approach and introduced Procedural Justice-related components; and a pilot quasi-randomised study to evaluate this training. Analysis and reporting are carried out in a way that allows assessment of prospective scale-up and generalisability.

Flowing from the empirical work, four strands of theoretical contributions are put forward. First, a theoretical model of police training is proposed, drawing on social psychology constructs. Second, *contact theory*, which originates in peace education, is proposed as a possible platform for designing both police training and their evaluation studies. Third, four factors limiting the efficacy of Procedural Justice & Legitimacy-based training interventions in deeply divided societies are outlined. Fourth, the Border Police case study is used to substantiate the value of participatory research methods for advancing knowledge translation and evidence-based policing.



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## Introduction

This thesis sets out to further understanding of effective democratic police training, focusing on the complex Educational Training intervention used by the Israeli Border Police and the use of procedural justice as the focus of a short course targeting the policing of protests. This introduction will unpack the inherent theoretical and pragmatic challenges presented by the diverse components and disciplines. While the thesis is interdisciplinary, drawing from criminology, education, psychology, and social policy, its anchor is the study of social intervention; it therefore uses as a road map guidelines of the Medical Research Council to develop and evaluate police training as a complex social intervention (Craig et al., 2008).

As this thesis strives to produce *actionable knowledge*, throughout there is an attempt to move beyond particular conclusions of the specific evaluation, and to identify elements that are of relevance to police training interventions in a wider context (Gough & Elbourne, 2002). In the opening chapter, the theoretical and sociological foundations of police training are first deliberated (Chapter 3). With this analysis in mind, a review of the current state of the evidence on police training in general is presented; this general review is necessary to inform the particular police training intervention examined. The thesis then turns to studying a specific context and intervention: Educational Training in the Israeli Border Police. The social and organisational context of the study is analysed (Chapter 4), and then the model of training in use in this police force is presented and analysed in light of the literature (Chapter 5). An intervention manual relating to a single policing task – policing of protests – was developed and experimentally trialled (as described in Chapters

6 and 7). The thesis then examines the barriers to procedural justice, focusing on interventions in deeply divided societies (Chapter 8). It concludes with a broad-spectrum discussion of knowledge translation in police organisations (Chapter 9).

### Democratic police training: towards a broader definition of effectiveness

Across the globe, police organisations are frequently criticised by the public for not maintaining the standards of ethical and professional behaviour expected of them. In democracies, these 'standards' fit within the conceptual framework of *democratic policing* (Bayley, 2001; Manning, 2010: more on this in chapter 1). One of the recurring remedies proposed for such organisational failures is better training.

This thesis is concerned with democratic policing not only as a theoretical construct, but with advancing the knowledge base of effective police training which can improve democratic policing practices. As such, it is part of the movement towards evidence-based policing, a growing global trend (Farrington, MacKenzie, Sherman, & Welsh, 2003). As in other fields, there is a desire for the police to do what they do effectively; to this end, science has been co-opted to assist in the transformation of policing practices, and make the police better and more professional.

Yet the police is not an ordinary work sector; like the health and education systems, it is a public sector charged with delivering basic rights. As such, the conceptualisation of effectiveness cannot be other than narrow, and training is not simply a means of increasing productivity. An analysis of the sociological and political meanings bestowed upon the police in democratic societies indicates that research and policy-making cannot focus on crime reduction interventions alone, and interpret effective

policing as concerned only with effective crime-fighting strategies. In confronting the complex nature of policing, the deeper question of what it means for the police to be 'effective' in a democratic society arises (Reiner, 2010).

The effectiveness of the police as a societal institution is conceptually different from the effectiveness of a specific policing intervention. In his seminal police ethnography of the Oakland police department in the 1970s, the criminologist William Ker Muir proposed the hypothesis that 'effective policing in general (at least that which is congenial to a free and open society) depends on some of the same values and skills often thought important for democratic citizenship more broadly' (in Sklansky, 2008, p. 169).

Some police scholars have suggested that effectiveness and fairness in policing are mutually reinforcing rather than mutually exclusive, as is often argued (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Effectiveness and fairness are both central to the standard of living accepted in democratic countries. Strategies for reducing crime and ensuring order are essential for upholding the right to life, liberty and security of person, as stated in Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 2008). On the other hand, fairness in policing – referring to the behavioural norms of police officers - is a prerequisite for the principle of equality before the law (Article 7), as well as necessary for protection from inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 5). These examples demonstrate the inextricable nature of fairness and effectiveness, and may also shed light on the far-ranging consequences of the misuse of force by the police.

Training is a meaningful focus of research because ‘achieving greater effectiveness and fairness depends in large part on the capacity of a society to get its police to carry out legitimate policies designed to further these ends’ (Skogan & Frydl, 2004, p. 109). The governability of the police is tied to questions concerning how to influence police practice and align it with democratic norms. Training is one of the central means available to achieve this goal.

### [Using an Evidence-based Practice framework to study police training](#)

This thesis aims to advance the evidence-base of democratic police training, training which promotes democratic practices. To contribute to this inquiry, the training programme in use by the Israeli Border Police (BP) was evaluated, and a short training course which epitomises its pedagogy was developed. This study brings into focus an aspect of policing not yet widely explored through an Evidence-based Practice lens: officer behaviour rather than organisational behaviour or strategy. To do so, it draws on education and psychology as much as on criminology and policing studies.

My desire to study this field arose from my experiences as a practitioner; During 2008 and 2009 I designed and delivered training packages about human trafficking to Israeli police officers. As part of my work, I was able to reflect on the gaps between law and morality in officers’ attitudes and behaviours, and the significance of bridging that gap. I was concerned not only with the question ‘had I made a difference?’ but with the possibility that I had inadvertently caused harm (for example, by creating a cognitive dissonance that could create a backlash in officers’ behaviour).

The Evidence-based Practice (EBP) framework allowed me to address these questions. The most commonly used definition of EBP is the ‘conscientious, explicit, judicious

use of current best evidence in making decisions' (Sackett, Rosenberg, Gray, Haynes, & Richardson, 1996). EBP is in essence concerned with making the best use of evidence in practice, in order to 'reduce harm' and to 'increase liberty', or increase human welfare more broadly (Sherman, 2009; p. 23). While the move towards professionalization is not a new one, nor the appeal to science, the influence of the EBP movement, alongside methodological and technological advances, mean that evidence-based policing is becoming more of a reality across the globe.

As the EBP movement extends its reach across the professions and into criminology, the need for evidence-based policing is gaining recognition. Larry Sherman, one of the field's most prominent advocates, has argued for the relevance of the evidence-based paradigm for policing for almost three decades. Sherman draws a parallel between the 'autonomous' and 'unsupervised' nature of decision making in policing and in medicine, the profession in which evidence-based practice originates and is most established:

It is a process of making decisions about how police agencies produce the best results...it focuses decisions on what works, and how we know what works, far more intensely than police... are accustomed to doing. It is not a paradigm for how to do police work, but a paradigm for evaluating and improving whatever police do. In that sense it supports, rather than replaces, other paradigms for using police work.(Sherman, 2002; p. 231).

Criticism of EBP is directed in particular to its extension beyond medicine and pharmacology, from where it originates, and into the sphere of psycho-social interventions. The debate continues regarding its role, its importance, and its boundaries. Criticism ranges from wider societal questions, to the applicability of the framework itself, and to the relevance of the 'positivist methodologies' it advocates.

A significant portion of the criticism towards EBP is concerned with the privileged status it awards Randomised Controlled Trials (RCTs) as the 'gold standard' of evidence (Greenhalgh, 2006). This methodology is considered by critics as ill-equipped to capture complex social phenomena and therefore inappropriate for evaluating psycho-social interventions (Hammersly 2005; p. 94). Theorists and practitioners, for example in the field of education, have claimed that it is inappropriate to assessing the 'ongoing, emerging, interactive, relational, changing, open situations' that characterise these types of interventions (Morrison, 2001: p. 72). These claims have been rejected by EBP supporters, who have demonstrated the relevance and necessity of RCTs in social work, education and public health (for example Oakley, 2006).

Similarly, addressing the current state of evidence-based policing, Greene argues the EBP 'model can be seen to sidestep the differences between medical and social phenomena,' which ignores the effects of context, meaning and other social factors. As it currently stands, much of police-related research appears to 'black box' the treatment' (Greene, 2014, p. 22) rather than illuminate the social processes and ecosystems that shape it.

However, it should be recognised EBP is an evolving framework – partially in response to these critiques – not a fixed set of ideas. It is important to be able to separate the possible misuse of EBP or its crudeness with inherent incompatibility. EBP – in medicine and outside it - is not all about 'experiments'. It asks diverse questions, for example about compliance, harm, individual and group variance, and interaction of treatment with health service, and uses diverse methodologies to answer these questions (Greene, 2014). As a result, within the framework of EBP there is a possibility to 'generate an informed social debate about how we may live collectively' (Loader,

2010, p. 91).

While RCTs are still regarded as the method which can best reduce bias, the strict 'hierarchy of evidence' is – slowly – being replaced by an understanding that it is the 'appropriateness of evidence' that matters (Craig et al., 2008; Rawlins, 2008). This revision calls for using the methodologies best suited to answer the research questions at hand.

Furthermore, a new synthesis of methodologies, termed 'realist trials', has been developed to address this issue exactly: to capture the importance of the ecological and organisational setting and their interactions with the intervention. Proponents of this synthesis adopt 'a critical but realist ontological and epistemological perspective, which asserts that while social phenomena cannot always be studied in exactly the same way as "natural" objects (because they are qualitatively different) they can be studied scientifically as "social" objects' (Bhaskar, 1979, in Bonell et al., 2015, p. 81). This approach defies the traditional separation of the positivist paradigms, advocating for their conjunction as the path forward to improved ability to capture not only what works but for whom and in what circumstances.

While it could be argued that it is not possible to bridge these epistemologies, Bonell and his colleagues elegantly and succinctly argue (following Hammersly, 1995) that social scientists do not follow 'distinct paradigms' but rather 'constellations of ideas' they 'adopt to greater or lesser extents' (Bonell, Fletcher, Morton, Lorenc, & Moore, 2013). They emphasise that research is a means to an end, not a goal within itself. Realist trials and other mixed methods studies can advance understanding and better human welfare, and that is the ultimate justification for their use.

Bonell and his colleagues (2013) also directly address the criticism that RCTS cannot provide practitioners and policy makers with evidence they can use to make the '*conscientious, explicit and judicious*' decisions envisioned in the EBP literature (Sackett et al., 1996). They argue this can potentially be achieved by designing trials that can examine mediator and moderator effects, by taking into account the context of delivery and how it interacts with the '*mechanisms*' of the intervention (either as part of the trial or the accompanying process evaluation), and by keeping programme theory at centre stage, using the trial to explicate and test it (Bonell et al., 2012).

Realist trials bring a '*white box*' approach to experimental evaluation, weakening the relevance of the realist criticism of RCTs as '*black box*' evaluation. This new approach is well aligned with the evolution advocated by Greene with regards to the field of evidence-based policing. In order to promote '*prediction with meaning*', he calls for a move away from experiments only to a mixed methods approach, in which the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods can '*broaden understanding*' of the processes, why interventions work (or not), and in what conditions they succeed (Greene, 2014).

This thesis incorporates the theoretical and methodological advancements discussed by both Bonell and his colleagues (2012)<sup>1</sup> and by Greene (2014); it employed a mixed-methods approach, placing context and theory centre stage in order to unpack the '*black box*' of police training. This was supported by the use of the guidelines for developing complex interventions proposed by the MRC, discussed below (Craig et al., 2008).

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<sup>1</sup> While Bonnell et al.'s papers had not been published at the outset of this study, this position was taught and deliberated in the Department of Social Policy and Intervention.

Another, related, line of opposition to EBP is based on the argument that it leaves no room for local experience and expertise. For example, with regards to social work it has been claimed that it undermines professional judgement and encourages ‘new managerialism’ at the expense of the helping professions’ mandate (Webb, 2001). This line of argument is also relevant for the field of policing. Reflecting on the prominence of evidence-based policing among academics and policy-makers, Willis (2013) argues that key to success is re-shaping the relationship between ‘craft’ and ‘science’, so that ‘each partner bestows equal worth on the other and has a rightful place in guiding the decisions of the rank-and-file officer’ (p. 6). This realignment will allow bringing into focus the *quality* of police work, with aspects such as procedural justice and distributive justice being acknowledged and measured.

Willis’s assessment highlights that the issue is not whether EBP is the right framework, but that it needs to evolve. As part of its fundamental conceptualisation, EBP promotes a decision-making model that incorporates high quality research evidence with the practitioners’ irreplaceable understanding of clients/communities and the clients’/communities’ own preferences (Sackett et al., 1996; Haynes, Devereaux, & Guyatt, 2002). Yet, outside of medicine, not enough tools have been developed to aid the decision-making process at its core. Researchers share a responsibility to develop the appropriate processes or process-aids in the different fields to which EBP is extending.

This research project addresses this issue on two levels. First, by focusing on training as intervention that helps officers incorporate evidence into their decision-making process (in this case the evidence on components of procedural justice). Second, by proposing a tailored methodology police organisations can use to develop an evidence-led training intervention imbedded in local, *craft knowledge*.

To summarise, in researching and writing this doctoral thesis, I have attempted not only to demonstrate the relevance of EBP to policing, but also to contribute to the evolution of this framework. The thesis offers a refined approach, a wealth of techniques and a philosophical position that accepts complexity and does not limit itself to a narrow conceptualisation of EBP. It is built on four pillars, which I see as key to the advancement and maturation of EBP: first, theory-driven evaluation, which aspires to understand mechanisms of change; second, the contextual/ecological approach advocated as part of realist evaluation, which sees the police officer as embedded within his organisation and society; third, a positivist position that aspires to uncovering causal connections using experimental methods; and fourth, a participatory approach, which recognises the importance of practitioners' knowledge and sees partnerships as necessary to knowledge translation.

These theoretical and methodological components were central in shaping the design and research in this project, and served as a roadmap that guided its scholarly integrity. Combining these strands was a particular challenge within a DPhil project, especially one that addresses an area with little previous research to build on. Yet, it is the interweaving of these elements which allows for the production and use of the best available evidence, and for ensuring that evidence is used in practice, as this thesis will demonstrate. These four elements are manifest in the Medical Research Council's guidelines for developing and evaluating complex interventions.

The guidelines for developing complex interventions, devised by the MRC (Craig et al., 2008), served as a blueprint of this research project. The stages of this project are aligned to those proposed in the guidelines, and the leading research questions they

pose frame the epistemic position of this endeavour. The thesis includes the four stages proposed in the MRC guidelines for the development of complex interventions: development, feasibility and piloting, evaluation, and implementation (figure 1). The thesis's structure follows these stages, creating a clear path: identifying and developing theory (Chapters 2, 5), contextualising (4, 8), piloting the intervention to assess feasibility (6), experimental evaluation (7) and dissemination (9). A navigation bar appearing at the start of each chapter will help to position it within these stages (figure 2).

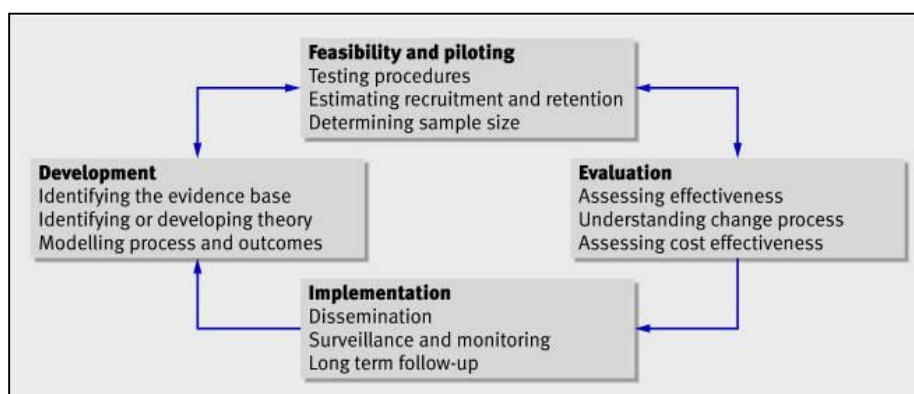
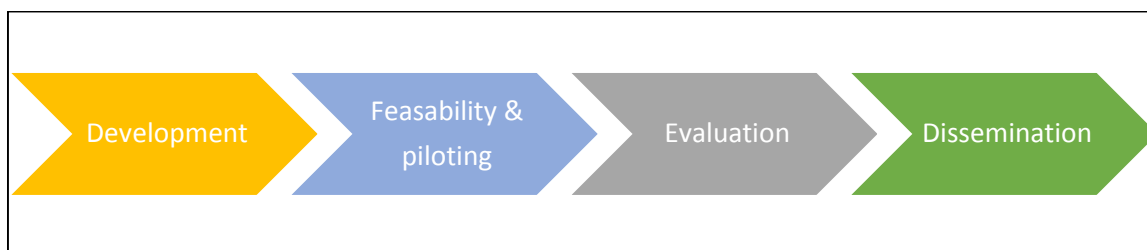


Figure 1: A 4-stage model for the development and evaluation of complex interventions (Craig et al., 2008)

### The Border Police study: landmarks and challenges

The Border Police Educational Training intervention was the case study chosen as the centre of this thesis. As I argue in Chapter 4, this focus on a liminal case study is justified. Israel – a democracy which is not fully established but also not a democracy by name only, with a serious minority - police conflict – can serve as a ‘laboratory of ideas’ in which to examine the issues at the core of this area of inquiry. This case



**Figure 2: Thesis Navigation bar (following MRC guideline stages)**

study therefore contributes to a broader understanding of police training, not only in divided societies but across of a variety of contexts.

Putting aside the theoretical validation, the research project was not straightforward and demanded patience, creativity and pragmatism. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, there is currently relatively little academic research of the Israeli police, because access to study police officers is not easily granted, and due to a historic lack of trust between police authorities and Israeli academics. This research project was enabled thanks to strong support from the BP's Education Unit's head officers, granted as a result of a previous collaboration (Litmanovitz, 2009), as well as outreach to a former senior police commander. The former was the basis for the proposal, the latter assisted in dealing with the many bureaucratic barriers placed in the proposal's path.

The research took place between 2011 and 2014, and contained three central stages: mapping and analysing the complex intervention and context; developing an exemplary training programme and piloting it; and an experimental and process evaluation of the programme. The key research activities are outlines in the flowchart below, which are aligned to the MRC guideline's stages (this can be easily followed using the stages' colour-coding).

Several context-specific difficulties should be described in order to understand the particular challenges that had to be dealt with in carrying out this research. First,

there was no formal and transparent procedure for receiving approval to carry out research with the police in Israel. This caused significant uncertainty, and delayed the beginning of data collection by an entire year. Second, and connectedly, academia-police collaborations were quite rare (although it appears that this is changing) and the organisational culture does not support 'external' research (and to an extent it does not support internal research either). This meant dealing with suspicion, and having to 'educate' the organization regarding the value of such research and particularly experimental designs. This also meant limited cooperation, for example in access to organisational records and existing validated measurements tools, forcing me to rely primarily on my own work and relevant global literature. Third, because I was not working within an established research group, funding for the study was limited.<sup>2</sup> This affected my choice of measurement framework and tools, as it was not possible to measure the use of skills and behaviour without more extensive resources.

Despite these barriers, thanks to the support of the Education Unit I was able to gain access, cooperation and in-kind resources (for example using police vehicles for transportation, relying on members of Education Unit to distribute questionnaires). The partnership created, analysed in Chapter 9, enabled the successful completion of this project.

Other challenges stemmed not from the organisation, but from my own research choices, directed by the decision to take a participatory stance and allow room for local knowledge. Rather than trial a one-off training package, developed from a

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<sup>2</sup> The feasibility stage was supported by a John Fell Foundation (OUP) seed grant. I spent a great deal of time applying for additional funding, but the combination of topic and country meant the study did not meet support criteria from both the policing and criminology foundations or from institutes supporting democratization processes (Israel is excluded from most middle-east funded streams).

# The Israel Border Police Procedural Training Study: key points in the timeline

colour-aligned to MRC model

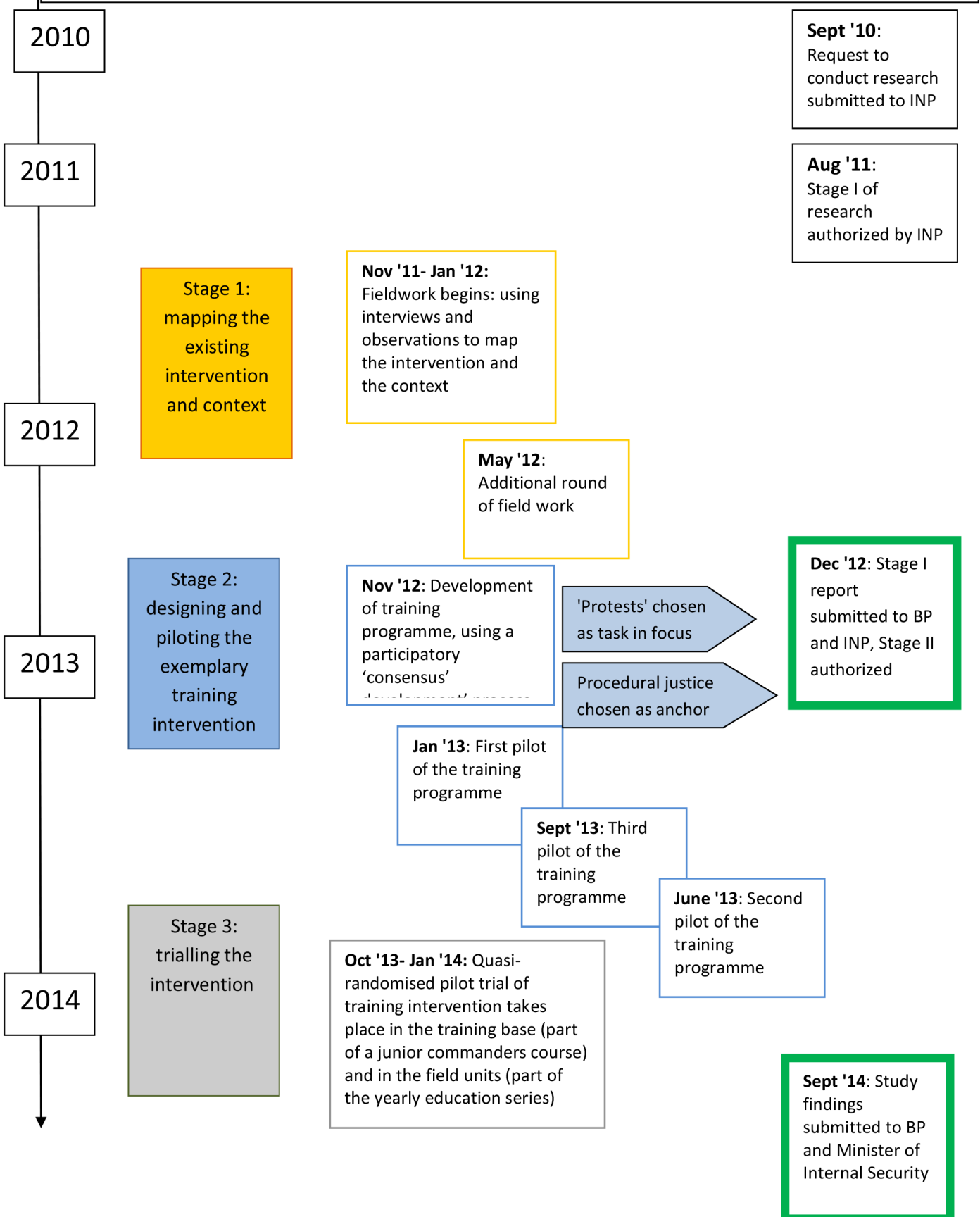


figure 2: study flowchart

clean slate or imported from another context, the research tested an existing, 'living' intervention already in operation. In line with both the evidence and participatory research principles, I used the programme theory in use in the BP to create a short training course. This included the structures and hypothesised active ingredients of the BP model, alongside additional evidence-based content and methods. This approach meant a much lengthier and more complicated process (increased by the lack of facilitating organisational structures) but I believe that it is of greater benefit to the partner organisation and the literature.

Another set of 'complications' was presented due to the unfolding, formative nature of the research (Ling, 2012), necessary for accommodating the collaborative and evidence-oriented approach. The focus of the intervention evaluated was determined during the second stage of the research: policing of protests was chosen as the task the intervention targets and procedural justice as the anchor of the intervention; this combination created an additional challenge, as no previous research has attempted this. The decision to focus on a specific task and not on democratic policing in general was made as a result of the findings of the literature review concerning behaviour change mechanisms. The choice of task was part of the needs analysis carried out by the Education Unit. The choice to focus on procedural justice, as both the content of the training and as the skill-set it would try to impart, was a result of the consensus development process in which a round-table of internal experts determined its relevance and feasibility (described in Chapters 6 and 9). This demonstrates the complexity of the research process and how decisions were based both on evidence and on 'local' organizational knowledge. The next section examines this challenge from a theoretical perspective.

## Procedural Justice and Legitimacy: first as justification, second as tool

This thesis first introduces the legitimacy paradigm to support the argument concerning the need to reform the police and increase the procedural justice, or fairness displayed by the police in interactions with the public. The framework proposes that the fairness of officers' behaviour and decision-making is the variable responsible for the public willingness to cooperate and comply with police and the law (Tyler, 2004; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). The legitimacy paradigm is prominent and widespread in the fields of criminology and policing; it is considered to be based on rigorous research.

The second 'appearance' of the paradigm in this thesis is a component of the training intervention: the hypotheses were that knowledge of the paradigm, supportive attitudes towards it, and its translation to a practical tool officers could use 'on the ground' would support procedurally fair and democratically oriented policing practices. As explained in the previous section, this was not a pre-determined decision, but one that arose based on unfolding needs and evidence assessment.

A recent systematic review of the evidence regarding interventions to increase procedural justice concluded they can be used "as vehicles for promoting and enhancing citizen satisfaction with and confidence in police, compliance and cooperation, and perceptions of procedural justice." (Mazerolle et al, 2013). This review pointed to training interventions as an especially promising avenue. However, none of the experimental studies included in the review took place outside of established, western democracies. Furthermore, no studies – empirical or otherwise – had addressed the relevance or compatibility of the legitimacy and procedural justice framework to high

policing generally and to the policing of protests specifically. These lacunas presented a multi-faceted challenge, both theoretical and pragmatic. While it was known that the public view in Israel 'fit' the paradigm, it was not clear how BP officers would react to the demand to accept it and adopt it; awareness of this issue and its assessment supports the 'realist' aspect of the trial (Chapter 8).

Second, there was no established body of work which discussed procedural justice in the context of protests. There was no theoretical argument which negated this conjuncture, and indeed Mazerolle and her colleagues (2013) claimed that any police intervention could be improved in terms of the 'amount' of procedural justice delivered. This thesis therefore also present an opportunity to examine this issue. Chapter 8 proposes that since dialogue is the possible active ingredient of procedural justice interventions, this could stand in contrast to protest policing in cases where dialogue is not a guiding operative principle.

Third, the lack of existing literature on the topic meant there was no existing 'manual' on how procedural justice would be realised in protests. Since this had to be conceptualised to be measured, part of the effort of the piloting was to construct with the help of commanders and participating officers a list of activities that would reflect the principles of procedural justice (Chapter 6). These make up the questionnaire items assessing the skills element of the training (Chapter 7). They need to be tested in additional contexts in order to be validated.

In my opinion, the challenges described here, while adding to the complexity of the research process, contribute to the innovative nature of this project, which charts new steps forward in the field of policing and police training. The value of pushing these

research boundaries is both theoretical and practical, as it adds to our understanding of the nature of the *legitimacy/fairness nexus* in deeply divided societies and in high policing tasks, and at the same time can contribute to the ‘empirical’ fairness of the police (Bradford, Jackson, & Hough, 2013).

## Chapter 1/

### Methodological framework and research questions

## Section 1 / Using the MRC framework for developing and evaluating complex interventions: justifications and reflections

Training, or educational training, is the generic name for an intervention which tries to socialise police officers to the norms and standards set by the police organisation. However, it was recognised early on in this project that there is a relative variety in how such interventions are structured across contexts and geographies, and that it was better viewed as a complex intervention, with attention paid not only to the manual being delivered but also to the system and context within which it was delivered.

The guidelines for developing complex interventions, devised by the Medical Research Council (MRC) (Craig et al., 2008), served as a blueprint of this research project. The stages of this project are aligned to those proposed in the guidelines, and the leading research questions they pose frame the succession of questions which formed my inquiry. The guidelines were chosen as an EBP 'approved' tool, which identifies most coherently the steps required in such an endeavour.

This thesis made an effort to address the MRC model's first two stages; these are often neglected in the evaluation of complex interventions, leading to research that does not maximise its potential. Understanding the existing intervention, building the model of change, identifying and developing the appropriate theory, modelling the processes and outcomes and identifying the possible active ingredients and the relevant outcome measures are all essential parts of the process of developing effective interventions; they are a prerequisite for a rigorous evaluation phase. Because police training has not benefitted from an EBP approach, this thorough and detailed exposition will be beneficial for any researcher evaluating a specific police training intervention.

The MRC framework offers a structure that allowed me to move through the different essential tasks of developing and evaluating an intervention; it is not in itself a methodology, and did not confine the research process. Rather it helped me to keep in mind core questions that are inseparable from the EBP approach: working in line with existing evidence, the need for piloting to ensure feasibility, and the importance of user involvement to acceptability, take-up and future adoption of the intervention. These are 'good practice' principles for researchers concerned with producing valuable research that can be used to inform EBP.

Just as the CONSORT and PRISMA statements are not methodologies (Moher et al., 1998; Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, & Altman, 2009) but intended to guide researchers and reviewers in ensuring the rigorous application of research methods, so the MRC framework attempts to provide the same guiding principles: 'We do not intend the revised guidance to be prescriptive but to help researchers, funders, and other decision makers to make appropriate methodological and practical choices.' Using the MRC guidelines to steer and shape the study flows directly from adopting an EBP framework for policing, and for police training particularly; like other guidelines promoted by the EBP movement, the MRC is a quality assurance strategy to producing exacting and rigorous research.

The MRC guidelines were revised in 2008, among other reasons to address advancements in the theory and methodology of EBP. The new guidelines emphasise the principles I highlighted in the introduction: theory, context and user involvement. To enable meaningful exploration of these issues, the guidelines promote a mixed-methods approach which includes both experimental and qualitative designs.

Mixed-methods approaches such as those advocated in the MRC guidelines have been criticised for creating a contradiction of ontological assumptions (Blackwood et al., 2010). Two 'solutions' should be considered, which both help justify the methodological strategy adopted in this research project. First, when positioning theory as a pivotal aspect of evaluation, as the MRC framework does, emphasis is placed not only on developing and testing theories of interventions (how they work, why they work) but also on theory as the driving force which directs the choice of the most appropriate methodologies (Chen, 1990). Mixed-methods evaluations are often used when adopting the Theory-driven Evaluation (TDE) framework, as it 'provides a plan and agenda for mixed methods to work collaboratively and de-emphasizes their differences and incompatibilities' (Chen, 2006, p. 75) .

Second, the realist evaluation framework, which draws on the ontology of critical realism, has been proposed as bridging this supposed incongruity, because it recognises the possibility of causal tendencies and the ability to detect such patterns (Blackwood et al. 2010). This can be translated to mean that RCTs and realist evaluation are compatible (Bonell et al., 2013). The conjuncture of positivism and critical realism 'can offer a qualified acceptance of the results of RCTs without committing itself to a naive belief that these results are easily replicable in other contexts' (Blackwood et al.; p. 519). This path of 'realist RCTs' was described in the previous section, and offers a way forward from this supposed gridlock. The elements of Realist RCTs described in Bonell et al.'s work are included in the design of the Border Police trial; as this was a pilot trial and a DPhil project, it could not capture all the elements fully due to limited time and funding.

Another, related revision of the MRC guidelines is in the recent extension which addresses process evaluation as an essential part of any experimental evaluation of complex interventions (Moore et al., 2015). The 2008 updated guidelines addressed the need for process evaluation, but the actual guidance was only published in 2015, after the completion of the research described in this thesis. Nonetheless, I mention it here as it emphasises aspects of the guidelines that I drew from in my work, most importantly the central role of theory in evaluation, and the need to investigate implementation systematically and in a context-specific manner. The extended guidelines provide further support for the methods utilised in my thesis.

In adopting the MRC framework I chose to focus on the complexity of the intervention rather than on complexity as the property of the system, in this case the Israeli Border Police. I believe this was an appropriate choice, considering both the nature of the intervention and the nature of the project. Shiell and his colleagues (2008) point out that the distinction between these approaches 'is easily blurred because they share common features' (p. 1281); crucially, they both emphasise the centrality of context. The 'complexity' of intervention is rooted in the not-easily-defined active ingredients, and how these interact with one another and with the context to produce results; the 'complexity' of the system derives from its constant adaptations and its non-linear reactions.

It was only through the mapping of the problem, the context and the intervention that it emerged that both aspects of complexity are present in this case study. Approaching this project, it was not clear from the outset the aspects in which 'educational training' was a complex intervention. This became clear only through

the first phase of the research, in which the intervention and the organisation were mapped (see the flowchart in the Introduction). For example, the programme theory revealed that the intervention actually attempts to change the organisation, not only the police officers. This means that the aspect of 'non-linearity and disproportionate outcomes' may be relevant.

The complex intervention lens was selected over the complex systems one, although both could be potentially justified. This is because firstly, it allows the focus to remain on the content and methodology of police training interventions, which have not benefited from rigorous and theoretical evaluations. Second, there is no equivalent to the MRC framework in terms of best practice guidelines when adopting a complex systems approach, and considering how under-researched the field of police training is, it would have added additional challenges to an already complex project. Thirdly, I believe using a complex systems evaluation framework necessitates a wider, deeper mandate from the organisation; it was not within my purview to examine these wider questions.

This choice does not mean the organisational context was disregarded. It was given in-depth attention both in modelling the theory, in designing the curriculum and through the implementation assessment tool which included systems aspects, particularly the role of the commander. Chapter 5 follows an ecological systems approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979); it is dedicated to analysing Israeli society, the national police, the BP within it and finally the education unit as multiple layers that may interact with the intervention. In this, it follows the recommendations of Sheill et al. (2004) regarding the integration of elements of complexity science in the use of the MRC

guidelines; they suggest trials should 'start by trying to understand communities themselves as complex systems and how the health problem or phenomena of interest is currently produced by that system' (p. 1562). This attempt was made in the first stage of the Border Police study.

## Section 2/ Research questions and methodologies

The MRC guidelines suggest leading research questions that should guide the development and evaluation of complex interventions. These questions were used in the continuous and evolving design of the research. Due to the collaborative nature of the project, and the fact that many factors were not clear at the outset (most importantly the alignment of the BP's training model with best evidence), some of the questions were modified during the process. The choice of methodologies was also determined as the project progressed, based on theoretical and pragmatic considerations. The following section and the supplementary table (Table 1) highlight the central questions and the accompanying methodologies. The table is also colour-coded to aid understanding of how the questions align with the MRC framework. Additional information and justification regarding the methods is also included in the relevant chapters.

The overarching question this research set out to address was as follows: 'is training an effective intervention for enhancing democratic policing practices and norms?' As the project progressed a more focused question emerged: 'Is procedural justice-focused training an effective intervention for improving knowledge, attitudes and skills related to democratic policing of protests among Israeli Border Police officers, and why or why not?'

MRC Stage #	Aim	Research questions	Methodology
1	Identify the theory and evidence-base of police training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;What is the evidence regarding effective mechanisms and strategies of occupational training?</li> <li>&gt;What are the effective behaviour change mechanisms in police organisations or for police officers?</li> </ul>	Review of the literature, including systematic searches of electronic databases and privileging of systematic reviews and meta-analyses.
1	Mapping the context of the intervention and creating a 'problem theory'	What factors (in each level of the police officers' ecology) might be of relevance to the success or failure of democratic police training?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;Review of the literature, particularly Israeli academic and 'grey' publications</li> <li>&gt;Elite interviews as source of data</li> </ul>
1	Producing a 'programme theory' of the BP intervention and a theoretical model of police training.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;What are the theories of change regarding educational training in the Israeli Border Police?</li> <li>&gt;Are there components of the BP training model that are compatible with the effective training strategies identified in the literature?</li> </ul>	Theories of Change evaluation framework in conjuncture with Grounded Theory. Data collection methods included observations and interviews.
2	Developing an exemplary intervention focused on policing of protests which is both evidence-led and compatible with organizational practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;Do police training interventions for the policing of demonstrations and public disorder influence the knowledge, attitudes, skills or behaviours related to democratic policing norms of police officers in democratic countries?</li> <li>&gt;Which active ingredients of the BP intervention, and what evidence-led content and methods, should be included in the training manual?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;Systematic Review</li> <li>&gt;A consensus development tailored methodology</li> </ul> Piloting
3	Assessing the effectiveness of the intervention	Is procedural justice-focused training an effective intervention for improving knowledge, attitudes and skills related to democratic policing of protests among Israeli Border Police officers?	A pilot quasi-randomised clustered trial
3	Understanding the mechanisms of the intervention	What factors, related to the societal context or the organisational context, limited the potential effectiveness of procedural justice as an anchor of the training?	Process evaluation using an implementation assessment tool and group interviews

table 1: research questions

The first set of questions are those which set out to identify the theory and evidence-base of police training in general, not limited to the Israeli context in which I eventually carried out the study. This is aligned to the conceptual framework of TDE, which places the programme theory as the 'super-ordinate research question' (Chen, 2006).

The first question is 'what is the evidence on effective mechanisms and strategies of occupational training?' This question was initially framed to include only police training, but was extended to medical training and teacher training as it became clear that the evidence base was more robust for those fields. The second question pertained to policing but not to training: 'what are the effective behaviour change mechanisms in police organisations or for police officers?' This question was included because I hypothesised that they might be relevant for either training content or methodology.

The methodology for both was a literature review of electronic databases and pre-identified books, for example Skogan & Frydl's review of fairness and effectiveness in policing (2004); I attempted to locate systematic reviews and meta-analysis as the base of the analysis but also included high-quality studies of various designs.

The second set of questions relates to the context in which the intervention was delivered. Drawing on the MRC guidance regarding the centrality of context for complex interventions and on Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (1979), the research question addressed in Chapter 4 is: 'what factors might be of relevance to the success or failure of democratic police training?' The chapter hones in progressively from the macro level down to the individual level, each level drawing on different sources. While most levels could be analysed using Israeli or international policing literature,

for the organizational level (the exo-system) the data did not exist. It therefore turned to the narratives provided in the elite interviews conducted during the first phase of research to piece together the contextual factors connected to the Education Unit and the BP more widely. One of the recognised benefits of organisational elite interviews is that 'they can provide information not recorded elsewhere, or not yet available (if ever) for public release' (Richards, 1996; p. 200). The analysis was used to construct a 'problem theory', providing a concise version of the review.

The third set of questions relate to the Complex Educational Training Intervention used by the Israeli Border Police. The first question focused on the intervention, or programme theory: 'what are the theories of change of educational training in the Israeli Border Police?' In this case, the research question itself is clearly tied to the choice of methodology: the 'theories of change' approach, which is a qualitative, narrative-oriented approach usually used for community interventions (Weiss, 1995). The inquiry centred on two sub-questions: 'what are the goals of the intervention?' and 'what are the means to achieving them?' To answer the questions meaningfully and thoroughly, a range of data collection methods were utilised, focusing on various populations within the organization: policy documents, elite interviews, observations of training, and individual and group interviews with education unit staff, field commanders and police officers. The subsequent question was concerned with possible *active ingredients*: 'are there components of the BP training model that are compatible with effective training strategies identified in the literature?' This was necessary for establishing if there was justification for experimentally trialling this intervention, and which components in particular should be included and emphasised both in the BP's future work and in academic research. For this purpose, the model

was examined in relation to the literature review conducted prior to the beginning of fieldwork.

The next stage of the research was concerned with developing an exemplary intervention that could be tested in an experimental fashion; testing the effectiveness of the complex intervention as a whole was not possible within the parameters of the study. Two questions led this stage. The first was concerned with the state of the evidence concerning the specific policing task chosen: Do police training interventions for the policing of demonstrations and public disorder influence the knowledge, attitudes, skills or behaviours related to *democratic policing* norms of police officers in democratic countries? The methodology selected was a systematic review; 'systematic reviews of RCTs are accepted as providing the best evidence' regarding the efficacy of educational interventions (Rychetnik, Frommer, Hawe, & Shiell, 2002; p. 121).

The second question concerned the feasibility of incorporating evidence-based 'ingredients' into the exemplary training manual, and the best route for their adaptation, or tailoring, and inclusion in this organisational context. Some of these were new to the organisation, for example the use of a procedural justice framework, and some were already in use but not used advantageously – for example, simulations as a delivery method. For this purpose, 'consensus development' methodology was chosen; this is the most structured approach for incorporating theory, evidence and 'craft', which allows organisation members to meaningfully contribute to the design of an evidence-led training intervention process (Murphy et al., 1998).

Once the intervention package was finalised, the research question addressed was: 'Is

procedural justice-focused training an effective intervention for improving knowledge, attitudes and skills related to democratic policing of protests among Israeli Border Police officers?’ The components of this question can be recognised as the product of the research process described thus far. The research design chosen for this pilot study was a clustered quasi-randomised design, for a combination of methodological and pragmatic reasons. Regarding the clustering: because training is a group activity, delivering it as an individual level intervention was not a relevant option, even though this would have allowed for a smaller N. In the BP, training is always delivered either to ‘organic’ units or in groups for the duration of an academy training course. Training is conceptualised as a group activity, and the learning is hypothesised to be effective because the group and their commander all undergo the same process (Chapter 5 discusses this aspect of the intervention model). Both the group effect and the organisational support would be lost if individual randomisation was chosen. Cluster-randomisation is also considered advantageous because it minimises contamination bias (Hayes & Moulton, 2009); this was less of a problem in this pilot as the data was collected immediately post intervention, but in any scale-up effort this will be significant.

Regarding randomisation, experimental designs provide the best path to making causal claims, especially in psycho-social contexts (Bonell, Fletcher, Morton, Lorenc, & Moore, 2012). Randomisation is a method for ensuring that any change in outcomes is caused primarily by exposure to the intervention (the experimental condition), and not from any difference in the groups compared that cannot be controlled for. The randomisation strategy in this study made use of both regular randomisation manipulated as part of the research, and naturally occurring randomisation (‘quasi

randomisation’) as part of organisational processes; this combination was used to counterbalance the limited ability of this pilot trial to include a larger number of clusters and the inability to ensure equality of groups using baseline measures.

In the first arm of the trial, which examined on-the-job training, the naturally occurring randomisation is of operational units to weeks of the year in which they receive the training; this strategy was taken to raise the probability that the units selected was representative of the population. A time frame was selected and all the units already scheduled to undergo yearly training during those months, and which met the inclusion criteria, would be included in the study. The second arm, which dealt with police academy training, relied on the process by which officers are almost randomly allocated to different groups in which they undergo the training; this meant that there was reason to assume that the groups were ‘equal’ regarding characteristics we would be interested in if we could have measured (like socio-economic status, or self-legitimacy).

In terms of measures to assess effectiveness, the intervention assessed knowledge, attitudes and skills, as these are the mid-level indicators that lead to a change in norms and behaviours according to the intervention’s logic model. Due to the limited resources of a DPhil project, it was not possible to measure change over time, nor was it possible to measure behaviours on the ground. Additionally, though it originally planned to measure at both individual level and group level (for example, use-of-force complaints lodged against a unit, or ‘ethical climate’ assessments), no instruments were available for use (mostly due to lack of access), and considering the small number of clusters in arm A (on-the-job training) this would not have provided any meaningful data.

The last research question addressed concerns the 'why': within the framework of theory-driven evaluation, part of the aim is to 'unpack the black box' of an intervention and understand the reasons for its success or failure (Astbury & Leeuw, 2010). While the process evaluation encompassed a wider set of questions, the main question examined is: 'What factors related to the societal context or the organisational context limited the potential effectiveness of procedural justice as an anchor of the training?' This contributes to a more in-depth theory, which can be used to refine the intervention and any further research. This question is aligned to the core principles of the thesis: it brings into focus the significance of context, and tries to unpack how the different levels of the police ecology interact with a specific 'evidence-based' component. This question is aligned to the realist RCT framework which values process as a way of unpacking the black box of interventions. In this case, the inquiry reveals the barriers to implementing a procedural justice training intervention in a paramilitary police organisation operating in a deeply divided society.

The method chosen was thematic analysis – a qualitative methodology, drawing from interview and observational data. This was the most appropriate approach, given that the goal was to understand the experience and meaning attributed to the intervention by the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data from focus groups was analysed, and the emerging themes examined in light of observational data and the quantitative results of the trial, to shed light on these factors.

### Section 3: Ethics considerations and procedures

As discussed in the introduction, this research project was carried out in full collaboration with the Border Police, with openness and information sharing as

guiding principles; participatory research methods were used and knowledge was continually shared and co-produced (Bradley & Nixon, 2009). Special attention was paid to two issues: ethics procedures in relation to participating individuals, and an effort to ensure that the research served the organisation, and not only the researcher and academia (Beal & Kerlikowske, 2010). The ethics procedures will be described below, and the knowledge sharing and transfer elements in Chapter 9.

The specifically-tailored ethical procedures were an integral part of the study, which strove to apply high standards of ethical research. The different stages were approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Social Policy & Intervention, University of Oxford, and in parallel by the Israeli National Police's research unit. In addition, the ethics procedures were discussed with Education Unit personnel to gain an added perspective on their appropriateness.

There is limited literature regarding the ethics of working with police officers as participants, and a lack of consensus regarding the correct procedures specifically in areas of informed consent and confidentiality (Rowe, 2007).<sup>1</sup> It may be that this is due to the special status of police officers in society: elevated, but separate and even profane (Manning, 2010).

Consent is a corner-stone of ethical research, even when there is little choice regarding undergoing an intervention (Whitney, McGuire, & McCullough, 2004). While some researchers seek individual consent (Schulenberg, 2014), this is not considered a requirement for most policing studies, and *gate-keeper consent* (i.e. permission from the organisation on whom the study is to be conducted) is sufficient. This may be

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<sup>1</sup> This was emphasised in personal correspondence with Professor Malcolm Cowburn, Chair of British Society of Criminology Ethics Committee (5.9.2011).

so for practical reasons, but it may be that this is due to police officers being perceived as powerful rather than vulnerable.

In this study, gate-keeper consent only was sought for officers participating in the training sessions observed as part of the feasibility study and the experimental stage of the trial, since training is a mandatory organisational activity that officers cannot opt out of. While there was an initial attempt to seek individual consent from participants in focus groups in advance, it was soon discovered that this was not feasible. The hierarchical nature of the BP led to a scenario in which leaving the procedures as they were in fact hollowed out the original meaning of the ethical guidelines regarding informed consent. Officers chosen for the focus groups were not volunteers for two central reasons: the commanders chose them according to their operational availability, sometimes only minutes before the interview; and the concept of volunteering was too alien to the organisational culture in the BP to be integrated into the research.

Adjusting ethics procedures to the reality of the police organisation or 'situational ethics' has been described as a necessity of researching the police (Rowe, 2007); in this study, the realisation of the limitations of the pre-planned process demanded two amendments. Firstly, the *information sheet* and *consent forms* (Appendices A & B) were only given to interviewees at the start of the session, and not ahead of time as is usually the case. However, all officers interviewed had received an information sheet about the research project at least a week before the interview, when they were observed during training, and so they were aware of the researcher's identity and the goals of the project; sharing information regarding a study is especially important in

community-level interventions in which personal informed consent is not possible (Donner & Klar, 2004).

Second, claiming that they had a choice in taking part in the focus group would not have been straightforward in the situation. Therefore, the information sheets and consent forms both stated that while they had been ordered to attend the session, they could choose to remain silent throughout it, and that their level of participation was theirs to determine, without any repercussions. Indeed, some of the officers used this opportunity and chose to participate minimally, demonstrating that this guidance was accepted as a real choice.

The issue of confidentiality has received more attention in policing literature (Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovich, Harver & Haberfeld, 2000), but is still not as prominent as in other areas of criminological research. Anonymity was assured to all participants in the focus groups, and confidentiality to certain limits. Focus groups were audio recorded, one pilot training session was video recorded, and all training sessions were either audio recorded or supported by contemporaneous note-taking. Participants in focus groups were assured they would not be identifiable in reports. There was no illusion, either among participants or held by the researcher, that confidentiality would be preserved at all costs; as an illuminating anecdote, the researcher was sometimes nick-named *Machash (internal complaints)* by participants, alluding to the fact that her presence was not entirely trusted as an external element who might reveal the content of discussions and cause the participants to be punished.

### **3.1 A Reflexive stance as part of the ethics of qualitative research**

Several parts of the this research project utilised qualitative data-gathering and

analytical methodologies; reflexivity is a central feature of high-quality qualitative research (Maxwell, 2005). An aspect of reflexivity is the openness with which the researcher can acknowledge her position within the study, and how this may have affected the results. While qualitative research does not claim to be generalisable and therefore is not susceptible to bias in the same ways, findings can be limited if the role of the researcher in shaping the narratives received and produced is not acknowledged and discussed; this is crucial for validating the conclusions and understanding their limitations.

The effects of the identity of a researcher studying police and policing has received academic attention. One insightful classification is of the relationship of the researcher to the police organisation: how much of an outsider or an insider is the researcher? (Brown, 1996). While being an insider will raise the extent of cooperation and trust they are awarded, it will also diminish the ability to retain a critical perspective. In this research, my position was that of an 'outside insider': brought in by the police organisation and 'stamped as kosher'. The 'outsider' element in my identity was still quite dominant, relating to two dimensions: belonging to a different social class as an academic, and being a female researcher working in a male-dominated police organisation (Horn, 1997). Regarding the first, the paralysing mistrust between Israeli academia and the police will be described in Chapter 4. Importantly, belonging to a British university, though it could have caused me to be seen as even more of an outsider, was an advantage and shaped my image as being more neutral, and concerned with science and evidence, not politics.

Significantly, in these two identity dimensions I was similar enough to the Education Unit personnel, who while not considered fully part of the organisation are accepted

by the police officers and even have an elevated status. Coming from a background of education work, the Education Unit staff saw me as one of their own to a certain extent. This translated to a high degree of confidence and knowledge-sharing on their part, and increased my access to educational activities.

The Education Unit personnel also tried to convey this trust to the police officers, by telling them I was 'one of them' and could be trusted. This had varying impacts depending on the commanders' support of this message, the officers' own ideas and identity and the timing and content of the session attended which created varying degree of tension and conflict. The police officers were often extremely wary of me and my intentions because I represented academia, which is tagged as 'left wing' and therefore against them. Sometimes, these attitudes changed to something significantly more trusting during the course of a day's observations or an interview session, as they became familiar with the goals of the research and with the researcher as a person rather than a category. On the other hand, in sessions in which I was forced to interfere (if the commander addressed me or the EO asked for my assistance) the situation could worsen. In general, during interviews police officers remained guarded to a certain extent, to protect themselves and the image of the organisation, and this should be kept in mind. During observations on the other hand, my existence was often overlooked for extended periods of time.

The narratives handed to me should be recognised as narratives presented to a researcher towards whom a certain degree of suspicion exists: my identity was never ignored. However, the goals of the research, presented verbally and through the information sheets, were identified by most participants as synonymous to the goals of the organisation, and on the basis of this high levels of cooperation were

achieved, with commanders and officers often going out of their way to assist me and answer my questions. The combination of the trust awarded the research goals and my 'insider' status can be translated to confidence in the validity of the research findings as representing the views and experiences of participants.

## Chapter 2/

### Police Training: a Theoretical and Practical Foundation

*This background chapter charts the sociological ideas upon which this thesis is based. It demonstrates the focal role of the police in democracies, as an institution that can greatly affect the lives of individuals and society itself. It presents two central theoretical motivations for reforming the police: the constructivist perspective, which portrays the active role police officers' actions have in shaping reality through shaping individuals' conceptions of their own status within society (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003); and the Legitimacy paradigm, which cites the fairness enacted by police officers as central to citizens' willingness to comply and cooperate with them, contributing to police effectiveness and possibly to the creation of a more law-abiding society. The chapter also provides overviews of the central policing concepts with which this thesis deals, among them police discretion and the use of force.*

## Section 1/ Policing in Context: The Police as a Core Institution of the Democratic State

This thesis is concerned with advancing understanding regarding the potential of training to advance democratic policing. This academic endeavour is not concerned with police training as an organizational activity intended to raise the productivity of a work sector; rather, it is concerned with policies which may shape society and affect the lives of individuals, especially the more marginalised and vulnerable ones.

The police is undeniably a visible institution in modern society, but its meaning and functions are not clear-cut. One definition of the police is of a body 'consisting of many diverse agencies, authoritatively coordinated, *legitimate organizations* that stand ready to *apply force* up to and including fatal force in specified political territories to sustain political ordering' (Manning, 2010, pg. 29). This definition touches on two crucial aspects of policing which will be revisited throughout this thesis as central to its rationale: legitimacy, and the use of force.

A critical but now widely accepted assertion is that the police is not just a law enforcement agency but also a peacekeeping one (Bittner, 1990). This expansion in the perceived roles of the police is reflected in developments of several new policing strategies in the last few decades most notably *community policing* (Weisburd & Braga, 2006).

In almost the opposite direction, there is an increasing involvement of security and intelligence agencies with criminal policing and law enforcement. One reason for this expansion is the hybrid nature of crimes in the 21st century, which blurs the distinction between 'ordinary' criminality and offences connected with national security. This

in turn blurs the distinction between 'low' or traditional policing roles and 'high' policing, which refers to 'the collection and processing of all valid information reaching beyond criminal intelligence and into the realms of economics and politics (domestic and international)' (Brodeur, 2005, p. 810). Especially in the 'post 9/11' reality this hybridism may hold far-ranging implications, not only in organizational terms but also in relation to the limits and powers of the police in a democratic society (Brodeur, 2007).

### **Democracy as a context of policing**

Policing is not a neutral concept; it is closely linked to political theory and conceptions of 'the good society' (Manning, 2010). The *policing culture* (as differentiated from an organizational culture of policing) includes all the attitudes and theories that are associated with the police's function in a particular context: beliefs, myths, presuppositions and assumptions (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003). Closely linked to this outlook is the implication that what the police officer will respond to as 'his or her business' - the *discretion* he applies - depends on the political and social context in which they function. As context is recognised as essential in other social interventions, there is no reason to overlook it in the case of police-related interventions (Fraser, Richman, & Galinsky, 2009).

Democracy is one particular context in which the police operate, and *democratic policing* is a particular manifestation. Democratic policing may be simply explained as the norms of policing that citizens in a democracy should expect to experience. However, democracy is a contested concept, widely debated regarding both the processes it includes as well as the values it represents (Bealey & Johnson, 1999).

Sklansky (2008) argues that the way democracy is conceptualised and understood shapes the way 'policing' is both conceptualised and enacted.<sup>1</sup>

Democratic policing is most accurately defined not as 'a type' of policing, but rather as an 'ensemble of practices based on a set of general principles' (Manning, 2010, p. 22). A central framework, which has been used to shape different organisational interventions in developing countries, is Bayley's normative framework. This includes four key norms regarding which there is wide consensus: serving individual citizens and groups (as opposed to authorities); accountability to the law; transparency in activities; and protection of human rights or basic freedoms such as freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention and impartiality in the administration of the law (Bayley, 2001).

Much of the research concerning democratic policing has focused on how to democratize the police force in flawed democracies or non-democratic countries. This is problematic considering the lack of clarity regarding the actual ability of police to create these norms within society (Bayley, 2001). A contrasting opinion is that police can only uphold and reinforce such norms when they are already a recognised set of social values. As Skolnick identified in the 1960s, a time of great civil unrest in the United States, a technical solution of changing police practices could not succeed without political backing:

*"As an institution dependent on rewards from the civic community, police can hardly be expected to be much better or worse than the political context in which they operate .... When prominent members of the*

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<sup>1</sup> For example, pluralistic democracy, the dominant political outlook in the United States up until the 1960s, defined itself in contrast to totalitarian regimes. Because totalitarian societies were identified as 'police states' and perceived as evil in nature, the consequent idea was that in a democracy, perceived by its proponents as an ideal manifestation of society, the police should have as little power as possible (Sklansky, 2008). Policing came to be seen as a 'necessary evil' in that era.

*community become far more aroused over an apparent rise in criminality than over the fact that Negroes are frequently subjected to unwarranted police interrogation, detention, and invasions of privacy, the police will continue to engage in such practices.” (Skolnick, 1966, pg. 245 in Rumbaut & Bittner, 1979).*

## Section 2/ Discretion and Misuse of Force as Departure Points for Reform

In the 1960s, criminologists began to acknowledge that it is the ordinary police officer who must answer the questions concerning how much force, what type of force and when to use it (Rumbaut & Bittner, 1979). In accepting that discretion is the reality of police work, policy makers and researchers turn to the question of how to control or affect police discretion; this issue is at the basis of most police reforms.

One of the central areas of discretion that police chiefs and politicians seek to influence is the use of force. As opposed to citizens who are punished if they use force, the police have an open-ended capacity to employ force in order ‘to reduce the capacity of the citizen to create ... havoc’ (Bittner, 1972, in Manning, 2010). Bittner argues that use of force should be seen as the unique and defining component of policing despite the fact that the majority of police work is unrelated to this (Brodeur, 2007).

Police use of force is sanctioned by the state, and in a democracy this sanctioning is ‘negotiated continuously in action and in public debate’ (Bittner, 1972, in Manning, 2010). Police use of force can be conceptualised as a continuum (Brodeur, 2007); within the different interactions of police with the public, police exercise their authority using different levels of force or coercion (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Use of force in itself, even lethal force, does not imply unlawfulness; it is the question of ‘how much force is justified in what situations’ that gives the answer regarding lawfulness (Skolnic &

Fyfe, 2005, pg. 576).

When considering police use of force, there is an implicit assumption that the police use force primarily to protect the public, while protection from the police is more 'problematic' and much less discussed (Manning, 2010). Skolnic & Fyfe (2005) called for 'more and deeper questions to be raised about the nature of police violence, its centrality to the role of the police and its prevalence' (p. 575). Political attention and recognition of this phenomenon appears to also be lacking (Mathews & Izumi, 1981; Skolnic & Fyfe, 2005; Knesset Protocol, 2010).

The linking of proper use of force to 'skilled' policing receives some support from studies which identify a relative lack of experience of police officers as a variable influencing the excessive use of force (Bayley & Garofalo, 1987 in Adams, 1996; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002).

There is general consensus that there are serious consequences to police violence, the most visible perhaps being public violence in the form of riots in response to police violence that have occurred across the world: from Los Angeles (Skolnic & Fyfe, 2005) to Brixton (Reiner, 2010) to Paris (Schneider, 2008). Over the period this thesis was written, police riots broke out in the United States, the United Kingdom and Israel, and were a constant focus of public attention and debate. Still, it is difficult to determine the 'real-life' significance of a complex phenomenon; how much violence is too much, how much force tips the scales and becomes a 'social problem'.

Police misuse of force, both physically (police violence) and substantially (corruption, bribery), and the public reaction that follows have been a driving force behind calls for and attempts at police reform. The next section will briefly describe the theoretical

motivations for interventions to reform the police.

### Section 3/ Motivations for Reform: Constructivist and Utilitarian Perspectives

The literature provides two prominent (and interlinked) theories that hint at possible motivations for police reform: the constructivist argument, that positions police officers as constructing (or deconstructing) the democratic society; and the utilitarian one, which links the perceived legitimacy of the police with increased effectiveness.

#### **3.1 Constructing a democratic society**

Police officers are present in the democratic spaces in which citizens interact with the state; policing of protests provides a clear example of this idea. In these spaces, citizens learn about society's position regarding respect for individual privacy, norms of tolerance versus norms of bias, and how dangerous it is for them to challenge the authorities (Sklansky, 2008). Citizens may learn about the validity of basic norms, such as 'respecting the rights of others', when they are implemented on the ground by police officers (Manning, 2010). This is one of the reasons why most countries strive for police officers to internalize democratic values and habits (Das & Marenin, 2005).

The constructivist perspective, advocated by criminologist Ian Loader, proposes that the police have the potential to strengthen democratic society, or at least to refrain from harming it. According to Loader, the interaction between police and society could contribute to whole groups giving up their commitment to the democratic society, or alternatively to positive construction of that commitment (Loader, 2006). Loader argues that as a main social agent, police not only produce social order, but also social meaning. Every police action is a social signal reflecting inclusion or exclusion; the

signals make up the essence of society, or what it aspires to be:

*“Every stop, every search, every arrest, every group of youths moved on, every abuse of due process, every failure to respond to call or complaint, every racist snub, every sexist remark, every homophobic joke, every diagnosis of the crime problem, every depiction of criminals - all these send small, routine, authoritative signals about society’s conflicts, cleavages, and hierarchies, about whose claims are considered legitimate within it, about whose status identity is to be affirmed or denied as part of it”*  
(Loader 2006, pg. 211).

In democratic policing strategies, ‘Competing demands for order made in contemporary multi-cultural societies are responded to in ways that sustain, rather than undermine, considerations for equity and democracy’ (Loader, 2006, p. 203). Following from this, crime-reducing and order-keeping duties should be performed in a way that recognizes the legitimacy of individuals and groups, and enforces their feeling of belonging to a democratic community.

### **3.2 The legitimacy paradigm: fair and effective policing**

The second set of arguments supporting reform stem from the legitimacy paradigm, one of the most prominent and influential theories in the field of criminology today. It is a driving force in the proliferation of the interventions that strive to enhance fair and just policing.

Legitimacy theory, which originates in political science, is based on the assumption that people feel a responsibility to comply with the rules of authorities they perceive as legitimate (Tyler, 2004). For the public to cooperate with the police, help them, and even obey the laws when they are not present, the police must be perceived as legitimate. Police legitimacy is therefore a prerequisite of police effectiveness; this

equation is primarily relevant to democratic countries, where without widespread compliance the police cannot be effective in carrying out its duties or keeping citizens safe (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

What then determines if the police are perceived as legitimate? A growing body of work has established procedural justice as an explanatory variable of police legitimacy. Empirical research points to 'the appropriateness of the manner in which the police exercise their authority' as central to the public's perceptions of the legitimacy of the police (Tyler 2004, p. 91). The quality of decision making of police officers (is it participative, neutral and benevolent?) and the quality of their interpersonal interaction with citizens (is it dignified, polite and respectful?) will determine the public's view of the police (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). There is also evidence of the mirror process, where disrespect or unfairness by police reduces compliance (as shown, for example, by Mastrofski, Snipes, & Supina, 1996).

#### [Section 4/ Police Training as a Path to Reform](#)

Fair and just policing is a stated goal of police forces throughout the world, especially of established democracies, yet often it is simply a vague term of endorsement (Sklansky, 2008). By tying policing to a society's core political ideas - such as justice and legitimacy - it is possible to begin inquiring how its values may be advanced. Having outlined the core motivations for advancing democratic policing, this thesis now turns to advancing the evidence base for achieving this goal, focusing on the path of police training.

This thesis turns to examine training as a central yet under-researched avenue for reform (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Training is one of three central routes to affecting

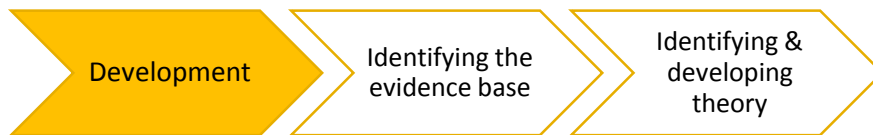
police discretion, alongside recruitment and supervision (Skogan, 2011). Recruitment processes are supposed to 'weed out' problematic candidates, and supervision focuses on keeping watch over the standards of achievement and the behavioural patterns of officers in the field. In both these avenues the systems developed by different countries and organizations are of a diverse level of sophistication and capacity. While both recruitment and supervision turn to 'higher powers' within the police and outside it to ensure the implementation of certain norms or behaviours, training relies on the ability of individual police officers to learn the skills and behaviours expected of them, and to try and abide by certain norms. The next chapter will explore the existing evidence base of police training.





## Chapter 3/

### Police Training: the Evidence Base



*Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive review of police training, as part of the first phase of the MRC framework: identifying the evidence base. It begins with a sociological overview of police training. It then presents four existing theoretical approaches to police training: adult education, socialisation, Bloom’s taxonomy of learning (Krathwohl, 2002), and higher education. The chapter moves on to examine the evidence base of police training: it first provides the conclusions of two central reviews regarding the dearth of evidence about police training (Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Neyroud, 2011). It then provides an overview of the new high-quality experimental studies conducted since. In order to compensate for the limited evidence in this field and to gain a wider perspective on occupational training, two literature reviews of professional training were carried out, concerning physician training and teacher training. The chapter also discusses the evidence on general behaviour change interventions for police officers. Drawing on the combination of these reviews, several potential principles of ‘good practice’ alongside faulty approaches of occupational training are highlighted; these will serve as the base for the assessment of the BP’s existing intervention, as well as for future research in other contexts.*

## Section 1/ Advocating an Evidence-Based Approach to Police Training

The focus of research in policing has changed from questions concerning *what* police do, to *how well* they do it. Evidence-based policing is an innovation within policing, one which has created a change not only in strategies and practices but also in public discourse and policy (Weisburd & Braga, 2006). The merits of adopting this approach were debated in the introduction to the thesis.

Advocates of evidence-based policing are trying to highlight the areas around which there is a lack of adequate evidence to judge effectiveness, while maintaining that even in areas where knowledge has accumulated this does not smoothly and effortlessly translate to policy implementation (Sherman, 2009). Several criminologists have called for a degree of standardization of police practices, based on existing evidence. However, like in other fields, the path from evidence to policy is contested (Loader, 2010).

A significant attempt to sum up the state of the evidence in policing was made by the National Institute of Justice, in their review titled 'Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing'. This extensive assessment examines police effectiveness in crime reduction, but also sets out what is known about the factors affecting police behaviour (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). The authors make many recommendations regarding the need to 'fill in the gaps' of evidence. One of the most forceful of these recommendations is the call for more research to be conducted on the role of training in advancing 'effective and lawful police conduct', as the available evidence is limited (p. 8). The use of an Evidence-Based Practice (EBP) approach could serve as a response to this, and would provide a significant addition to evidence-based policing.

## Section 2/ A Sociology of Police Training

As discussed in Chapter 2, policy makers and social scientists are interested in how best to control or effect police discretion. The three main pathways in use are recruitment, supervision and training (Skogan, 2011). Recruitment processes are supposed to 'weed out' problematic candidates, but selection criteria differ greatly between countries, for example on the issue of higher education as a prerequisite for enlistment. Supervision focuses on keeping watch over the standards of achievement and behavioural patterns of officers in the field. Here too, the systems developed by different police forces are of a diverse level of sophistication and capacity.

Both recruitment and supervision turn to 'higher powers' within the police and outside it to ensure the implementation of certain norms or behaviours. Training, on the other hand, relies on the ability of the individual police officer to learn the skills and behaviours expected of him, and to try and abide by certain norms. Police training is often thought about as the antidote to the excessive use of force. It is assumed that suitable training procedures will reduce the risk that officers abuse their wide-ranging powers (Manning, 2010).

Taking the position that contextualising psycho-social interventions can lead to more informed evaluation designs, this section of the thesis will put forward a sociology of police training. It will demonstrate the central role that training has played in the development of the police profession, the police organization, and the reform of policing in democratic societies. It will also discuss the positioning of training as a general panacea to problems in policing.

## 2.1 The role of training in the cycle of scandal and reform

Sociologist Herman Goldstein (1977) argues that cycles of reform in police organizations have mostly been tied to public interest or public scandals; training has been central to these reforms, and was identified as the means through which they were supposed to operate. The same type of catalyst can be discerned in different countries at different times; The United States, the United Kingdom and Australia have all experienced such cycles, triggered by problematic race or community relations.

In the United States, civil unrest, urban riots and the rise of crime rates prompted four presidential 'Blue Ribbon' commissions (between 1965 to 1970) which examined the role of the police in inflaming civil disturbances. These commissions recommended that the police develop more a 'humanitarian' approach in responding to the problems they deal with, and improve their community relations. These changes were expected to come about through the introduction of relevant mandatory training (Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996). A later influential commission was the 1973 'National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals' (Edwards, 1993). Their report included very specific standards on preparatory training, including length and content, and even the percentage of time spent on each topic. It was acknowledged that the recommendations were made on the basis of tradition and common sense, as very little empirical data was available regarding what constituted effective training.

Police training in Australia is also essentially a product of reform, as described by Chan and her colleagues (2003). The Lusher Inquiry into police and race relations made strong recommendations in 1981 in the area of recruitment and training. Among its recommendations were the introduction of civilian lecturers; the selection of

policing staff according to educational skills; the creation of partnerships with existing tertiary education institutions; and doubling the length of recruit training. Radical transformations were made as a result; the training program underwent fundamental changes to structure, methods and content several times during the 1980s and 1990s. The training academies adopted a new pedagogical philosophy and a new curriculum in line with these demands. This model was referred to by policy makers as a 'tool kit for survival' for a new type of policemen. This programme is a clear example of training as reform, put in place to counter existing models and values.

In the United Kingdom, following the Brixton riots in 1981 a governmental inquiry was set up, which produced the Scarman Report. The riots were a backlash to Operation Swamp, which made disproportionate use of stop-and-search powers in an area occupied mainly by minorities (Reiner, 1992). The report's main aim was to prevent the reoccurrence of such rioting, and one of the paths it advocated was 'improving the caliber of individual officers and making them less prejudiced' (p. 245). The report called for better training for the police in community relations, social skills and attitude training.

In North Ireland, the 1998 peace treaty was accompanied by the Patten Report, which pointed to the reform of policing as one aspect of major transitions needed in that society. It stipulated training as 'one of the keys to instilling a human rights-based approach into ... police personnel' (The Report of the Independent Commission On Policing for Northern Ireland, 1999, p. 20). It outlined a detailed strategy of transforming training to ensure human right-oriented norms became integrated into all its aspects. Recommendations were included regarding the organizational aspect,

course content and training methodology. The Policing Board in Northern Ireland was mandated to monitor the police's compliance with the report (Northern Ireland Policing Board, 2006).

When examining these four analogous cycles, it is possible to identify a shift in the way these different reforms recognize the role police play within a society, reflecting the norms and values that society chooses to uphold. Attempts to make police more professional shift away from improving a technical set of skills, and towards a more ambitious improvement of sophisticated political skills.

## 2.2 Training as a panacea

As suggested in the previous sub-sections, it is an assumption of society that suitable training and recruitment will balance the risks inherent in giving police officers the mandate to use force (Manning, 2010), as well as raising the existing standards of policing (Goldstein, 1977). It is worthwhile considering why training is often the focus of reform. The first, clear-cut reason why training is seen as a feasible 'vehicle for bringing about much needed change in the police' is that it is considered to be within the realm of control of police administrators (Goldstein, 1977, p. 272). When considering both planning and budgeting, neither modifying nor enhancing training necessitates large-scope structural changes or inter-institutional cooperation. As Ker Muir suggested, in the police organization 'the principle source of management's influence is the capacity to shape and inspire officers by exposing them to training' (1977, in Mastrofski et al., 1994, pg. 121).

The second reason is a political extension of the first. Reiner argues that the focus on training as part of reform efforts is a way of focusing on individuals, rather than

recognizing the need for wide (or at least wider) social transformation (Reiner, 2010). In similar fashion, Wortley & Homel (1995) warn against the danger of focusing on training and thus obscuring deep social problems and how they affect police attitudes and behaviour. At the heart of both these claims is the recognition that it is easier to 'problematise' the police officer rather than the police institution or societal belief structures.

Mastrofski & Ritti (1996) offer a valuable account to understanding the focus on training. They present two conceptual approaches to training. The 'rational/technical perspective' locates the training trend in the wider context of occupational learning and specialisation and the modernisation and specialisation of organizations (Scott & Meyer, 1994). Organisational theory argues that training is not only used to help the worker orient herself to the complexity of her role, but also to secure her commitment to the policies and priorities of the organisation.

The 'institutional perspective' contends that training is central because it serves a legitimating function. It lends legitimacy to an institution regardless of its ability to achieve the goals which it aspires or claims to achieve, simply by exhibiting a commitment to these goals. The training becomes a proxy, i.e. an end in itself rather than a means to achieving an end, and is thus cemented as a strategy for the organization. This explains the advantage of training especially in cases where ends are either ambiguous, difficult to measure, or both. This is often the case in policing, as was described in the previous chapter. For example, the report on stop-and-search practices in the UK demanded that 'problematic' police forces re-train all of their officers, in order to demonstrate a commitment to equality in policing. In such cases

training may also serve as a protection against criminal or civil lawsuits, and a way for police administrators to show they have not been negligent.

These perspectives are not exclusive, but may operate jointly and to different extents. It is possible to distinguish between the two approaches based on how training is coupled with other organizational structures (Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996). If there is no coupling or even a clash with contradictory policies and methods in operation, then it is likely the institutional approach is playing a stronger role. However, it is also recognised that the complex nature of many organizations sometimes does not allow a 'rational' mode of action. The negative implications of a clash of training messages with other organizational goals or norms will be discussed in the following section.

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Despite the framing of training as a panacea, it is unclear if current training practices can help police officers deal with the challenges of their tasks. Training is argued to still focus mainly on 'shallow skills': 'advocates of training assert its efficacy...yet the brevity of American police training, its non-standardized nature, its focus on physical skills and rote memory of legal procedures (recipe knowledge to keep you out of trouble), and its almost total absence beyond the police training academy mean that training as now constituted is not a solution to corruption or development of management skills' (Manning, 2010, p. 116). This harsh portrayal is worrying, particularly because of the high expectations of policy makers and the public from this type of intervention. The next sections will attempt to assess the ability of police training to achieve its goals, both theoretically and in practice.

### Section 3/ Identifying Existing Approaches to Training: Detecting Theoretical Assumptions as Part of the Process of Evaluating Complex Interventions

When considering the institutional perspective of training (Mastroski & Ritti, 1996), it is not surprising that the intense focus on training has not necessarily been linked to training research, and that training often remains an un-theoretical activity within organisations. Occupational training does not have a history of systematic evaluation (Neville, Sherman & Cohen, 2005, p. 5). The field of occupational training as a whole has advanced over the last few decades, becoming more theoretical as well as research-oriented (Salas & Cannon-Bowers, 2001). It seems, however, that police training has not benefited as much from the fruits of this strand of research as could have been expected.

The discussion of training and reform demonstrated the gradual development of police training up to the present day. It showed how practice evolved over time as a result of available resources, the spill-over from other fields, inertia but also some ideas as to what certain types of content, form and methodology could achieve. Some reforms have contained explicit accounts of how aims are tied to content and how content is tied to methodology, for example the Police Recruit Education Programme in Australia (Chan, 2003). In addition, the new strategies for policing, most explicitly community policing, have come 'equipped' with training which is attuned to their underlying assumptions and goals. However, on the whole, the theory of training is not often as evident.

The reality of training intervention design has been less thorough than envisaged by EBP advocates. The EBP approach offers an optimal model for the relationship

between theory and practice. The first stage in the process of developing an intervention is the construction of an intervention model based on empirical data. The next stage of intervention research attempts to corroborate the usefulness or effectiveness of the model in achieving the desired outcomes; in the third step, the findings of the intervention are fed back in to explain the working mechanisms and thus inform an evidence-based theory (Fraser et al., 2009). The theory-to-practice approach simultaneously allows the design of evidence-based interventions and facilitates the continuing evaluation of these programmes.

One of the aims of this stage of the research was to identify dominant organizational/theoretical approaches to police training, in order to enable a theory-led approach to the research project. For this purpose, the academic literature was reviewed, as well as training manuals and programmes. For each approach the theoretical foundation it is based on was explored, with a focus on its behaviour change model.

A summary of the four central approaches is presented below; a full description is available in appendix 3-A, including support for the potential efficacy of the approach and an example of its application to aid understanding. It is important to note the approaches identified do not necessarily contrast with one another, and some training programmes may even use more than one.

Aside from the significance of identifying and examining central approaches to police training, this analysis was needed as a precursor to modelling the training programme in use in the Israeli Border Police (BP), the case study this thesis focused on. Indeed, second and third approaches were detected in the BP's work method.

## Adult Education: Adult Learning Theory and the Participatory Approach

Adult Education (*Andragogy*), together with Adult Learning Theory (ALT) has been identified as a theoretical base in several official training curriculums. *Andragogy* is ‘the art and science of helping adults learn’ (Knowles, 1980, p. 43, in Merriam, 2001, p. 5). Observational data suggests adults learn throughout their lives, with experiential learning playing a crucial role, especially through the interconnection between learning and everyday tasks (Brookfield, 1986, in Jones & Hendry, 1994). Especially for on-going training, the police officers’ experiences could and should serve as the focal point of the learning experience (Bayley & Bittner, 1984). A sub-type of ALT, which shares similar grounding in humanistic philosophy, is the Participatory approach, which places emphasis on police officers playing an active role in the training process.

## Training as transmission of culture: the socialization approach

The socialisation approach is a theory of training as a site in which culture is transmitted (Chan, 1997; Chan et al., 2003); it particularly relies on Schien’s (1985) adaptation of *Learning Theory* as the method through which this transmission occurs. In this model, training introduces models of good practice which in turn would counter the models of bad practice visible in the field, most importantly because they would prove more effective when put to use by the trainees. Socialization is described as the recruits’ encounter with the policing model, their ability to classify it as ‘good’ or ‘bad’, and then their choice to either adopt the model or not. Training plays a role of inoculation or resilience-building to the dominant occupational police culture.

## Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives and the KUSAB approach

The KUSAB training approach (which stands for Knowledge, Understanding, Skills, Attitudes and Behaviour) is derived from a theoretical model known as Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. It is 'a framework for classifying statements of what we expect or intend students to learn as a result of instruction' (Krathwohl, 2002, p. 212). Working within this model, educational objectives could be set up in regard to each learning goal, depending on the student or the context. Lesson plans are often constructed to include all aspects of the taxonomy; the manual of the training curriculum can then be inspected to ensure it meets the five types of objectives.

## Higher Education as an alternative to training: Officers as practical criminologists

In parallel to the former training approaches, the fourth relates to an alternative, in which training is essentially outsourced to universities, proposing the path to improving the calibre of officers was to use higher education as a qualifier which improves the calibre of recruits. The vision of university education was tied to ideas of police & societal reform; the education required for this was not just technical, and therefore the university was not just a setting but a context in which policing would be developed and recreated (Walker, 1977).

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Looking over these four approaches, it seems they all have a 'good enough' theoretical base. As there is no evidence that one approach is more effective than the others, it might be argued that as long as police organisations are conscious of the strategies they are using, there is a better chance for more meaningful evaluation and reflection, and possibly more effective training interventions in the long-run.

## Section 4/ The State of the Evidence: a Review of Police Training

*After reviewing the societal and theoretical context of police training, the last and central section of the chapter turns to examining the existing evidence base of police training. It asks not only 'what do we know?' but also 'what can we know?': what are the existing barriers to research, and what are the most promising strategies for advancing understanding? A review of the literature of police training is described, and is supplemented with reviews of medical training and teacher training; lessons can be drawn from all three fields to inform the design of the training intervention this thesis is concerned with, which targets the policing of protests. In addition, a general and a specific theory of how training might work is put forward, which includes mechanisms of behaviour change. The chapter concludes with a series of general good practice principles and pertinent directions for future research.*

### **4.1 A deficit of evidence**

While at least within some countries there has been a basic standardisation of training (for example in the USA, Cox & Moore, 1992), training is not a uniform simple intervention regarding which it is possible to make a statement of 'it works/it does not work'. The variance in interventions that fall under this term as well as in the contexts in which they are delivered, and the interaction between intervention and contexts, means that general statements are difficult to make. There is a slow and tedious process ahead of understanding the mechanisms at work, and the mediating and moderating variables related to them. Nonetheless, outlining the state of the evidence: what is known and what can be known, is of use to advancing understanding of the potential effectiveness of different paths.

Twenty years ago, the prominent policing researcher Stephen Mastrofski stated that the evidence base regarding police education and training was 'limited'. There was no knowledge of the 'actual impact' of trends because existing evidence was based on attitude surveys and indirect indicators of behaviour (Mastrofski, 1990). A more recent review came to similar conclusions. Commissioned by the UK Home Office in 2010 to carry out a 'fundamental review of the current approach to Police Leadership & Training', Neyroud (2011, p. 22) conducted two rapid evidence assessments on training approaches and behaviour change. Only one study on policing was identified, and it did not utilize an experimental design. Furthermore, Neyroud discovered that none of the policy reports which set strategies for police training were led by an evidence-based approach; they did not try to assess existing knowledge on what works in training and leadership.

The most extensive review of the knowledge base regarding police training was carried out at part of the US National Research Council (NRC) review on fairness and effectiveness in policing (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). A panel of researchers found that 'research on factors linked to recruitment and training is surprisingly limited' (pg. 16), considering that training is 'among the most important activities of police organizations and more needs to be known about their role in ensuring effective and lawful police conduct'. They stated that existing research was 'unconvincing' and 'inadequate to address... key personnel questions... what training is most effective in promoting good performance' (p. 8). The committee therefore made a 'strong research recommendation' to pursue studies that would advance understanding of the effects of training on officers' attitudes and behavior.

The review examines evidence, mostly from the United States, regarding the

impact of training as a distinct activity on behaviour and performance of police officers. It revealed that while training is recognized as an important organizational activity, research is scant, and usually methodologically weak: 'For many decades it has been assumed that more and better police training leads to improved officer performance. The committee finds that past research on this topic has not addressed the complexities of the subject. Few studies evaluate the impact of training programs on actual job performance. Prior research has not taken into account the substantive content of training programs, modes of instruction, the abilities of the instructors, the timing of training, or the organizational support for reinforcing the objectives of the training program.' (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). This statement reflects the extent to which training policy has remained commonsensical instead of being critically examined using rigorous evaluations.

Such a deficit calls for thinking about the structural barriers to the production of the necessary research. The focus of most police reforms has been either the quantity of training or the general focus, with quality of training usually omitted. Likewise, most research evaluating these reforms has centred on output measures such as cost and hours, overlooking impact evaluation (Edwards, 1993).

It is important to recognise that most research into police activities is carried out within political constraints (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). The role of governments as the main funders may be tied to the scarcity of experimental designs. This has several explanations. First, 'it is easier, cheaper (and less dangerous) to do document output activity than outcome accomplishments' (Skogan & Frydl, 2004, p. 35); experimental designs are not only more costly, but may provide more information than police

departments or politicians would want discussed openly. Second, outcome evaluations take longer, and do not provide the 'instant accountability' important in a democratic political system.

The culture of evaluation that has developed in many Western police forces seems less than satisfactory. According to a report by the UK Home Office, the Kirkpatrick evaluation model is the one most prominently used to assess training in this country. This model includes four levels of assessment, from the personal to the organisational: 'what the officers thought about the training; the effectiveness of the training event or programme in terms of officers' mastery of the training objectives; the effectiveness of transfer of training to the workplace; the effect of training on the force in terms of operational effectiveness' (Training Matters Report, 2002, p. 71). The Kirkpatrick model has been criticised for not being able to answer questions of effectiveness (Bates, 2004). The criticism is not only theoretical but practical; according to a Home Office report on police research, it is usually only the first and second level of the model which are taken into account, as the two last levels are more difficult and costly to assess (Jones, 1999).

In addition, the existing approach to measuring behaviour may create gaps in knowledge. Reiner (2010) identifies two measurement fallacies: the primacy fallacy and the ecological fallacy. The primacy fallacy relates to equating organizational records for the things to which they refer. One prominent and common example of this use of proxy measures is the use of activity indicators such as 'complaints about the police'. These indicators do not take into consideration the impact of third parties on complaints lodged and the negotiations that precede the recording of

each incident. The ecological fallacy is defined as the deficit in longitudinal studies, which results in lack of a long-term perspective and understanding. This has meant no serious attention could be paid to the long-term effects of mechanisms such as reward, supervision, and punishment within police departments.

#### **4.2 Police training: a review of the literature**

In aim of identifying the evidence base, a literature search was conducted. An assortment of training evaluations were uncovered, some within existing reviews of the literature and some independently<sup>1</sup>. The review utilised a basic systematic search of the relevant electronic gateways, as well as following up the reference lists of studies identified through it. The NRC review provided the richest database of relevant studies (Skogan & Frydle, 2004). While the NRC's review only identified one randomised controlled trial<sup>2</sup>, this review was able to identify several more experimental and quasi-experimental studies which have since been published (Table 1). Alongside it, there are also valuable correlational and observational studies which can contribute to understanding of the topic.

Looking over the studies identified, it is possible to make two cautious claims. First, that the call to action at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century regarding the deficit of evidence in police training is being heeded; in the last five years, there has been an apparent surge in high-quality training studies which indicates an academic awareness of the importance of the topic. Second, that as an intervention, training is a possible

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<sup>1</sup> The review was first undertaken in 2011, but was updated in 2015 since it was recognised that the field had progressed during this time.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, a second RCT was identified but as the training was part of a general reform its effects could not be separated out (Boydston & Sherry, 1975).

route to achieving positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and skills of police officers and sometimes in police behaviour and public perceptions; more research as well as research synthesis is needed to enable more specific conclusions and insights to be drawn.

The training interventions identified are varied in terms of the focus of the training, the population and the instruments used. Considering the heterogeneity of studies, a productive approach might be to focus synthesis on specific research questions that can be better answered by examining the studies together. In this thesis, the focus chosen for a systematic review was of a specific policing task as focus of intervention: the policing of protests, which is described in the next chapter. There are however many research questions that might be answered by this body of literature, but could not be examined in-depth as part of this project: for example, questions regarding delivery approach, organisational support strategies, evaluation techniques and effects over time.

In order to begin to extract insights from available studies, overarching narratives were identified. This was deemed essential as part of the MRC's framework of developing complex interventions. The studies' conclusions and the insights drawn from them were fundamental in designing the Border Police training intervention and the measurement tools to evaluate it, as will be described in chapters 6 and 7. This chapter therefore attempts to describe some of the findings and point to some general directions of 'good practice' in police training. To do this, it also draws on training from other professions, which will be described in the next section.

The first clear narrative that emerges is the focus on police-citizen interactions in the majority of the studies. Assessing the quality of training 25 years ago Mastrofski

(1990) pointed to a possible shift from a 'technical' and 'rule-bound' focus to work around decision making which recognises "moral , legal and empirical ambiguity" (pg. 15). This was reflected in a shift to more participatory pedagogical techniques, more focus on street-level experiences of officers, and a recognition of the ambiguity of these experiences. The recent studies seem to validate this analysis.

The focus on police-citizen interaction is probably also a result of the widening support for the legitimacy paradigm discussed in Chapter 2, which identifies fair and respectful interactions as a key to increased public cooperation with, and confidence in the police. This strategy was strengthened by a recent systematic review of procedural interventions which identified training as a possible route to increasing procedural justice and public trust. This cluster of similar training interventions can allow meaningful future synthesis.

Another important issue seems to be the population the training targets. Rosenbaum's study, which targeted trainee officers' attitudes and skills regarding interactions with victims provides some valuable information. While it found that a change in attitudes had occurred, the expected change in behaviour had not. One of the hypotheses Rosenbaum raises is that the timing of the training – as part of initial training – was not optimal (Rosenbaum, 1987). It may be that training to increase 'professionalism' is more effective when incorporated into ongoing training, because officers can better incorporate it into their professional identity and skill set.

**Table 1:**  
**Experimental and quasi-experimental studies of police training identified in literature search**

Study name	Design	Focus of intervention	Population	& Outcomes findings	Location
Skogan et al., 2014	Clustered Quasi-RCT	Procedural justice	All police	Improvement in attitudes to procedural justice	Chicago, USA
Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2014	RCT	Quality inter-/actions procedural justice	Police recruits	Improvement in skills (quality of interaction and (decision making	Chicago, USA
Wheller et al., 2013	RCT	Communication skills	All police	Improvement in attitudes to procedural justice, improvement in skills ('quality of interactions') improvement in 'victims perceptions	Manchester, UK
Banerjee et al., 2012	RCT	Professional/ investigation skills and 'soft' communication & leadership skills	All police ((in-service	Increase in crime victim satisfaction & police effectiveness	Rajasthan, India
Bennel et al., 2007	RCT	Training in decision-making strategies regarding prediction of burglar's homes location	Police officers undergoing mandatory in-service training	Improvement for the two experimental groups in predictive ability from baseline to post test	UK
Helsen & Starkes, 1999	RCT	Simulation training for complex decision making in 'potentially dangerous 'situations	Post basic training	Rise from 10 to 60 (600% improvement) in number of preventive actions taken for video only trained group	Belgium
Lord, 1996	Quasi-experiment	Driving Under the Influence (DUI) test training	Traffic officers	Arrest and conviction rate, and officer confidence	North Carolina, USA
Rosenbaum, 1987	RCT	Victim-oriented approach	Police recruits	Improvement in attitudes and behavioural intentions	Detroit, USA

An additional question raised by the studies is what should be considered a sufficient 'dose' of training? The concept of dosage originates from medical interventions, but is useful in this context as well. While some studies achieved impressive results from only one day or even a few hours of training (for example Skogan et al. 2014, & Bennel et al. 2007), others did not. Rosenbaum (1987) argued that one possible reason that training did not achieve the desired results is that its scope was relatively small in relation to organizational 'rank and file' messages delivered continuously. This might be a better perspective from which to consider the necessary dosage of training interventions; if they are particularly challenging and not consistent with current practices or attitudes, more training might be needed.

An examination of the non-experimental trials, which mostly use correlation measures to understand the relative contribution of training in comparison to other influences (i.e. supervisions and incentives), reveals mixed results. It is important to recognize the limitations of such research. For example, the variable 'training' usually cannot and does not consider variations in character, quality or timing. This weakness is demonstrated by the findings of a macro-level study, which tested the hypothesis that training may be a countermeasure against excessive use of force (Lee, Jang, Yun, Lim, & Tushaus, 2010). The study analyzed 8,798 arrest situations in eight different police agencies across the United States, taken from an existing database. Unexpectedly, there was a positive correlation between length of in-service training and use of force. The authors hypothesize that the extensive use of in-service training may actually reflect an existing use-of-force problem, which led to increased training, but that this training was not effective in addressing the problem, or at least not dramatically effective. As this study does not reflect change over time, it cannot shed

light on this hypothesis.

One pertinent issue that comes to light when assessing correlational studies reviewed by the NRC is the decay of training effects and how this is moderated by organisational support. *Training decay*, a term used to describe the tendency of the achievements of training to disappear over time, is a theme in several of the studies (Wortley & Homel, 1995). A study of training in community policing carried out in Arizona discovered a change in officers' attitudes following training, but after 12 weeks of field experience this had disappeared, and after a year the attitudes were actually more negative than those expressed by the officers at baseline. However, change was found to be moderated by coworkers' attitudes and by the work officers were assigned to; there was less of a change when officers were given opportunities to 'practice' community policing (Haarr, 2001).

A similar pattern was found in another study, also based in the US, examining a programme which trained officers to deal with 'driving under the influence' violations. The training affected the number of arrests made, but was moderated by the organizational environment; the training was associated with increased arrests only if the department supported the training with other strategies (Mastrofski, Snipes, & Supina, 1996). Mastrofski has termed this a 'coupling effect' of training combined with other organisational strategies. This pattern should be taken into consideration in the design of training evaluations and research.

#### **4.3 A wider perspective: the evidence on occupational training from other fields**

Considering the relative scarcity of evidence on police training at the time this review was first conducted, it was deemed essential to look further at knowledge

accumulated in other professional fields, and to consider what mutual lessons could be learned, which could contribute to the design of the training intervention in the Israeli Border Police study. This can lend authority to preliminary assumptions, based on the revised Bradford-Mills criteria of coherence and similarity (Howick, Glasziou, & Aronson, 2009).

There are valuable comparisons to make with occupational training across fields, specifically medicine and education. This comparison is valid in two respects. First, different types of occupational training may have in common the success of the training techniques themselves, within a joint framework of cognitive psychology and learning theories. A limitation of such comparisons is that both the context of the learning and the identity of the learner influence the training process.

Second, if we conceptualise 'security' as a human right and a democratic norm (which police officers are supposed to provide and contribute to) there is a basis for comparing their training with that of other professionals who are responsible for the provision of similar rights: physicians who provide health, and teachers who provide education. While this framework is more theoretical it is nonetheless important in conceptualising the significance of the intervention within a societal context.

### **Medical Training**

The most developed field of occupational training to learn from is medical training. For over 50 years knowledge has been accumulated, enabling a systematic construction of an evidence base. Initial and continuing training is an inherent element in the medical profession (Davis, Thomson, Oxman, & Haynes, 1995; Légaré et al., 2010; Tu & Davis, 2002), and there have been ongoing attempts to establish evidence-based training

curricula, which have proven abilities to facilitate different skills or behaviours (Green & Ellis, 1997). Perhaps the prominence of this approach in the training of physicians as opposed to other professions is a reflection of the penetration of the EBP model into medicine. This does not mean that all medical training is 'evidence-based', as was shown, for example, by a recent systematic review of training in the field of palliative care (Alvarez & Agra, 2006).

A literature review of the medical training literature, which aimed to identify primarily systematic reviews and RCTs, was able to illuminate several findings which are of possible relevance to police training. These findings are concerned not only with efficacious behaviour change mechanisms but also with the best frameworks and tools for the evaluation of training interventions.

There are several strategies and delivery methodologies whose advantage may be generalized across fields. Davis and his colleagues conducted a series of reviews of Continuing Medical Education (CME). They demonstrated that CME could cause small changes to physician's behaviour and to a lesser extent to patients' outcomes (Davis et al., 1995). The promising strategies are 'practice enabling strategies' or 'reinforcing methods', which point to the importance of tying training to everyday practice. Another finding which merits testing across contexts is the added value of the presence of an 'opinion leader' in creating an environment conducive to the adoption of innovations. This may be similar to the practice of including 'expert craftsmen' in police training.

Another important finding is that didactic approaches do not appear effective in changing physician performance, but some evidence points to the usefulness of interactive approaches, consistent with Adult Learning Theory (Davis et al., 1999).

Didactic interventions did not achieve change in terms of performance (i.e. behaviour) or health care outcomes. That does not mean they do not change other types of outcomes, like knowledge, skills or attitudes which - hypothetically - if combined with other interventions could then contribute to the outcomes of interest. On the other hand, interventions which used interactive techniques - case discussion, role play, hands on practice session - were more effective. It is important to discover if this finding can be generalised to other adult education contexts.

One of the benefits of medical training literature, is that the accumulation of studies and knowledge as well as the relatively concrete outcome measures enables 'modelling effective educational strategies' (Tu & Davis, 2002, p. 18). A review which focused on one medical condition (hypertension) was able to 'say more' about effective strategies for changing physician behaviours than reviews which attempted to glean findings from a wide array of training interventions. Blood pressure itself, the important outcome measure in hypertension, did not seem to be impacted by educational interventions; yet, physician performance could be changed by CME. By analysing the factors shared by the successful training programmes, the authors identify complexity as a focal issue. One-step simple condition management yielded positive results, while more complex patterns resulted in mixed or negative results. The authors deduce that comprehensive interventions will have less chance of success than those that target a focused outcome or change. They therefore make a recommendation to break tasks up into small endpoints, and direct interventions at each goal.

Another set of variables which have been explored in medical training research and may be important to police training studies involve the significance of the

interpersonal aspect in effective training: the motivation of the physician to change, their learning priorities and their interaction with the group. These variables have been examined in the evaluation of Problem Based Learning (PBL) as an alternative to traditional teaching methods. PBL is a learning approach in which small groups of medical students are presented with clinical cases which they solve using self-directed learning accompanied by group discussion (Wood, 2003). Several experimental and quasi-experimental trials have been undertaken over the years, and several systematic reviews (including meta-analysis) have been performed in an attempt to determine which of the methods is superior (Smits, Verbeek, & de Buissonjé, 2002).

While there is to date no convincing evidence that PBL improves knowledge or performance more (Colliver, 2000), some researchers contest the opinion that only improved test performance should count as a success. They argue that there is inherent value in the ability of professional training to provide a supportive learning environment, satisfaction and self-confidence. Norman & Schmidt (2000) and Wood (2003) argue that if the costs are reasonable and the success rates similar, the evidence that PBL creates a more enjoyable and inspiring educational process is a good enough reason to advocate it. This is an important debate for the field of police training as well.

### **Teacher Training**

While there is a track record of using evidence or high-quality research to inform educational policy (Pring, 2000), this does not seem to have been the case for teacher training. A review of teacher education research commissioned by the Scottish Government in 2010 determined that the research base on teacher education world-

wide is 'fragmented' and 'non-conclusive'; there is a lack of longitudinal, large-scale and experimental research, and most of existing studies are small-scale and 'piecemeal' (Donaldson, 2011). This literature review of teacher training therefore focused on identifying high-quality reviews.

Since the mid-1990s, there has been heightened attention to teacher training, with several attempts at both the research and policy level to assess the existing evidence on the impact of teacher training. An extensive review of teacher training interventions found evidence that 'certain program components and characteristics are related to teacher quality and pupil achievement' (Cochran-Smith, 2005, p. 302), which means that teacher training can make a difference.

Several studies support a claim that teacher training only takes effect some time into the teaching career, and only when certain conditions apply. Using a longitudinal design, Brouwer & Korthagen (2005) demonstrated that while there was more influence on teacher's skills and attitudes from the school context than from the training-programme context, influence of the latter was still detectable. However there is a latency period and it takes over a year before programme effects are visible. They bring as support a previous longitudinal study which used path analysis of a large data-set to identify a U-shape curve, signalling that training may begin to have an effect only later in the teaching career (Dann et al., 1978 in Brouwer & Korthagen, 2005). This finding should be considered critically when considering the study's design, attrition rates and the use of unrefined criterion. This line of finding echoes Rosenbaum's hypothesis regarding the limitation of recruit training. The reoccurrence of this theme in medical, education and police training literature demands further research be conducted.

The school environment is claimed to have a bigger influence on teachers than the training phase in their career. Theories of 'teaching culture' have been used to explain the seeming lack of effect of teacher training courses in advancing innovative and improved strategies, in the same way that 'police culture' has been used. There is little research evidence regarding the potential of specific strategies or techniques in teacher education to counter 'teaching culture'. Integrative approaches - those that link theoretical study to the practical experience – have been identified as potentially strengthening teachers' competence and countering socialisation effects. Drawing on two studies, Brouwer & Korthagen argue that "strengthening opportunities in pre-service teacher education programs to integrate practical exercise with theoretical study can mitigate 'practice shock' during their subsequent entry into in-service teaching". (Dann et al., 1978, and Nölle, 2002, in Brouwer & Korthagen, 2005). Successful programmes were those which invested in cooperation between student-teachers, trainers and schools, and those where there was an alteration of training and practice periods.

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Looking back at the review of training in fields of teaching and medicine, it is clear that not only is there a wealth of knowledge that could be transferred across contexts into police training, but that not doing so would go against the understanding of science as a cumulative activity. Both intervention and evaluation designs of police training programs could be advanced by this interdisciplinary perspective which recognises different types of occupational training as situated within evidence-based adult education. In designing the police training intervention described in chapter 6-7 the evidence-base outlined here served as a primary foundation.

#### 4.4 mechanisms of change and a general model of training

*Having outlined the existing evaluation literature as well as theoretical approaches to training, this section attempts to conceptualise a more general theory of how training works. Part of the goals of this thesis is to refine and advance a theoretical model of police training, which will be presented in Chapter 5.*

Training is in essence a behaviour-change intervention. There are two levels or perspectives of evidence that can help understand how training works. First, the more general evidence on what affects police behaviour. Second, the data from evaluation studies which can help piece together how training may lead to behaviour change. Both are necessary for designing more effective interventions.

Regarding the first level of evidence, which broadly examines behaviour change factors, the National Research Council's review on *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing* (Skogan & Frydl, 2004) provides a trustworthy analysis. Their review delineated two possible types of factors.

The first type is concerned with 'organisations and context', and includes sub-factors such as police agency size, decision making structures, job specialisations, hierarchical differentiation and policing strategies. It has also examined external factors such as neighbourhood characteristics, political oversight and intergovernmental influences. The review was able to point to several trends. Of interest is that behaviour change seems to necessitate organisational strategies which span several aspects; a policy should, for example, incorporate training, supervision and incentives in its implementation strategy. Specifically regarding the use of lethal force, formalizing restrictive policies appears to reduce its frequency. Remarkably, the success of

organizational policy changes is strongest when these are 'stimulated by a crisis' (p. 216).

The second type is termed 'people and situations', and has focused on situational influence, legal factors, officers' attitudes and characteristics, officers' knowledge, skills and abilities, life and work experiences of officers and internal treatment within the police force, particularly related to race and gender equality. The evidence reviewed showed strongest support for legal factors in discretionary decision making; laws are the central driving force in officers' choices in the field. Regarding all other factors, there are varying degrees of evidence, but in general this evidence is weak.

Because training interventions often target officers' attitudes, it is worth going more in-depth into this matter. Reviewing the evidence on the effects of specific attitudes on behaviour, Skogan & Frydl (2004) conclude that the few attempts to systematically test how occupational attitudes manifest themselves in discretionary forms of behaviour 'produce little or no support' (p. 135) of a link. Occupational attitudes, including conceptions of police role, attitudes towards citizens, and attitudes toward legal restrictions were 'only weakly related to patterns of behavior on street in general and use of force particularly' (Worden, 1989; Worden, 1995).

Trying to relate specific attitudes to the matching behaviour, Mastrofski and his colleagues (1994) found enforcement priorities had weak links to actual patterns of enforcement among traffic police. However, in another study Mastrofski and his colleagues (1995) found that positive attitudes to community policing were correlated to fewer arrests, which is in line with the principles of this policing model. This was also found in a later study by the same author (Mastrofski, Snipes, Parks, & Maxwell, 2000).

The relationship of core personal attitudes to behavior in the field also merits further examination. Prejudiced officers did not act on their prejudice in the field, according to a study which employed systematic observation (Reiss, 1971 in Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Similarly another study found that the use of force was not related to white officers' prejudice towards blacks (Freidrich, 1977 in Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

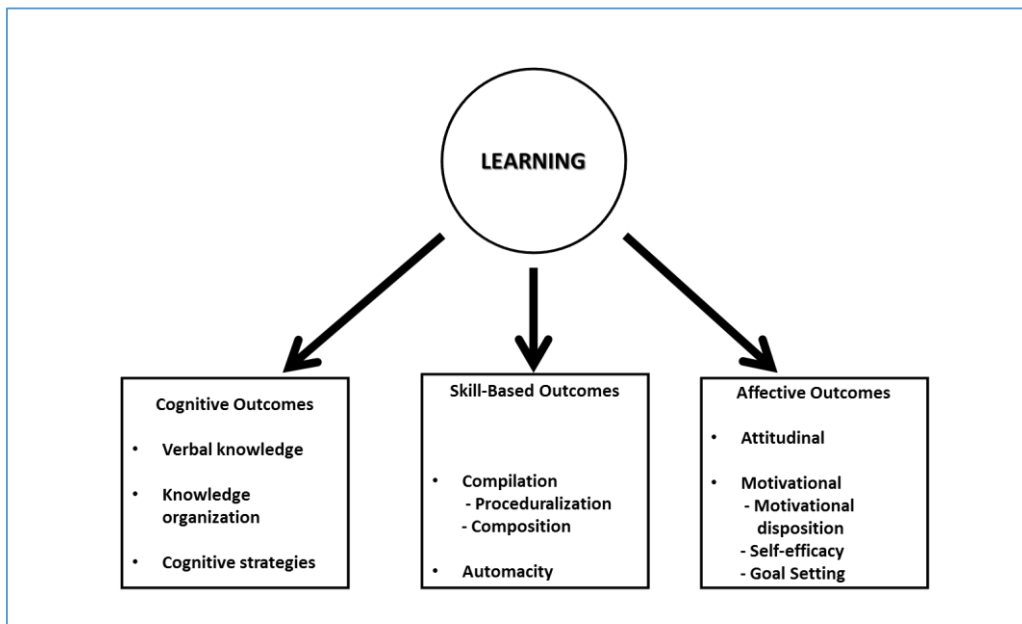
Results at this stage are not definitive, and the link between attitudes and behaviour remain plausible but not established (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). This is consistent with social-psychology research on the attitude-behaviour discrepancy (for example Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). The effects of attitudes on behaviour are usually small to moderate (Schuman & Johnson, 1976 in Skogan & Frydl, 2004) because they are 'attenuated by situational cross-pressures', for example the norms of the reference group. Another more important reason which should be kept in mind is that it is a problem to measure meaningfully both the attitudes and behaviours, and it is difficult to conclusively determine that theoretically relevant behavior is in fact being measured.

Turning from the general perspective of behaviour change to hypothesised models of training, the literature positions knowledge, skills, and attitudes (KSA) as core training components, which alone or together may affect change in behaviour. It is important to retain a critical outlook regarding the relationship between the different components and in turn their relationship to behaviour changes.

Skogan & Frydl (2004) identified two hypothesised *change models* concerning training programs; training policies are 'expected to affect officers' behaviour through two types of intervening mechanisms'; a change of attitudes and beliefs and/or a change

in knowledge, skills and abilities. Understanding these mechanisms is one of the challenges that face training designers. As outlined above, it is unclear if changing attitudes is a viable route to changing behaviour. There is also no clear evidence regarding the value of the second mechanism: 'knowledge, skills and abilities' (KSA). An unknown relationship exists between officers achieving better scores on performance tests, and their actual on-the-job performance. However, it is unclear whether training performance is itself a good predictor of performance in the field (Hog & Wilson, 1995 in Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Research suggests the influence of KSA is bigger than that of personality tests, but there is no firm conclusion regarding the extent of this.

Kraiger and his colleagues (1993) propose a theoretical model for evaluating learning through training, which includes both mechanisms suggested by the NRC review. It draws on Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives (1956), Kirkpatrick's (1976) evaluation typology (both often used in the design of police training curriculums and their evaluation) and Gagne's (1984) learning categories (figure 1). Building on learning theories from different disciplines, they suggest that learning may occur through the achievement of cognitive outcomes, skill-based outcomes and affective outcomes. 'Learning' is identified as the necessary step towards '*training transfer*' or behaviour change.



**Figure 1: Classification scheme of learning outcomes (Kraiger et al., 1993)**

There is a growing body of theoretical and empirical research which aims to understand the variables that affect the ‘transfer’ of training, which is defined as “the extent to which KSAs acquired in a training program are applied, generalized, and maintained over some time in the job environment” (Baldwin & Ford, 1988 in (Salas & Cannon-Bowers, 2001). In their narrative review, Salas and Cannon-Bowers (2001) discuss different facets influencing transfer success, among them prior needs-analysis, individual characteristics of trainees, trainee motivation, and the organisational environment leading up to training and afterwards.

Understanding mechanisms for behaviour change and how these may be situated within training interventions is an important step in promoting evidence-based practice in the area of police training. It was therefore also an important step in the progress of this research project.

## Section 5/ Directions for Future Research: Preliminary Principles of 'Good Practice' and 'Bad Practice' in Police Training

Tying together the themes that arise from the background chapter on the role of training in democratic societies and from this review of the evidence on training in the field of physician training and teacher training, there are several issues which could inform the design of police training interventions as well as future research.

Firstly, accepting the important role the police play in the democratic society (Manning, 2010), and the deep interplay of societal norms with police officers' understanding of their role (Loader, 2006), researchers should turn their attention to enhancing democratic policing in the context of democratic countries. The study of the 'Democratization of Policing' has focused almost entirely on democratizing police forces in countries transitioning to democracy or even in non-democratic countries (Pino & Wiatrowski, 2006). This trend ignores two issues. First, it is not reasonable to assume that police officers can 'create' democratic norms in a context in which they are not prevalent. Second, studies from across the world on police organisations often uncover behavioural norms not in line with the democratic values prominent in the wider society. This points to neglect by policy makers and police leaders in fostering processes which will promote such norms. Future research should deal with improving the ability of training to enhance democratic policing.

Secondly, acknowledging the centrality of the use of force in the mandate of the police, research must look beyond police brutality and conceptualise police use of force as a spectrum of behaviours in which police violence represents an extreme point of a continuum of protecting or disregarding human rights or democratic norms more

generally. This is also important from a practical perspective; any evaluation of an intervention that attempts to lower the use of excessive force is likely to encounter a 'floor effect', because of the definition's fluidity and the difficulty of measuring police violence. If only the most scandalous cases are persecuted or reported, it would be difficult to determine what methods affect this phenomenon. Future research should focus on measuring behaviour change on a wider scale, since measuring only the incidents of serious violence or criminal use of force may not capture the variations in behaviour change that can occur. Looking to measure the 'fairness' of each police-citizen interaction is one such approach.

Thirdly, considering the robustness of the procedural justice literature, the focus of research on the role of training in enhancing police legitimacy by transforming police-citizen interactions is justified. It is possible to view the elements of procedural justice as relating to a wider framework of policing in a democracy, since dignity, participation and lack of bias mirror values and norms of a democratic society, regardless of the policing approach advocated. The service-oriented approach usually focuses on middle class clients, and leaves out groups in which obeying the law is less normative, so it is crucial for research to step outside this boundary (Hough, 2010). The recent training studies support the hypothesis that developing officers' understanding of the wide-spread effects of the lack of legitimacy coupled with the tools to act in a procedurally just manner could have an impact on the attitudes and behaviours of those officers, and possibly on public perceptions. More research in more varied contexts is needed to determine the best approaches and methodologies.

It is crucial for future research to address the organisational context in which police

training occurs as well. Specifically, the 'organisational coupling effect' should be explored (Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996): the organisational interaction with training and how it contributes to the success or failure of training interventions. Any research examining police training must place it in the context of the specific police organization, not just as an acknowledgement of training as an organizational activity, but when trying to unravel the complex interplay of training with other organizational strategies. The implications for harmonisation of training with other organisational strategies as opposed to the creation of organizational dissonance are profound.

The coupling phenomena is supported by the findings that behaviour change necessitates organisational strategies which span several aspects (for example aligning training, supervision and incentives) (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Research findings point to an understanding that training officers to behave in a certain fashion with no reward or incentive system to compliment that behaviour is likely to be a waste of resources. The precise mechanisms through which this support is best given need to be unravelled. Yet, it is not clear that such effects could be measured or quantified in a replicable fashion, other than being identified on an ad-hoc basis. This does not lessen the need to carry out such an assessment when attempting to design new training or when assessing existing ones, as the organisational context should be recognized as crucial to the success of training.

Because of the lack of clarity regarding the mechanisms of behaviour change – what is the interplay of attitudes, skills and behaviours? – Measurements of all three should ideally be included in evaluations of training interventions. Only by accumulating findings regarding the interactions of these three elements in different contexts can

the mechanisms of change be identified, leading to more effective training.

Looking over the existing evidence, an initial conclusion is that training should not focus on officers' belief systems in disconnect from the relevant toolkit of matching skills. On the other hand, a behavioural approach which focuses on skills alone may be acceptable (for example a scripted approach used in the Queensland traffic police experiments by Mazerolle et al., 2013). Discussion on the importance of values in police training should be initiated. Democratic values or norms should set the standard for appropriate police behaviour, but especially in contested societies where it seems that values cannot be imposed on officers, only standards and due process. There is likely to be more logic in telling officers to put their own beliefs to one side, and act in accordance with department norms, than to rely on attitude change to impact on behaviour.

Regarding the delivery of the training interventions, there is robust evidence from the field of medicine that adult education and participatory methodologies are more effective than traditional didactic ones in catalysing behaviour change. The interweaving of practice and training was also found beneficial in teacher training. Despite fundamental differences between the professions and the contexts, it seems a potent avenue of research to invest in developing police training interventions which encourage active participation and reflection among officers.

The concept of resilience to training decay also merits further attention: What are the mechanisms or attributes through which police officers can retain the knowledge, values, or skills they obtained through their training? The work of Chan on resilience and socialization (Chan et al., 2003) and of Wortley and Homel on 'training decay' (Wortley

& Homel, 1995) provide a sound base from which to explore these phenomena. Just as medical training shows promise for different 'reminder' techniques, it may be that to allow training to 'work' as it should, on-the-job training or post-academy training components must be made more available. In practice, such research could focus on the effects of delivering the same training at different time points in the policing career, for example during recruit training, during the probationary period, or to experienced officers.

The issue of 'dose-response' should also be considered: what is the quantity of training sufficient to make the desired change? Especially considering that one-off training is often a knee-jerk organisational reaction in the face of the need to reform. While it is true that training is a costly activity, one-off workshops with no reinforcement or reminder mechanisms, whether on the job in on-going training, may not be cost-effective if they are targeting a contested topic. Research into this should take into account theory and research from social psychology, which describes the difficulty of countering existing norms.

A more theoretical exploration of police training is required. A topic of debate which should be encouraged is to what extent police training is not only 'learning' but rather 'education'. Admittedly, there is a problem in measuring broad goals of 'education', for example 'developing a humanistic approach' among officers (Mastrofski, 1990). Yet educating men and women within an institution that carries great weight in the ongoing construction of democracy has intrinsic value. Furthermore, police training should be useful and beneficial to police officers not only as professionals but as individuals in our societies. As a social intervention police training programs should

be held accountable to the 'do no harm' standards.

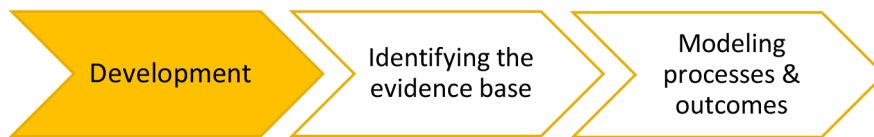
Lastly, when designing research concerning the police, it is necessary to adopt a critical standpoint regarding inherent and structural problems of research and measurement. It is significant not only for engaging in rigorous research, but from the standpoint that police research is an end in itself in a democratic society (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). A critical evaluation of what it is worthwhile to measure is called for. Researchers should keep in mind they are not simply measuring effectiveness as a neutral construct, but rather police effectiveness in a democratic context (Reiner, 2010). Crime control cannot be measured in a non-contextualised fashion, but always needs to take into consideration how it is balanced out against civil liberties. In addition, in order to move the field forward consistent definition of concepts and common outcome measures as well as the tools with which to measure them is necessary (Cochrane-Smith, 2005).

Several of the recommendations that have been outlined here correspond to the three avenues of inspection identified by Mastrofski (1990) two decades ago. This points to the relative lack of progress, negatively noted in the NRC review in 2004. It follows that there is value in conducting a series of systematic reviews which will answer the questions the effectiveness of training interventions in enhancing democratic policing norms, as well as carrying out experimental trials that will put the propositions outlined in this section to the test. It would appear that this is the most promising way forward to building an evidence base of police training in democratic societies.



## Chapter 4/

### The Israeli Border Police: a contextual analysis



*The chapter first establishes the appropriateness of researching democratic police training in an Israeli context. Its central aim is to review the aspects of this context that are significant to evidence-based intervention design, drawing on Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model of development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The chapter maps factors of relevance to intervention design and implementation, examining the characteristics of Israeli National Police and the BP and those who serve in it, including issues affecting them such as stress and burnout. These factors are then presented as part of a ‘problem theory’ (Fraser, Richman, & Galinsky, 2009) that helps map the inherent risk trajectories a training intervention would attempt to disrupt.*



## Section 1/ Aims and Methods of a Contextualising Review

This chapter aims to provide the background needed to grasp the unique context in which this study was conducted. Understanding the context in which the police officer acts is crucial to studying policing and police training (Goldstein, 1977), and especially so when the goal is the identification and development of theory as part of the development of complex social interventions (Craig et al., 2008 ; Bonell, et al., 2012).

The research question guiding this chapter is: What factors (in each level of the police officers' ecology) might be of relevance to the success or failure of democratic police training? This chapter will accordingly offer a practical contextualizing review to enable understanding of both the societal and organisational context in which Border Police officers operate, including some critical theoretical literature.

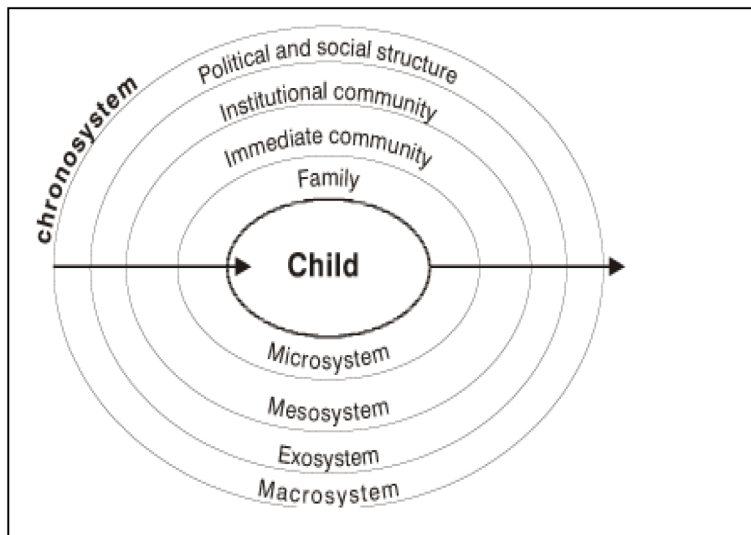
The first part of this chapter will justify researching democratic police training in an Israeli context, and the choice of the police organisation in which the research was conducted; a central aim of this chapter is to assess the appropriateness-of-fit of Israeli policing to the *democratic policing* framework, so throughout the chapter this issue will be highlighted. The second part will give an overview of the characteristics of Israeli National Police, and the following will describe in depth the characteristics of the Border Police and the issues affecting those who serve in it. Section 5 will focus on the formation of the Education Unit, including an analysis of its capacity to support the research. Based on this exposition, a *problem theory* of police training will be presented, which delineates the risks to successful democratic police training.

Understanding the context of the intervention is an essential aspect of the first stages outlined in the MRC's framework, which encompass the theoretical development of the intervention and the feasibility stage. As Campbell et al. state:

*“Context is all important. It includes the wider socioeconomic background (including underlying cultural assumptions), the health service systems, the characteristics of the population, the prevalence or severity of the condition studied, and how these factors change over time. How a problem is caused and sustained, whether it is susceptible to intervention, and how any intervention could work may all depend on the context. This means that understanding context is crucial not only when designing interventions but also when assessing whether an intervention that was effective in one setting might work in others”* (Campbell et al., 2007, p. 455).

While these authors relate to health interventions, this analysis holds for police training interventions as well, and is perhaps even more acute considering the relative dearth of research in this context. The Realist Trial framework, which takes a similar view, is based on the Realist evaluation framework, which emerged from Criminology and policing studies specifically (Bonell et al., 2012; Pawson & Tilley, 1997); this lend support to the claim it is appropriate for the topic of this research as well.

The topics which will be reviewed were chosen due to their significance to evidence-based intervention design, in line with the recommendations of the MRC framework. Drawing on Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), an attempt was made to map issues of relevance to intervention design and implementation, beginning the state and society levels and descending to organisational, unit and individual levels. As the guiding logic of the review, core issues were identified which may have a bearing on the potential efficacy of the intervention, either directly or indirectly, by affecting acceptability and take-up on the individual or organisational level.



**Figure 1: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model of Human Development**

At the level of the individual, as the first target of the intervention, trauma and stress levels are reviewed as well as the demographic makeup of police officers. At the level of the unit and the organisation, as additional targets of a community-level intervention (Trickett et al., 2011), the legal framework and operational structure of the National Police and Border Police organisations and the tasks they are charged with are included. There is also a section which reviews organisational justice as a factor affecting officers' own attitudes and behaviour, and one on the misuse of force as a phenomena targeted by the intervention. At the societal level, which affects individuals both directly and indirectly through the organisation, the mechanisms through which misuse of force is dealt with are discussed, as well as police-minority relations in Israel.

It is discernible from this list that these factors interact on different levels, creating a complex system in which the intervention operates, as described by Bronfenbrenner (1979). Bronfenbrenner's model will be used as the structure of a problem theory which builds on the findings of the review. The formulation of a problem theory is

a necessary step in the development of evidence-based interventions; this theory should identify the risk factors, pertaining to both individual and environment level, which sustain the social problem the intervention is targeting (Fraser, Richman, & Galinsky, 2009).

The sources from which this review draws are varied. They include criminology books and peer-reviewed journal articles written by Israeli authors, reports of local NGOs (including the author's own evaluation report for Amnesty International – Israel Branch, from 2009). Importantly, the review also includes as a central source the elite interviews carried out during the first phase of research and internal documents obtained during these interviews; this information was gathered as part of the feasibility study, which provided an inside glance at this organisation. The interviews were often a primary source for understanding the BP organisation and creating organograms and process models, as policy documents either did not exist or were inaccessible or vague without verbal clarifications.

Relatively little has been written about the Israeli National Police (INP), of which the BP is part, both theoretical and empirical in nature, in comparison for example to the United Kingdom's police force. There is also very little study and discussion of policing in Israel by journalists, politicians and public figures, except rather superficial reports of lack of trust towards the police. This is in part due to the difficulty to obtain data from the police regarding the different aspects of its functioning, which poses methodological challenges (Shadmi, 2012).

Some limited evidence points to the unwillingness of police to expose data to the public, journalists, public officials, and especially academia, an attempt to obscure the

instruments of control and oppression (Shadmi, 2012). Combined with the relative small numbers of academics studying the Israeli police, whether due to inertia or misunderstanding regarding the depth of the role it plays in shaping society, the result is a dearth of studies. The strained relationship between police and academia in Israel described by Shadmi might be both a result and a consequence of this state of affairs.

Elite interviews are unique in that the focus is on specialized knowledge that the interviewee possesses (Dexter, 2006); in these interviews the 'investigator is willing and often eager to let the interviewee teach him what the problem, the question, the situation is' (p. 19). These interviews therefore tend to be more open-ended than the focused interview, so that the interviewee can stress his or her definition of structure and the relevant data related to a situation (Odendahl & Shaw, 2002 in Kezar, 2003). The sub-type of elite interviews used in this study involves organizational elites, whose status is 'a direct consequence of holding a particular position in an organization' (Delaney, 2007, p. 210).

The value of elite interviews sometimes lies in their ability to provide the only account of organizational history and processes 'not recorded elsewhere, or not yet available (if ever) for public release' (Richards, 1996, p. 200). The limitation of using such interview data is that it is not 'objective' or verified truth. There is a chance that interviewees will misconstrue events, either because they don't remember accurately, or they have adjusted their interpretation of the events to better fit the organizational story, or do not want to present themselves in a bad light. This adjustment might be done with intention of misleading the researcher or unconsciously.

Taking these limitations into account, the elite interview data from the Border Police

was used in a functional fashion; this seems appropriate as this was not the core of the research, but a way to understand an organisation and a process which had not been written about. Within the framework of the 'theories of change' methodology which I used (and will be elaborated upon in the next chapter), the subjectiveness of the account of organisational leaders was not a problem; I was trying to understand their narrative or theory for why and how the BP 'do' educational training. These theories would later be critically analysed together with a variety of sources to build up a model of educational training in the BP. The additional purpose, which only emerged following the initiation of the data collection process, was the access to data that could help construct the organizational context in which the Education Unit operates, as well as the process in which it was formed and developed. This helped expand the perspective of 'doing' training from a 'present perfect' state to an evolving set of decisions and practices, rooted in national and organizational settings.

This chapter makes use of the data provided to describe the organisational aspects for which no previous data existed. Some issues were discussed by several interviewees but others by only one or two, in which case the decision to include the information was based on my own judgment regarding the relevance of the details to the narrative as a whole. When a specific piece of information was provided by an interviewee, that interview is referenced in a footnote. When the story was shared by several interviewees – for example the need to set up the education unit – I present it as an organisational narrative.

This review, and the study as a whole, aims to emphasise the socio-political elements of the context of the intervention; psycho-social interventions should not be de-

contextualised, especially as full understanding of context is crucial for judging their transportability and for future adaptation of the intervention (Fraser et al., 2009). A thorough understanding of these factors is also needed for conducting mediator and moderator analysis (Gardner, Hutchings, Bywater, & Whitaker, 2010). In order to achieve the aim of assessing the appropriateness-of-fit of Israeli policing to the *democratic policing* framework, each section of the chapter will highlight the aspects relevant for this task.

This contextual approach is also necessary as it appears that research concerning the BP is sometimes de-politicized, in the sense that the socio-political context which determines its identity and in which it operates is either ignored or obscured. It is noteworthy that the lack of cooperation between the police and academia leads to this type of research. Two studies identified during the review recruited BP officers who were in fact students of the lead authors in community colleges, and not through formal channels (Shoham & Yehoshua-Stern, 2012; Rubinstein, 2006); this is ethically questionable, and could lead to weaker research. Both these studies made minimal mention of the types of tasks BP officers deal with daily, which require more use of powers and force than 'ordinary' police officers, and no mention of the weaker socio-economic backgrounds which is a correlate of service in the BP. This de-politicising leads to what are possibly skewed results, and also might have deepened the mistrust BP officers and commanders feel towards academics.

## [Section 2/ Researching the Topic of Democratic Policing in the Israeli Context: the Macro System](#)

Over the last few decades, there have been several attempts to define the concept

of democratic policing. There are four key norms of democratic policing concerning which there is wide consensus: serving individual citizens and groups (as opposed to authorities); accountability to the law; transparency in activities; and protection of human rights (Bayley, 2001).

Manning offers a more detailed framework, at the centre of which is John Rawl's 'difference principle' (Rawls, 1971, in Manning, 2010). 'Translated' into the world of policing, this principle is realised by the police's actions not increasing existing inequalities. More explicitly, it refers to constraint in dealing with citizens and fairness in procedure; largely reactive tactics; equal and minimalist application of coercion; internal organisational 'fairness'; and accountability, both individually and organisationally. Manning recognized that this state of being is not easily found on the ground.

Manning proposes nine dimensions, along which it is possible to place police organisations that together create a configuration or a matrix. Some of these dimensions are crucial to the democratic nature of policing in a country. These include the historic origins of the police as a state-based authority; the police as enforcers of common law in a democratic state; a collective mandate and a collective obligation (rather than a market-oriented organisation); perceived fairness and trustworthiness, which stems from a sense of collective and shared values; and a mandate anchored in general legitimacy.

The review will touch upon issues relating both to Bayley's democratic policing characteristics (2001) and to Manning's central principle and matrix (2010) in an attempt to solidify one of this study's central assumptions. Considering there is no

formal or objective process for positioning police forces on a scale of either of these theoretical models, it remains a subjective judgment call. The approach used will be that of *'good enough democratic policing'*: demonstrating that Israel's police is not contradictory in its nature to the attributes of democratic policing presented above. Manning himself locates Israeli police as 'marginally democratic', because it 'carries out torture and uses antiterrorist tactics and terrorism itself' (p. 48).

The first chapters of this thesis have put forth the argument there is a need to further the understanding of police training interventions as a route to enhancing democratic policing. This section will attempt to make the case for concentrating that effort in a liminal case study: situated in a democracy which is not fully established but also not a democracy by name only, with a serious minority – police conflict. Israel, and within it the Israeli Border Police, can serve as a 'laboratory of ideas' in which to examine the issues at the core of this area of inquiry. This section has a separate purpose from the general aim of the chapter of examining the context of the intervention, as it justifies this context.

An explicit choice was made to focus on a police force in a democratic country, out of an understanding that the norms of the organisation can only mirror that of the wider society and not create new ones (Sklansky, 2008). Most of the literature focuses on the democratization of police forces in non-democratic countries, (notably Bayley in *'Democratizing Police Forces'*, 2001), or newly-formed democracies and democracies in a developing world context. Das & Marenin (2005) explore several cases of police reform, which usually include a component of training. The expectation of a training intervention to succeed and create democratic policing norms, in countries in which

democratic norms are scant, seems unrealistic.

The academic focus on these countries also assumes police in the more established democracies have no need for further democratization. There is value at looking at attempts to bolster democratic behaviours in countries who score high in several dimensions of the democracy index yet are not included as a full democracy, and even in fully established democracies. Democratic civic life is an ongoing project, which needs constant investment (Biesta, 2006).

There is theoretical and practical value in focusing research on *New* or 'flawed' democracies. Israel was established as a democracy in 1948; on the Economist Democracy Index, it is defined as a 'flawed democracy' - the second possible tier which includes established democracies such as France - scoring 7.48 out of 10, and ranked in 37<sup>th</sup> place (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2010). It achieves high scores in the first four scales of the index: electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, and political culture (all 7.5 and above) but a low mark on the fifth for civil liberties (5.29). It ranks higher on the over-all mark than several EU countries, for example Slovakia.

Rather than a limitation of the study, Israel's classification presents an opportunity to understand conflicting trends that are not so extreme in more established democratic societies. The Economist's Democracy Index illuminates this point; rather than thinking about democracy as a binary category into which countries either fall or do not, it places societies on five continuous scales which recognize the multiple composites of a functioning democracy, with a distinct cut-off mark for authoritarian regimes but three tiers for capturing the attempt at implementation of democratic

ideals and practices. If this conceptualization is accepted, it validates the argument that studying a flawed democracy can help crystallise the understanding of issues affecting democracies in the 'full democracy' tier.

Multi-cultural democracies pose structural challenges to democratic policing (Loader, 2006), mostly to the continued failure of policing minorities (Wortley & Homel, 1995); this has become more apparent in the light of violent clashes in recent years between police and minorities, including in liberal democracies. Israel is an extreme case through which these challenges and the possible solutions can be examined; the margins have the potential to illuminate the centre.

Israel is a multi-cultural democracy with ethnic, national and religious minorities. As in other Western democracies, and arguably more so due to the protracted Israeli-Palestinian conflict, its multi-cultural structure poses challenges to democratic policing capacities and carries implications for the legitimacy of the police. The Israeli model of policing is compatible with two models described in the literature: *democratic policing* (Manning, 2010) and *policing of a deeply divided society* (Hasisi & Weitzer, 2007); this duality is a reflection of the nature of Israeli society. As both models are structured as matrixes, there is no barrier to thinking of them as overlapping. Indeed this helps put in perspective the understanding that the political situation cannot be separated from the equation of police training; it would be a false separation which would leave the analysis with many blind spots. It also sets realistic expectations regarding the quality or level of democratic policing in Israel in comparison with established democracies that are not dealing with an on-going conflict.

Ben-Porat & Gopher's (2013) analysis of the inherent tensions of policing a democracy

illuminates the advantage of studying the Israeli context. The tensions which are expressed in minority riots throughout the world point to the difficulties encountered by the state and the police in navigating the complexities of a multicultural society. Identity, belonging and authority are constantly contested in these societies, making the police's job a real challenge. While the mistrust of minorities is a function of their macro relations to the state, sometimes the police's actions and practices deepen the mistrust, making it unbearable and unviable. Many attempted reform strategies focus on this Gordian knot, attempting to transform policing and make it more 'democratic', yet there is little evidence regarding the effectiveness of such reforms (Weitzer & Tusch, 1996, in Ben-Porat & Gopher, 2013).

Israeli society combines a developed democratic culture alongside a sorry state of affairs of a minority group whose individual and collective rights are denied or not fully realised (Gopher & Ben-Porat, 2013). The police are at the forefront of the clashes between the Israeli state and society and the Arab-Palestinian minority: It is at the hands of police officers that the minority often experiences the discrimination which is a result of the society's attitudes and power structure. Police officers, on the other hand, are expected to contain the conflict between a democratic standard of policing with the structural discrimination they enforce, often state-backed (for example, house demolitions in 'unrecognized' Bedouin villages, and the over-policing and under-policing of certain cities and neighbourhoods).

Studying democratic police training in this context will give the opportunity to explore and understand this focal issue of police-minority relations in a democracy, which cannot be separated from the quest for democratic policing. As Wortley & Homel

stated: 'it is unrealistic to expect training to ever psychologically program police to remain untouched by the world into which they are thrust' (Wortley & Homel, 1995, p. 315); instead, training must take their experience into account and teach them how to apply democratic ideals in their unideal world.

Within Israel, a choice was made to focus on the Border Police, keeping in mind the recommendations of key literature, for example the MRC guidelines, regarding the importance of organisational acceptability and willingness to participate to the suitable implementation of complex interventions and their future scale-up (Craig et al., 2008). A basic prerequisite for the success of educational interventions, including training interventions, is commitment to implementation at a reasonable standard or a minimum level of *implementation fidelity* (Mihalic, 2004). Furthermore, the importance of alignment between organisational messages and training messages as a base for the success of training interventions has been highlighted by Mastrofski & Ritti (1996).

A basic willingness to collaborate and a strong enough organisation to follow through on this willingness were therefore basic criteria for choosing a police organisation within which to carry out the research. The infrastructure of professional development in the BP was found to be better than in the Israeli National Police (INP) and therefore judged more promising in terms of successful execution and implementation of the training intervention. Internal findings of the BP point to training as playing a role in behaviour change of BP officers, and this is indicative of high potential for a successful intervention, at least in terms of the symbolic capital training obtained in this organisation (Litmanovitz, 2009). The BP is in some ways

a 'closed system' – separate from the INP and smaller in size, with its own training structure and infrastructure – so there is more feasibility in setting up a trial and evaluating specific programmes.

These factors point to the BP as a case study which could generate significant knowledge; the potential for generalizability is an important consideration from an Evidence-Based Practice (EBP) perspective. The next sections explore the assertions made here regarding the appropriateness of this context for developing and evaluating a training intervention, beginning with a macro view of Israeli society and its police force.

### [Section 3/ Israel and its National Police: the Macro-System and Exo-System](#)

#### **3.1 Organisational and legal structure**

Israel has a centralised police force, with a Commissioner who is appointed by the minister of Internal Security (Herzog, 2000). There are seven districts, and the BP, though it does not operate in one geographical area but across all of them, is organisationally situated as a district. Over 27,000 police officers serve in the INP ('Israel Yearly Statistical Report', 2013), and thousands make up its volunteer corps.

The legislation awarding the INP its powers evolved from British rule in Mandatory Palestine; its structures and organising legal framework are a legacy of a colonial model of policing as opposed to the metropolitan police model developed in the home countries (Shadmi, 2012). The INP's authority is anchored in the 'Police Directive 1971' . As the central missions of the police, it lists: Preventing and uncovering crimes, apprehending criminals and bringing them to justice, upholding public order and

safeguarding persons and property. Hertzog (2000) claims that in a comparative analysis, the powers awarded the INP are 'extraordinary'.

The INP's Value statement, drafted in 1998 (Warner & Tzemach, 2004, in Shoham & Yehoshua-Stern, 2012) includes an overarching statement regarding identification with the 'national vision and its realization, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence: this is Israel's founding document, which contains references to universalistic values. The three main values indicated which should guide the police officer in carrying out his duty are: protecting human life, wellbeing and property; respecting individuals and their rights; upholding and enforcing the law; and striving for service to be of quality and equality (Israel National Police, 2009). It is evident that this professional ethos is compatible with the underlying structure of *democratic policing* (Manning, 2010)

At the turn of the century, an attempt to introduce community policing – a reform agenda aligned with democratic policing – was judged unsuccessful (Weisburd, Shalev, & Amir, 2002). In 2012 the Commissioner of the INP announced a reform titled 'The Year of Transformation', a three-year process aimed at increasing public trust in the police and the public's sense of personal safety (INP, 2012). The reform is focused around three areas: improving service to citizens, increasing deterrence of criminals, and improving the work conditions of serving officers. This strategy appears to be well placed in terms of existing literature of improving legitimacy. The results of the reform have yet to be published, but indicate that at least on a declarative level, there is commitment in the INP to the norms of democratic policing; 'serving individuals and groups' as the first facet of democratic policing (Bayley, 2001).

### 3.2 Israel's National Police and Israeli society

In her critical book: 'The Fortified Land: Police and Policing in Israel', Erella Shadmi offers a valuable examination of the place of the police in Israeli society and culture, which contributes to the understanding of the Israeli *culture of policing* (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003) and to the barriers and opportunities for advancing democratic policing. Her analysis is presented below.

The INP is a central security actor in Israeli society. National security has been re-framed gradually since the mid-1970s, as concerned not only with external threats but also protection against the enemy within, in the form of threats to public order and a metaphorical 'civilian frontier' exposed to terror and war threats (Shadmi, 2012). Security becomes 'not only an issue of war and peace but also issues of society and quality of life' (p. 19). The police is seen as the IDF's 'little brother', assisting it occasionally to maintain the loosely-defined 'internal security', and is responsible for the also loosely-defined 'public peace' and 'public order'. This means the police has a double role – it is an arm of the security forces, and also an arm of the justice and law-enforcement systems; this duality creates many complex dilemmas.

The police's symbolic role in society is significant; the police is enlisted into the efforts to create and sustain a national identity, and plays an important role in the production of a joint community that is not only an assembly of interest groups (Loader & Walker, 2007). Critical policing scholars argue the police is a powerful tool for maintaining hegemony, especially in conflicted societies, and its role is to 'create order' as it is understood by the elites, not simply to enforce the law (Bittner, 2005). Shadmi (2012) argues and demonstrates this analysis holds for the Israeli case: In Israel, the police

have an important role in shaping the nation state and its authority and in affirming the state-as-regent, despite sub-national identities and competing institutions (Shadmi, 1998). As such the police has a role in preserving the ideological structures of the state. In shaping order, Israeli police officers identify the 'deviant' elements in society and over-police them out of a sense that they pose a threat and need to be controlled. These groups include '*Arabs of 48*' (Palestinians who are Israeli citizens), left-wing activists, 'the Poor', 'Russians', young people who are not considered 'mainstream', social change activists and anarchists.

A social process of 'police-ism' (in reference to militarism) is claimed to be taking place: policing invades daily life, and aggressive policing against marginal groups - a category in constant expansion - is justified by the public (Shadmi, 2012). While the Israeli police is going through a process of militarization and legitimation, many social phenomena are 'securitized' (for example homelessness) or conceptualised as 'strategic threats', and the accepted response to dealing with them is through policing, and aggressive policing at that.

With this sociological analysis in mind, recent research on police-public relations is better understood. A review of recent empirical studies of Israeli policing identified a drop in the public trust in the INP, which it claims is primarily 'the result of inadequate police treatment on the interpersonal level, or, put differently, too little procedural justice in police behaviour' (Perry & Jonathan-Zamir, 2014, p. 182-183). The authors' analysis is that the 'disregard' for procedural justice is rooted in the shaping of the police as a counter-terrorism agent, which has led to a militaristic policing orientation as well as poor implementation of the attempted community policing reforms. Similar

conclusions were reached by a recent RAND report produced in collaboration with the Israel Ministry of Public Security, which oversees the INP (Saunders et al., 2014).

In thinking about the generalizability of interventions originally designed for the Israeli context, it is necessary to take a comparative perspective and contemplate the issues of trust and effectiveness in an international framework. Hough et al. acknowledge the theoretical and methodological problem in comparing public trust across countries; The European Social Survey 2010 module on 'Trust in Justice' is a first step to enable this (Hough, Jackson, & Bradford, 2012).

In judging the effectiveness of the police, Israel – the only non-European country included – scores third from last, but here the variation in scores is not significant between countries. On the other hand, assessing the procedural fairness of the police, the situation in Israel is deemed 'catastrophic', in common with the Ukraine and the Russian Federation: over 50% of those surveyed 'believe police treat people with respect not at all or not very often' (Hough et al., 2012, pg. 13). As this is an important element in democratic policing, this may present a caveat. The possible causes will be illuminated in the sections below.

### **3.3 Misuse of force as a phenomenon**

Police violence is a phenomenon described all over the world; it is directed towards minorities and marginalized groups but also towards the normative public. A discussion of the phenomena was presented in Chapter 2. It is important to understand the extent and nature of the phenomena in designing interventions that aim to diminish it, and also to map the existing societal accountability structures that counter it, as they are part of the organisational context of the intervention.

In Israel, there is no law obliging the police to publish data regarding abuse of powers, as there is the United Kingdom for example (IPCC, 2011); this is an element of accountability and transparency in which Israel falls short of democratic policing standards. Herzog (2000) describes an every-day reality of abuse of power during arrests, criminal investigations, dispersion of protests and even ordinary traffic stops, usually toward the Arab minority or members of 'marginalised' groups. This reality has been described and discussed in Israeli media and by politicians and public figures at least since the 1980s, and has prompted several public investigations in the form of official state inquiries and reports by the State Comptroller.

Although Israeli police chiefs have claimed that the causes of misuse of force are individual-level ones, and due to 'a few rotten apples', there is some evidence to suggest that an organisational culture of deviance is responsible (Herzog, 2000). Herzog's empirical study of police officers' attitudes presents findings that demonstrate a widespread sub-culture of deviance, in which the need for effectiveness, or for producing results, is accompanied by an acceptance of the misuse of force as a means to achieve these results, disregarding the rule of law. In police officers' eyes, complainants are seen as criminals out to slander officers who simply try to do their jobs.

The Kremnitzer public inquiry committee on police violence published its report over 20 years ago, in 1994. It recommended reviewing police officers' complaints records before their promotion; involving commanders in the education process of their subordinates; dealing with cases of serious police violence in the general court and justice system and dismissing officers against whom there is evidence of serious

violence; and dismissing officers who repeatedly abuse their powers, even if they did not use serious violence (Be'er, 1996). While the committee's recommendations were publicly adopted by police leadership, a report of the State Comptroller claims that no steps were taken to implement any of the recommendations in practice (The State Comptroller, 2005).

A recent Knesset (Israeli Parliament) Committee of the Interior conducted a special session to discuss police violence, in which Members of Knesset from the entire political party range, from left-wing to far right, voiced the opinion that police misuse of force is a substantive issue that must be addressed through parliamentary means (Israeli Knesset, 2013). These proceedings allude to a lasting, durable phenomenon, or at least a durable public discourse on the matter.

The public attitude towards this phenomena is also an important element to consider in devising policies and interventions to lessen it; it is argued that police violence in Israel – whether directed at gender, nationality, class, or ethnicity – has shifted from hidden to open and legitimate (Shadmi, 2012). This violence produces a culture of emergency, which in turn affects policing practices. As soon as a situation arises that can be defined as 'a threat to the security of the state and its citizens', it becomes permissible to discard the laws and rules of justice. This exposes individuals and groups to state violence leaving them defenceless, and even 'eats away at the foundations of democracy' (p. 253).

A semi-independent police complaints body was set up in 1992, when the then-existing procedure was relocated from to an external unit (known by the Hebrew acronym Machash) set up in the Ministry of Justice, out of belief this would help

alleviate the phenomenon. The establishment of Machash led to a significant rise in the number of complaints against officers, including for illegal use of force; this is explained as a vote of confidence by the public in the new system, as well as its improved accessibility (Herzog, 2002). However, there has actually been a decrease in the number of complaints which have matured to criminal proceedings; several structural explanations are possible, most prominent being that the higher degree of evidence required to transfer a case to the civilian courts cannot be obtained in many cases of police violence.

A more recent report by the State Comptroller claimed that half of the complaints made to Machash were not investigated, either classified as 'dead end' or 'too minor' use of force. The report's criticism is that these cases 'disappear', instead of being 'moved' into internal police disciplinary boards, thus obscuring the extent of the problem (The State Comptroller, 2005). An interview with former head of Machash, Hertzil Shviro, revealed his harsh opinion that his unit has no power due to a culture of impunity and cover-up, in which officers lie to protect one another (Veitz, 2010). In 2005, an official decision was reached that Machash should be 'civilian-ised' in order to ensure no conflict of interest in its investigations. The Ministry of Justice website claims this process will soon be carried out.

Considering the studies and reports reviewed here, it is apparent that the misuse of force is an issue in Israeli policing; though it is difficult to estimate the extent of the phenomena in the absence of official annual data, it can be concluded that the limits of the mandate to use force are not clear to serving officers, and that existing norms are not satisfactory. In addition, existing accountability mechanisms are ineffective

or not effective enough, which may work to contradict the possible efficacy of any training intervention. These are matters which should be kept in mind while working with Israeli police officers and in designing training.

### **3.4 Jewish-Arab relations in a policing context**

Police-minority relations are the touchstone of democratic policing. One of the central challenges currently facing the state of Israel is the improvement of the relationship with the Arab minority, especially in the arena of policing; this is particularly significant because the police is the most visible representative of the state, and thus carries a heavy responsibility in how it represents it (Gopher & Ben-Porat, 2013).

The polarization of Israeli society has sprung forth a policing style compatible with that of a 'deeply divided society' (Hasisi & Weitzer, 2007). As was claimed in the opening section of this chapter, this does not theoretically exclude the simultaneous fit of the democratic policing model, since both models are structured as matrices. Considering the prominence of this internal conflict in Israeli policing, and the effect it might have on receptiveness to ideas of democratic policing or the ability to realise it on the ground, this section will outline pertinent historical and political issues of Jewish-Arab relations in the policing context. To re-emphasise the point, the political situation cannot be separated out of the equation of police training; it would be a false dichotomy which would leave the analysis with many blind spots.

The status of Arabs in Israel is liminal. Upon the establishment of Israel in 1948, Palestinians in its territory were granted citizenship (or allowed to apply for it). However, until 1966 the Arabs in Israel were placed under military rule, which curtailed

their freedoms and subjected them to military rather than civilian law (Peled & Shafir, 1996). It is in this context that in 1956 Border Police officers in Kfar Kassam shot and killed 43 farmers, among them women and children, who unintentionally broke a curfew (Boymel, 2007). The legacy of military rule, alongside the protracted conflict with Palestinians who are not citizens of Israel, deeply affect the way security forces, including the INP, see and treat this minority. As was noted in the previous section, this minority suffers unequal treatment and violence at the hands of the police.

A breaking-point in police-minority relations in Israel took place in 2000. During the violent clashes which erupted in parallel with the beginning of the second *Intifada*, 13 Arab citizens were killed by police officers. The Or public inquiry committee, set up following the (mostly Arab) public outcry, attempted to understand the origins of this horrendous event, and make recommendations to prevent its reoccurrence. Among the conclusions it reached: Arabs receive a lower standard of police service than Jews; there are prevalent views of Arabs as an enemy in the police force; and in the Arab sector the police is not seen as a service provider but “as a hostile organ serving an inconsiderate regime” (Or, Hativ, & Shamir, 2003, p. 14).

When the Or report was published, the government announced it would adopt all recommendations and set up the Lapid committee, to steer the policy strategy in improving the status of the Arab minority in Israel (Ben-Porat & Gopher, 2013). This committee made 20 recommendations regarding the INP, one of these relating to professionalization and education of police officers. This committee was heavily criticised for draining all intent from the Or committee recommendations, leaving a hollow shell; the Lapid report gave no timeframe and no budget-frame for the

execution of its recommendations, and also provided no oversight mechanisms. Nonetheless, the INP announced that it would fully adopt the Lapid recommendations, and publishes periodical reports to update on the progress to achieving these goals. These reports mention budgetary restraints as the main reason for its failure in implementing these recommendations.

Ben Porat and Gopher state that the two reports are a watershed in the organisational positioning of the INP in relation to the Arab minority: there is a recognition of the need to change the relationship. The most prominent path is via a change of tactics, especially in the area of protests and public disorder, for example in the deployment of means. Among the achievements of this process, they mention the drafting of rules and regulations, development of structural training modules, and acquisition of new equipment. Recruitment of Arab police officers, and an increased positive presence in the Arab towns on the other hand have been very partially implemented.

Empirical findings anchor the sentiment that the Arab society is much more critical of the INP than the Jewish one. Arab citizens perceive the police as less legitimate, and report less willingness to support the police, either by not cooperating with police requests or not complying with the law (Factor, Castilo, & Rattner, 2014). An earlier survey of the attitudes of Jews and Arabs in Israel towards the police came to similar conclusions, revealing a negative view of the police: Arabs believe policing is biased, are less receptive of the police and believe there is a misconduct problem (Hasisi & Weitzer, 2007). This is consistent with views of minorities in similar societies, who tend to express less trust and lesser feelings of safety. This will be discussed at length in the final chapter.

Based on these findings, Hasisi & Weitzer (2007) claim that Israel's policing style is that of a 'deeply divided society'. This policing style, described in depth by Weitzer (1995) has seven central features: institutionally biased policing practices; over-representation of the dominant group in the force make-up; a politicised police force; policing responsibilities which include not only 'low policing' tasks but also 'internal security' ones; wide-ranging powers, including the use of force; ineffective accountability structures; and 'conflicting orientations' of admiration as opposed to estrangement of the dominant and oppressed groups (in accordance) towards the police force.

Since the model includes several aspects or scales, there are variations in the fit of the model to different societies but the focal point in identifying its relevance is the police-minority relationship: 'the greater the perceived threat presented by the minority group, the greater the level of suspicion and conflict between the police and the minority' (Hasisi & Weitzer, 2007, p. 6). The model's characteristics and specifically this statement seems to illuminate the attitudes of police officers towards Arabs in Israel and their interactions with them and with the general public. The model should therefore be taken into account in the design of training interventions and any attempts at reform. On the one hand, this places the issue of procedural justice and legitimacy as focal to all training interventions; on the other, it raises questions regarding the alterations needed to deliver it effectively.

## Section 4/ The Israeli Border Police: the Meso-System

### 4.1 Establishment of the Border Police

The Israeli Border Police is an organisation with a troubled past, a complicated set of duties and a problematic public image. It was officially established in 1953, as a gendarmerie-styled force to defend the peripheral region of the young Israeli state (Arad, 2013). The motivation to establish such an organisation was elucidated by Moshe Dayan, who in an article describing Israel's security problems stated: 'the entire country is a frontier' (Dayan, 1955, p. 1). The name of the article – 'Israel's border and security problems' – demonstrates how closely border control and security are interlinked in Israeli discourse, and the deeply ingrained Israeli fear of what might happen if these borders were breached.

The first central mission of the BP was to defend the villages on the volatile Jordanian and Egyptian borders, and to prevent 'infiltrators' from breaching the border. Dayan describes the problem of infiltration across the border. There is a historical-political dispute over the identity of the infiltrators: were they refugees returning home or criminals, either thieves or trained combatants waging guerrilla warfare? It is undisputed that Israel's border villages suffered from thefts and that local guards were shot dead, as described in Dayan's paper. Almost 60 years later, BP officers are still dealing with infiltration of different types, from smugglers to asylum seekers, and the word 'infiltrators' retains its charged meaning (Paz, 2011). Many challenges currently faced by the organisations and its personnel can be traced to the conditions of its establishment.

## 4.2 Structure and operational tasks

The Border Police is a central organ of Israeli security forces; its 'vision statement' declares it is a 'national taskforce' of the Israel National Police and a source of strength to ensure the 'resilience and security' of the State of Israel in the spirit of democratic values and human dignity. Over 7000 officers serve in the BP; of these, around half are 18-21 year-olds who are recruited to mandatory national military service in this setting, and the other half are ordinary police officers, who have either stayed on, or joined as a career choice (Arad, 2013). This organisation is also unique in its diverse ethnic makeup; since its inception, its personnel has included different ethnic minorities. The majority are men, but many of the units presently have women in active roles.

The BP's organisational features are unique in the Israeli context and perhaps even in a global perspective. Its structure is basically akin to the gendarmerie policing model, and several of its units perform the same role as the paramilitary policing units that exist in many countries (Malach-Pines & Keinan, 2006). It is a hybrid corps, with organisational characteristics that are partly police and partly military. Despite the fact that for all intents and purposes Border Police officers function as policemen in terms of authority, their basic operative conception is not of service to the public but of combat, and their deployment is principally military, operating in units or groups and not as individuals. Accordingly, training also takes place in organic groups and units.

This is a crucial point in the design of the intervention: it means the context in which the intervention is delivered is not artificial or temporary, and lends much greater

weight to a group effect. In modelling processes and outcomes, a good understanding of context is essential (Campbell et al., 2007): this operational structure may interact with the training structure, possibly to the benefit of the intervention. This will be examined as part of the identification of intervention mechanisms in the next chapter. This topic resonates with the classic policing theme of sub-cultures, which identify the officers' work environment as carrying great weight in shaping their professional identity and possibly their decision making in the field (Chan, 1997).

Most of the Border Police force is under the command of the INP, and is deployed as a leading force in the fields of internal security, counter-terrorism, border security (both criminal and political), riot control and disorderly conduct management, as well as classic police work such as felonies and crimes in the agricultural sector. One of the main roles of the BP command is building the necessary proficiency for BP officers – both organisationally and individually – in order to carry out the missions appointed to them by the INP and the Israeli Defence Force (the military).

Preparing BP forces for a complex, challenging and varied array of missions is not a simple task. The elite interviews revealed much organisational energy is invested in building up the force: over the years a lot of effort has been put into the field of training, and in the past decade it has also been funnelled into educational training. The BP is considered an expert on professional development: it leads training programmes on a national scale, and police forces from all over the world receive specialized training at its training base.

The BP is “a unique governmental instrument” that the Israeli government, like other world governments, needs in order to be able to respond dynamically to the changing

threats that it faces. The BP, then, is a “practical tool for reaching national goals and objectives” . Over the past several decades the number of units in the BP and the tasks that it is responsible for have changed repeatedly, in tandem with the changing geopolitical circumstances of the state, as well as the policy dictated by the Police Commissioner in office.

Since the BP is not a fixed component of the police or the army, there is greater flexibility to continually restructure it and enable it to become a relevant force in tackling current national needs. The BP enjoys further flexibility due to the fact that a large part of its operational manpower is in conscription, which means new troops are trained for relevant missions instead of retraining existing troops; the latter is considered more cumbersome in terms of manpower management. The flexibility inherent in operating the BP is among the chief advantages of the organisation, making it an essential part of the Israeli security apparatus. In 2012, to avoid excessive flexibility an organisational restructuring took place to stabilise its organisational and operative structure .

There are also serious disadvantages to this organisational formation. As around half of the manpower is in conscription, the turnover is disproportionately high: at the end of their mandatory service, the majority of these men and women will leave the organisation, meaning that almost half of the personnel change every three years. The resources required to train such high numbers of people, and the ability to socialise them appropriately over a short period of time prove challenging. These officers receive a very small dose of training compared to ‘blue’ police officers in the National Police, as well as in comparison with career officers in the BP; although they

wield the same powers as ordinary police officers, they undergo only two weeks of 'police powers' training as part of their basic recruit training, compared to several months delivered to other police officers. Their lack of experience introduces another element of risk, as this factor have been shown to correlate to the inappropriate use of force (Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002).

It may be said the BP patrol not only the physical but the symbolic borders of Israeli society, separating the rich from the poor, the respectable from the marginalized, and the citizens from the stateless. All the frail seams of the fabric of Israeli society are represented not only in the BP's duties, but also in its social makeup; young people from the most underserved communities in Israel carry out their mandatory service in this corps, the majority of them residents of economically-disadvantaged periphery towns, new immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia, as well as Palestinians (including Druze, Bedouins and some Muslims and Christians). No formal statistics are available regarding their numbers, but it can be assumed that this presents a unique identity challenge (Kanaaneh, 2003).

A more critical view of the BP's role is offered by Shadmi (2012), who argues that though their performance of public order tasks is considered highly efficient and a strength of the Israeli police, it is limited by a 'violent organisational culture, racism, homophobia, nationalism, sexism, the serving of traditional hegemonic groups and political considerations' (p. 39). She provides a list of occasions in which BP officers symbolically and practically defined though their actions peaceful (usually left-wing) demonstrators as the disturbers of the peace, thereby shaping the Israeli political arena, and weakening the democratic culture.

### **4.3 Stretching the borders of policing: paramilitary policing as a possible challenge to democratic policing**

Today, the BP handles a complex and stretched set of duties. The multiple roles and tasks it is charged with present a challenge to the ability of officers to democratically police the public sphere; this issue will be discussed at length in Chapter 8. BP police officers are called 'combatants', and this in itself creates a clear parallel or identification between police activity to military actions (Shadmi, 2012). On par with their role, Border Police officers are often required to exercise policing authorities that include the use of physical force, at a frequency higher than that typical for policemen in the INP's 'blue' forces (Herzog, 2000).

The units affiliated with the police are responsible, among other tasks, for policing of Israel's 'mixed' cities, in which both Jews and Arabs reside, and where many ethnic tensions exist alongside crime and poverty. The BP operates in Israel's largest city, Tel Aviv, in neighbourhoods inhabited by marginalized groups: drug addicts, criminals, women in prostitution, migrant workers and asylum seekers. Other units are responsible for combating serious crime and counter-terrorism. It is also charged with keeping order in demonstrations, some of which are related to the most controversial topics in Israeli politics, such as eviction of settlements, or erection of the separation wall. The units affiliated with the army are the central order-keeping force in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, policing many of the checkpoints. They also patrol Israel's now relatively peaceful borders with Egypt and Jordan. While the study will not focus on the latter type of units, it is necessary to keep them in mind, because personnel move between units and their tasks affect the organisation's self-image.

BP paramilitary forces have been stationed in central cities since the 1970s. These 'order keeping' units have an aggressive operational presence, drawing on a 'battlefield ethos' (Shadmi, 2012). Military training and special directives allow them use of police powers to the fullest interpretation and extent. They militarise the urban arena, transforming it into a conflict zone in which enemies must be controlled or driven out: 'public space is thus transformed into a combat arena between BP combatants and those they conceive of as real or imagined threats' (p.49).

One example is the short-lived formation of 'personal security battalions', stationed in cities with high crime rates or neighbourhoods with ethnic minorities in the late 2000s (Cohen & Rada, 2006). While there was an attempt to portray them in a way that would resonate with community policing imagery, this was not successful; the BP battalion stationed in Florentine, a south Tel Aviv neighbourhood considered 'socially weak', became over-policed, with residents reporting being searched on the street and harassed, and an atmosphere of fear and threat (Shadmi, 2012).

The blurring of boundaries is not just in tasks but might also encompass the means provided to officers. A report of an Israeli NGO reporting human rights violations discusses the use of rubber bullets in policing protests and riots. From the beginning of first *Intifada* in 1988 until 1998, 58 Palestinians died as a result of their use, many at the hands of the BP (Giller, 1998). Despite this the guiding tactics for the policing of protests in the Occupied Territories were not significantly changed. As all BP officers are trained in the use of this weapon, it might contribute to a blurring of limits of appropriate use of force within Israel proper as well.

Another prism through which to understand the duality in the BP's role is Brodeur's

conceptualization of *high* and *low* policing. ‘Low policing’ is used to refer to ‘the traditional activities of public police departments, such as patrol, order maintenance and the control of street crime’, while ‘high policing’ is ‘essentially based on the collection and processing of all valid information reaching beyond criminal intelligence and into the realms of economics and politics (domestic and international)’ (Brodeur, 2005, p. 810).

One reason for the blurring of task division between security agencies and police forces is the blurring of distinction between ‘ordinary’ criminality and offences to do with national security. This high/low conjunction becomes even more relevant in post-9/11 societies (Brodeur, 2007). It occurred in countries like the United Kingdom - in which previously there was a clear distinction – but deepened in societies in which there was always a blurring, such as Israel. The blurring of distinction may hold far-ranging implications, not only in organisational terms but also relating to the limits and powers of the police in a democratic society. This issue will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

#### **4.4 The Border Police’s problem of violence: public image, private data**

The image and self-image of BP officers is a meaningful element in designing training and understanding the context of the intervention. The BP has an infamous historical record of the unlawful use of force: from the notorious Kfar Kassem massacre in 1956 (Boymel, 2007), to documented police brutality towards Palestinians in the Occupied Territories during the 1990s (Be’er, 1996), , and also more recently in violent dispersion of demonstrations, for example during eviction of Jewish settlements (Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, 2006). There

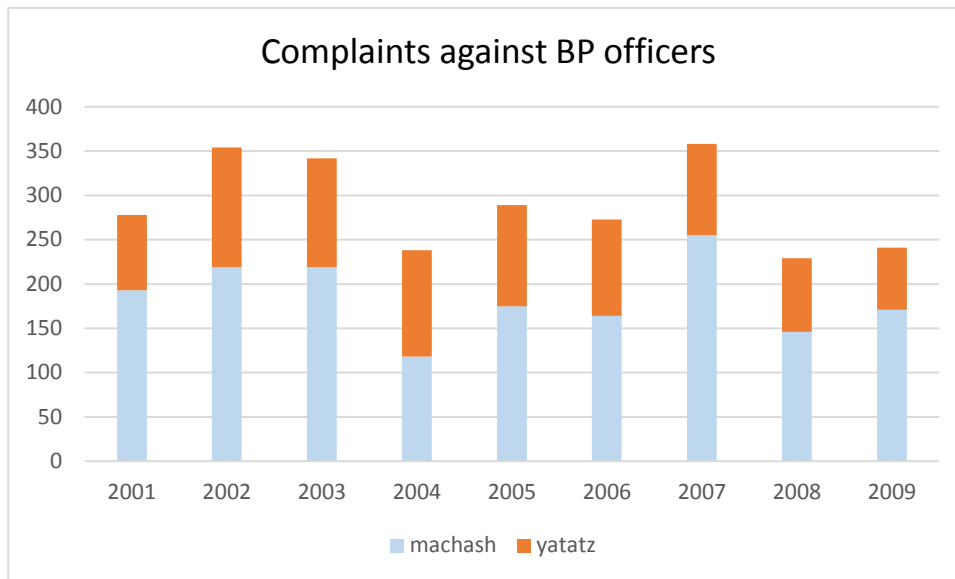
are documented cases of serious violence against Arab-Israelis (Palestinians of Israeli citizenship) by BP officers, including the use of live fire against unarmed civilians in 2003 (Shadmi, 2012). Between 1993 and 1998, there were significantly more files opened against members of BP officers than against members of the National Police (Herzog, 2002). The hybrid character of the corps is a possible contributing factor to this history of violence.

One of the themes to arise from the interviews of BP personnel as part of the feasibility study, is that organisational changes (prominently training) led to a significant reduction in instances of police violence in the last decade, alongside an increase in willingness of officers to report their colleagues for misuse of force. While the existence of such an internal narrative is significant in itself, as this information is not in the public sphere it was difficult to corroborate. Unlike in the United Kingdom, there is no law or norm encouraging the publication of statistics, making it difficult to confirm or disconfirm. From a historical perspective, it is possible the early 2000s might have been more violent due to the tense security situation. The violence used to quell the Palestinian uprising might have trickled down and spread out to other areas of the BP police. The supposed reduction in violence might therefore be due to external reasons.

Some internal data which was obtained during the feasibility study was not able to provide conclusive evidence, as the numerical data is inconsistent at best; the final numbers are different in different documents, and it is not clear which type of complaints are excluded or included in some. The picture which is painted is not as simplistic as the narrative. It seems the organisational portrayal of a dramatic decrease

resulted from a focus on the data of complaints relating to 'use of force' sub-category only, according to which there was indeed a decrease from 193 complaints filed in Machash in 2001 and 219 in 2002, to only 62 such cases in 2005 and 22 in 2006. However, it is not entirely clear if classification remained the same across years, and what reality this reflects. In any case, the majority of cases relate to the Occupied Territories.

If the data accessed are accepted as valid, several trends can be described. There was a significant decrease between 2003 and 2004; the numbers then rise again and another significant decrease is visible in 2008, from 173 Machash complaints to only 73. The numbers then remain stable in 2008 and 2009. In all years, the two districts with the highest number of complaints were Jerusalem and the Occupied Territories. The Jerusalem district de facto refer to East Jerusalem and the surrounding area, in which the majority of residents are Palestinians who might be more aware of their rights or for whom it might be easier to file complaints (in comparison to West Bank inhabitants). 92 cases were filed there in 2008, and 97 cases in 2009. The third district in line is far behind – the Central district, with 36 and 35 complaints. Considering the majority of protests take place in this area, this might be the reason for the high volume of complaints, but as the details listed as 'cause of complaint' are partial, this is purely hypothetical. In addition, because there have been several instances of organisational restructuring in recent years, it would be very difficult to follow the complaints unit by unit, as some units no longer exist. Significantly, the analysis of the legal advisor is that most cases are due to lack of knowledge of police powers, and this view was voiced repeatedly during the feasibility study.



**Figure 2: Public complaints against BP officers**

Another aspect worth highlighting is how BP officers relate to use of force and accountability mechanisms. A recent study which surveyed police officers regarding their attitudes to use of force found high levels of legitimization of use of force alongside strong resistance to supervision and oversight among INP officers in general and BP officers specifically (Shoham & Yehoshua-Stern, 2012). Importantly, the study also revealed that civilians share officers' attitudes regarding the need to use violence and 'inefficiency' associated with obeying the law, though not to the same extent. This public and organisational climate in which excessive use of force is not condemned could hamper attempts to convince officers of the value of restraint and fairness.

**Figure 2: Public complaints against BP officers**

#### **4.5 Organisational justice in the Border Police**

Organisational Justice has been identified as crucial not only for effective functioning of the organisation, but also for officers to be able to act with justice towards those they police, promoting a 'normatively desirable' style of policing (Sklansky, 2008,

in Bradford & Quinton, 2014). The fairness of internal procedures and the quality of communications and interactions within the police organisation may 'enhance their willingness to engage with members of the public in positive and constructive ways' (Bradford & Quinton, 2014, p. 3). The principal idea draws on a basic social psychology theory: officers will learn about justice and democracy through modeling and personal experience (Bandura & Huston, 1961).

In a study of a British Constabulary in 2011, Bradford and his colleagues demonstrated that the motivation of officers to engage in 'positive' (i.e. democratically compatible behaviours) was associated with their 'perceptions of the fairness of both their immediate supervisors and the organisation as a whole' (Bradford, Quinton, Myhill, & Porter, 2014, p. 125). Specifically, they found that officers '*self-legitimacy*' – their sense that both their role and the actions they carry out are correct and acceptable to society – is positively associated with two factors: the procedural justice enacted by senior management, and the organisation's distributive justice (Bradford & Quinton, 2014). This is seen to be an important element in the production of a legitimacy-grounded interaction between police and policed (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012).

An internal survey carried out in the BP in 2010 among commanders and officers points to organisational legitimacy as a focal concern for its personnel, which might have implications in turn for police legitimacy. While for both groups, the sense of meaning and organisational effectiveness was quite high – between 78-88% – the general sense of organisational fairness was low – 48.5% for commanders and 49.5% for policemen. Fairness was constructed from four issues: fairness in the process of promotion, fairness in the distribution of resources, a lack of 'foreign interests' in

decision making (referring to petty politics and the like), and reward in relation to investment.

Other problematic issues highlighted by the survey were the lack of transparency and flow of information, failure to take care of the individuals' labour rights, and managerial inefficiency. Officers and commanders expressed the sentiment the organisation does not take care of the 'little guy', the ordinary police men. While communication and the culture of dialogue were rated relatively high among police officers (68), it was much lower for commanders, at 56. For officers, a problematic aspect was the sense of not being 'backed up' by their superiors and by the organisation.

The issues judged to be problematic by BP personnel seem to encompass the two factors found by Bradford and Quinton to be associated with low organisational legitimacy in the United Kingdom (procedural justice of superiors and distributive justice). These findings should be taken into account when considering the potential of any training intervention, as they might well provide barriers to successful training on the topics relevant to democratic policing generally, and to procedural justice specifically.

#### **4.6 The Chrono-system: between social unrest and escalating conflict**

In Bronfenbrenner's original model of human development, the chronological system runs across all other systems and indicates how the individual's age, or developmental stage, interacts with other factors. For the purpose of this review, the chronological element relates to the significant events that occurred throughout the study and that may have played a role in it. The BP study began in September 2011, a few weeks after

a wave of protests, known as The Social Protest or the Tent Protest, ended, during which half a million people rallied against social inequality and the cost of living in Israel, and lived in tents on the streets of cities across the land to voice their discontent (Perry, Jonathan-Zamir, & Weisburd, under review). The study ended in March 2014, a few months before an extensive military operation – Operation Protective Edge – in which 73 Israelis and 2,251 Palestinians were killed and thousands injured (The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2015).

These two themes, of social unrest and of a volatile security situation, characterise this period of time. During the course of the study, there were minor waves of social protest (especially in the summer of 2012) and a small-scale military operation (Operation Pillar of Defence in November 2012). Border Police officers have been greatly affected by both these types of events. First, as the division of the National Police charged with policing of protests, their workload has increased. During the social protests, when large demonstrations took place every Saturday evening (the customary time of the week for protests in Israel) BP officers worked many weekend shifts throughout the summer, an exhausting situation from their perspective. The Sapir National public order unit, which took part in the first piloting study in 2013, played a central role in the policing of these protests. Second, as a security organisation performing military-related duties in the Occupied Territories, their work habitat became more dangerous during the times of escalation in the Gaza strip. The security situation has remained extremely tense; for instance, in the first seven months of 2015, 50 BP officers were admitted to hospital due to minor injuries, and 10 were injured seriously.

In a sense this ongoing, never dissipating 'state of action' is what characterised these

years. Aside from the few weeks of military offensive there was no extraordinary state of emergency, but there was no calm either. This necessitates a type of constant vigilance, and can be considered a high life stress reality; in individuals, this has been shown to result in reduced cognitive functioning and diminished capacity to solve complex problems (Klein & Barnes, 1994; Boals & Banks, 2012). This stressful reality could also by extension influence the 'organisational psyche' of the BP. Aside from the external stressors, the organisation also experienced some internal upheavals; two new heads have taken command of the BP in the last 5 years, which might have added to a sense of insecurity among the its leadership, trickling down the ranks.

## Section 5/ The Individual Officers: the Micro and Intra-Personal Systems

### **5.1 Trauma, Stress & Burnout among Border Police officers**

The mental wellbeing of police officers might play a role in the success of training interventions, and considering the highly stressful nature of the job of police officers this deserves consideration (Patterson et al., 2012). As part of their role in the fields of crime and handling marginalized populations, BP officers bear witness to the dark side of Israeli society; and as part of their role as a policing force for riot control and public disorder, they become exposed to all sensitive issues and conflicts that feature in Israeli society, from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to socioeconomic gaps (Litmanovitz, 2009). This work-place stress should be considered as possibly placing great strain on the officers.

An extensive official study of stress and burnout among BP officers was carried out in 2001 (Malach-Pines & Keinan, 2006). Using mixed methods, it examined the work

stressors of a large sample of BP officers (N=497) during the second *Intifada* – a violent Palestinian uprising. This unplanned timing might account for high stress, as the authors note. Four factors were identified which contributed to stress: negative aspects in the daily reality of their job (for example the need to use force); difficult work conditions; problematic work relations with commanders; and the arbitrariness of the bureaucracy organisation. The three top stressors indicated were low salary, lack of resources to carry out one's job, and work overload (see table 1 for the full list). Significantly, the stressors that topped the list were from the pool of organisational ones, and not related directly to nature of tasks; this ties in to the findings of lacking organisation justice

The levels of stress uncovered were high; 52% of participants reported high or very high levels of stress, compared to less than a third of INP officers. Nearly three quarters of police officers (74%) reported having gone through an event which could trigger Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and a quarter reported experiencing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder symptoms; this was not measured using a clinical questionnaire but a basic five-point scale inquiring about general post-traumatic symptoms. The levels of burnout were also significantly higher than those of INP officers. In addition, 62% judged the support given by the organisation to deal with stress and burnout as inadequate. Despite this grim picture, the survey indicates high levels of job satisfaction and a sense of meaning in one's job: 86% felt their job was important and 56% were satisfied with it.

These findings should be considered as a pertinent aspect of the context of the intervention. Importantly, a reduced ability to concentrate is recognised as one of

the main symptoms of PTSD (Yehuda, 2004). As training is a tasking activity, which demands of officers relatively high levels of concentration, sometimes over an entire day, officers' mental capabilities might be a caveat to its success. It is also worth considering that exposure to trauma might make officers less positive, and more wary and suspicious. For example, a study of PTSD in Rwanda found that cumulative trauma was associated with negative attitudes towards nonviolence and community values (Pham, Weinstein, & Longman, 2004). BP officers' receptivity to ideas of democracy and legitimacy might be diminished due to the burden of trauma and stress.

Work-place stressors in the BP		
Stressors	Mean	SD
Low and inadequate salary	4.25	1.08
Lack of means and resources to do the job right	4.19	1.06
Overload	4.08	1.06
Slow promotion	3.95	1.19
Irregular work hours	3.91	1.20
Disadvantage in conditions compared with Blue police	3.87	1.28
Unfair treatment by superiors	3.82	1.19
Conflict between work and family demands	3.75	1.22
Blue police showing conceit	3.73	1.36
Performing tasks one doesn't agree with	3.61	1.18
Lack of superiors' interest in personal problems	3.48	1.32
Difficult physical conditions (temperature rooms)	3.47	1.35
Boring and routine tasks	3.45	1.28
Excessive use of punishment by superiors	3.43	1.28
Ambiguous orders and instructions	3.42	1.25
Excessive supervision and criticism by superiors	3.40	1.25
Bureaucracy paperwork	3.34	1.35
Negative public image of MAGAV officers	3.33	1.41
Unplanned activities and many "fires" to extinguish	3.30	1.36
Possibility of getting injured on the job	3.28	1.35
Lack of privacy	3.27	1.33
High frequency of false alarms	3.25	1.31
The danger of receiving a citizen complaint	3.24	1.46
Rigid and authoritative system	3.23	1.24
Being mobilized	3.11	1.30
Close contact with a hostile population	3.00	1.30
Lack of support from other officers	2.97	1.26
Need to make fast decisions	2.83	1.24
The need to use force when the job requires	2.76	1.34
Tension among various ethnic groups	2.70	1.30
Total score	3.44	0.73

Table 1: 'Stressors in the Work of Border Police Officers' (from Malach-Pines & Keinan 2006)

## Section 6/ The role of the Education Unit in Shaping the Meso-System

This section deviates slightly from the nested contexts description, and turns to examining the organisational formation of the Border Police, about whom and within which the research took place. In a sense this organ is part of the meso-context of the training intervention, but it is discussed separately to enable an in-depth description which includes historical and practical dimensions.

Uniquely to the Border Police, training which is not technical in nature or focused on straight-forward learning of policing powers is carried out by the Education Unit. It is this unit which both hosted the research and delivered it on the ground. Understanding its organisational features and its organisational positioning is a crucial aspect of the understanding the context of the intervention. This section of the chapter is based mostly on interviews with senior official in the BP and INP and attempts to outline important elements in the vision, structure and pedagogy of this unit. The reason for this, as was stated at the beginning of this chapter, is that no such knowledge existed, either clearly enough or at all, in policy documents or academic literature, necessitating primary research to construct it. The material presented below is therefore novel, and is already being used by the BP itself for organisational learning.

A discrete Education Unit was set up within the BP in the early 2000s, to deliver training which will mould the moral-professional identity of the officers. An expansive training curriculum is delivered by the unit, with police officers of all ranks receiving a relatively high number of training hours compared to officers serving in the INP. One of the objectives of the unit's commanders is to cultivate sensitivity to human dignity and human rights. This appears to be done not solely as a result of external pressure,

but out of an understanding that the BP and the State of Israel have a responsibility to those subordinates who are left to do 'the toughest jobs', an outcome of Israel's internal and foreign policy.

Internal findings point to a possible link between the additional type of training and better performance. One example is the reduction of police violence in some types of demonstrations. Since the delivery of training on LGBT Rights (which was outsourced to a Non-Governmental Organisation working in this field) it has been claimed that violence by police officers during the Gay Pride parade has dropped to near zero (Litmanovitz, 2009). This claim was one of the drivers for pursuing research on police training in this context.

### **6.1 The need for education**

Former commander of the Border Police Major-General Israel Sadan (1995-1998) and his then Head of Training Branch, Gideon Mor, initiated the establishment of an educational system within the Border Police, to be fashioned after the military education model. Up to that point, no similar formation existed in the Border Police: interactions with Education Non Commanding Officers (ENCOs) were unusual, and occurred only in the Gaza and the Judea and Samaria Division, where BP units served under IDF command, thus occasionally receiving services from the IDF.

The Education Unit was established as a measure to change the organisation's image following a need identified by senior officials. This took place at a time when the use of excessive physical force was high and was affecting the image of the

organisation both externally (Shadmi, 2012) and in the way conscripted combatants in the BP perceived the organisation and themselves. The most extreme incidents were reported in the media from the mid-1990s onwards, while a large number of complaints against Border Police officers were filed with the Police Investigation Unit. This moral and organisational deterioration is mirrored in several reports published by the Israeli Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, which documented serious police brutality by BP police officers (Be'er, 1996; Ginbar, 1997).

The Commander of the BP at that time, Israel Sadan, did not attempt to hide behind a discourse of 'rotten apples'. He testified before parliament after a widely publicised case in which two BP police officers were filmed beating and abusing six Palestinians workers caught in Israel without work permits: 'this event... is not exceptional... It is not an isolated event in this battalion. There are not only two rotten apples in this crate of fresh apples' (Yediot Aharonot, 21.11.96, in Ginbar, 1997).

Senior commanders believed an educational approach would help deal with the problem of the excessive use of force. One of the steps the organisation took was the recruitment of Education Officer Ilana Zohar in 1997; Zohar had served for many years in the Education branch of the IDF and was therefore perceived as qualified to set up a parallel system in the BP. It was several more years before both the organisation and Zohar would step up to make the drastic change needed. In interviews, the motivation of the organisation to initiate an in-depth change is tied to a crisis caused by a particular extreme incident, and to a sentiment of 'we cannot go on like this'. The said turning point described in interviews is of criminal violence in an incident in Hebron at the end of 2002, during which BP officers went on a revenge rampage

that ended with the brutal killing of a Palestinian youth. For senior officials, this was a warning signal that meant the current path had to be altered. It is possible that the fact there was not only external pressure but also an internal motivation assisted and even enabled the in-depth processes that have taken place since (Ikerd & Walker, 2010; Skogan & Frydle, 2004).

Three central steps were taken to reduce the involvement of BP officers in 'ethically negative' incidents, which include recruitment, supervision and promotion. As organisational mechanisms, these steps encompass changing and improving the selection process, emphasizing the unit as a standard-setting framework and the role of the commander in creating these norms, and associating the reward and promotion of officers with standards of professional and appropriate behaviour, and not only as based on operational achievements. The Education Unit plays a meaningful role in the second and third steps.

One of the central recommendations of the Kremnitzer Public Committee on Police Violence, mentioned above, was to restructure training, and involve commanders in the education of their subordinates as a route to effectiveness. A report by ACRI, the Israeli Association for Civil Liberties, found that the central recommendation, regarding the education of officers by their commanders was not implemented (ACRI, 1996, in Be'er, 1996). Although this was never implemented in the INP, it became the central feature of education in the BP.

## **6.2 Establishing the Education Unit**

The central narrative in the BP regarding the establishment of the Education Unit is the lack of a system to help 'mentally prepare' police officers for the missions that they

face. Yet the process of establishing the Education Unit was at first unconsolidated and incoherent. The need identified by senior officers may be defined as a lack of a 'moral foundation' among combatants and a desire to strengthen it. This was simply put by one interviewee as 'how to minimize the deviance'. The infrastructure for the existing educational training activities was gradually built over several years, as part of an organic development process. It grew out of a continually evolving understanding among the corps' regional and senior education officers, in collaboration with the organisation, and in light of the policy dictated by the BP's chief commanders.

Before the recruitment of Zohar in 1997, education officers served at the central training base only. Two ENCOs assisted them in the training base, and five more were affiliated to field division (two ENCOs to the Judea and Samaria Division and three to the Gaza Division); this human resource structure was neither established nor consistent (there were years when ENCOs were not recruited at all). The budgetary allocation demonstrate this point; the education budgets were dedicated entirely to the operational units' yearly retreats in Eilat , so that beyond the central training base there was no professional work being done in 'the field'.

The process of building the unit was very gradual, almost organic, and it reflected both the organisation's capacities to contain change and the commitment of commanders to a reformation agenda and to the budget it necessitated. As an education officer, Zohar was based at the Instruction Unit (the general training unit), which positioned her inside the Operations Branch. Even as the Education Unit became separate and distinct from Instruction, it maintained the same organisational position, and not, as

is standard in most police forces in the world and even in the INP, under the Human Resources department. All interviewees point out the importance of Education being part of regular headquarters workflow. This is identified as central and crucial to the Education Unit's ability to carry out a meaningful role in the change that the corps was undergoing.

Throughout its inception, the process of designing the education programme was one of analysing the organisation and its needs: what is the demographic makeup of the population serving in the BP, what are the challenges that arise from its missions and tasks, and what is the correct way to combine those two elements. In other words, the guiding question was 'what are the deficits in the standards of knowledge and values that the Education Unit must address?' The solutions chosen were developed over the years in tandem with the accumulation of understanding, experience and resources. It is important to stress that the mere process of thinking about the global needs of the system was very innovative at the time, and to a degree was enabled by the process of establishing a brand new system, as opposed to the upgrading of an existing one. This type of thinking is typical to a headquarters work approach: based on scrutinizing of the undertaking the organisation is facing, a comprehensive solution for the relevant strategic field is created, just as solutions are given to the fields of logistics and tactics.

The flexibility and space to learn and improve allows the educational training structure to address the changing needs of a dynamic organisation that faces complex challenges. An example of this is the focus on the 'yearly education series'. Prior to the establishment of the Education Unit the education series had the sole purpose

of team-building – but this was a laundered label for a yearly holiday in Eilat, which included problematic activities (i.e. alcohol consumption). When the Education Unit was established, the purpose of the series was readjusted to building moral virtue through themes of *love for one's country*. Coming from disadvantaged backgrounds, the population of BP officers had not been exposed to such content before, and so the pedagogical solution selected was of patriotism and identification with the state, with the intent of creating a 'moral foundation'. Another shift in the pedagogy of the education series occurred in the mid-2000s, when the notion was formed that this was an educational opportunity to communicate themes by the commanding officer of each unit, and therefore the series should explicitly deal with ethical dilemmas.

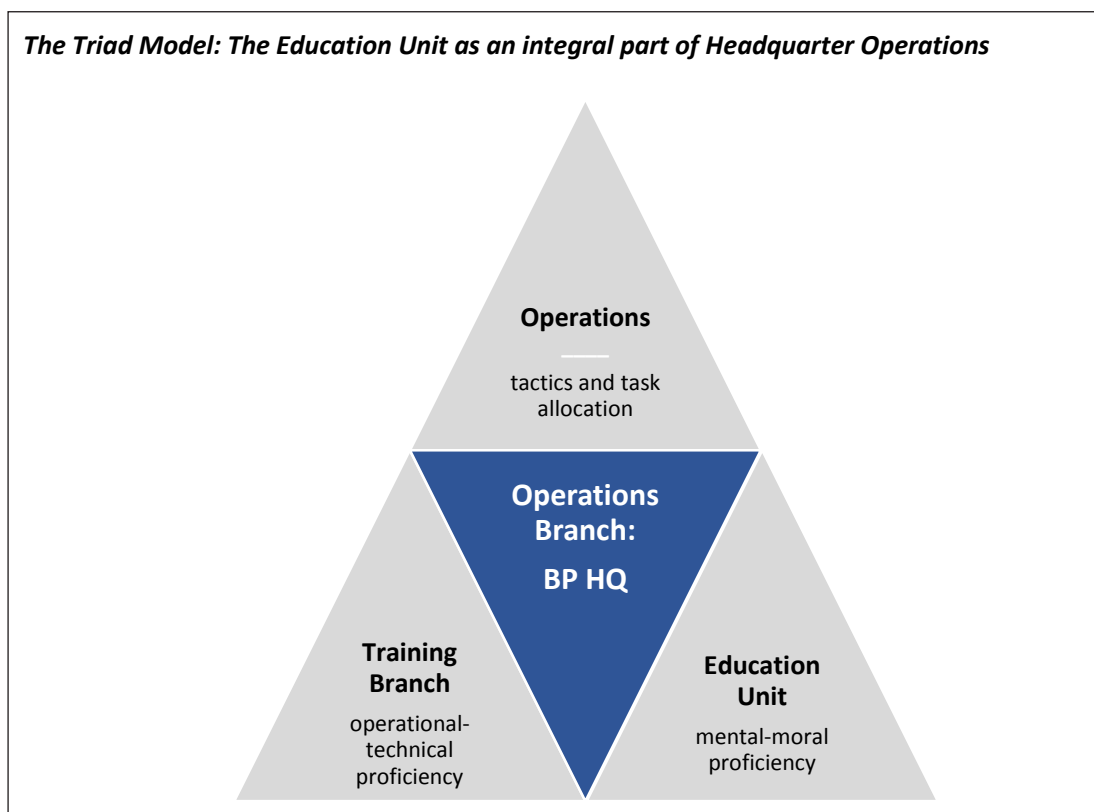
Past the initial stage of needs-analysis, which in fact continues to this day and is an integral part of the Education Unit's workflow, several stages of development of the unit can be identified. The first stage entailed constructing organisational themes through ceremonies and cross-corps events, designed to instil motivation and present to officers and commanders a different kind of organisation and agenda; the verb 'present' is used here not only literally but to portray a sociological act of constructing reality (Goffman, 1959 in Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1983). This stage included the production of the jubilee ceremony, and the establishment of a Border Police museum in which legacy training is delivered. The central activities of this stage reflect the scarcity of resources and manpower available at the time, and the measures that were taken to maximize existing resources.

The second stage focused on work at the central training base, and particularly on writing education strategies and programmes for the various training courses. The process of building the programmes was gradual –from the

most basic courses, most importantly the recruits training course, where the demand was more obvious, to the squad commanders course, to the officers course and finally to the company commanders course. The training base was perceived as a place where the ethical image of police officers and the shape of commanders' authority may be forged. It was during this time that a standard for strategic education programmes was set, one which considers the specific needs of the BP and the different career phases of police officers/combatants. An important aspect of this stage was the development of the work formation of the Education Unit, by making more use of existing resources available to the BP through the IDF, mainly in the form of leadership courses and in-depth team-building. In fact, the consistent rise in the admission of ENCOs into the BP since the early 2000s has also been enabled by relying on existing IDF infrastructure, in the form of the recruitment apparatus, professional development courses and the quality of manpower.

Another stage in developing the educational training infrastructure included enlisting the aid of external organisations to communicate educational themes. In fact, the Education Unit's awareness that certain intervention components – both knowledge and attitude related - should be included already existed, but the resources to apply it had not been sufficiently developed; there was no regional Education Officers manpower formation, and commanders on the ground did not receive the tools they needed in order to lead these processes. The decision to use the aid of external bodies was practical, and was taken in order to allow officers to become exposed and learned in fields of knowledge that were essential to their work – including specific issues like LGBT rights, refugees, human trafficking, or sectors that police officers come in contact with, such as the Arab society in Israel.

In order to map and understand the organisational model employed by the BP, interviews were conducted with senior staff, including the head of the Operations Branch, the head of Training Branch (also called Headquarters Instruction officer) and members of his team both in the central HQ and in the regimental ones, and of course with the senior staff of the Education Unit. The goal was to understand how educational training is interweaved into the praxis of the organisation, and how its organisational positioning and its engagement with other BP organs could bolster or diminish its success.



**Figure 3: Basic Organogram of the Triad Model**

The Education Unit is an inseparable part of the BP Operations Branch. The head of the Operations Branch works together with the head of the Training Branch and the senior Education Officer to address the corps' missions and to provide the necessary

proficiencies to officers and commanders – including both operational-technical proficiency, and the ‘mental-moral proficiency’. Technical and Educational training is designed specifically to build these proficiencies.

The interviews demonstrate an appreciation among Operations Branch staff for the equal importance of the two types of proficiency. The Head of the Operations Branch described educational training as “coming full circle”, and mental-moral proficiency as “an integral part of the operational mission”. The Head of the Training Branch expressed a similar view, saying that “ethics are an inseparable part of carrying out the mission”. Beyond this recognition in the value of the Education Unit on its own, there is a recognition in the need for two separate training-related bodies as necessary for raising professional standards in BP field units: a regional Instruction NCO acknowledged the professionalism of the Education Unit staff members, and the impossibility of specializing in both educational training and technical training simultaneously. An organisational branching is therefore necessary, since according to her experience “you cannot become a professional in both things at once”.

The value of this structure, in the view of the Head of Operations Branch, is that the current method of work guarantees that gaps are not created in educational proficiency, in the sense that police officers do not encounter missions with insufficient mental preparation. The internal structure of the unit – both at the training base and in units on the ground – allows for an optimal identification of needs on the ground that emerge through collaborative staff work at the regimental level as well. This is then manifested in the organisation’s performance.

### 6.3 Organisational appraisal of the Education Unit

One aspect of the development of the education unit has been to create a solid human resource structure. Since 2006 the BP has created provisioned posts for fourteen Education Officers in the various regimental headquarters and at the training bases, who in turn have under their command thirty Education NCOs and ten teacher NCOs<sup>1</sup>. In parallel with this and building on it, a sophisticated education programme has evolved towards a consistent and established educational process. The growth in manpower and the experience gained has also allowed the progress from a single educational curriculum that attempted to address all units, to tailored modules for each regimental headquarters, and even specific adjustments for each division and unit. The ability to address more specific needs therein is enabled, and is expected to continue to progress as organisational knowledge deepens. The ongoing investment of resources to develop commanders' human capital has meant that many commanders throughout the corps are able – and moreover – are interested to take up leadership that also employs the transformative approach, which relies on personal example and inspiration (Neyroud, 2011), and to lead processes of reform and change in the organisation.

The narrative that emerged from both the elite and group interviews is one of pride in the Education Unit, and of success. Interviewees repeatedly recounted a substantial drop in the number of 'ethically negative incidents' involving BP officers; this view is shared not only by those who had led the process of establishing the education unit, but also by commanders and police officers on the ground. Regardless of statistical

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<sup>1</sup> Another role of the Education Unit is to assist police officers in gaining better language skills, prepare them for civilian life and help those who are newly immigrated to Israel to better integrate in society.

accuracy, which was discussed in the previous section, this is significant in itself because it demonstrates that commanders and combatants make a connection between dealing with ethical dilemmas and mental preparation to the ability to close the gap between the values of the organisation and the norms that inhabit it. For example, 'mental preparations' for the disengagement from Gaza were described as important to the capacity of police officers to efficiently and ethically deal with the mission at hand. This recognition of the value of educational training is an organisational asset, and may contribute to the success of training interventions.

A combination of personal and structural conditions have contributed to the establishment of the Education Unit as a stable, able and relatively politically-powerful organ within the organisation, that can bring to fruition large-scale projects. The magnitude of the organisational change process can be related to several factors. First, a leadership continuum inside the organisation and in the Education Unit has allowed for long-term processes to take place. Support from a line-up of Border Police commanders for over a decade in the shape of both policies and budgets, as well as their willingness to give personal example and personally lead educational processes, have grounded the conception of the unit's central pedagogic element of the 'commander as educator'. One example is an 'ethical dilemmas - top commanders' forum, led by BP Chief Israel Yitzhak (2007-2011). As one interviewee stated: "for over a decade you had commanders who spoke the same language, who said that this thing is important and meaningful and central and must be promoted"<sup>2</sup>. This organisational support is necessary for training to become an integral part of the

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<sup>2</sup> From an interview with Allen Weinstein, former BP organisational psychologist.

organisation (Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003).

Second, the transformative leadership-style of the senior Education Officer, identified as promising in police organisations (Neyroud, 2011), and her political-prowess has created many allies and supporters committed to the idea of education in different parts and ranks of the organisation. In addition, the quality of manpower she has attracted to join the Education Unit contributed to its prestige and its capacity to become a real resource for commanders on the ground. This meant that even at a time when a Chief of the BP was not fully behind the unit's work, many high and mid-level commanders continued to actively assist it.

Third, its position inside the Operations Branch (see figure 4) allowed the unit to stay relevant to the Border Police's needs as an organisation, as well as on the level of units and individuals. Addressing real needs on the ground has also brought many commanders to actively support the work of the Unit. Furthermore, it seems that education has become an integral part of the organisation in the sense that it has become a managerial tool in the hands of BP commanders and staff. The layout of the Education Unit allows staff to examine units on a micro level, while the ability to understand processes and trends down to the level of the ordinary policeman allows command to develop relevant macro strategies.

### Section 7/ Formulating a 'Problem Theory'

One of the necessary steps in the process of developing an evidence-based complex intervention is the formulation of a *problem theory*. According to Fraser and his colleagues, this theory should identify the risk factors, pertaining to both individual and environment level, which sustain the social problem the intervention is targeting

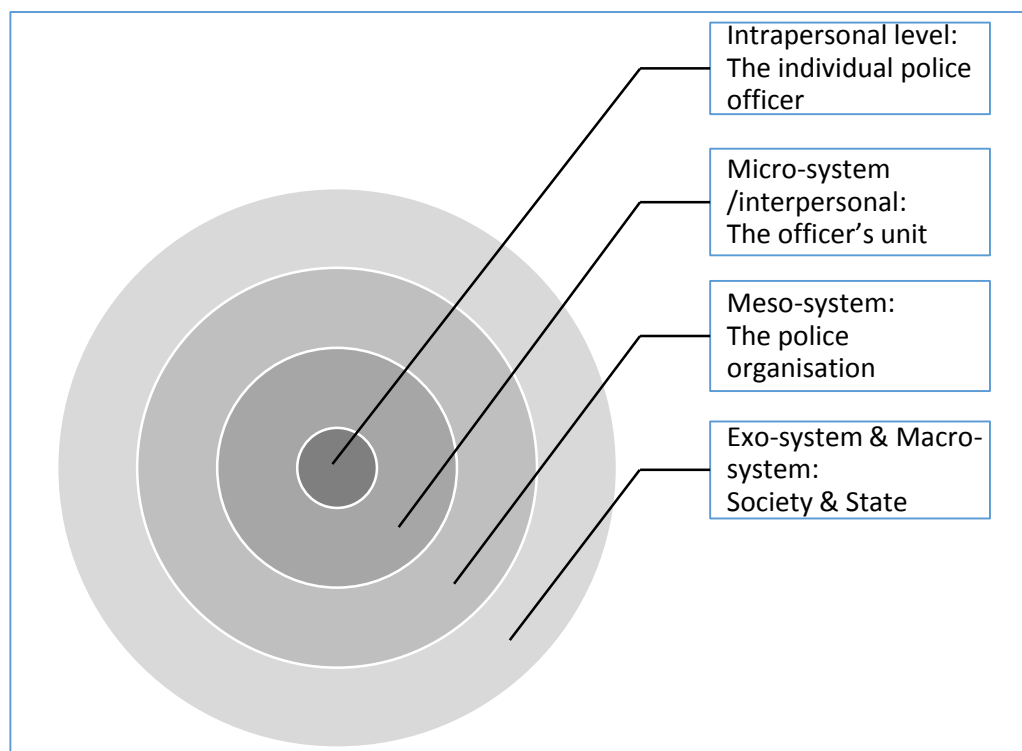
(Fraser et al., 2009). A problem theory is an adjoining model to a *programme theory*, which demonstrates how an intervention works by explaining how risk sequences might be broken. The problem theory needs to identify the trajectories of the problem as a necessary step to changing the social-terrain. The construction of this problem theory of police training drew on the literature review and the qualitative and official data gathered in the field as well.

The problem, or 'social phenomena' (Craig et al., 2008), is of police norms falling short of democratic norms, and more specifically of police misuse of force. The risk factors, or in other words the factors causing or enabling this phenomena were conceptualised using Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of development (Figure 4). This means the factors were nested into one another, beginning with the individual and onwards to include the micro-system, exo-system and macro-system (Bronfenbrenner, 1979); this model is theoretically suitable for complex interventions.

Bronfenbrenner's framework assists in thinking about the individual as developing or acting within the context of several systems, nested one within the other. Each 'system' influences the individual just as the individual is influencing it. By systematically examining the role of multiple contexts, while acknowledging the role of the individual herself, her agency, the complexity of the human environment can be taken into account. It is the dialectic approach to the nature/nurture debate. It also allows a clear view on how the different levels can serve as an inoculation: for example, a sturdy organisation or established democratic society can 'make up' for low education levels.

The risk model was mapped as a general model of police training based on general

policing literature, not specific to the Israeli BP (Figure 5). It considered first the individual police officer, then the officer in his unit, the police organisation and the society in which this organisation operates. As no conclusive empirical risk factor analysis exists yet, a combination of theoretical hypothesising and research-based hypothesising was required. Effort was made to anchor each assumption of risk in high-quality evidence.



**Figure 4: Ecological model of risk - police behaviour (overview of levels)**

In putting together the model, examination first turned to the literature review described in Chapter 2 and in this chapter, undertaken prior to the main data collection. The review in Chapter 2 highlighted the main topics which were thought to be significant to police training or professional training more generally, either contributing to its success or barring it. These issues were chosen either because they

were identified as reoccurring themes judged to be pertinent, or were the focus of high-quality empirical research, not necessarily experimental in nature but of robust designs. This 'good and bad practice' list was the departure point for conceptualizing the risk map.

The diagram below lists the different elements of the risk model (Figure 5); not all elements included will be discussed at length, but only those which the intervention has the possibility of disrupting. The discussion will focus on how the risk factors may play out in the context of the Border Police, recognizing that different contexts foster different risk trajectories. In the next chapter, the components of the intervention with the potential to disrupt the risk processes will be highlighted and discussed.

### ***7.1 The Intrapersonal level: the individual police officer***

At the level of the individual officer, the personal resources, resilience and life experiences of the officers will likely play a role in their behaviour in the field. Proper use of force as 'skilled' policing receives some support from studies which identify the relative lack of experience of police officers as a variable influencing excessive use of force (Bayley & Garofalo, 1987 in Adams, 1996); There is some evidence that less experienced and less educated police officers use increased levels of force in encounters with citizens (Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005).

The historic positioning of the Border Police among other security enforcement organisations in Israel may mean the individuals recruited into it are less educated; this is a Human Resources policy regarding which no public information is available, but which was alluded to in the elite and background interviews. In addition, as a

Figure 5: A model of risk factors influencing un-democratic policing and misuse of force in police organisations



high proportion of officers are conscripts, this means they are less experienced. These police officers also receive less training regarding policing powers than 'ordinary' police officers (only two weeks of their recruit training are dedicated to it, although it is included in ongoing training). Considering that there is relatively strong evidence that lends support to the role of legal consideration in discretionary decision making - laws are the central driving force in officers' choices in the field (Skogan & Frydell 2004) – this potential lack of a solid understanding of the law might be a missed opportunity of the most effective way to influence police officers' behaviour.

### ***7.2 The micro-system /inter-personal level: the police unit***

Unit dynamics may have a considerable effect on the adherence to democratic policing norms and the appropriate use of force. The idea of police sub-cultures and initiation systems - an organisational structure of impunity and internal solidarity leading to cover-ups - features widely in policing literature, with varying degrees of empirical support (Skolnic & Fyfe, 2005; Chan, 1997). In a policing context, the unit mediates the organisational culture, just as the family mediates the surrounding culture for the developing child in Bronfenbrenner's original writings. This means the officer's unit, as his reference group, has a role to play in his attitude formation and his discretion in the field (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). In the BP, the unit has special significance as it is the operational structure, unlike in the 'blue' National Police, in which officers carry out tasks individually or in small changing groups.

### ***7.3 Meso-system: the police organisation***

Two types of risks were conceptualised in the mapping procedure: an organisational

misalignment of actions and expectations, and a failure to communicate these expectations in an effective way.

The first aspect of risks, termed here 'organisational misalignment' builds on the phenomena highlighted by Mastrofski and his colleagues (Mastrofski, Snipes, & Supina, 1996), and refers to a failure to socialise due to the duality between proclaimed norms to organisational practices and the day-to-day ethos. There are three possible expressions of this problem, as can be gleaned from policing literature and from the observations and interviews undertaken. First, informal mixed-messages from mid-level management regarding the importance of democratic norms, for example through social exclusion within ranks. Second, organisational policies may send contradictory messages regarding importance of democratic norms, for example promotion routes that disregard unethical behaviour. Third, the tasks of the organisation or the policing tactics it employs to carry them out set officers up to fail, for example the use of discriminatory practices like profiling or the over-policing of minorities.

These conditions seem to be relevant to police organisations in general, and it is the third one that seems most worrying for BP officers whose tasks might be viewed as irreconcilable with a democratic ethos. As one commander noted in an interview, his officers learn that there are different classes of citizens though the work they have to carry out. Regarding the organisational policies, it is unclear how far this a problem in the BP. Promotion and demotion policies, for example, were mentioned earlier in this chapter as a tool for organisational change adopted by the BP, and this was corroborated in the interviews with education unit staff members who mentioned a positive change in organisational practice; this of course is an internal, biased view

and should be further investigated.

The second area of risk pertains to the failure of the organisation to socialise police officers to the expected societal or organisational norms through training, a central socialization mechanism in all police organisation (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2011). There are four central issues included in this category. First, the disconnect between the police academy and the 'field'; the reality officers encounter when they leave the moratorium of the training sites and meet the 'real world' as it is presented to them by experienced police officers, causes the messages of training to be devalued and creates a cynicism regarding humanistic approaches (Chan et al., 2003). The training academy, staffed by either civilians or police officers no longer serving in the field, is framed as detached and irrelevant.

Second is 'training decay' a cognitive phenomenon pertaining to the attribute of learning to dissolve with the passing of time unless it is reinforced; this is specifically an issue concerning young recruits who are too inexperienced to 'retain' significant learning from their initial training due to the culture shock they experience and the lack of follow-up training (Wortley & Homel, 1995).

The third and fourth factors concern the content and methods of training. Failure of the organisation to use effective behaviour change mechanisms, may be the result of a lack of available evidence regarding these mechanisms or of a lack of resources (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

#### ***7.4 The Exo-system and Macro-system: laws and societal mechanisms for awarding and punishing democratic behaviour***

The wider context in which the police officer and their organisation are located has a role to play both through informal and formal mechanisms (i.e. norms and laws). Both issues identified may carry risks for the BP context.

The strength of accountability mechanisms is possibly the most visible and open to systematic analysis. Accountability is principally the 'need to explain one's actions or conduct' (Osse, 2006, p. 185) but this type of definition does not reflect the complexity of having misconduct recognised. In his discussion of accountability, Bayley (2001) states that 'Police activity must be open to observation and regularly reported to outsiders' (p. 14), referring both to actions of individual officers and to the entire organisation. There are different structures of accountability of police to citizens and to society in different countries, but critical approaches claim that in reality, even in developed countries, police forces are very weakly accountable to politicians and to the public (Manning, 2010).

As discussed earlier in the chapter, in Israel a department of internal investigations was set up only in 1992 as an internal police department, and was 'civilized' in 2005 (State Attorney, 2014). In an interview with the *Haaretz* newspaper in 2010, the exiting head of the unit drew a grim picture of the effectiveness of this body, claiming that an internal culture of immunity and automatic backup by senior commanders of officers who employ excessive use of force leaves it 'toothless' (Veitz, 2010). Despite this, in interviews both education staff and police officers themselves mentioned the fear or threat of being investigated by this unit as a factor bearing great influence on

the behaviour of the officers; both groups believed it was a combination of education activities and the existence of this accountability mechanism that influenced officers' decisions.

The second set of factors relates to undemocratic trends in Israeli society that are visible in media and public debate – including attitudes to minorities – but also to the idea of minorities and human rights. These are difficult to quantify, but are nonetheless a serious issue. One commentator described the public sphere as 'flooded' with undemocratic sentiments, with a whole line of laws inconsistent with a democratic ethos being discussed and accepted in the Israeli parliament (Jabarin, 2013). These norms and laws make up the 'culture of policing' (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003), and are theorized to play an important role in officers' discretion (Manning, 2010). The policing of a contested society, in which democracy is not entrenched firmly, raises a whole set of challenges (Hasisi & Weitzer, 2007), which will be discussed at length in Chapter 8. It is perhaps unrealistic to expect officers to adopt views and behaviours more democratic than their surrounding society, solely due to their professional identity.

To conclude this section, in examining the risk model it appears that the concept of a *criminogenic environment*, often used to describe how the social and geographical terrain contribute to the tendency to commit crimes (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995), might be useful for considering the issue of police misuse of force. Just as in criminogenic environments committing crime becomes an almost natural or rational option, because it is 'easy, safe and profitable', and abstaining is the challenge rather than the norm, so it might be argued that the appropriate use of force in some

environments is the challenge, with misuse on some level the norm.

Police work is a complex system, located in a complex sociological context, and the Israeli context has given rise to an environment in which making ethical, just decisions is a challenge. It is necessary to identify the causes of discretion that are misaligned with democratic policing norms, and the vulnerabilities at the organisational and individual level which serve as drivers to a trajectory of 'passive' misuse of force or undemocratic policing. It is necessary to understand the complexity of a phenomena in order to attempt both preventive action and interventions. Just as it is becoming clear that effective interventions to deal with crime require a sophisticated mixture of approaches, from the tactical deployment of officers (hot-spot policing) to preventive approach such as urban planning and problem oriented policing, so behaviour change interventions for police officers may require the same multi-components strategy.

### **The Border Police Education Unit as a solid foundation for conducting rigorous research on training for *democratic policing***

This chapter has laid the ground work for the feasibility stage of a training intervention and beyond; a strategic, long-term approach in intervention design, which goes further than ensuring the rigorous standards of the experimental evaluation. It lays foundations that allow to consider implementation, engagement and generalizability, which are crucial for allowing future scale up and diffusion (Flay et al., 2005).

Just as it is necessary to study health systems in order to ensure the deliverability of a medical or para-medical intervention, and to identify any possible problems that could arise during delivery and prevent its success (Campbell et al., 2007), so it is necessary to assess the structural strengths and weaknesses of the Education

Unit in order to properly prepare for a trial in this organisational context. One aim of the scoping study was to assess the Education Unit's capacity to see through the execution of an experimental trial.

While it was clear from the observations and interviews that the Education Unit is not always popular – it challenges norms, creates tensions and makes demands on the organisation's funds and time resources - it continues to receive enough support to allow it carry through complex projects and enlist the assistance of personnel across the corps. The organisation's internal data and narrative pointed to a potentially effective intervention model, despite the extreme operational and political conditions.

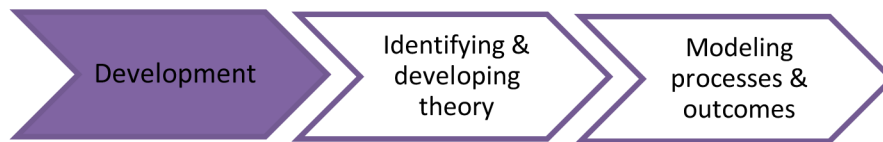
The chapter also provides support for one of the tenant hypothesis of the study regarding the nature of Israeli policing. It appears that enough fundamental attributes of democratic policing exist in the Israeli context to justify studying training that enhances this form of policing in this organisation, and for this research to generate findings that would be relevant and generalizable to other contexts. However, the review also highlighted several issues that may make the intervention ineffective or difficult to deliver, most prominent among them the legitimization of excessive use of force among officers and the public, and the political situation of an ongoing conflict which is deeply connected to police-minority relations within the country. Despite this, there is potential for achieving the aims of the intervention based on the commitment of the organisation to values aligned with *democratic policing*, and on the strong operational infrastructure.

The in-depth analysis of context in the chapter is an essential first step needed to advance from efficacy research to policy, and could be used in assessing the potential

for investing in such training interventions in other contexts (Glasgow, Lichtenstein, & Marcus, 2003). It is one aspect of analysis required in applying an evidence-based practice paradigm to the field of police training, and especially important considering the diversity of police organisations and their training structures. The next chapter will provide more specified data necessary for future scale-up.

## Chapter 5/

### Constructing the programme theory: a 'Theories of Change' analysis of the Border Police's training model



*After careful mapping of the context of the intervention, this chapter now turns to scrutinise an existing, complex psycho-social intervention: the educational training programme in use by the Israeli Border Police. In a field with limited evidence both regarding what works and how it works, the opportunity to assess in detail an existing programme is of value; this analysis will be used to identify and develop a programme theory as well as a general theoretical model of police training, and will serve as a foundation for an experimental evaluation.*

## Section 1/ Development as a Necessary First Step in Designing and Evaluating Complex Interventions: Chapter Overview

This thesis is concerned with police training as a complex social intervention. The category 'complex interventions' refers to several dimensions of complexity, more than one of which can co-occur in a social intervention. As will be elucidated throughout this chapter, the Border Police training intervention includes several of the dimensions described by Craig and his colleagues (2008). There are multiple components to the interventions and multiple possible interactions between them; there are a number of groups and organisational levels targeted by the intervention; there is great flexibility in how the intervention is delivered; and there are a variety of outcomes, some of them quite intricate. Considering this complexity, the MRC's recommendation to invest effort in the development stages of the evaluation is pertinent.

The stages of this research project are aligned to the stages proposed in the guidelines. As discussed in chapter 2, the questions posed by the guidelines and the epistemic position it takes are central to this. As indicated in the navigation bar above, this chapter is also concerned with the development of the theory of the intervention. Craig et al. (2008) identify three distinct aspects to the development stage of evaluating complex interventions: identification of the evidence base, identification or development of a programme theory, and the modelling of the interventions processes and outcomes. In identifying the evidence base, a traditional literature review was undertaken, which was described in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The resulting knowledge-set is the base from which the research sets out to unearth the programme theory. This evidence-base will be revisited at length for the purpose of critically assessing the intervention model.

This chapter is concerned with generating two interlinked products. First is a programme theory<sup>1</sup> of the Border Police training intervention, which includes an analysis of possible 'active components'. Second is a general theoretical model of police training which elucidates relevant behaviour change mechanisms.

It is considered 'best practice' to develop an intervention 'systematically, using the best available evidence and appropriate theory, then to test them using a carefully phased approach' (Craig et al., 2008, p. 8). As the Border Police (BP) training programme is a 'living' intervention, one which already exists and is in use rather than being developed externally, this process entailed mapping the intervention and then analysing it in order to judge if its guiding principles or central components receive support from the literature identified in the first chapters. As no 'gold standard' of police training exists, this is a necessary stage in developing an evidence base in the field.

The guidelines underscore the two central questions which are the starting point for the evaluation process: 'how does the intervention work in theory?' and 'does it work in practice?' The complex intervention under review was developed gradually within the organisation, and has been operating on the ground rather than being neatly developed and prepared for implementation in a linear fashion. It was therefore vital to first understand how the intervention works: 'what are the active ingredients within the intervention and how are they exerting their effect?' (Craig et al., 2008, p. 7). The second, complementary question, is whether the intervention works in practice: does it 'work', not in the sense of statistical effectiveness but rather practical effectiveness.

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<sup>1</sup> Programme theory is sometimes used interchangeably with Theory-driven Evaluation, but here it will be used to denote an actual product of the research.

In order to ensure systematic and transparent development of the programme theory (Kelly et al., 2010) a phased approach was adopted that can be delineated to two central stages: an empirical stage which made use of the methodological framework of Theory Driven Evaluation to produce a programme model, and an analytical stage to produce a programme theory. As the MRC guidelines emphasise, there is currently less clarity regarding the most appropriate methods for the development stage of social interventions, than there is regarding the evaluation stage. This necessitates additional justification in methodological choices and transparency in methodological process. Accordingly, Section 2 will explain in detail the use of a 'Theories of Change' methodology, and demonstrate that it adheres to central EBP principle of providing 'appropriateness of evidence' (Kelly et al., 2010).

The chapter will describe the process of constructing the programme theory, following the MRC's call for transparency and clarity in reporting throughout all the stages of an evaluation project. **Sections 2 and 3** will deal with methodological decisions and process. **Section 4** focuses on the mapping of a programme model: this began with the creation of the model's 'skeleton', based on policy documents, which was then 'fleshed' using data from interviews and observations. The end product includes the different components and expected outcomes of the intervention. Supporting qualitative data for the model will be presented in **Section 5**. **Sections 6 and 7** deal with the second stage, in which the model was elevated to a theory. This stage includes an analysis of the programme in relation to evidence identified prior to the field research in order to assess its potential effectiveness; this is presented in **Section 6**. The final step was the crystalizing of the theoretical model into several behaviour change mechanisms, which are presented in **Section 7**.

The chapter culminates in a theoretical model that builds on well-grounded theories in the field of social psychology; depicted on page 246, the model proposes four central components: individual learning, organisational norms, identity of trainers and group identification processes. This conceptualisation can help hone design efforts towards potentially effective paths of change and enable the analysis of police organisational systems and training programmes more holistically. It strives to create a common language between researchers in different contexts in order to advance the state of the evidence.

## Section 2/ Theory Driven Evaluation as the Base of the MRC framework: From Data to Knowledge

The call for the identification of a programme theory is based on the recognition that ‘a good theoretical understanding is needed of how the intervention causes change, so that weak links in the causal chain can be identified and strengthened’ (Craig et al. 2008, pg. 7). From an EBP perspective, before relying on methodologies at the top of the ‘hierarchy of evidence’ (such as experimental trials or meta-analysis of the results of multiple trials) theoretical work is first needed to set the foundation for these. ‘Weak links’ in the intervention that are a result of faulty theory or faulty implementation need to be exposed using the most fitting methodology to provide the most appropriate evidence.

Some interventions under review are based on well-defined theoretical principles accompanied by manuals, which can then be analysed in light of the existing evidence-base. In the case of the BP’s educational training intervention, though policy documents did exist, they did not include the necessary theoretical clarity, and in addition were written in ‘organisational speak’ and so could only serve as a base to work from rather than an end point of the ‘theory development’ process.

In striving for rigour, transparency and a systematic process, the methodological framework most aligned with the MRC’s standards for the ‘development’ stage of the evaluation was *Theory-driven Evaluation*, and specifically a *Theories of Change* approach (Weiss, 1995). This section will explain the tenets of this approach, including its advantages and its basic concepts, and also demonstrate how it supports an EBP standard and how well it serves this particular research endeavour.

The 'development' stage of the MRC process is derived from the systems perspective outlined in 'Theory-driven Evaluation' (TDE). TDE is a response to a 'black box' pattern of thought prevalent in evaluation research, which sees the intervention as an input and measures the outputs; this is a lacking strategy, which can neither illuminate problems with the intervention (i.e. why it fails) or allow generalizations (i.e. why it succeeds and where else it could also succeed) (Chen, 1990). It also leads to a checklist outlook, which only tries to ascertain if the goals of a programme were achieved and cannot look beyond this to inquire into questions of harm or wider social interests. EBP advocates recognize the faultiness of this approach and strive for more theory-based research. In Theory-driven Evaluation, the evaluator attempts to 'unpack the black box' and explain the mechanism through which change occurs, providing 'a plausible and sensible model of how a program is supposed to work' (Bickman, 1987, in Astbury & Leeuw, 2010). This was discussed in the introduction to the thesis.

Within TDE, a specific theoretical framework termed 'Theories of Change'<sup>2</sup> was chosen as the most enabling to use in an EBP framework and in this research context specifically. 'Theories of Change' (ToC) evaluations identify the explicit and implicit assumptions stakeholders have regarding how 'change' or outcomes will be achieved, and 'translates' this into a model which maps out the smallest possible connections between the steps of the intervention ('micro-steps'). It then 'tests' the links between them. The basic method is that of all TDE methods, but it emphasises the process of unearthing both explicit and implicit assumptions of how the programme works and then scrutinizing them: 'The evaluation should surface those theories and lay them

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<sup>2</sup> 'Theories of Change' is sometimes equated with Theory-driven Evaluation, perhaps because it has become well known and is quite popular in the non-profit sector, but has specific, well-defined characteristics.

out in as fine detail as possible, identifying all the assumptions and sub-assumptions built into the program' (Weiss, 1995, p. 67).

The ToC approach is further set apart by its supposition that these assumptions are to be identified through a dialogue with the programme's various stakeholders: those who design, deliver and receive the intervention. It is the various theories held by this group of people that need to be modelled and then examined. The rationale for this is strengthened when accepting that a theory is not a finalized version of reality, but rather 'a contribution to an ongoing political dialogue between people with a variety of vested interests' (Ezzy, 2002, p. 30).

The goal of TOC is to identify which of the 'several theories underlying the program are best supported by evidence' (Weiss, 1995, p. 67), because 'only with greater understanding of the processes of change will it be possible to build on successes in demonstration communities, to "go to scale" and bring benefits' (p. 90). This description highlights how well aligned TOC is with the MRC approach, and with EBP generally.

TOC has several distinct attributes that makes it especially suitable for this research project. First, ToC allows evaluators to focus on the key aspects of an intervention; one of the products of a ToC evaluation is a model which maps out the key activities and how these will lead to desired results. By using this procedure, it is possible to identify where such linkages can be confirmed by existing evidence from research carried out previously in similar-enough contexts, and where there are linkages that demand testing of some type to ensure they have a bearing in reality. This means that always-limited resources can be concentrated on the parts of the model evaluators

think are most in need of testing.

In this case study, as in other complex interventions, this is beneficial since some components have been shown to be effective in other professional training programmes (for example, the use of opinion leaders for frontline training), while other components are hypothesised 'active ingredients' (Fraser, Richman, & Galinsky, 2009), which need to be examined as unique components in a unique setting. Taking a ToC approach allows most efficient use of resources while still maintaining a holistic rather than fractured view of the intervention; it is the key gaps in knowledge which are being addressed, while the knowledge remains contextual.

The second supporting factor ties in to the first, and has been discussed above as one of the two most important advantages of Theory-driven Evaluation generally: creating knowledge out of data. The process of constructing and testing the programme model 'facilitates aggregation of evaluation results into a broader base of theoretical and program knowledge' (Weiss, 1995, p. 69). Because the model created is constantly tied to other relevant research, it allows evaluators to operate in the realm of theory, making their results relevant to others working in the field. This type of approach allows for the scientific aggregation of knowledge which stems from the ground level.

For this case study, this echoes the central assumption of EBP: that police training everywhere should be based on a shared knowledge-base, and that the current practice and evaluation of police training, which is both fractured and a-theoretical, is a road-block to effective police training. This thesis hopes to situate a case study of police training in the wider context of democratic police training and using a ToC approach will help create an accessible evidence-base.

The third attribute which makes TOC a good fit for this research is that it asks programme stakeholders – from designers to practitioners to clients - to make their assumptions explicit and to reach consensus with their colleagues about what they are trying to do and why. It is the sum of these ‘extracted’ ideas which makes up the resulting ‘theory of change’ model. The conjoined result has a three-fold benefit which stems from its intrinsic dialogic nature. First and foremost, involving users in all stages of research contributes to better research and is more ethically sound (Matheson et al., 2005, in Craig et al. 2008). Second, the dialogic process in which the evaluator is engaged with the stakeholder allows her to identify both common-sense and theoretical breaks in the model’s explanatory chain. Third is the dialogue which the process creates within the organisation and between all those who have a stake in the intervention. It gives those participating in the process the chance to take ownership of the gaps and reinforce their commitment to the strong links in the chain. It is an evaluation method that works inwards and outwards simultaneously, and which resonates with the participatory research approach advocated in this research project.

A fourth attribute of the approach which also echoes the needs of this project, is that underlining existing assumptions about how change is created may help bring policy-makers on board both with the evaluation process as well as with any recommendations resulting from it. While this is not necessarily the case for all evaluation processes (and hence not the central reason for choosing ToC) it seems that for this context it did facilitate cooperation: using a theoretical language to explain an everyday activity carried out by the organisation resonated with top officials and deepened their commitment to the evaluation project. This was not only a ‘theoretical activity’ and therefore ‘scientific’, but it was also ‘their theory’.

Having outlined how TOC provides a good fit with EBP principles and the MRC guidelines specifically: relying on the best available evidence, creating a foundation for scaling up, involving users and retaining a policy-oriented outlook, this chapter now turns to describing the methods used while working under this conceptual umbrella.

### Section 3/ The Methodology of Constructing the 'Theory of Change': Grounded Programme Theory

The research question that guided this stage of the research was: 'what is the theory of this social intervention?' The intention was to provide an answer in the shape of a Programme Theory: 'a set of propositions regarding ... the transformation of input into output' (Lipsey, 1993, p. 4). As explained above, the framework chosen for this task was of a 'Theories of Change' evaluation. However, this framework does not provide enough of a structure to ensure a rigorous and systematic process.

TOC evaluation leaves a problematic opening for un-structured work; this weakness was addressed by choosing to incorporate the '*Grounded Theory*' analytic approach, which is optimally aligned with TOC's premises. This conjunction might be termed 'grounded programme theory'. Using Grounded Theory (GT) would help guide both the choice of specific data collection methods and the analysis process, and give more structure and rigour to the procedures; integrating GT is therefore the analytically tighter option. In addition, using qualitative research at this stage of the research to develop theory and contextual understanding is the most appropriate methodology for this stage, considering the state of the of evidence in this field (Greenhalgh, 2006). To ensure high quality, the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme assessment tool (CASP, 2001) and the qualitative evaluation checklist (Quinn Patton, 2003) were used throughout.

Grounded Theory is a qualitative scientific method for inductively deriving theory through the study of social phenomena: 'theory is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23). It is the systematic

and reflective nature of this methodology which makes it helpful in the difficult task of understanding and representing a complex and dynamic system.

Considering that the final aim was to build a theory of an intervention, and not a theory of a social or interpersonal phenomena (which is much more complex and intricate), the basic analytical tools of GT were used (sometimes loosely) in order to provide a framework to the analysis process. As creativity is one of the features of a good GT, this seems an appropriate application. My intention was to rely on a rigorous framework to support a rigorous process.

The analysis follows the methodology described by Strauss & Corbin, (1990), which is differentiated from the version advocated by Glaser (1992). Strauss & Corbin's version was selected as more appropriate for this type of research, because it is an explicitly structured approach which uses 'predetermined subcategories that guide data collection and analysis' (Kendall, 1999, p. 747). Glaser, on the other hand, emphasised the *emergent*, open, characteristics of the theory construction process (Glaser, 1992). This difference translates to a debate on the appropriate use of axial coding (Kendall, 1999). My analysis process relied on organising schemas: goals and means, similar to the core categories for axial coding suggested by Strauss & Corbin. This was appropriate for modelling a theory of an intervention, which included goals and means as an inbuilt 'paradigm model': 'an organising scheme that connects subcategories of data' (Kendall, 1999, p. 747). I found that this allowed me to achieve their vision of a complex yet systematic and grounded theory.

The basic components of the methodology were deployed throughout the analysis:

asking questions and making theoretical comparisons, open coding followed by axial coding and selective coding, and moving between inductive and deductive thinking. A description of each aspect will be given, but first an overview of the process will be presented.

### **3.1 Overview of the analysis process: 10 steps**

Below is a step-by-step description of the process of constructing a 'programme theory' of the intervention using Grounded Theory methodology , as described by Strauss & Corbin, (1990).<sup>3</sup>

**1. The literature review was re-examined** and key theoretical issues were highlighted, to be kept in mind during the research process; these are the '*pre-conceptions*' that the researcher needs to acknowledge in the GT approach. Special attention was paid to findings on the professional training of physicians and teachers which could aid in the process of '*constant comparison*'.

**2. Key questions were selected** to guide the research process. The two central questions: 'what are the goals of the educational training' and 'what are the means to achieving these goals' were chosen for their ability to provide reactions that could be used to construct the intervention model. Within the means category, in line with existing theory, special attention was to be paid to knowledge, attitudes and skills. The groups within the organisations who were relevant to answer these questions were broadly identified: top education officers, field education officers and police officers themselves. The central

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<sup>3</sup> Terminology defined in Strauss & Corbin's writings appears in italics.

questions were included in all topic guides in slightly different formations.

**3. Data collection and analysis were *integrated*.** Policy documents were read at the beginning and throughout the fieldwork. The themes which emerged, together with insights acquired during the fieldwork and recorded in the form of a research diary, served to inform sampling strategies (for example the inclusion of additional groups within the organisation) and to adapt the topic guides. Among the tools for integrating collection and analysis, Ezzy (2002) lists 'checking interpretations with participants'. This was done not only during the interviews as a summative tool, but more importantly as a stage within the research process, in which the initial version of the model, as it was constructed using the policy documents and the elite interviews, was presented before the research partners in the organisation to ensure that it represented their theory of the intervention.

**4. Different methods were used for data collection** which will be expanded on in the next section (see Table 1 for a complete list of the data collected). The study began with an initial research plan of who should be interviewed and what organisational activities should be observed, and this plan was adjusted as different components of the intervention were understood to be important or necessary for making sense of the programme theory.

**5. Key policy documents** outlining the strategy of the education unit and its pedagogy were analysed as a base for the model. This strategy is rooted

in the recognition that some theory regarding the programme model already existed. The inclusion criteria defined documents as relevant if they explicitly discuss the 'why' and 'what' of education in the border police, not only the 'how' (the six documents included are listed in Appendix 5-A).

All sentence segments were coded using '*open coding*'; the purpose of open coding is 'to generate an emergent set of categories and their properties' (Glaser, 1978, in Ezzy, 2002, p. 88). 146 'codes' were identified and grouped into 30 categories, with the aid of the *constant comparison* technique (Appendix 5-B). The categories were grouped into nine central categories or themes in a process of *axial coding*, 'a set of procedures' that allows the researcher to make 'connections between the categories' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 96) and position them in relation to one another. The resulting preliminary programme model was expressed in diagram format (Figure 1).

6. The model produced in the first phase based on the policy document served as a basis for **analysis of the elite interviews**, following the central principle of combining inductive and deductive reasoning. The elite interviews were coded in an attempt to test whether the themes identified in the policy documents were of an 'emergent fit' (*confirming data*); the analysis here was based on the themes that had already emerged in the first stage, but keeping an open mind for new themes emerging. Some corrections were made and the model, which was skeletal, was given more 'flesh'; in other

words, the themes were made fuller and more accurate. This model was presented to the education unit leaders to check if this theory reflected their understanding of the programme. Some additional changes were made, mostly semantic in order to better represent their ideas, increase the evaluation's acceptability and also to minimise political organisational pressures. In addition, in this phase the third type of coding that makes up GT was used: *selective coding*. Selective coding is in essence the identification of the 'core story' that emerges from the analysis process. The relationship and hierarchies between the categories was then defined, with the over-arching goal refined as an anchor of the theory (*selective coding*). In addition, to serve the purpose of advancing Evidence-based Police Training, the 'active ingredients' or intervention components – that are hypothesised to make the intervention 'work' – were identified and positioned in the causal chain of the theory of change.

7. In the next stage, the **'theories' of stakeholders** were included: the analysis process was repeated, this time using all other interview types grouped into three: education unit staff, commanders, and police officers. Any contradictions of the theory with these accounts was noted (*including contradictory evidence*), a procedure also highlighted by CASP (2001) as contributing to rigour. Additional corrections were made to the programme theory to capture the complexity uncovered by this wealth of data. The findings will be presented in detail in Section 5.

8. The programme theory was explored and the **causal hypotheses** that were central to it were highlighted. The literature review was then revisited to check whether support would be found for the theoretical assumptions embedded in the constructed model.

9. The 'grounded programme theory' that emerged was presented in diagram form to the education staff for *verification*, as good practice that contributes to research strength and possible future adoption of recommendations.

10. The programme model was elevated to a programme theory, in which active ingredients and mechanisms are explicated.

These stages will now be described at length, paying special attention to how the tools of the GT methodology fit in to the TOC approach, how the two were bridged, and the specific application of the tools used in this research project, which called for some creativity and adaptation. Three research products are included: a **programme model** which includes the interventions components and theorised outcomes; the '**Theories of Change**' of the intervention's stakeholders (a qualitative output); and a **programme theory** which includes the hypothesised mechanisms of change.

### 3.2 Data collection methods

A variety of data collection methods were used to in order to ground the theory in the reality of the training intervention. A general plan for the research was drawn up, and was adjusted once the nuances of the organisational structure came to light. Three

populations were targeted: organisational leaders who design the intervention or have an influence on organisational policy and actions; education unit staff members who deliver the intervention; and police officers who receive the intervention. Four types of methods were used to collect data from these groups: elite interviews, interviews, group interviews and observations. These can be seen in the map of data (Table 1).

### ***Observations***

A certain immersion within the organisation was needed in order to comprehend this complex intervention and context. One method chosen for structuring this was semi-systematic observations: ten training activities were observed, more than was initially planned. As themes emerged from interviews and initial observation activities, the types of activities that should be observed was understood and scheduled accordingly. For example, there was a decision to focus on training carried out as part of the 'yearly education series', a week of on-the-job training undertaken by all BP officers every year. Three units were observed undergoing this type of training, in order to better appreciate the range and effects of implementation quality and unit identity. In addition, one of these units was observed for two consecutive days in order to increase familiarity, and one of these units 'staff preparatory training' ('training of trainers') was also observed in order to understand the process more holistically.

The purpose of the observation of different training activities was three-fold. First, to become immersed in the organisation in a way that would enable understanding of the every-day reality of educational training: the dynamics between staff, commanders and police officers, the language used, the practicalities involved. Second, to develop the researcher's personal theory of change of the intervention and gain insights into

possible active ingredients and practical issues facilitating the success of training or barring it. Third, to gain enough familiarity with the intervention to enable asking the most appropriate questions during the interviews, in the most appropriate way, thus maximising the effectiveness of the main method of data collection.

An observation sheet was prepared in order to give some structure to the observation process. As there were only several observations there was not a chance to refine and use the sheet to properly facilitate systematic observation, but the sheet nonetheless helped make sense of very dense and dynamic sessions. The sheet was made up of three separate forms. The first was aimed at identifying knowledge, attitude and skills components, in accordance with the KUSAB framework of training<sup>4</sup>. The second related to organisational messages and how education was portrayed in organisational messages delivered by the commander and the education staff. The third related to the actual delivery of the intervention – were the methods participatory or didactic, what kind of interactions took place between the commander and the officers, how closely the implementation followed the manual, and so forth.

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<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 2 for an overview of this approach, which builds on Bloom's taxonomy of learning (Krathwohl, 2002).

Table 1: List of data collected in the first phase of research

Elite Interviews	Interviews	Observations	TOTAL # INTERVIEWS: 21		TOTAL # OBSERVATIONS: 10	
			1	2	1	2
1	Ilana Zohar, Head Education officer	Noam Kaplan, Head Officer BP Training Base	1	6	1	Education officers training
2	Alen Weinstein, Former Chief Organizational psychologist	Havea, deputy officer professional training, Southern region	2	5	2	Education staff training
3	Gidon Mor, Former BP Head Operations	Commander 'Samag Jerusalem' unit (Kobi)	3	4	3	Education series training: Policing & Democracy- Coral Unit
4	Efrat Oren-Offen, Deputy Head Education officer	Commander 'Sufa' unit (Dror)	4	5	4	Education series training: Policing & Democracy- Barak Unit
5	Professional training head: HQ	Commander '101 South' unit (Tomer)	5	6	5	Education series training: Policing & Democracy- 49th Battalion
6	Professional training coordinator: HQ	Education Officers	1	7	6	Education series training: Policing & Democracy- staff training Barak Unit
Organizational Interviews ('background')	Group Interviews	Education staff - ('Mashakiot'/ ENCOs)	1	2	7	Officers training course
			2	3	8	Unit commanders course
			3	4	9	Training day – Sufa Unit
			4	5	10	Training day- Samag Jerusalem
			TOTAL # INTERVIEWS: 21		TOTAL # OBSERVATIONS: 10	

## ***Interviews***

The interviews that were carried out included the different stakeholders of the intervention. Grounded theory calls for purposive sampling, meaning sampling which is not simply a convenience strategy. But because in this methodology the theory is partly preconceived and partly emergent, some of the dimensions on which sampling is based are only identified in the course of the fieldwork. In this study, a hypothesis about which categories were relevant for interviews and observations was created, and was amended as a more nuanced understanding was obtained. Overall 21 interviews, lasting an hour and a half on average, were conducted.

Each interview and group interview was carried out under the TOC assumption that participants had a common-sense theory, either readily available or that had to be gleaned, about how 'education' works; the purpose of the interview was therefore to unearth it or help them refine and reflect on it. Topic guides for interviews and group interviews include the same overarching topics regarding the goals and means of Education, but are adjusted to reflect the role of the different populations within the organisation, and the light they could shed on the central research questions (Appendix 5-C).

The first category of interviews are those which include developers of the intervention or those in a position to shape organisational policy. These are the elite interviews, which can be broadly defined as interviews in which the interviewees are from the top of the stratification system (Moyser, 2006), and receive special, non-standard treatment (Dexter, 2006). Six such interviews were conducted, of these two with the head education officer and her deputy, and the rest with top officials in different parts

of the Border Police and National Police headquarters (some of whom had already left the organisation). As the issue of 'technical' versus 'education' training arose from the first interviews, additional interviews were scheduled to allow to examine this issue further by interviewing staff members from the 'technical' training department of the organisation. An additional four interviews were carried out to gain organisational insight on specific issues (for example the BP's legal advisor was interviewed in order to understand the citizen complaints system) and did not follow the usual interview topic guide.

The second category is interviews of those who deliver the intervention: the education staff members. This included one interview with the head education officer of the central training base and two group interviews, one of regional field Education Officers (EOs), and one of Education Unit staff members who are Non-Commanding Officers (ENCOs or 'mashkiot'). Professional training for both these groups was observed to gain further insights into the role, responsibility and praxis of this category.

The third category is the stakeholders who receive the intervention: the police officers. Four group interviews of police officers were carried out ensuring the inclusion of three sub-categories: officers who serve in units, officers who serve in a battalion<sup>5</sup> and officers undergoing training as part of the professional courses in the training base. The officers interviewed had all been observed during training; this enabled the researcher to ask meaningful questions relating to a training session recently experienced, and added a certain triangulation to the data collected by giving the researcher the opportunity to assess the training from different points of view

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<sup>5</sup> There are organisational differences between these two groups: generally units are affiliated with the INP, and battalions with the IDF.

(Greenhalgh, 2006).

As the significance of the commander within the intervention became apparent, one-on-one interviews with three commanders were also scheduled to ensure this perspective was included, and they became an additional sub-category, as those who both receive the intervention and deliver it. Two of the commanders were of units that had been observed during training to allow for a holistic overview of the training process.

### ***Questionnaires***

An additional data-collection method which was part of the original research plan was questionnaires (Appendix 5-D). There was an intention to distribute questionnaires to officers who participated in training sessions that were observed as part of the research. The questionnaires were designed based on forms used by the Education Unit to assess satisfaction and learning. However, the return rate of the questionnaires was close to zero. The questionnaires were therefore used only as an interview technique. Officers who participated in the group interviews were given ten minutes to fill them out at the beginning of the session, and they were used to prompt more meaningful interaction with officers. This proved important, as officers were often reluctant to engage initially. This experience provided an important lesson for designing the next stages of research in order to increase the return rate.

## Section 4/ Results: the Programme Model

The following sections portray the development of the programme model as it was constructed based on the policy documents and the elite interview; tables and diagrams accompany the verbal descriptions both to help illuminate the findings and, as they were meaningful in themselves, to understanding the emerging model.

### 4.1 Constructing the model's skeleton using policy documents

The process of *axial coding* of the policy documents resulted in the identification of three central categories: goals, organisational means and cognitive means. This step basically involved bringing together the open codes of the first step into a meaningful interconnected framework, using the predetermined schemas of goals and means. As can be seen, each central category included three additional ones. This is displayed in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: List of categories identified during the *axial coding* phase**

Axial Coding categories	
1. Goals	i. Goals: Organisational ii. Goals: Training Transfer iii. Goals: Empowerment and responsibility
2. Cognitive means	iv. Means/ Cognitive: Knowledge v. Means/Cognitive: Attitudes and Values vi. Means/Cognitive: Skills
3. Organisational means	vii. Means/Organisational: Delivery Mechanism viii. Means/Organisational: Agents ix. Means/Organisational: Organisational Strategy

The final model produced from the analysis of the policy documents is presented in the following two diagrams (Figure 2). The first is an overview, and the second is a magnification of the goals category. It introduces several new theoretical hypotheses. First, it subordinates goals related to empowerment and to organisational change to what is conceived as the central goal - training transfer. More importantly, it differentiates between the two discrete types of change the intervention tries to create. The first type is a change in the cognition of police officers, to be achieved through the choice of specific content in the training. The second type is a change in structures, to be achieved through different organisational strategies, formations and techniques. This distinction became central to the emerging theory.

#### **4.2 An exposition of the ‘Theory of Change’: incorporating data from the elite interviews to enhance the programme model**

The following section describes in detail the programme model (Figure 2A), which is the result of the analysis of the policy documents and the elite interviews. The following pages present the graphic model (Figure 2A is the overview, and Figures 2B, 2C and 2D each present one of the three categories); it is accompanied by a written description.

##### ***‘Goals’: The hypothesised outcomes of the training intervention***

One of the aims of the development phase of the intervention, according to the MRC guidelines is the identification of outcomes; the ‘Goals’ category is in fact concerned with defining outcomes (Figure 2B). The over-arching goal of the Education Unit (or of educational training interventions) identified in the analysis is ‘assisting the Border Police in carrying out its tasks in the best possible fashion’. In terms of change the intervention tries to create, this means improving the performance of the BP. This

Figure 1: Model of educational training in the Israeli Border Police based on axial coding

Figure 1A: Overview

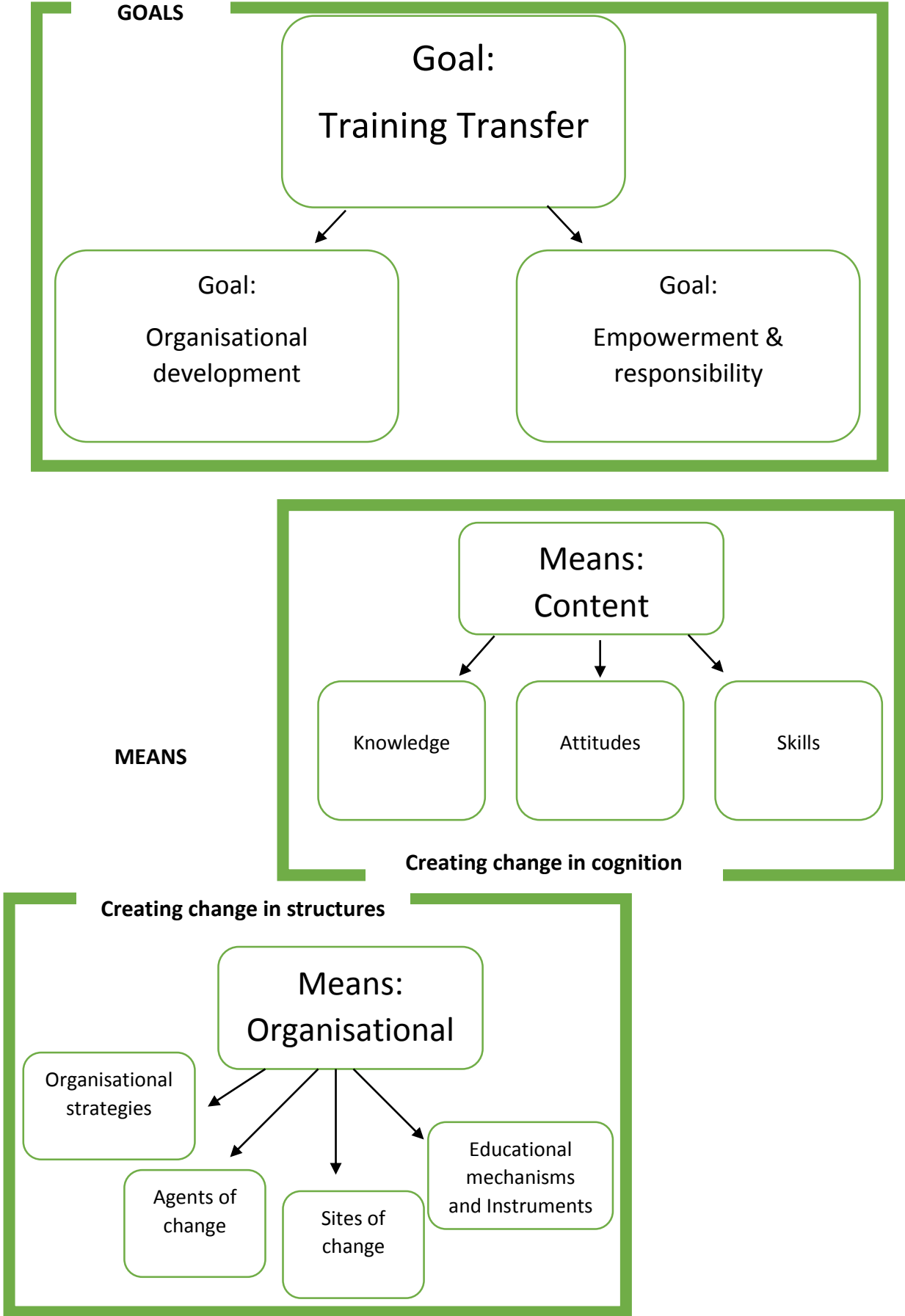
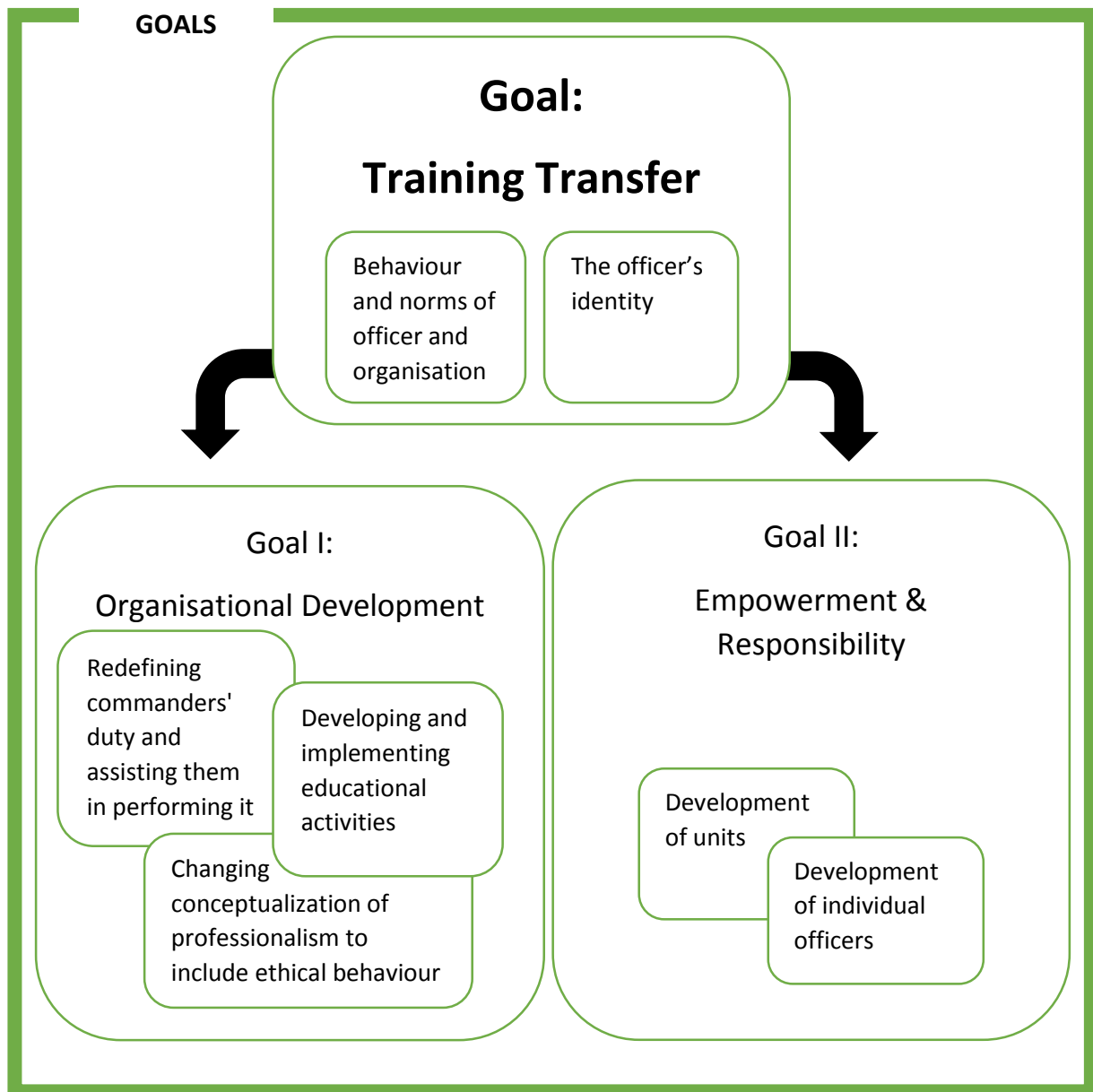


Figure 1B: Goals category (full detail)



over-arching goal emerged in the selective coding phase, and served as an anchor to the model, dictating the core and essence of the theory; without it, the story of the intervention is completely different.

The conceptualization and means of improvement are clarified in the two central subordinate goals, or outcome types. The first outcome is 'training transfer', which refers to the objective of 'making a difference' through the training programmes. This 'difference' can be divided into two aspects: first, developing a professional identity among commanders and police officers that includes an ethical dimension; this is more of a mid-term outcome. This is to be done through two mechanisms: embedding values among officers and commanders and 'widening' the organisational understanding of professionalism. The second outcome is influencing norms and behaviours in the level of officers, units and the organisation, towards full alignment with the BP's policy and the country's core values. To reiterate, developing the professional identity of police officers and changing norms of policing are two mechanisms through which training will improve the BP's performance. While value change is measured at an individual level, the change in norms can be measured either as an aggregated measure or at the community level.

The second central goal is cross-organisational impact; the Education Unit aims to make an impact on two issues which are theorised to improve BP performance. First, broadening the commanders' role to include ethical-moral responsibility in the spirit of 'The Commander as an Educator', and in accordance, providing commanders with professional tools and skills from the field of education as well as on-going consulting services; these are short-term outcomes. Second, they intend to strengthen the

Figure 2A: Overview

## Educational Training in the Israeli Border Police: a 'Theory of Change' of a Complex Intervention

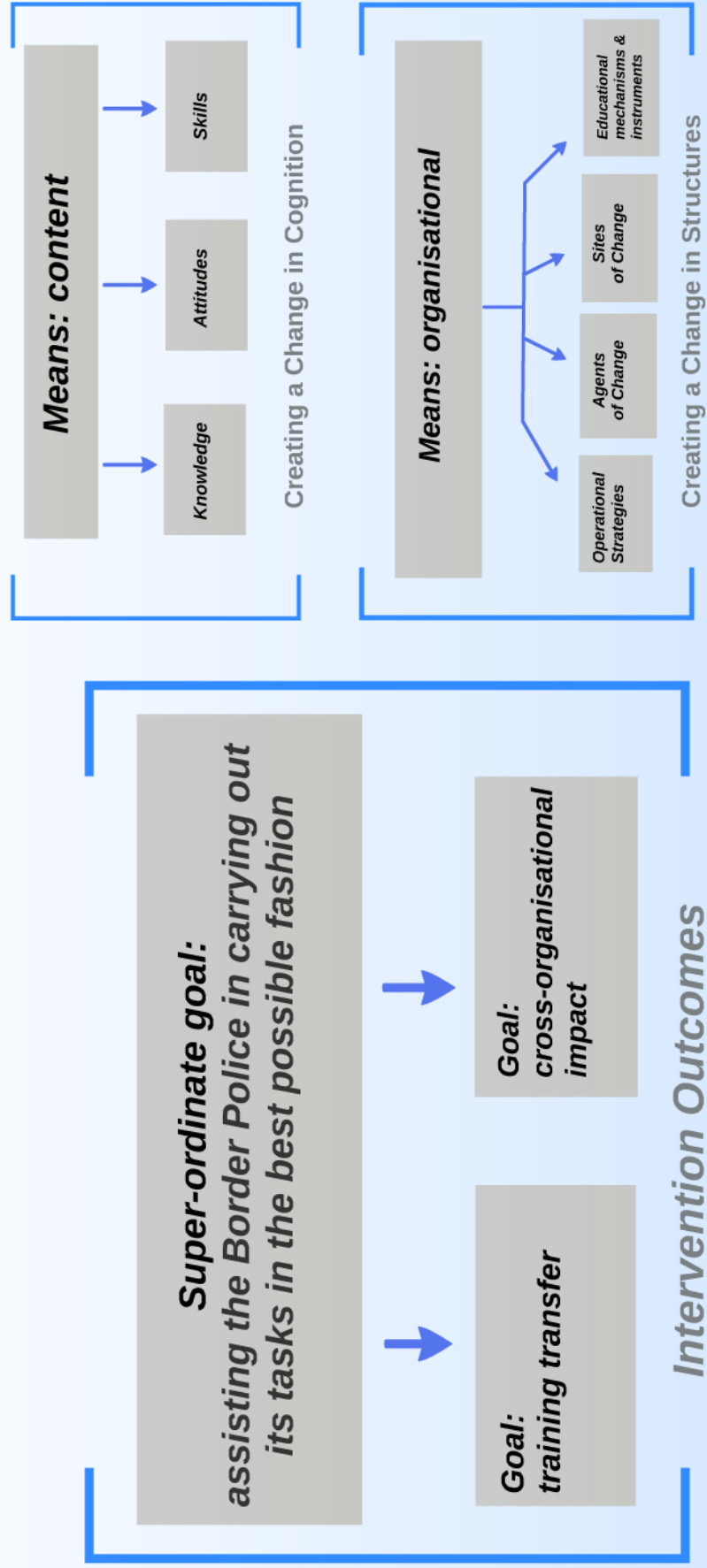


Figure 2B: Goals

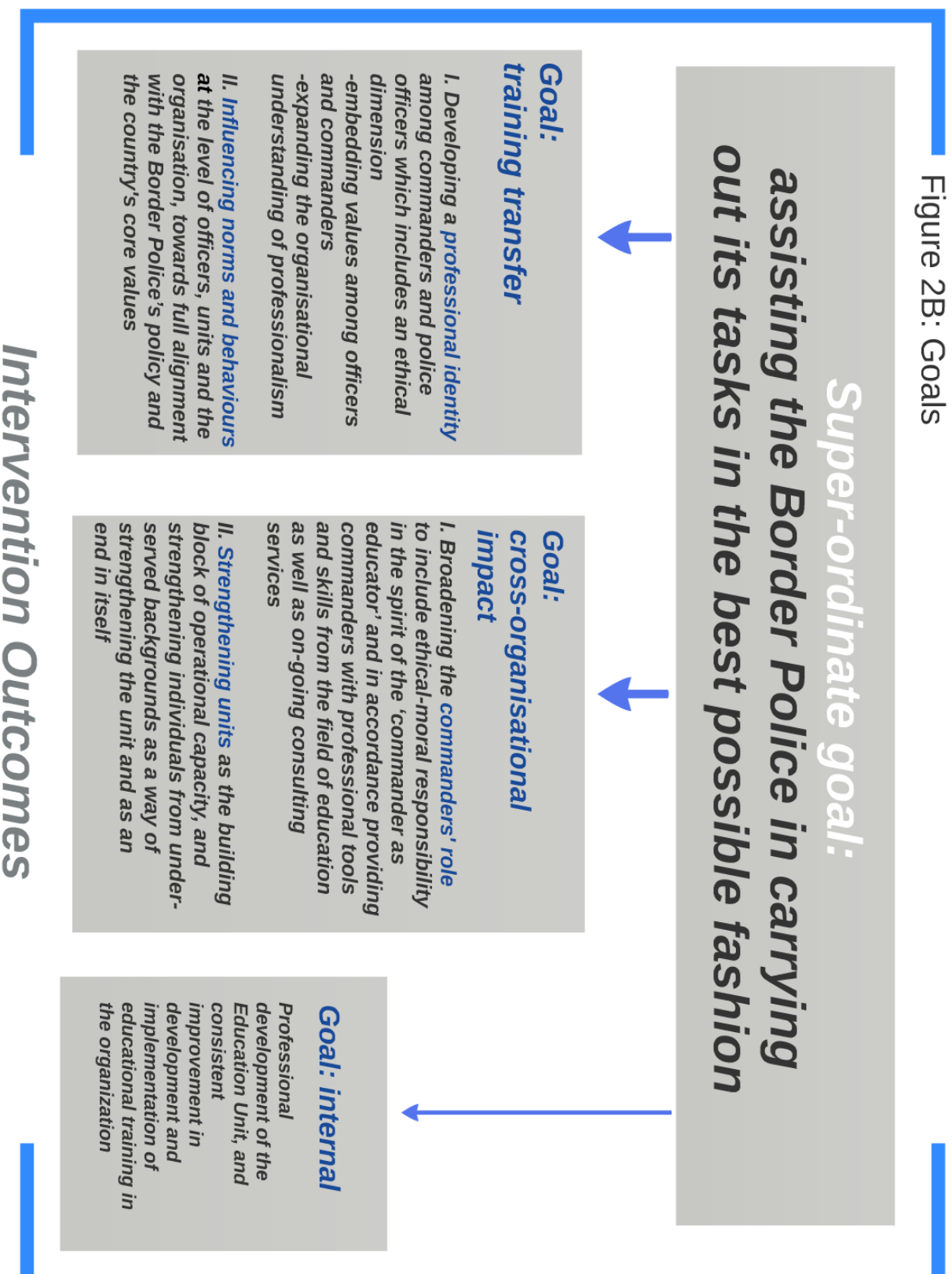


Figure 2C: Content

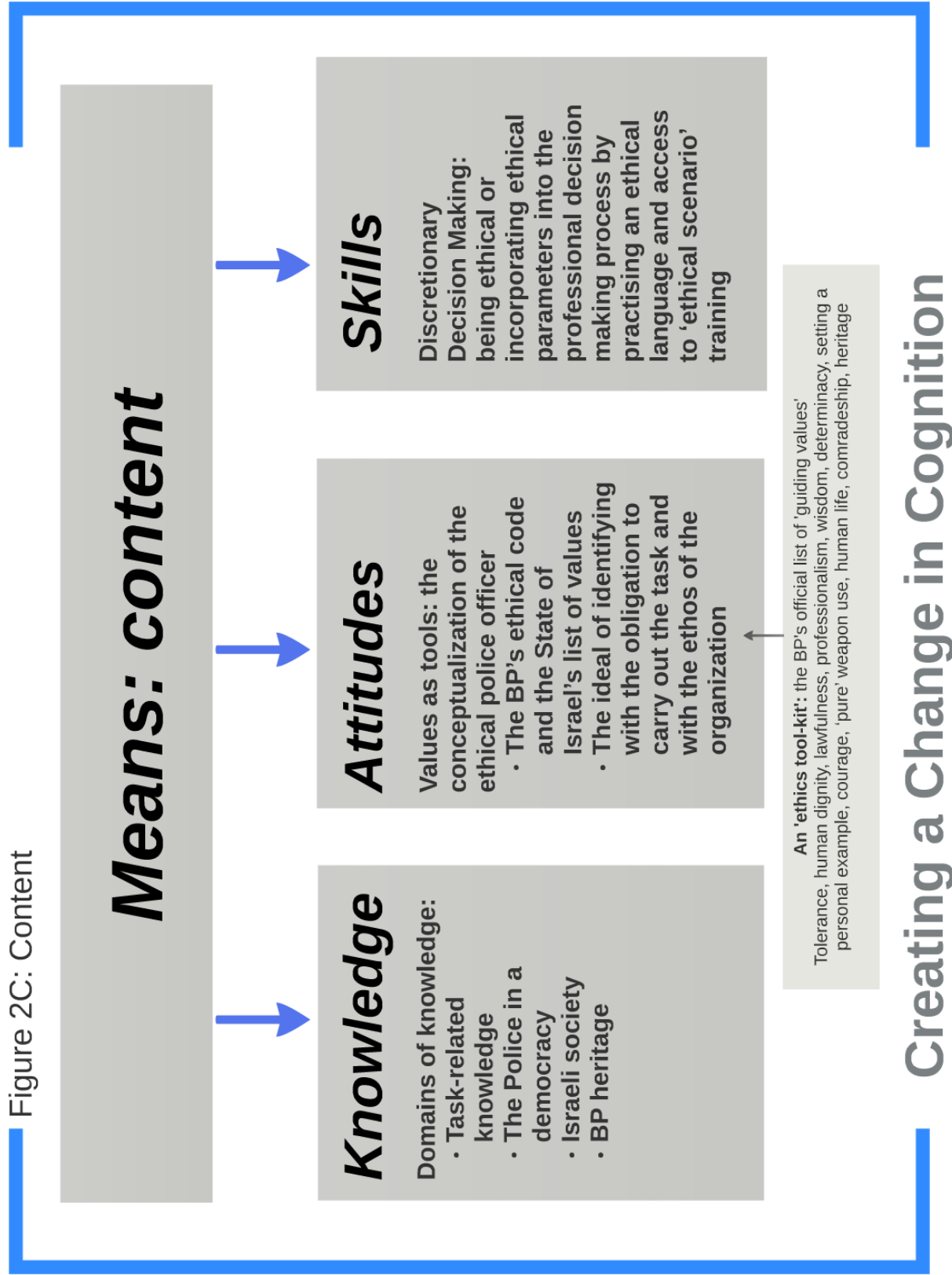
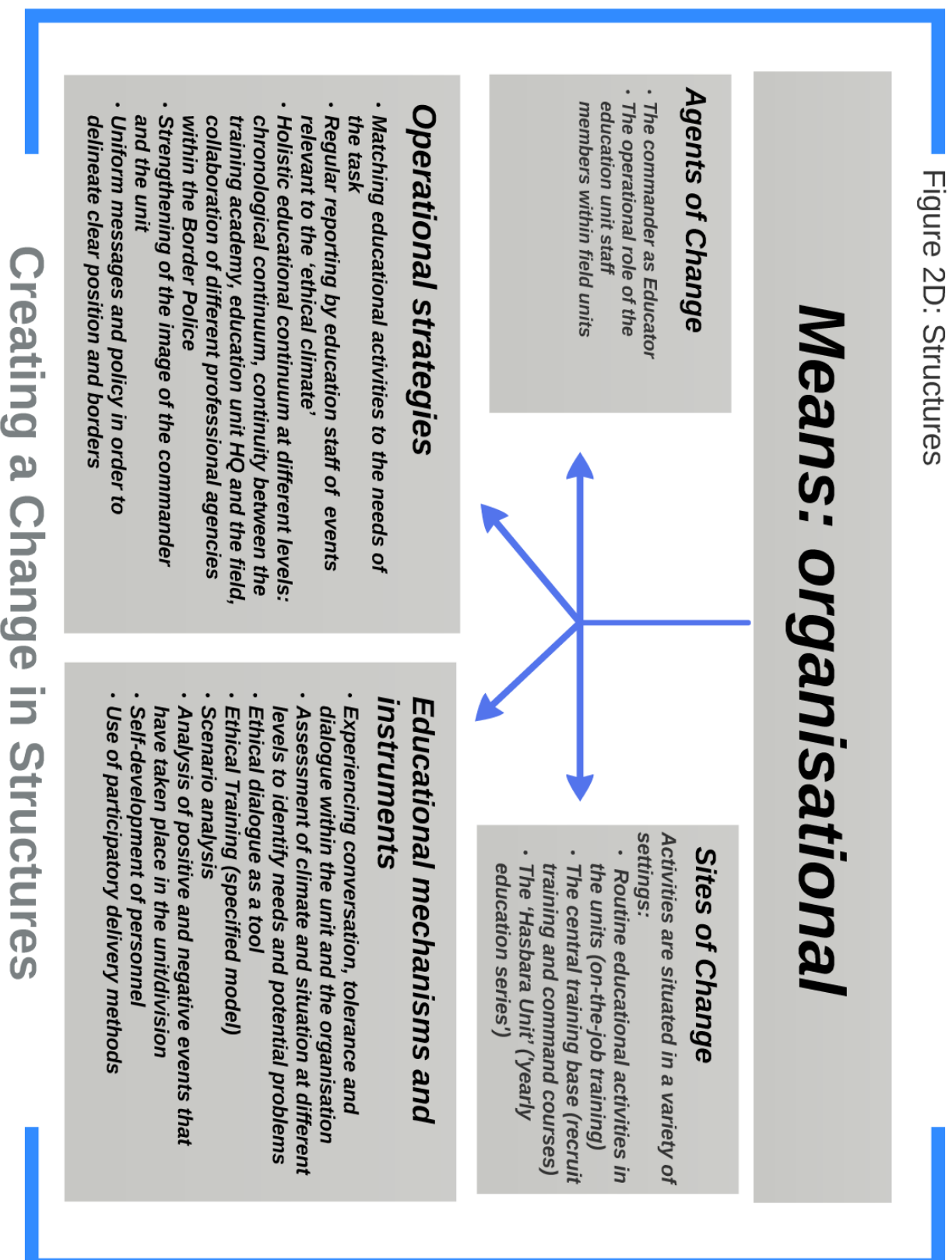


Figure 2D: Structures



operational units as the building blocks of operational capacity, a mid-term outcome. Simultaneously, or perhaps inherently connected, they intend to strengthen individuals from under-served backgrounds as a way of strengthening the unit and also as an end in itself. Strengthening commanders, police officers, and organisational formations is therefore the second mechanism through which the BP's performance will be improved.

An additional, inward-focused goal was also identified, which can be seen as mediating the potential of the two central mechanisms: professional development of the Educational Unit, and consistent improvement in development and implementation of educational training in the organisation. This reflects an understanding that the changing needs of the organisation and dynamic nature of the geo-socio-political reality in Israel demand strong and evolving capacities.

### ***'Means': The components of the training intervention***

Two separate types of means, which represent the different categories of components of the intervention, can be seen in the programme theory. The typology created refers to means which are structural: a way of doing something, an approach or a strategy, as opposed to means which are a content of these methods. In a sense, it is about vessels and the materials those vessels are then filled with. To build on this metaphor, sometimes the vessels are designed with the material in mind; what is the best way to store and transport these materials?

### **Organisational Means**

The first type of means that will now be described in details is the organisational

means (Figure 2D); in terms of the mechanism described, these means are those that are intended to make an impact by creating a change in structures. Four sub-categories are included here: agents of change, sites of change, operational strategies and educational instruments. Training is inherently tied to organisational structures, so it is necessary to unpack these in order to consider the potential for generalisability and to allow for future scale-up.

The first sub-category, agents of change, refers to the people who 'carry' the intervention; through their facilitation the intervention will create the intended change; but at the same time they are part of the intervention, and their unique positioning makes them possible 'active ingredients' of the intervention (this will be discussed in Section 6, which examines the theory in the light of existing knowledge). The first agent is the commander, who is positioned as an 'educator'. Commanders at all levels in the BP are framed as those who educate their subordinates and instil values in them; they are the authority on ethical behaviour, and a point-of-call on ethical issues. Practically, this means that they lead educational training sessions and they are expected to respond to unethical behaviour or verbal expressions.

The second group of change agents is the Education Unit staff members. As was highlighted in the previous chapter, the Education Unit is part of the Operations HQ in the BP, not part the Human Resources department, as most training units tend to be. This is replicated in the different parts of the organisation, so the education field officers are one of the operational advisors to the commanders, situating education as an aspect of operations. In addition, every unit has an education staff member assigned to it, whose job is to gain an in-depth understanding of operational reality

and the specific ethical dilemmas and challenges that could arise from it. This provides an important link between HQ, the training academy and the field (this will also be discussed in Section 6). The first organogram (Figure 3) describes the positioning of the change agents in the organisation, and demonstrates the reach and complexity of this category of organisational means.

The second sub-category of organisational means is coined 'sites of change'. It relates to the dispersed nature of delivery of the intervention, as activities are situated in three different settings: as part of routine educational activities in the units; in the central training base as part of professional courses and command courses; and as part of the 'yearly education series', a week-long educational course delivered to all officers on a yearly basis by the 'Hasbara Unit'<sup>6</sup>. The second organogram (Figure 4) describes the different sites of change and demonstrates how 'on-the-job training' and 'professional training' operate harmoniously.

The third sub-category of organisational means is of operational strategies. It includes a list of strategies, which are in fact hypotheses regarding how change is to be achieved. The model lists five distinct components.

The fourth sub-category of organisational means refers specifically to educational instruments used by the organisation. These components are part of the theory of how change will be achieved, and here specifically, how content is best delivered in order to achieve maximal success of training transfer. Some items are better described as a pedagogical approach, and some as hands-on tools. Eight such components are listed in the model.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Meaning instruction or information, but technically simply relating to an organ within the Education Unit responsible for delivering this type of training

<sup>7</sup> The last item on the list, 'participatory delivery methods', was not derived from the policy

## Content as a Means

The second category of 'means' is the content of the training activities (Figure 2C). The three sub categories – Knowledge, Attitudes and Skills (KSA) – reflect the preconceived categories that were based on the KUSAB approach to learning and training. The designers of the interventions (i.e. the top education officers) are also familiar with this approach and are affected by it, which helps explain why the categories remained unchanged throughout the coding process to the final model. Content is situated here as a discrete component of the intervention.

The first sub-category of content is knowledge. Four distinct domains of knowledge are listed: task-related knowledge, the police in a Democracy, Israeli society, and Border Police heritage. The 'worlds of knowledge', as they are termed by the education officers, are not ready-made 'knowledge packages', but are designed and re-designed to address the changing issues and tasks the BP deals with, in an attempt to ensure their relevance. This is especially the case for task-related knowledge.

The second sub-category is attitudes. Of the attitudes training focuses on it is possible to distinguish between several issues. First is the basic conceptualization of the 'ethical police officer', for whom values are tools for action. An 'ethics tool-kit' can be drawn from the BP's ethical code, which contains a list of 'guiding values' that include: tolerance, human dignity, lawfulness, professionalism, wisdom, determinacy, setting a personal example, courage, 'pure' use of weapons<sup>8</sup>, the value of human life, comradeship and heritage. The State of Israel's 'founding values', which are traced to

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<sup>8</sup> This is an Israeli expression from the field of military ethics, coined by Assa Kasher in his 'Spirit of the IDF' ethical code. It refers to an ideal of only using one's weapon when absolutely necessary.

the Israeli Declaration of Independence and its Foundation Laws<sup>9</sup> are also a source for this tool kit.

Aside from these 'grand values', the intervention focuses on two additional attitudes that are possible active ingredients. First is the ideal of identifying with the obligation to carry out the task. In a conflict-torn, contested society such as Israel, there is a need to instil in officers an understanding that if the police do not carry out the policy of the acting government, there is a real possibility of chaos. This is translated into an ideal of police officers who put aside their own opinions and ideologies and carry out their jobs. By doing this, they are ensuring societal order and even the stability of the democratic regime.

The second additional attitude is pride in the organisation and in belonging to it. This relates to the negative image the organisation has in Israeli society - discussed at length in Chapter 4 - and is intended to create a positive Pygmalion effect, which will supposedly drive police officers to better, more ethical performance.

The third sub-category of content is skills. This is the least developed aspect of the intervention, and focuses specifically on one issue: discretionary decision making. Discretion has been highlighted in the theoretical police literature as the essence of policing.<sup>10</sup> Here, the skill the intervention wishes to partake to officers is ethical decision making, or the skill of including ethical parameters into the professional decision making process. This will be achieved by practising an ethical language and using the 'ethical scenario' training tool. This is a training activity in which the commander presents a scenario to his subordinates and together they pick apart the

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<sup>9</sup> The laws that replace a constitution in the Israeli system.

<sup>10</sup> See Chapter 1 for an extended discussion.

Figure 3: Organogram/Agents of Change

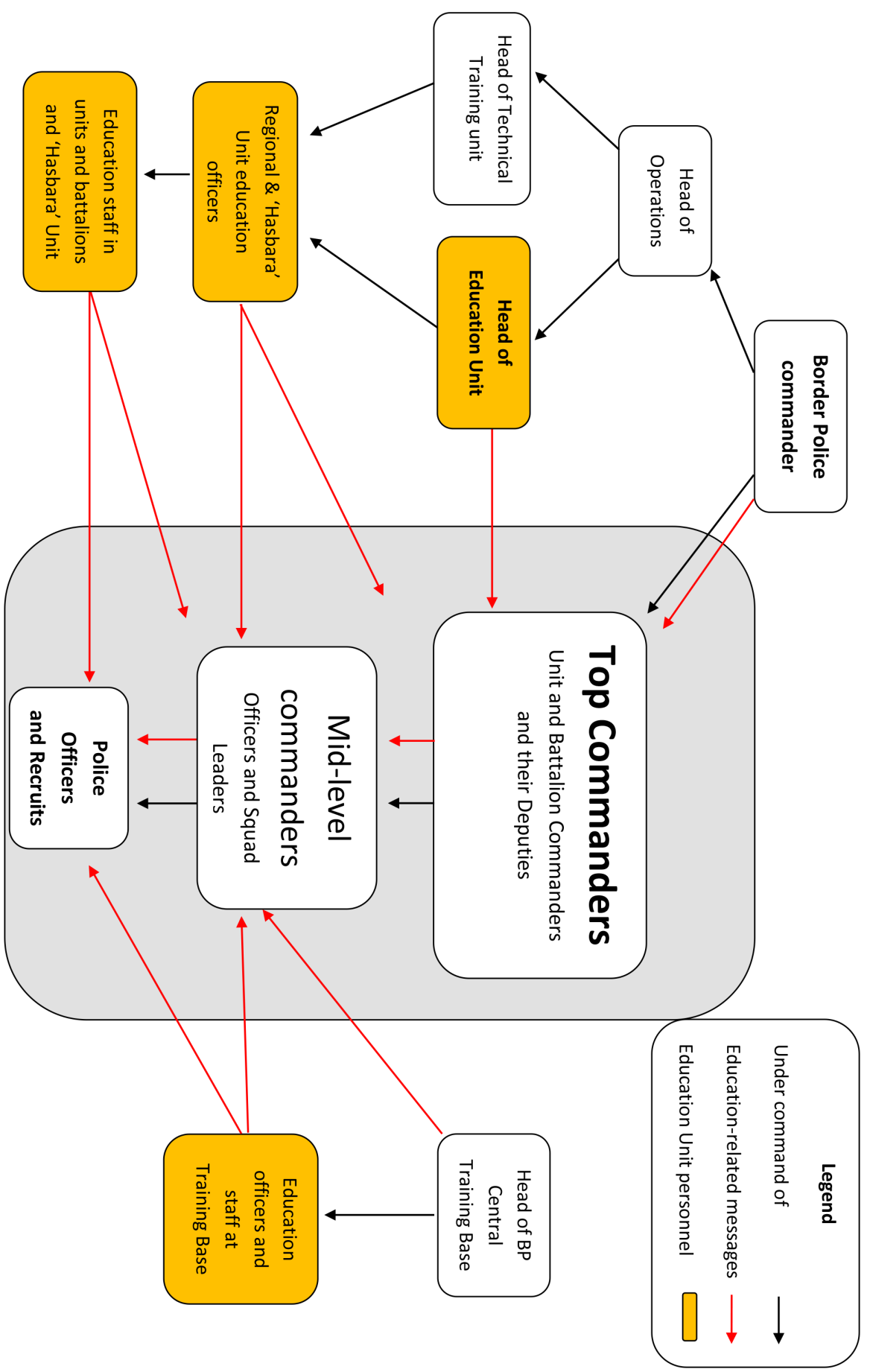
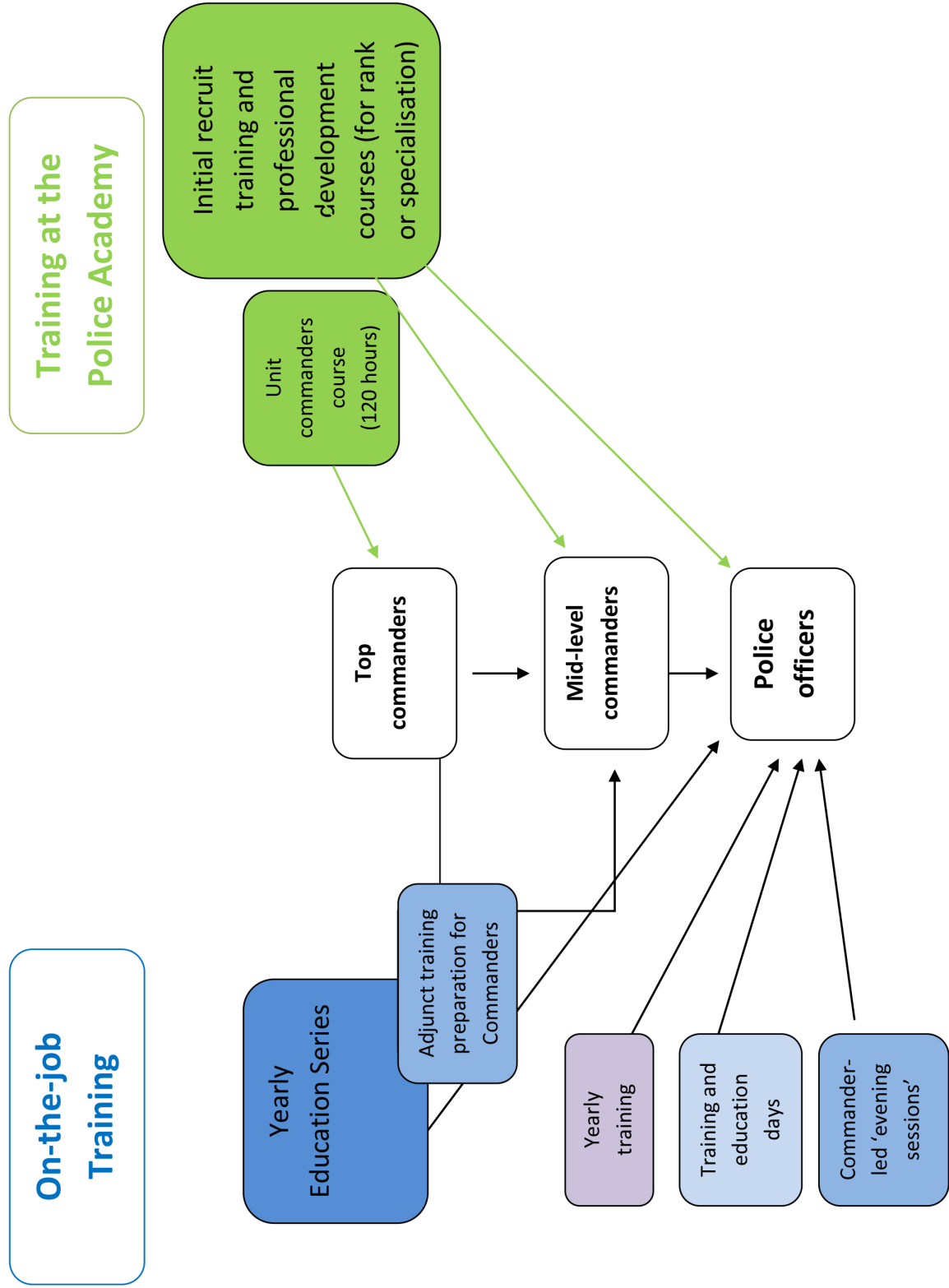


Figure 4: Organogram/Sites of Change



ethical dilemma at its base and come up with an appropriate response.

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To conclude, this stage of analysis has produced a logic model, a list of programme activities and an understanding of how they work together as a whole. The model was presented as categorical for practical reasons; separating out goals and means was judged to be most useful for the collaborative process necessary for working with the organisation, as advocated by Weiss (1995). In addition, it became evident the model was not linear. It was quite complex with several possible mechanisms combined in undefined ways to lead to several results and so a linear diagram would have been misleading. This reflects the complexity of behaviour change models.

Having described the central elements of the programme theory, including both its components and its intended outcomes, the next section will turn to examine the intervention through the narratives of those who deliver it and those who receive it.

## Section 5/ Theories of change: a harmony of voices

A central principle of the TOC approach is that the sum of theories identified regarding the intervention should be incorporated in the model produced. The main aim of this phase of the analysis was therefore to extract the 'theories of change' which arose from the qualitative interview data, incorporating them into the programme theory or modifying it if necessary. Detecting points of congruence or non-congruence allows for the identification of possible problems both with the model itself and with its implementation on the ground. There was also the aim of enriching the programme theory and gaining a better understanding of how training operates on the ground. This exploration was crucial for understanding how the intervention is hypothesised to work, moving past headings and providing insights on its holistic and dynamic nature. These two aims are aligned with the two central questions the MRC guidelines place at the heart of this stage of enquiry: 'how does the intervention work in theory?' and 'does it work in practice?'

This stage of the analysis was mostly inductive; there was an active attempt to search for evidence to support the theory, and it is presented component by component, including direct quotes which support the themes. Transcripts of the one-on-one interviews and group interviews with education unit staff, commanders and police officers were analysed; for each group, the aim was to understand how they view and experience educational training and their place within the system. Each group's data was analysed separately to give them each a separate voice and to allow the multiple theories space and weight, and were then pulled together in the writing-up process.

The result is an over-all harmonious one. The theories are all relatively well aligned

with the model and with each other. In practice this means there are no big gaps in how different stakeholders understand the intervention, a potentially serious problem of social interventions (Birckmayer & Weiss, 2000). Regarding misalignment, where either the on-the-ground theory or the experience of the intervention differ from the central programme theory in a way that demands attention, this is included. Exposing incoherence in data is an important element of rigorous qualitative work (CASP, 2001) and of Grounded Theory specifically (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Problems relating to the implementation of the model that are essential to the programme theory will be described in the last part of this section.

### **5.1 Support for the programme model: the theories held by those who deliver and receive the intervention**

Three groups of stakeholder were interviewed: Education Unit staff, including EOs and ENCOs; police officers from two different units, a battalion and a training course; and three unit commanders<sup>11</sup>. For all sub-groups, there was strong support for the model to be found in the analysis of the interview transcripts. The strongest support, as can be expected, is found in the ‘theories’ of the Education Unit, who are in close contact with the programme’s visionaries, and whose personal identity is tied to the success of the programme. The ‘theory of change’ voiced by the unit commanders is at a relatively high level of congruence with the existing programme theory of education training. There are however differences in their perception of the implementation of the model in terms of addressing their needs on the ground and the day-to-day reality.

In regards to the voice of the police officer, although all four group interviews were

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<sup>11</sup> As these commanders are relatively high ranking and their identity is not concealed, they are identified here by their first names: Kobi, Dror and Tomer.

analysed together, it is important to qualify this by saying the interview at the Officers course was conducted in the midst of a process that is supposed to help participants to take on the role of 'the educating commander', to lead educational processes and convey organisational messages. It is therefore natural to expect high congruence with the education model, especially in the field of the commander's role. A premeditated attempt was therefore made to locate the complexity in statements that would attest to the existence of an internal connectedness as opposed to a facade only.

The interviews with the education unit personnel and the commanders included many more mentions of goals than of means, as the conversation was often policy-oriented, while the interviews with police officers related more to the intervention's means, as they discussed their every-day experiences of educational training. In addition, both education staff and commanders related to programme goals and means in a much more explicit fashion, while police officers spoke from the prism of their experiences.

***I: Superordinate goal: 'assisting the BP to carry out its tasks in the best possible fashion'***

Among the first sub-group, Education Unit members, the superordinate goal clearly comes to the fore: "I think that at the end of the day they carry out the mission in a better way... which makes the whole system cleaner" (Noam, EOs); they believe they are needed "in order to execute the mission in the best possible way" (Rotem, EOs). It is in this context that the narrative regarding the role of Education in lowering the number of violent incidents emerges (see chapter 4).

Two of the commanders identified educational activities with helping police officers to perform their duty, which is in congruence with the superordinate goal. Kobi stated that the aim was "to take a group of people and make them into professionals in

the face of the mission” (Kobi); and more explicitly: “Education is a mission-building measure” (Kobi). For the third commander this was not the case: “the goal is not to become better police officers but better citizens, and better behavioural norms will in any case mean better police officers” (Dror). This points to a disagreement as to whether the process is primarily aimed at the police officers, or at the ‘men inside the uniform’ who are ‘the citizens of tomorrow’.

For police officers interviewed, optimal execution of the organisation’s missions was a visible goal. One of the cadets referred to the education training process as seen in his seven years of service in the police: “All that is being done today, the goal is really to turn out ethical combatants, ethical human beings and better warriors” (Officers course). Another cadet also clearly spoke of the superordinate goal: “in the end it (educational activity) is supposed to give us tools to do our job better. For me, everything we talked about in the education series eventually connected to my work on the ground” (Officers course). Another officer claimed that understanding the meaning of the mission and the obligation to execute it – which he saw as a derivative of educational activity – is important “in order to carry out the mission better.” (Coral unit).

***‘Training transfer’ goals: developing the professional identity and influencing norms and behaviours***

The first set of outcomes featured clearly in the interviews of all three sub-groups. The objective of influencing norms and behaviours was raised both explicitly and in a more complex manner. One of the Education Officers (EOs) stated: “we are here to influence, to help the commander influence the behaviour of police officers,” (Sharon,

EOs). An ENCO reflected: “we are there to remind them they are guarding something bigger, and that there is a reason for the way they have to act, and there is a reason for the moderate behaviour they need to adopt” (Orly, NCOs).

The EOs pointed to the changing of norms as tied to the shifting of language or culture in the organisation: “(In the) years I have been in this system, I can at least identify a certain language that has changed, or maybe [...] became richer. Commanders know [...] even if that does not actually happen, they know they are expected to follow them [the values]” (Dafna, EOs).

#### First sub-category: instilling values

Among the education personnel, repeated statements were made as to the role and importance of instilling values and the desire to trigger a behavioural shift. At times these were thought-provoking, in a manner that made clear they were not mere slogans. For example, Noam, the Training Base Officer, defined the ENCO’s challenge as causing personnel on the ground – and consequently, police officers – to understand how “the values of the organisation are expressed in my mission, or where the values of the organisation challenge my mission”.

One ENCO described her goals in a way which highlights both the basic nature of the norms aspired to and the challenge the context poses to achieving them: “For me, for the police officer to think: ‘now I am going out there [...], if I catch the gang that stole calves, I won’t beat the hell out of them, I use the degree of force I need to, I treat them with respect. If they ask me for a glass of water because they have been under arrest for half a day and they are waiting to fill out forms, I will do it. I will bring him a glass of water, and why? Not because I like him, and not because I’m some leftie who

loves Arabs, not at all, and they wouldn't take you for one either, but because he is a human being'... that for me is education... that the police officer is doing his job right. It isn't his responsibility to realise that because he had a teambuilding activity the day before or an evening session with his command. He is not supposed to connect the two at all. The bottom line is, the moment he brings the illegal [Palestinian worker] or that calves thief a glass of water, I am happy" (Naomi, ENCO).

The category of 'influencing behaviours and norms' also emerged from the interview with the commanders, especially revolving around the subject of the abuse of powers. According to Commander Kobi, this should be the primary goal of the commander and of every educational activity in the unit: "I look at the target. When I arrived, there were 26 police investigation cases ('Machash') and 6 public complaints cases ('Yachatz')<sup>12</sup>. Today there are none... There is no abuse of power" (Kobi). In Tomer's interview, the subject of the use of moderate force also arises as one that the educational training is supposed to address. He commented on a scenario of arresting a criminal, saying: "It's hard, because after you catch him you really feel like [makes a face slap motion] and using violence, and what I work on with police officers is how not to do that." The behavioural norms cited as ones that require change differ from one commander to the next. Dror talked about normative behaviour generally; according to him, norms of integrity apply to both police officers and civilians: "As a commander [...] I try to aim for the proper behavioural norms they are expected to adhere to as citizens in the State of Israel" (Dror).

The three commanders expressed faith in the importance of the educational process – whether formal or informal - as a factor that generates a behavioural shift

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<sup>12</sup> These are two separate systems of police complaints procedures

in their subordinates: “The mere fact of the conversation with the police officers, the educational process, raising dilemmas, various simulations, it all certainly affects what they eventually think and do” (Dror). However, this wide view of ‘education’ might cloud the borders of ‘educational training’ as an intervention.

This group of objectives also found support in the four group interviews of the police officers themselves. According to one police officer, the aim of educational training is to calibrate the work of police officers so that it is congruent with the standards of the organisation: “How we need to work, what the rights are of the people we are working with, so we do not harm them, to also know to look at it from the other side [...] how the suspect is made to feel, to be considerate.” (49th Battalion). A police officer from one of the units said that the aim of educational activity is “that we know [...] how we should be working” (Barak unit). Another officer referred to ‘Education’ as a tool with which organisational norms are shaped: “Education is a very strong tool... In every unit, even if we look at the micro level, in every team, there is a different behavioural code, and no matter what, when Education, whether it is the ENCO, or during an education series, or a leadership exercise or I don’t know what – when they come and say, We are aligning with you, this is our view – then everybody aligns” (Coral unit).

Education, whether received at the home or in the organisation, is also thought of as shaping individual behavioural norms: “If your norm is to avoid beating people up, to stop after an arrest and that, and to explain that he is a human being even though he broke the law and even though he dealt you that last blow – the moment he is handcuffed or tied then according to the law, or according to the education you had been given [...], then you learn ways how to do that” (Coral unit).

## Second sub-category: widening the organisational conception of professionalism

This category deals with the expansion of the concept of professionalism; the narratives of all sub-groups supported the broad definition of professionalism and added a nuanced understanding of its significance. Ethics were discussed as an inherent aspect of professionalism by both commanders and policemen: “The more ethical you are, the more professional you are”; “If you are professional, then you are usually an ethical person”; professionalism is in essence “knowing how to apply ethics.” (Officers course); “Beyond technical professionalism there are ethics, human dignity and the protection of human life” (Kobi). The near-consensus was that a professional police officer has more than just technical knowledge; he has values, and the two are inseparable. For example: “It is not something that can be separated, it is not as if I come in to work today and say, okay, today I am going to a rally by this or that organisation, I will work [either] professionally, or I will work [in accordance with] the freedom of demonstration, you can’t separate them” (Coral unit).

This positioning of professionalism allows police officer and commanders to adopt appropriate norms without having to adopt a humanist outlook, as can be understood from the depiction of ‘less willing’ commanders by an ENCO: “So he doesn’t talk about human dignity in the tasks all day long, but he tells them, “Guys, when you beat up illegals, you are not being professional. Get it?” So he delivers his message. ” (Gili, ENCOs). The organisational message was heard: *the way* you achieve your results matters.

The delineation of professionalism was not always consistent, which pointed to a possible problem in meaningfully reaching this aim. In several of the group

interviews, officers rejected the wide definition when it came to extreme situations such as counterterrorism tasks. The idea of restraint and neutrality was muddled and thrown in to the cauldron as a central aspect of professionalism: “Being a good and professional cop, is one who doesn’t follow emotion” (Barak unit).

***Cross-organisational impact: broadening commanders’ role and strengthening units and individuals***

First sub-category: ‘the commander as an educator’

The recurrent statement made by the two commanders that ‘mental preparation’, or education, is led by the unit commander with the assistance of the Education Unit bears crucial importance. This aligns with the basic premise of the model as to the role of the commander in leading processes and shaping the character of his subordinates: “Education is something to do with the commander, and not any other professional factor. It is not the job of the NCO, it is the job of the commander” (Dror). The positioning of the Education Unit as consultants and supporters is also maintained: “By and large, she [the NCO] is the commander’s right hand as far as ethics go. She does not replace the commander... but her attention is invested in that” (Tomer); “They can come up and consult me on things, they can come and give me ideas, but the person who has to deliver and lay it down is me, not them” (Dror). Tomer’s position is the most aligned; he declares that he sees himself as “an educator”, and conditions the ability of the Education unit to succeed on the place and status a commander on the ground affords its representatives: “Education is really a part of us now, by bringing it into meetings, by giving it status, by the fact she [the NCO] can say what she wants. She has a direct connection with me, direct. It has its effect” (Tomer).

Among police officers, acknowledgment of the commander's educational role was found most clearly in the words of the Officers course cadets, as is fitting current position and experience. They stated that the skills of commanders included educational skills, and their accounts reflected that they do not see the role simplistically, and can recognize the immense difficulty of leading educational themes and instilling values: "If I do not make my police officers understand its importance, it will just come in one ear and out the other"; "To really talk to them [my subordinates] about...treating citizens, attitude, manners, respect...I really need to believe in those things [in order] to implant them...and they will then apply it in practice." The usefulness and influence of education ultimately depends on the person himself, but also on the extent to which the commander takes on the process: "[it depends] on the commander who has to keep pushing."

Among education personnel, there were repeated statements which stressed that the role of the Education Unit is to help the commander perform his duty, whether by reflecting to him the situation in his unit or by imparting tools and educational advice. ENCOs have internalized the fact they are to be 'an advisor to the commander', and that if he does not require their help, they must find their place or find alternative influence routes via other staff members, but should not lead processes independently. Both ENCOs and EOs clearly expressed that the ethical-educational theme must always come from the commander, since unlike education staff, he has the necessary authority to communicate essentially oppositional messages to his subordinates.

As to the actual realization of this outcome, on one level a perspective of meaningful progress was described, while on another, a sober view of the time allocation and

capabilities that are not always ideal were described. Positive change is tied to the professional development undergone by the commanders themselves on the one hand, especially the 'new generation' of company commanders, and to the increasing professional relevance of education staff on the other: "I believe, based on most places I've been to, that commanders know education has something to offer... in order to give them the tools to become better commanders" (Noam, EOs); "As an education NCO four years ago, when I had to negotiate with a Company Commander or other commanders on how they had to deliver content in education series...who even considered it? [...] It was like World War II just to tell them [commanders] 'be there and give your summary or position'. And today, most of them want to, they realise it is their job and they want to be involved and influence the content too and choose the things that are close to their hearts, and that is a huge achievement" (Sharon, EOs). Education staff also tied this shift to less organisational acceptance of unethical behaviour, which commanders would be held responsible for.

#### Second sub-category: 'empowering units and individuals'

The sub-category: 'Empowering units and individuals' was mentioned several times in the interviews of the Education Unit staff, mainly in relation to increasing police officers' motivation but also to the tool of reflecting dynamics issues inside the unit to its commanders: "To put the wind back in their sails...to connect them to a calling beyond the here and now" (Sharon, EOs); "The fact we are ostensibly forcing that situation [group dynamics sessions] to happen causes the commander in many cases...to value his role or appreciate himself better" (Dafna, EOs).

Police officers themselves also described the ability of educational activities to fortify

them and their units. A cadet who in the past led a squad of new recruits referred to the education sessions that increased motivation: “It is like fuel for the person.” (Officers course). An officer in mandatory service hypothesised that educational training is intended to give officers “a sense of meaning” in the job (49th Battalion). Officers also spoke of the motivation that comes with educating to certain ideals: “They want to awaken that emotion in you, but it exists in you. It is like lighting the spark. BP reminds you all the time...it gives you the meaning, the value, the ideals are what makes it [the job] easier for you” (Barak unit).

Police officers addressed the importance of ‘Outdoor’ teambuilding activities<sup>13</sup>, which aim to increase mutual respect between unit members and through this to raise their level of professionalism. A policewoman referred to the empowering force inherent in educational activity: “In your daily routine you do these things but actually forget the reasons beyond it. Your mission is just this or that, and when you go on an education series then you understand, you see the bigger picture” (49th Battalion).

#### ***Additional goals: redundant or overlooked?***

The interviews with the police officers and the commanders exposed two perceived goals of educational training which are not part of the formal programme model. Both commanders and officers from the ‘Coral’ unit stated that improving the image of the BP is a reason to invest in educational training. Officers in the 49th Battalion stated ‘taking a break from the difficult routine’ and ‘a breather’ as goals of education training. It is unclear if these should be considered part of the intervention, or as a

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<sup>13</sup> ‘Outdoor’ is type of group dynamics methodology which makes use of physical outdoor activities as a base for discussion.

type of 'side-effect'.<sup>14</sup>

## ***II. Organisational means***

The model includes four categories of *organisational means*, referring to the structural components through which the goals will be achieved. These include: operational strategies, educational mechanisms and instruments, agents of change and sites of change. The different components separately and together are theorised to create a change in structures that can lead to desired outcomes at both the organisational and individual level. Throughout the interviews, it was possible to identify at least one mention of every type of organisational mean. Below are some examples in which participants not only mentioned the existence of the category – thereby supporting its inclusion in the model – but went more in-depth in their discussion of it, contributing to a richer understanding of the intervention.

### **Sub-category: 'Agents of change'**

One of the organisational means discussed most explicitly by the education staff is their role as change agents. According to NCOs, their significance to the commander stems from their ability to reflect back to him things he cannot otherwise know, such as things that police officers are thinking or doing, as well as their ability to create educational programmes that the commander has no time or skills for. Their positioning in the field and their job of reflecting and analysing the ethical climate are recognized as the mechanisms through which they become meaningful: "And if we spend more time on the ground, be more and more connected, not only to police officers, to the Border Police mind-set, to the place we enter...to that territory

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<sup>14</sup> This matter was presented to the education unit leaders as part of the evaluation process.

policed by the BP, the solutions we provide will be much better” (Orli, NCOs). This demonstrates how the components ‘agents of change’ and ‘sites of change’ are interconnected and magnify one another.

#### Sub-category: ‘Operational strategies’

The operational strategy of ‘task-related education’ came up several times in the interviews with education staff using the official terminology, but also among police officers, demonstrating how important it is to them that the content is relevant for their jobs: “You need to make a connection, that before every mission you go on you will have to touch on it, on the specific [educational] training the officer needs to undergo, not something general” (Barak Unit).

The operational strategy of ‘unified messages’ to make policy and norms clearer was discussed by the ‘Coral’ unit: “So instead of the population [the manpower in the BP] aligning itself with the organisation, the organisation aligned itself with the population [in the past tense]. You used force, you used unnecessary force, they would go *nu nu nu*<sup>15</sup> [wags his finger] and with the other hand would pat you on the shoulder, good job, you made the arrest... they were conveying something a bit unclear, and the education came in to say, ok, this is the line we are going with, this is what we want, everyone needs to align”. This speaks directly to the problem of double messages prevalent in police organisations.

#### Sub-category: ‘Educational mechanisms’

An educational mechanism which refers to the analysis of the ‘ethical climate’ in the unit in order to identify needs and potential problems is mentioned by an Education

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<sup>15</sup> How you would tell-off a small child in Hebrew

Unit staff member, which helps clarify its purpose and importance: “When you see a gap between what is supposed to happen, what is expected...in relation to those values the corps chose as its operational compass...[you measure] the alignment of their activity with those values” (Sharon, EOs).

### ***III. Means: Content***

The other type of means, or components of the intervention, relate to the content of the training courses themselves; what is actually delivered to police officers when they take part in a training activity. The use of three different sub-categories of content, as detailed in the model, and their specific relevance, are clearly evident in the analysis of the different interviews.

#### **Content: Knowledge**

The sub-category content ‘knowledge’, in the cognitive means category, was discussed at length by all groups. Among the commanders, examples were given that relate directly to the tasks and corroborate the model. Kobi, whose unit policed holy sites in Jerusalem, emphasised the importance of acquiring ‘task-related knowledge’ and stated that it is important and even necessary to understand the need to maintain the freedom of worship in order to successfully oversee the Temple Mount.<sup>16</sup> Commanders Tomer and Dror stressed the need to explain and illuminate police norms in a democratic state, thereby directly referring to the knowledge domain of ‘the role of police in a democratic society’: the training “tries to teach them that a policeman serves the public and is not its master” (Dror).

Police officers discussed knowledge components at length: in all the interviews,

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<sup>16</sup> This is one of the central tasks his unit is charged with

there was mention of knowledge that may be defined as 'task related' (or 'mission-enveloping') and of its importance. It is interesting to note the subtleties in these comments, as well as the areas police officers have grouped under this category.

Knowledge regarding populations that officers come into contact with was defined as valuable. Knowledge regarding the Arab population of Israel was recognized as especially important to mission execution, since "[the police officer] usually tends to look at them as criminals, tends to appropriate them with some negative view, and [the instructor] somehow also gave us another point of view from the other side."

This knowledge will allow the commander to lead his police officers: "He will know to treat the incident itself, without creating social or violent conflicts, and also reach the objective of that activity." (Officers course). A police officer in Barak included knowledge on the LGBT population; he mentioned a lecture in which police officers spoke to a transsexual person which was especially relevant to their deployment at Gay Pride parades: "He gave us a lecture where a kind of empathy opened up, as if something was being seen in a different light, and I think it contributed a lot to police officers who were new at the time, because ...a day or two after that we had the parade and you could see it on the ground, that it really did help, that people were more tolerant." (Barak unit). Even though this was 'only' knowledge, in the police officer's eyes it helps to create empathy and instil values such as respect and tolerance of the other, and even changes behaviour on the ground.

Knowledge of the Role of Police in a Democracy was also discussed as significant by police officers, for example the issue of individual rights as part of the democratic way of life. Deepening knowledge about the principles of democratic society was afforded

great importance: “In matters of democracy, of all things...] especially in our unit that deals a lot with public order [...] to raise the issues of democracy and how it ties to our working methods as police officers, I actually think it is professional knowledge [...] important to have.” (Coral unit).

However, not all knowledge fields mentioned by police officers, commanders and education staff fell within the category of ‘task-related knowledge’: The ENCOs easily drifted to talk about more basic knowledge such as Israeli holidays or geographical knowledge, which are meant to help the police officers to “be a human being on the ground”. One of the commanders specifically mentioned Women’s Day, smoking prevention and Earth Day, which are all ‘classic’ subjects of military education in Israel that were rejected by the BP’s education unit and explicitly excluded from the curriculum, yet he mentions them in a positive light. It is important to examine whether this is a contradiction in the ‘theory’ or a misappropriation of resources. One hypothesis is that these subjects are in fact delivered and are conveyed successfully and with greater expertise than more complex topics, and are therefore remembered in a positive light. Another possibility is that they are less threatening in terms of the police officers’ willingness to be exposed to them.

### Content: Values

In terms of the ‘attitudes’ sub-category of the content category, police officers in the different group interviews understood education as a way for the organisation to socialise its manpower towards the organisational standards: “to point us a bit to the direction they want” (Barak unit); “They talk with us about ideals, but in the end it’s our code of behaviour” (Coral unit). These narratives indicate an understanding

that values are a means and not an end. Values are seen as a necessary component of the training process, which are needed for job performance: "Of course it has to be done... just like you go to the shooting range, you also need to learn a lesson about democracy and values, and let it seep into your soul." (Coral unit). Among the ideals mentioned were: human dignity and freedom (Coral unit), acceptance of diversity, tolerance, striving for excellence, democracy (Barak unit) and the right to protest (49th Battalion).

Particularly, the focus on values in educational training was understood as necessary to ensure police officers would not abuse their power, especially when working with disadvantaged groups. One of the participants discussed the advantage of using values as tools in the training process: "You can tell the person to do something because you are the commander and you said so, and he will do what I said cause I am in charge, or you can come and explain to him about the ideals that guide his work and then he will carry out his job in the best way he can" (Officers course).

The component 'the obligation of carrying out the task as an idea' was discussed by officers as an essential guiding principle: "Whether if in a demonstration of the Right Wing that we identify with their messages or in the Pride parade...we might have an opinion...but we do what we have to do" (Barak unit). "It's not easy, but you understand the legal ramifications, and the meaning of a 'state of law' and if we want to remain a democratic country and a state of law, even if it is unpleasant for me as an individual officer, I perform". (Coral Unit).

Commanders also discussed 'values as tools' at length. In commanders' eyes, knowledge and attitudes are inseparable. For example, a deeper understanding of

the motives of illegal immigrants or of the refugee problem will help police officers to understand the situation and will “give them that humanity” (Dror). Commanders also discussed ‘the obligation of carrying out the task’ as an ideal: “I put my mask on and I am following my mission, [despite being faced with anything] from spitting to Molotov cocktails. I am here and this is how it is” (Kobi); “To serve a population and defend it even if it is not a population whose existence I support” (Dror).

### Content: Skills

Understanding what police officers and commanders think they gain ‘practically’ from education training is valuable, although of course it does not mean this process is effective. Discretion was the focal issue of the discussion; considering that this is a central concept in policing literature, the narratives provide illuminating insights. Improved discretion is a mid-level outcome of the intervention: given the skill-set of ‘ethical parameters’ police officers’ decision-making is theorised to be affected.

Commanders placed discretion at the heart of the educational process; ethically informed discretion in decision-making is a useful necessary proficiency that can lead to the changing of norms: “Preparation is both mental and professional. I can learn to shoot a gun 100%, but when do I shoot and at whom? Beyond technical professionalism there are ethics, human dignity, and the protection of human life. Whatever he does, he should first examine all the consequences” (Kobi); “If I start by giving him a personal example that says, yes, this is good decision-making, and yes, you can do it differently, and not everybody is a stone-thrower [refers to policing demonstrations of Palestinians], then we can reach something that is not black and white.” (Tomer).

Police officers also discussed discretion as a product of training. The cadets noted the significance of educational activities for making better decisions on the ground: “The fact that we have these lessons and we go through mental preparation and we talk about it and we raise all kind of situations about how to deal and what to do, no matter what the person in front of you is doing, your advantage is really keeping your restraint in front of this person, so how do you do this?” (Officers course). An officer from ‘Coral’, the special national unit for policing public order events, specifically spoke of the need to interweave ones’ conception of the right to protest in the decision making process when policing a demonstration. This was discussed in relation to an educational training programme on policing in a democracy.

One officer stated that education is practical or useful, in the sense that he can make use of it ‘on the ground’: “This is what I go out to the field with... the values, they sharpen...what is happening...so which value do I prioritise now” (Barak unit). This description helps frame the significance of making decisions on the ground that are guided by values, and the place of education training in examining this issue in a lab-like setting. Another officer stated: “Before a critical and sensitive mission, it is very important. One in which you are not properly fighting [mass riots], ones that are a bit more complex emotionally, something with decision making. Then it is really worth to undergo [some training]” (Coral unit).

Contrary to this approach is the one voiced by police officers in the 49th Battalion, all of whom are in conscription and therefor relatively new to their jobs, who doubted the ability to practice decision making; this is a classic ‘police sub-culture’ attitude that can be found throughout policing literature (for one example see Sklansky’s

(2008) discussion). They perceive the use of simulations, the central tool currently in use for skills development in the Education Unit, as ineffective: “It cannot help since every day there is the story of that day... it’s about making the decision while carrying out the task that day, that minute, you cannot know”; and more directly: “these performances are just bullshit”. It is important to pay attention to this point of view and understand whether it represents the experience of the majority of conscripted police officers and why.

The stakeholders’ analysis of how training effects officers’ performance helps demonstrate the difficulty of separating between knowledge, attitudes and skills. For example, one officer spoke of the skills and understanding regarding engaging with citizens he gained through the immersion in knowledge and values related to democracy: “It is a more refined explanation of the power you wield and what you do with it”.

The programme model’s different components are affirmed by the qualitative narratives derived from the interview data using the Grounded Theory methodology. The ‘Theories of Change’ analysis presents a harmonious depiction of the intervention, with no un-breach-able gaps in the theories different stakeholders have regarding intended outcomes of the training and its main ingredients, and no obvious breaches in the links of the programme logic chain. It also provides insights and context regarding how the intervention works in practice. This provides a solid foundation on which to continue and build a programme theory.

## **5.2 Implementation issues that point to possible barriers to successful training**

Interviewees in all three sub-groups discussed problems with educational training,

as they were asked to do as part of the group interviews; some problems surfaced related to the area of implementation of the intervention. Implementation is central to the efficacy and success of any intervention, and often cannot be separated from the intervention itself (Mihalic, 2004). In assessing the quality of implementation, four central aspects were considered: adherence, exposure, quality of delivery and participant responsiveness (Dane & Schneider, 1998, in Mihalic, 2002).

The central issues identified relate to a lack of adherence in two core components: the collaborative work of commanders and Education Unit staff, and commanders' intervention delivery skills, which are probably related to a reduced quality of delivery of the intervention and reduced participant responsiveness. The appropriateness of manualisation was also discussed, which is related to the 'exposure' aspect. An extensive discussion of these four issues is available in appendix 5-E.

Systematic failure in the execution of key elements of the intervention should lead to a revision of the programme theory, or to an examination of the actual ability to 'connect the dots' in the process of change that the intervention attempts to create. These implementation problems should be taken into consideration in assessing the programme theory. It is important to note that the issues raised touch mostly on aspects of the implementation highlighted in the interviews in answer to the question of problems of the intervention, and are not the result of a systematic process evaluation. These issues were the base for the design of an implementation matrix, which was used as part of the evaluation phase of the research.

## Section 6/ The Programme Theory

### 6.1 Explicating theoretical components in the programme theory: a methodological overview

Section 5 focused on the corroboration and fleshing out of the skeletal ‘programme model’ constructed on the base of the policy documents and elite interviews unearthed in section 4. After the assumptions at the heart of the ‘theory of change’ have been made explicit and illuminated through stakeholder narratives, the next step required by the MRC framework is moving past the ‘logic model’ of the intervention to the explication of a ‘programme theory’. While the first stage relied on empirical data to create a list of programme activities and an understanding of how they work together as a whole, the second stage, described in Sections 6 and 7, is mostly analytical.

This section turned to the ‘problem theory’ mapped in the previous chapter (p. 188) to assess the potential of the intervention to address the risks it identified, or in other words its efficacy potential. The main aim of this phase is to identify the *active ingredients* at work, and thus progress from a model to a theory; this is the soul of the intervention. This strategy draws on Astbury & Leeuw’s account:

*“Program logic is often used to identify and describe the way in which a program fits together, usually in a simple sequence of inputs, activities, outputs, and outcomes. Program theory goes a step further and attempts to build an explanatory account of how the program works, with whom, and under what circumstances. Thus, program theory might be seen as an elaborated program logic model, where the emphasis is on causal explanation using the idea of “mechanisms” that are at work.” (Astbury & Leeuw, 2010, pg 4).*

As a first step, central theoretical components were delineated; these *active ingredients* are those which distinguish the intervention (Fleury & Sidani, 2012). Identifying them

allows to specify the critical aspects of an intervention package: the components of the intervention that are necessary, sufficient and optimal to produce change in desired outcomes. This might be a combination of unique and un-unique components. Effectiveness can be framed as dependant on mechanism identification: “Programs work (have successful “outcomes”) only in so far as they introduce appropriate ideas and opportunities (“mechanisms”) to groups in the appropriate social and cultural conditions” (Pawson & Tilley, 1997 in Astbury & Leeuw, 2010, pg. 5).

In order to identify the *active ingredients* two sources were used: the literature reviews carried out before the beginning of field work, and the insights provided by participants as to the underlying mechanisms of the intervention. This process, which adheres to the ideal of realist philosophy, involving ‘reshuffling’ between inductive and deductive reasoning, is recommended by Astbury & Leeuw (2010) for the explication of intervention mechanisms. From a methodological perspective, mechanisms attempt to explain how variables are related: “Mechanisms are underlying entities, processes, or structures which operate in particular contexts to generate outcomes of interest” (Astbury & Leeuw, 2010, pg. 7).

## **6.2 Potential for effective components of the educational training intervention**

The analysis now progressed to identifying the ‘active ingredients’. The theoretical components of the programme theory were teased out and discussed, expressing how different parts of the model may work together to achieve the intended results. These substantive components were examined in relation to existing evidence. At this point in time for police training such mapping of theoretical components is a necessary phase to allow to advance in the hierarchy of evidence (Greenhalgh, 2006).

This is a necessary step of behaviour-change research; for this field, existing psych-social theories can serve as building blocks, and future experimental research can confirm if together they form a sturdy structure on which to build policies.

Michie & Abraham (2004) highlight the importance of relying on evidence-based theories in this type of evaluation: "Evaluating the effectiveness of theory-based behaviour change techniques separately and in combination with appropriate measures of predicted mediators will require a major investment in behaviour change research over decades. Yet, without this research, intervention design will remain an art rather than a science, with designers choosing from a variety of partially supported theories, using different theories to justify the same technique and developing different techniques to implement the same theory." (Michie & Abraham, 2004). In order to hone in on what the possible active ingredients of the intervention might be, Lipsey (1993) suggests the use of a mechanism repository for each field of social interventions. In this case the repository drawn on was from the field of social psychology and specifically learning theory.

Mapping the programme theory to the risk model allowed to identify the possible 'active ingredients' at work. The map of risks was therefore examined with the programme theory in mind. Following Craig et al.'s (2008) framing, the question that led this stage of the inquiry was: how might the components of this complex intervention have the potential to disrupt trajectories of risk? As training cannot be expected to intervene either in recruitment processes or macro societal trends, the focus was on changes at the level of individual cognitions, the unit and organisation.

It became apparent that the two types of risks at the organisational level corresponded

to the two central outcome categories of the BP's educational training programme: organisational dissonance of messages and actions is addressed through the aim of organisational change, and the failure of training to socialise is addressed through *training transfer* goals. It should be noted that throughout this process, it was difficult to examine discrete elements of the programme theory, due to its dynamic nature, in which several elements interact with others to create synergetic effects.

### ***The potential for achieving the 'Training Transfer' set of goals***

At the level of the individual, the training programme acknowledges the need to provide resources, empowerment and bolstering of the individuals serving in the units and the interactions within the units. The whole category of cognitive means is directed at this issue. The different content elements included in training are chosen due to the belief they are needed for the individual to function well at his job.

The BP's programme theory provides two strong pillars that may contribute to its effectiveness. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the literature on behaviour change mechanisms identifies two possible constructs: a change of attitudes and beliefs and a change in knowledge, skills and abilities, but provides no conclusive findings of their efficacy. First, since neither of the mechanisms: have been shown to be superior, there is logic in using both of them: the BP's training programme uses both knowledge and skills components and attitudinal components. Within the 'skills' components, the focus of the training on, 'ethical decision making' is an innovative construct, as it does not focus on a technical task and takes into account the inherent discretionary space in the police officer's role.

Second, and more importantly, there is no attempt to change attitudes that are in the 'personal' realm, i.e. focus on making officers less prejudiced or more liberal, but rather a focus on a 'professional' set of attitudes, similar to the ones Mastrofski et al. (1995) demonstrated could change. Most important of these is the concept of neutrality, as explicated in the 'ideal to carry out the task', disregarding one's personal stance, which is one of the core attitudes BP training aims to embed. This seems like a more realistic goal than changing core attitudes, and well aligned with the evidence. It is in a sense a 'bypass' solution, which allows officers to act in a way compatible with democratic norms even in Israel's conflict-prone society.

Within the risk area 'failure of training to socialize', the BP's training intervention offers several components which might be effective, which counter the four elements identified as risks. The idea of 'training transfer' as a characteristic of training, enabling the use of what has been learned in the workplace, is at the heart of this issue.

Just as policing literature highlighted the problematic disconnect between the 'real world' and the 'training world', professional training literature from the fields of medicine and teacher education highlighted the benefits of connecting training to the work sites. The promising strategies are 'practice enabling strategies' or 'reinforcing methods', which point to the importance of tying training to everyday practice (Davis, Thomson, Oxman, & Haynes, 1995). The interweaving of practice and training was also found to be beneficial in teacher training (Brouwer & Korthagen, 2005).

There are several aspects of the BP's intervention which work together to connect the field with the training sites. First, the positioning of the commanders as the deliverers of all educational training means there are no police academy facilitators for whom

this is their only role, except for several specializations at higher level courses (for example the public disorder unit). All of the major courses in the training base – from recruit training and all the different command courses (squad commanders, officers etc.) are led by police commanders who are ‘on loan’ to the academy for a limited time. The result is there is no separation at the personnel level, and training facilitators do not have a different ethos than field commanders - the problem discussed, for example, by Chan and her colleagues (2003).

Second, the positioning of education staff members both in the training bases and in the field units (evident in the ‘agents of change’ organogram), helps bridge a possible disconnect which might arise, with field personnel ‘feeding in’ information regarding the germane issues effecting police officers in their day-to-day and working together with the training base officers to develop appropriate training.

Third, the drive to conceptualise ethics as part of professionalism has the potential to lessen the discord, described as a common experience of officers, between messages they hear in the training academy and messages they hear in the field. This conscious decision serves as a bolster to the two strategies described above.

A related issue is that of using opinion leaders to engage and increase acceptance of messages, a strategy identified as beneficial in the review of ongoing medical training (Davis et al., 1995); The presence of an ‘opinion leader’ was identified as creating an environment conducive to the adoption of innovations. The positioning of commanders at the forefront of educational training (‘the commander as educator’ principle) specifically addresses this recommendation, increasing the likelihood of training to succeed.

The problem of training decay, highlighted in policing literature but also in other professional training research (Davis et al., 1999), can be addressed successfully using a variety of reminder techniques. In the BP model, the emphasis placed on on-going training, or 'on-the-job training', has the potential to provide an appropriate remedy. All police officers in the BP undergo a week-long training course each year, the topic of which is chosen after careful analysis of the topical needs and ethical dilemmas facing BP officers<sup>17</sup>. In addition, there is a full day of on-the-job training every month (or 3 days once every quarter of a year), to ensure important topics are 'rehearsed' and given space to be explored and debated.

In addition, the use of the 'holistic continuum' strategy means training messages are 'repeated': there is an attempt to ensure officers are exposed to topics and ideas not once, and not in one context, but again and again in the different training contexts, and also in increasing complexity as they advance in the command structure. This also has the potential to provide 'resilience' to training messages.

The fourth strength of this programme theory lies in the education tools it uses, which fall under the category of participatory methodologies. A review of physician training, which focused more specifically on comparing traditional CME activities to newer ones showed that didactic approaches do not appear effective in changing physician performance, but some evidence points to the usefulness of interactive approaches, consistent with Adult Learning Theory Interventions which used interactive techniques - case discussion, role play, hands on practice session - were more effective. This positions the BP's intervention as having potential effectiveness

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<sup>17</sup> This strategy will be discussed further in the next chapter, which describes the design of the model training intervention based on the BP model.

in training transfer goals.

One potential tool for facilitating behaviour change that is not addressed in the BP's training model is the focusing of training on specific tasks; this is possibly a major shortcoming. Tu & Davis (2002) highlight the issue of the complexity of the behaviour change attempted: one-step simple condition management yielded positive results more easily compared to more complex patterns, which resulted in mixed or negative results. The authors deduced that comprehensive interventions will have less chance of success than those that target a focused outcome or change. They therefore make a recommendation to break tasks up into small endpoints, and direct interventions at each component. The BP's educational training, which is often concerned with ethos-level issues of 'the good society', may bar police officers chances of using training practically in the field. There was an attempt to address this shortcoming in the model training intervention designed as part of the evaluation phase of this research.

### ***The potential for achieving the 'Organisational Impact' set of goals***

Within the risk area of organisational dissonance, a possible antidote is the presence of a 'coupling effect', an organisational strategy hypothesised to be a condition for successful training (Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996). The need to harmonize training with other organisational strategies as opposed to the creation of organisational misalignment is addressed in the BP's programme theory.

First and most significant is the positioning of the education unit not as part of the human resources structure but as part of the operational headquarters (see Chapter 4), a unique organisational decision which serves as the structural condition enabling

the alignment of training with other organisational strategies, ensuring it can work to exponentially increase the benefit of operational strategies in use, rather than being neutralised by them.

Great weight is given to ensuring that training is task-focused. This strategy has the potential to connect training to the field, since officers can relate to the content and feel committed to it as it addresses the problems and dilemmas they face. Joint meetings between operational commanders and training unit officers as part of the routine of the organisation ensure this unity. There is also a conscious effort to ensure that there is no dissonance between organisational messages and practices (see 'operational strategies' category) out of an understanding police officers require this clarity.

## Summary

To conclude this explication, it should be clarified the analysis does not attempt to suggest this programme theory is the only 'good practice' model of police training for achieving results, but points to its potential in the face of the risks map identified. In addition, the potential to disrupt the risk paths is also a product of implementation, and as the qualitative analysis demonstrated, there are many implementation problems which cannot be isolated from the theory as they might point to unsolvable issues inherent either to police organisations generally or to the BP alone. This serves as a reminder that training cannot be seen in terms of content only, but how this content interacts with organisational conditions to produce results.

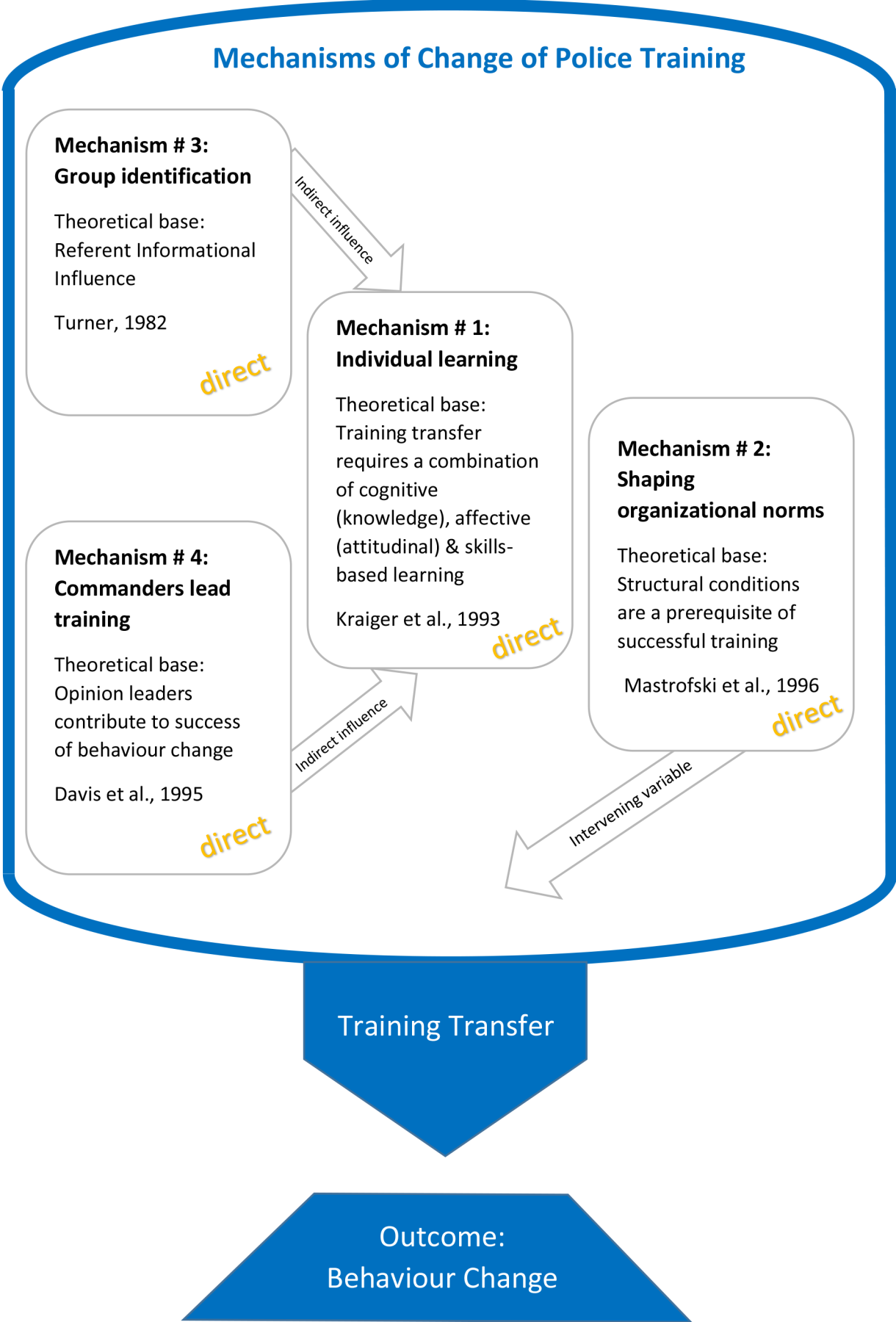
## Section 7/ Crystallising the mechanisms of change: a compact training theory

The final step of the analysis attempts to produce a compact programme theory by highlighting its central underlying mechanisms, in line with the scientific aspiration for parsimony (Zellner, Keuzenkamp, & McAleer, 2002). Mechanisms attempt to explain how variables are related: “Mechanisms are underlying entities, processes, or structures which operate in particular contexts to generate outcomes of interest” (Astbury & Leeuw, 2010, p. 7). As such, they are the underlying generators of change and can be understood as the ‘building blocks’ of programme theories. Working with mechanisms makes for more sharper, more focused evaluations: “It places the evaluator in a position to start focusing the evaluation design by identifying questions and data collection methods to “test” the way in which the theory works (or fails to work) in practice” (pg. 12).

Figure 5 serves to illuminate the hypothesised mechanisms of change, based on a repository of behaviour change mechanisms. This diagram presents a macro view of the BP’s training intervention, drawing only on high-level theoretical models. This model propelled the design of the evaluation research presented in the following chapters, and is suggested as a base for future research on police training in other settings as well.

As can be seen, the theoretical model of police training has four central mechanisms which together are hypothesised to contribute to ‘training transfer’; this, in turn is hypothesised to translate to a change in police behaviours. All mechanisms are based on the combination of several active ingredients and two of them work to actively reinforce the central mechanism of training, thus, there is an indirect route of effect

Figure 5: A Theoretical model of Police Training Interventions



as well as a direct one.

The first mechanism is individual learning, which the police officer accomplishes. This mechanism builds on learning theories which describe how learning occurs in the individual. It is based primarily on Kraiger et al.'s (1993) learning theory, described in Chapter 2 (p. 72), which claims learning is achieved through a combination of cognitive outcomes, skill-based outcomes and affective outcomes. This theory draws on several approaches which have received empirical support of varying robustness: Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives (1956), Kirkpatrick's evaluation typology (1976) and Gagne's (1984) learning categories. These approaches have greatly influenced occupational training and police training specifically, as described in Chapter 2.

This mechanism is the least specific in this model, as it pertains to the more general function of learning. It is necessary to infuse this area of training with evidence-led techniques, as this could make the difference between effective and non-effective interventions. One example which helps highlight the importance of an evidence-led learning aid is the Lewin/Kolb experiential learning cycle, a training delivery methodology from the Adult Education arsenal. The technique principally includes a cognitive formulation of the 'problem' and its primary purpose is to obtain new information which may help to test validity of existing beliefs, and to construct more adaptive ones; this can be either experimental (the participant 'tries it out' in the field) or purely observational (the participant uses her imagination to experience, observe and reflect on the process). Its effectiveness to facilitate learning, which can be 'transferred' into the participant's reality, i.e. change attitudes and behaviours, has been demonstrated when used as part of cognitive behavioural treatment packages, as 'behavioural experiments' (Bennett-Levy et al., 2004).

The second mechanism is the shaping of organisational norms. This mechanism is based on the empirical work carried out by Mastrofski and his colleagues (for example Mastrofski et al. 1996), which demonstrates that structural conditions are a prerequisite for successful training intervention. This is hypothesized as serving as an intervening variable in the model, barring or enhancing the effects of individual learning.

The third mechanism is group identification, which relies on the social psychology principle of referent informational influence (Turner, 1991). This is a prominent theory which describes how group membership and social identity influence the acceptance of information and norms; it has received wide empirical support, though the exact process and paths are under debate. In this context it is crucial: training in the BP occurs in organic units and by the organic command structure. This could raise the probability information imparted in training is accepted by participants, and also enhance the ability of this information to translate into norms. The mechanism of delivery thus can contribute to the success of the central mechanism of individual learning, for instance through the motivation component. As the unit returns to the field there is a greater chance for training transfer to occur as new behaviours are accepted and attempted by an entire group rather than an individual. These behaviours can be incorporated into daily work, under supervision of the commander.

The fourth mechanism is the identity of the intervention leaders: the commanders are those that lead the training and convey its messages. Support for this mechanism is found in a systematic review of medical training literature, which identifies improved effectiveness for interventions led by opinion leaders (Davis et al., 1995). While these

are different contexts, it seems that this issue would be magnified in police training, since one of the problems identified as leading to failure is lack of influence of police academy trainers (Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003).

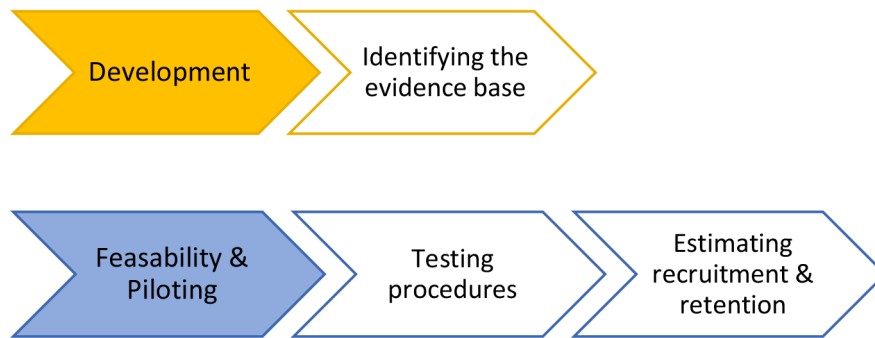
It is evident from this portrayal of the mechanisms that they correspond to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of development, attempting to intervene in the process of behaviour formation at different levels, from the individual outwards to the organisation. Based on this theoretical model, an exemplary training intervention was designed which follows the principles of the theory and contains its active ingredients. The design of this training course will be presented in Chapter 6, and its evaluation in Chapter 7.

To conclude, this chapter made the arduous journey from data to knowledge. By crystallising raw data into hypothetical mechanisms, it was possible to then attempt to experimentally evaluate the value of this programme theory and judge its efficacy. This was a necessary step in the construction of an evidence-base of police training. Because the mechanisms are based on general social psychology principles, the intervention has the potential to be generalized and trialed in other contexts as well; the necessary adaptations could be determined by reflecting on the relevance of the problem theory and active ingredients to any given police organisation.



## Chapter 6/

### Developing and piloting the training intervention: a participatory process using a consensus building method



*This chapter describes the ‘feasibility and piloting’ stage of the research project. This phase of the research was concerned with two central tasks: First, developing a training manual based on the findings of the development phase of the research and on a systematic review of the evidence; and second, piloting it ahead of its experimental evaluation, to ensure its feasibility and acceptability. An annotated version of the manual is included in this chapter, highlighting the links to the programme theory and to the wider evidence base.*

## Chapter Overview

This chapter describes the development and piloting of a training intervention in the Border Police. User involvement is recommended at all stages of developing complex intervention, as it is 'likely to result in better, more relevant science and a higher chance of producing implementable data' (Craig et al., 2008, p. 15). This part of the research project in particular made use of a participatory, collaborative approach, which may be particularly important for bridging the divide between police organisation and academia, and advancing evidence-based practice (Beal & Kerlikowske, 2010). This issue will be expanded on in Chapter 9, which discusses the *knowledge translation* elements of this research.

Choosing a participatory approach for this stage was hypothesised to contribute to acceptability in several ways: 1) The intervention would 'speak the same language' as other 'usual' training courses, which will increase the likelihood that police officers will both 'understand' what is being said and be willing to listen to it. 2) It will increase the buy-in of top command in the intervention, which will be seen as less external or handed down, and this will trickle down and allow more and better access during the delivery of the intervention- for example, in the willingness of commanders to allocate time to staff preparation or filling out of questionnaires.

The chapter describes three aspects of the development of the exemplary training intervention:

**1/ The choice of protests as the policing task the training intervention will focus on:**

This section includes an analysis of protest policing and an account of its place in the specific police organisation, and mapping of factors that may shape it across settings, and the justification for its use.

**2/ The design of a draft manual which focuses on procedural justice:**

This section first provides the results of a systematic review that aimed to identify relevant existing research on effective training interventions with the same focus; the resulting empty review is included in the appendix section. It then provides an overview of the consensus development process used to design the training manual, a full description of which is available in appendix 6-B. It particularly explains the decision to use the procedural justice framework as the core training component to align protest policing with democratic policing norms, as well as other key decisions. It presents the draft manual, which is aligned to the theoretical model of training presented in the previous chapter.

**3/ The piloting of the intervention and the resulting improvements to the manual:**

This section describes the three rounds of piloting of the programme and the subsequent corrections made. The framework for analysing feedback data from commanders, participants and Education Unit staff was the implementation caveats identified in earlier stages.

The final section of the chapter is the **annotated manual**. The manual is the product of collaborative work involving many people at different organizational levels, including police officers themselves, yet it is still primarily evidence-led both in terms of content and delivery methods.

## Section 1/ Training Regarding Protest Policing: An Overview

The focus chosen for the training intervention was the policing of protests, based on a combination of theoretical and organisational reasoning. The centrality of protests in the democratic policing nexus is at the base of the hypothesised potential theoretical contribution to evidence-based police training. At the same time this decision is also based on an organisational needs-analysis, which demonstrated the relevance to the particular context. This section will describe both the theoretical and the organisational justifications.

A primary decision in the design process was the centring of the training on a specific policing task. One of the conclusions from analysis of the BP's training model (Chapter 5) was that not directing the training to specific tasks may be a major shortcoming, as this is a potential tool for facilitating behaviour change (Tu & Davis, 2002); comprehensive interventions will have less chance of success than those that target a focused outcome or change. The BP's educational training, which is often concerned with ethos-level issues of 'the good society', may bar police officers chances of using training practically in the field. This was taken into account in the design of the intervention, ensuring it was focused not on the general idea of more democratic policing, but rather on a particular policing task, and how it could be carried out in a more democratic fashion.

### **1.2 The Democratic policing of protests: a theoretical overview**

Protests, public rallies and riots are types of political manifestation in which the claims and grievances of different groups in society are expressed. They are pivotal arenas in the interaction of police with individuals and groups, in which human and civil rights

at the core of the democratic society – including freedom of expression, freedom of movement and the security of the person – are either exercised and upheld, or disregarded and abused. This account establishes the task of policing protests is well aligned to the ‘Human Rights’ criteria of democratic policing, adding theoretical justification to the focus of this review (Bayley, 2001).

Protest policing can be placed with the general category of public order policing. This refers to a wide range of social phenomena: from classic political marches to mass riots, and from large scale sports events to direct action vandalism. These events can be assessed in relation to the numbers of people involved, to the physical space in which the event takes place, prior coordination with authorities, and number and scale of illegal occurrences within them. Most police forces employ ‘public order’ policing tactics, which involve a transition from individual or small team policing to group deployment. It is possible to see protests as an intersection of high and low policing, as they may contain an element which relates to the security of the state (Brodeur, 2007); this adds to the challenge they pose both for officers and organisations in democracies (Reiner, 2000 in Hasisi, 2008).

Protesters do not perceive police officers’ actions and decision as simply individual or specific because the police also represent the state, the law, and society’s views. Police behaviour could therefore have wide-reaching implications in how protesting groups see themselves, beyond the sting of insult. Prejudice and mistreatment experienced during protests may cause expressive harm, and could lead to erosion in trust and legitimacy of the police and in the state (Hasisi, Margalioth, & Orgad, 2012; Bradford, Jackson, & Hough, 2013). Especially but not only in deeply divided

societies, the role and consequences of protests may be magnified since protests are often triggered by the issues that make up the fault-lines of society. For example, minorities protesting against discrimination may experience further discrimination and even violence through the manner their outcry is met.

The interactions between police and protesters (or rioters) can potentially be examined through the prism of procedural justice and police legitimacy; these constructs are increasingly recognized as requisite for the public's cooperation, necessary for effective policing in the democratic state (Tyler, 2004). As highlighted in the introduction to the thesis, this has not previously been done.

Different democracies have different approaches to protests. The ideological-political standpoints shape how protests are policed and managed, and so need to be systematically considered in order to determine how to enhance democratic policing in specific contexts. Two prominent factors which shape attitudes to protests were identified that help make sense of why specific policing tactics and strategies are used; they provide two layers of explanation of this phenomena.

The first type of explanation looks to the 'mentality of the state' to explain the variations between a 'repressive' and an 'accommodation-ist' approach to protest policing: states whose legitimacy is contested are argued to be less tolerant to protests, and to rely on more repressive tactics (della Porta, 1997). It is claimed the police are more likely to use force as a response to protesters' violence when the context is a 'threat' to the state. Hasisi (2008) argues this analysis is useful for understanding police response to Arab protests in Israel.

Another layer to understanding how protests are policed is found in psychological conceptions of crowds. Crowds are often understood as senseless, irrational, homogenous and therefore inherently dangerous (Smelser, 1962 in Waddington & King, 2005). A more reformed approach calls for a contextualised examination of each 'crowd', which takes into account social groups and their historical relationship with the state and the police, and then offers a situational analysis of any disorder (Reicher, 1984 in Waddington & King, 2005). The move away from traditional 'crowd theories' is argued to have led to reduction in police-protester conflict when incorporated into policing strategies (Reicher et al., 2007). The newer approaches have been successfully applied to developing policing training in domain of policing football crowds (Stott, Livingstone, & Hoggett, 2008).

## **1.2 Organisational needs analysis: Protest policing in the Border Police**

Policing of protests was chosen as the task in focus, after careful consideration of the needs and priorities of the organisation. Protests are one of the core tasks the BP is charged with, and is one of its core specialisations; there are both national and regional BP units trained specifically for policing protests and riots. This training takes places at the public order training centre at the BP's central training academy, which is also responsible for training the National Police's paramilitary units (YASAM) that police riots, as well as parallel forces from countries across the world, such as China. The centre has developed significant expertise in this area, including technical, legal and also theoretical aspects.

Protest policing appears to be one of the most challenging tasks faced by BP officers, as they are required to seamlessly alternate between policing of 'peaceful' protests

of Israeli citizens within Israel proper and mass riots of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, during which officers are in serious danger and may fire live ammunition as a response. Tactical diversity has been identified as a predictor of over-aggressive police response (Warner & McCarthy, 2013). As was discussed in Chapter 4, during the second *Intifada*, mass demonstrations of Israeli Arabs resulted in the shooting to death of 13 young men (Gopher & Ben-Porat, 2013). Several judges have publicly spoken in recent years of a lack of understanding by the police of their powers in protests, resulting in mass arrests which yield no charges (Lior, 2012). These two examples demonstrates the unmet challenge of this policing task in Israel, and in the BP specifically.

There is a gap in the academic literature regarding protest policing in Israel. There are currently very few papers which address theoretical or practical aspects of this field (Hasisi, 2008; Perry, in preparation). The deficit in the existing literature added to the challenge of understanding how protest policing could and should be adapted to reduce expressions of mistreatment based on prejudice. The development of this training intervention therefore relied on documents gathered during the fieldwork and on consultation with Border Police members.

### **1.3 Bringing the theoretical and the organisational perspectives together**

Taking into account the dual perspective of theory and practice: the significance of protests due to their embodiment of democratic ideals; the difficulty in living up to these ideals in practice; the lack of evidence to inform this challenge; and the central place protests hold in the missions of the Israeli BP, protests were deemed an appropriate focus for this research.

The theoretical explanatory mechanisms provided the framework in which to consider what aspects of the BP's public order policing approach the training intervention could address. At the political science level, it might be possible to increase tolerance to protests by challenging the concept of 'disorder' and by emphasising the important role of protests in a healthy democratic society. At the social psychology level, a training course could contextualise specific protests and 'individuate' the protesters who took part in them, for example by asking police officers to consider events from the protesters perspective. Both these strategies were used in the training course.

However, this analysis also highlights that training which is not an appendage to a police organisation's revision of vision and tactics is limited in what it can achieve. Police practices can be seen to be shaped through the triangular interaction of organisational values, tactics and training; it is likely that a complete alignment between the three will be rare, and there could be clashes. For example, officers' partial perceptions of the dangerous, homogenous crowd have been shown to be reinforced by the policing tactics they use which force them to treat the crowd as a single mass (Drury, Stott, & Farsides, 2003); these obligating tactics make it difficult for the officers to express their simultaneously existing views regarding the heterogeneity of a group of protesters. In the BP, 'crowd theory' is still the guiding theory which shapes public order tactics, so it was important to recognise the limited ability of training to challenge this. Training messages that are not aligned with other organisational messages have less chances of success (Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996).

The training intervention being developed for the Israeli Border Police was part of the ethical-educational training provided by the Education Unit. The Education Unit,

working as part of the operations branch, can contribute to changes in policing practices over time. However, as previously emphasised, it is not the role of educational training to offer a new operational strategy, but only to develop and provide tools that allow officers to perform more ethically within the given parameters. More so, being led by an 'outsider', this research could not advance any major changes in policy or tactics. Rather, it focused on soft changes: what new tools could police officers be given that would enable them to carry out their tasks in way compatible with democratic norms of policing.

The challenge in designing this training intervention was therefore to choose an approach that would be aligned to the police organization's values and tactics, so as not to create an additional professional-cognitive dissonance. The choice to focus on procedural justice, which will be elaborated on below, was an attempt to provide a 'bypass' to the inability to directly challenge neither the escalated force policies nor the crowd theory standpoint, but still enhance democratic policing practices.

## [Section 2/ Designing a Training Intervention to Enhance The Democratic Policing of Protests](#)

### **Step 1/ Systematic review**

The first step in the process of developing the intervention was to identify the existing evidence-base of police training interventions focusing on protests; the findings – both positive and negative - should have served as the base for the intervention designed for the BP. Demonstrations and public disorder incidents are focal arenas in which the human rights at the core of the democratic society are either exercised and upheld, or disregarded and abused. With the widespread social justice protests

sweeping the globe recently, the interaction of police and citizens in these arenas has been under considerable public and academic scrutiny. It is of the utmost importance to be able to point to interventions that can effectively train officers to carry out their tasks in the most professional manner.

To ensure the most rigorous assessment, a systematic review of the literature was conducted (Rychetnik, Frommer, Hawe, & Shiell, 2002) programmatic, and context dependent. The evidence for their effectiveness must be sufficiently comprehensive to encompass that complexity. This paper asks whether and to what extent evaluative research on public health interventions can be adequately appraised by applying well established criteria for judging the quality of evidence in clinical practice. It is adduced that these criteria are useful in evaluating some aspects of evidence. However, there are other important aspects of evidence on public health interventions that are not covered by the established criteria. The evaluation of evidence must distinguish between the fidelity of the evaluation process in detecting the success or failure of an intervention, and the success or failure of the intervention itself. Moreover, if an intervention is unsuccessful, the evidence should help to determine whether the intervention was inherently faulty (that is, failure of intervention concept or theory. The review's protocol is registered with the Campbell Collaboration ; as such, it adheres to the collaborations' standards. It includes a PICOC format research question, inclusion and exclusion criteria, the search strategy and the proposed process of identifying studies, extracting data and analysing it. The full review is available in appendix 6-A.

The systematic reviewing of training interventions presents several challenges,

revolving around the diversity contained within this category. First, different police organisations may have different approaches and strategies to delivering training. Second, there diversity in attitudes towards protests in different countries and even different police organisations (della Porta, 1997).

While taking this complexity into consideration, the review aimed to consider all training interventions focused on protests and riots, which set out to socialise police officers to policing norms that correspond to democratic values, and address either the use of force or discretion, and that measure this socialisation in relation to officers' knowledge, attitudes, skills or behaviours. These interventions may focus on either macro aspects: general tactics of policing protests, or micro aspects, the interactions between officers and protesters.

The review aimed to identify only studies with a randomised and quasi-experimental design where there is a control group (randomised either at the individual or cluster level), (McAuley, 2002). The central search strategy for eligible studies made use of a variety of electronic databases, including the UK's National Police. The search terms as well the databases follow 'evidence-based' search strings and strategies used in previous systematic reviews, adding to their validity (Mazerolle, Bennett, Manning, Davis, & Sargeant, 2013; Patterson et al., 2012)

Considering the nature of the policing field, 'good practice' manuals and even good quality experimental studies may be in existence but only available in the form of 'grey literature'. It is therefore important and necessary to contact researchers and police departments in order to access them. A strategy for conducting a systematic search for grey literature, including police departments and leading research institutes in

democratic countries across the globe.

Neither the electronic search nor the grey literature search uncovered studies which met the inclusion criteria. None of the citations collected as part of the electronic search were relevant for inclusion. With the majority of them this could be decided merely from the title and abstract, and a small minority necessitated accessing the full text. If the full text could not be accessed authors were contacted, but this yielded no identified studies. Table 2 of appendix 6-a gives examples of studies identified in the systematic search, and helps illustrate that none of the studies were close to meeting inclusion criteria.

No studies were identified by the grey literature search either. Several individuals and organisations responded, and some forwarded the request to colleagues or suggested experts who should be contacted. Despite this, no evaluations of protest police training could be found.

As this study uncovered no studies which match the inclusion criteria, it can be classified as an 'empty' review. Within the framework of evidence-based policing, there is definite value in such a result, as it highlights topics where rigorous evaluation research is lacking (Yaffe, Montgomery, Hopewell, & Shepard, 2012). Such reviews can help set a research agenda and drive future work.

It is important to highlight that the 'emptiness' of this review is unlikely a result of factors that have been criticised in the past: it did not ask too specific a question or apply too stringent inclusion criteria. The 'study design' criteria was chosen as the minimum threshold to allow the determination of causality. It aimed to include high quality studies that answer a minimum criteria of a control group, as identified by

the Cochrane EPOC group for the inclusion of controlled trials in systematic reviews (McAuley, 2002). By searching for any police training intervention that aims to enhance the democratic policing of protests, I set the widest criteria possible for including police training interventions that would have allowed me to meaningfully synthesis their results, either narratively or statistically. I also did not limit the population beyond the conceptual category of public police forces. It therefore is not the case that this review did not identify studies because of too stringent inclusion criteria, or because an unrealistic population was selected (Pawson, Greenhalgh, Harvey, & Walshe, 2005). In addition, since the review made use of search strings and databases which were used in systematic reviews that did identify studies, it is less likely that the 'empty-ness' is due to an inefficient search strategy.

The emptiness of this review therefore points to real lack of evidence in a field for which there is a demonstrated need for research to direct policy makers' and practitioners' decision making. In line with the recommendation of the Cochrane Empty Review Project, this review does not take a cascading approach, in which the next level of evidence is presented if no high quality research is found, as this can result in a review providing misleading results (Yaffe et al., 2012).

Faced with an empty review, the design of the study could not rely on research findings specific to policing of protests, and turned to the general evidence identified in chapter 2, as will be described in the next section.

## **Step 2/ Creating the skeleton of the training intervention: three key innovations**

The second step in the process of developing the intervention was determining the

essential characteristics of the training programme. This step was carried out in close working partnership with the deputy head of the Education Unit, and the central decisions, including the setting of aims for the intervention, were shared. Three key innovations were chosen: using procedural justice and legitimacy as the anchor of the intervention; maintaining an adult education approach with relation to this topic; and combining technical and educational-ethical training topics in one course. This step preceded the formal Consensus Development techniques but should be seen as part of the process, as it created the body of work around which consensus needs to be built. To give a parallel from the public health field in which such techniques are usually used, the draft manual is the equivalent of a suggested treatment protocol being brought before an expert group.

#### **Innovation 1: Using a Legitimacy & Procedural Justice framework for protest policing**

The first central innovation of this step was the decision to use the framework of 'Procedural Justice and Legitimacy' as the core element of the training programme. This paradigm was discussed in the introductory chapter of the thesis as a promising route of police reform; it places 'the appropriateness of the manner in which the police exercise their authority' as central to the public's perceptions of the legitimacy of the police (Tyler 2004, p. 91). As a policing and training strategy which has gained international empirical support and is widely endorsed, it was judged to have the potential to make a contribution to police officers' skills and lead to a change in policing behaviours. Because it is now widely researched, it could also provide the foundations needed for meaningful research: a common conceptual language and measurement instruments. Furthermore, during the feasibility stage, police officers

and commanders spoke of the police's role in a way that reflected instinctual understanding of the basic elements of the paradigm, thus indicating that there could be organizational buy-in of the theories' premises.

Even though no prior research which made use of the procedural justice framework specifically for policing of protests was identified, important support for the viability of this approach can be found in a recent European Union initiative. The GODIAC project sought to advance knowledge regarding the use of dialogue and communication as operative principles in the policing of 'political manifestations' (Tysk & Wessman, 2013). An analysis of 10 case studies from nine EU countries, including local, national and trans-national events, demonstrated that in democratic societies, in which the overarching goal of the police and the state is to 'uphold fundamental human rights and to increase public safety', these principles can indeed serve a strategic pillars in 'managing and preventing public disorder'. While this was not an effectiveness-oriented study, it demonstrates the viability of a dialogue-based approach for public order policing.

As dialogue has been identified as a central attribute of Procedural Justice (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012), this indicates that it is a possible component that could be incorporated into democratic police training for this specific policing task, despite no prior evidence in this matter. It provides a theoretical link for how change may occur, a necessary element in this theory-based evaluation (Birckmayer & Weiss, 2000). Procedural Justice, and the legitimacy paradigm, may serve as a soft approach to enhancing the democratic nature of policing protests, without a comprehensive revision of tactics needed, as it operates in the 'discretionary space' available to

officers. This hypothesis does not attempt to subtract from the importance of aligning tactics and training, but only to propose a realistic option in a complicated political-organizational environment. Procedural Justice was therefore chosen as an appropriate route for advancing the democratic policing of protests in the BP; it would serve as a new knowledge domain, attitudinal perspective and practical tool for police officers to use in the policing of protests.

### **Innovation 2: Teaching procedural justice within an adult education framework**

The second emphasis was ensuring the use of the same 'language' of existing training and guaranteeing the BP's model was as fully represented in the new intervention. A central implication of this was the use of *adult education* as an overarching framework, as it is the fundamental approach of educational training in the BP. Adult education is centred on core principles such as experiential learning, self-directed learning and reflexive practice, some of which receive empirical support (Bennett-Levy et al., 2004). Central policing theorists have argued that adult education is the most appropriate approach, especially for on-going training; if training relates to relevant tasks, police officers' experiences could and should serve as the focal point of the learning experience (Bayley & Bittner, 1984). In this case, the educational approach was expressed in the choice of delivery methods, which included problem solving, reflection on professional experiences and experiential learning. It also meant that rather than provide officers with ready-made scripts of procedurally-just encounters, we chose to expose officers to legitimacy theory and confront them with the possible consequences of their actions.

### **Innovation 3: linking technical and educational training**

Looking to and including aspects from the 'technical training' division of the BP in educational training is the third innovation proposed by this intervention. This draws firstly on the observations of interviewees of the feasibility stage, that the understanding of policing powers is a weakness in the BP that contributes to abuse of powers. Secondly, it stems from the analysis of the theoretical model of training which found that one element of 'good practice' in occupational training not included in the BP's programme: the focus on specific skills or tasks, in a way which allows participants to break down the behavioural changes required of them into 'micro-steps'. In practical terms, this was translated into including policing powers in the training programme and focusing on a specific task (protests) rather than on policing generally. In order to meaningfully combine technical aspects of police work, existing training manuals of the public order unit were surveyed. This included 'technical training' courses on the topic of protests and riots, that dealt both with the legal and practical aspects of policing these tasks, and educational training manuals on the core values of the BP.

With these key choices in mind, a skeleton of a training programme concerning the policing of protests was designed. It contained three modules, or sessions, regarding which the aims were set, as well as some ideas for realising these aims and questions to highlight problems which may arise. The first session's aim was to (re)learning policing powers in protests and public disorder ('refreshing' the existing knowledge base) in the context of 'the police in a democracy'. The delivery methods suggested included revision of existing knowledge, case-study analysis and 'problem solving' techniques. The second session, titled 'the role of BP in Israeli Democracy & society', focused

on deepening understanding of the challenges of policing protests by introducing the concepts of trust and legitimacy as constructed through Procedural Justice (PJ). The methods suggested were a combination of experimental learning and didactic, frontal teaching. The third session aimed to improve discretionary decision making in protests within a PJ framework, specifically the use of force and powers. The central delivery method recommended was simulation training or 'scenarios' analysis.

### **Step 3/ Creating a draft manual using a consensus development process**

The skeleton created in Step 2 was seen as only the starting point for the design process, as it necessitated essential input from personnel with different expertise within the BP. Some of the areas in which this input was needed are: the core legal and procedural framework of policing protests, 'translation' of the theoretical framework of procedural justice into terms and examples easily grasped by participants, and finding the appropriate case studies for the analysis and the scenarios.

In order to create a functional pilot manual, a collaborative method was needed; a tailored consensus development process, which draws on *Nominal Group Technique* and *Consensus Development Conferencing*, was designed to allow organisation members to meaningfully contribute to the design of an evidence-led training intervention (Murphy et al., 1998). This method is described in detail in Chapter 9, but an overview is provided here.

First the areas of expertise necessary were identified and the relevant BP members were invited to participate. Second, participating experts were asked to individually assess their stance using a questionnaire; the questions chosen related to the core decisions that would determine the content and methods. Based on their responses,

a draft manual was prepared. Third, the group was convened for an expert roundtable, in which 'evidence summaries' regarding six core issues were presented and discussed with relation to the draft manual. These included:

1. Knowledge, attitudes and skills and their relation to behaviour change
2. Legitimacy and Procedural Justice
3. Learning theory and cognitive load theory
4. Problem solving as a technique in police training and in policing
5. Participatory delivery methods
6. Simulations as a training tool

Based on this discussion the draft was fleshed and a pilot-stage manual was created. As can be seen in the figure below, the intervention created is aligned with the training model in use in the Border Police, and this was one of the central factors guiding the design process (Figure 1); the training programme's aims, the content it focuses on and the delivery methods it uses are compatible with those outlined in the training model (Chapter 5). This is important to note as it relates to the guiding premises of the research. It is an exemplary intervention of the general training model in use, and its evaluation is intended to shed light on the efficacy of all training, not of a one-off isolated project.

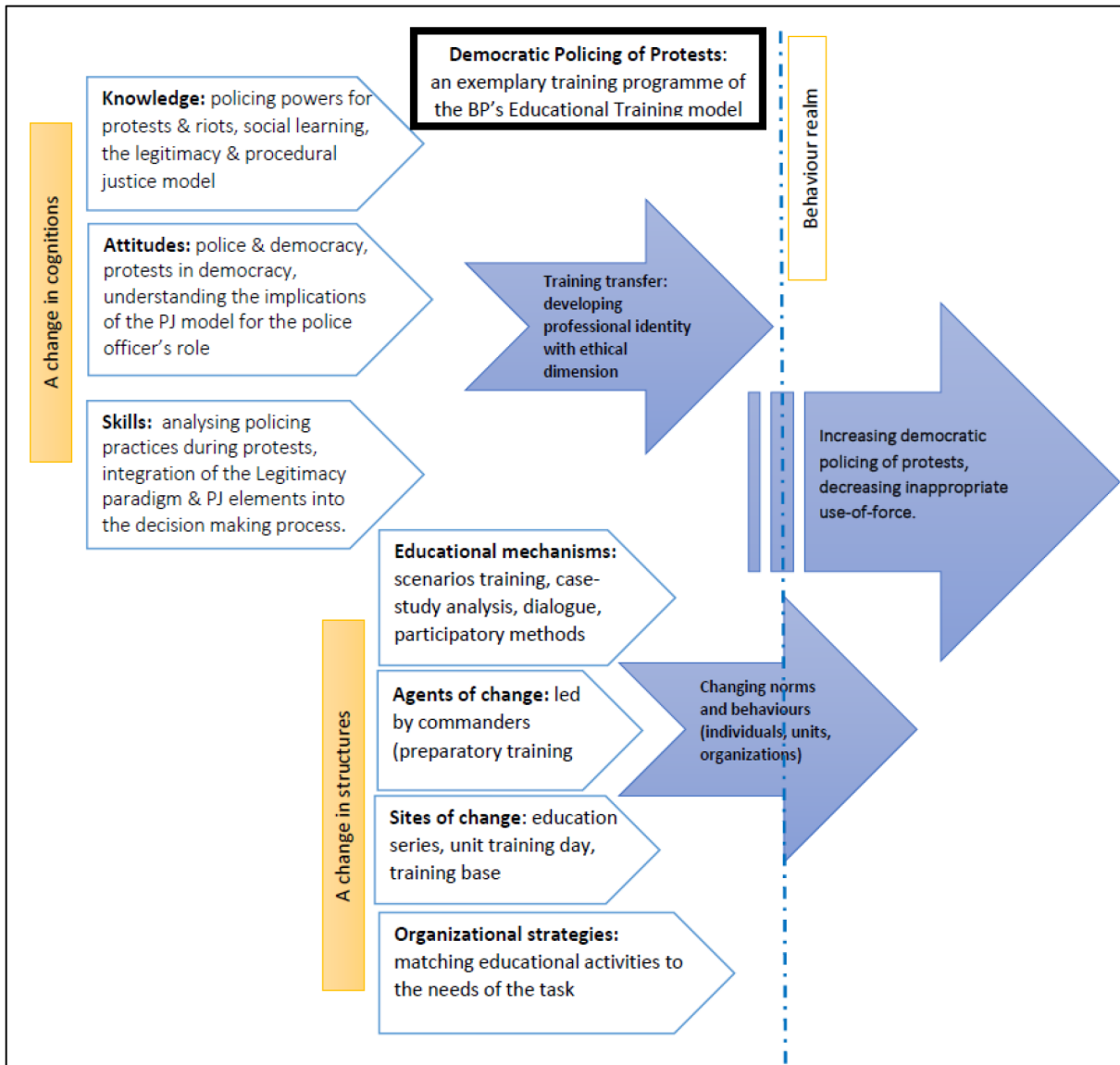


Figure 1: The Border Police training model as a guiding factor in intervention design

## **Box 1: Educational Training on policing of protests and public disorder**

### **Pilot Version (Overview\*)**

The training will be constructed from three units that gradually strengthen existing knowledge, offer new knowledge, and allow for the examination of existing attitudes and the practice of policing skills.

### **Module 1/ 'Refreshing' legal and moral boundaries of policing protests in a democracy**

**Aims and highlights:** refresh and strengthen existing knowledge of policing powers, so that it serves as a base for the training. Learning should be gradual, interactive and practically-oriented. Participants should be able to place moral-ethical decisions in procedural-legal context in order to better understand the context of the training, prevent reliance on clichés and facilitate a thorough discussion.

**Section 1/ Modelling and practicing scenario analysis:** analysis of video clip of real protest by commander which highlights legal, moral and professional aspects.

**Section 2/ Mini action-research using 'problem solving' methodology:** in six small groups, analysis of protest case studies (chosen by squad commanders) using supporting materials to produce an operational strategy which is based on the same parameters used by the commander in previous section. Each group presents to the unit and receives feedback from commander.

### **Module 2/ BP and Israeli society: deepening understanding of existing challenges, learning new knowledge and conceptualization of the theoretical constructs: legitimacy, trust and procedural justice**

**Aims and highlights:** Introduction of a new instrumental body of knowledge which can serve as a base for developing and strengthening skills. Adding it as a 'new brick' into a wall of existing knowledge in a way that does not create cognitive overload and allows officers to understand how it fits into existing knowledge.

**Section 1/ Participatory method for experiencing trust:** in three groups, blind obstacle course ('Theatre of the Oppressed' technique), to involve all participants and connect instinctive understanding of trust to ideas of 'social learning' in society through which trust and mistrust is learned regarding the police as well as other public/uniformed posts.

**Section 2/ Didactic teaching of new knowledge, knowledge rehearsal and attitude examination:** Frontal teaching of the legitimacy paradigm premises by the unit commander using an instruction poster. The new knowledge is then rehearsed using a group quiz. An 'attitude ladder' exercise with three of the main issues is used to help officers examine their attitudes and give the commander an opportunity to highlight the dilemmas.

### **Module 3/ Use of powers and force: decision making in protests which incorporate Procedural Justice**

**Aims and highlights:** The challenge of this module is in tying knowledge and attitudes to skills on the ground, moving from abstract theories to operational behaviours. The simulation tool is intended to assist police officers in including in their discretionary decision-making parameters, both from the realm of policing powers and from that of Legitimacy and Procedural Justice.

The module begin with watching a video clip of a protest, which serves as the base for the simulation.

**Section 1/ Thickening understanding of the situation and tying to the Legitimacy framework:** analysing the protest from the point of view of the protesters, the police officers, senior command and the bypassing/TV-watching citizen

**Section 2/ Expressing norms and challenges:** formulation of the expectation of citizens, colleagues and commanders from 'us' the police officers (in three groups).

**Section 3/ Creating a script of a demonstration:** going back to a certain point in the protest. In squads (3 groups), separate into two groups representing officers and protesters. Each group receives an arsenal of 'means' (on cards) and then proceeds to place them in turns, creating a script. The squad commanders participate using 'joker' cards which aggravate certain aspects of the situation, and by asking participants to reflect on their choices, thus navigating the exercise and ensuring it remains truthful to real-world decision.

**Section 4/ Tying to Procedural Justice:** examining the script that has been created to see if compatible with components of Procedural Justice, and how it can be improved.

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#### **Concluding remarks**

\*This is a translation from Hebrew, and includes the main ideas and activities

## Section 3/ Piloting the Intervention: Methodology and Main Findings

Once a manual was prepared, the next stage of the process was to pilot it, in order to assess the feasibility of successful implementation in an experimental trial. Three rounds of piloting of the programme, followed by feedback from trainers/commanders, participants/police officers, and local and HQ Education Unit personnel (through interviews and focus groups), were used to make changes to the draft training programme, up to the manual stage. The first two pilots were focused on delivery, content and developing data collection procedures (identify problems in content and ability to execute successfully). The third, in the public order trainers ('HAFSAD') course targeted enhancing understanding of procedural justice in the policing of protests.

### 3.1 Aims

With an operational draft of the intervention manual in hand, the research advanced to 'feasibility and piloting', which is the second stage for developing and evaluating complex interventions proposed in the Medical Research Council's (MRC) model. Following the MRC, the piloting stage was concerned with "testing procedures for their acceptability" (Craig et al., 2008) both those involving the intervention itself and the research procedures surrounding it, most importantly the questionnaires. Testing the procedures aims to minimise the possibility the evaluation will be "undermined by problems of acceptability, compliance, delivery of the intervention, recruitment and retention"(Craig et al., 2008, p. 20). It is possible to separate the aims of this stage to two central aspects: testing the viability of the intervention, and testing the appropriateness of the research design; both will be described in this section.

While the guidelines also discuss using the pilot to estimate recruitment and retention rates and to calculate appropriate sample sizes, this was relevant for this context, given that training is a mandatory activity that the police officers could not choose to opt out of. In addition, it was clear in advance (based on related studies) that the trial would not be adequately powered as the organisation only had the capacity to support a small study at this stage.

### **3.2 Methods**

While only one pilot run was originally planned, it was decided to conduct two additional pilots, as the first served to highlight many problems but it could not be ascertained what the correct solutions to these problems should be.

The first pilot was focused on the Sapir unit, a national public order unit [set up in 2008 following the failure of the National Police to respond to ethnic riots (Eli, 2013)]. The choice to pilot an irregular unit was based on the understanding that this training programme was more challenging than regular ones, and may make demands beyond the capabilities of ordinary officers to deal with. This was also estimated regarding the commander; Sapir's commander was involved in the development of the training programme, had an in-depth understanding of the complexities of protest policing in a democracy, and was considered committed to the 'education' project of the organisation. It was expected that these police officers would have a higher-than-average knowledge of policing powers in protests, which would allow the discussion to begin from an informed place. The drawback was that the pilot could not reflect if the methods for reinforcing this knowledge component was potentially effective, nor if ordinary commanders could handle the task of the delivering the programme.

An additional aim was to learn, from this experienced group of officers who police protests and riots daily, the challenges of the procedurally just policing of such tasks. The pilot took place as part of their on-going yearly training week<sup>1</sup>. 60 listed officers in this unit, all of them career officers and male; around 50 of them were present during the training day.

The second pilot targeted an 'ordinary unit', in order to give as accurate an estimation as possible regarding the feasibility of delivering the intervention with fidelity and achieving positive results across the organization. The unit chosen was the operations sub-unit of one of the regional 'BP 101', which are charged with the policing of protests and riots in their area. The pilot was delivered as part of their monthly day of on-going training. The unit is regularly staffed with around 40 police officers, about 40% of whom are mandatory service officers, some women. Most of the unit's members participated in the training days.

An additional aim of the pilot was to substantiate the understanding of how Procedural Justice may play out in this specific task, as this aspect of the intervention relied on little prior research. A third pilot was therefore instigated, to be delivered as part of a professional accreditation course for public order instructors at the BP's central training base. These were experienced police officers who would be charged with providing professional advice and assistance to high level commanders, as well as on-going training for officers in their region. This was not a usual pilot: it was delivered jointly by the course's deputy commander, the head Education Unit officer in the training base, and the researcher herself. The third module was not delivered verbatim,

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<sup>1</sup> Formally called the 'education series' (see chapter 4 and 5 for more information?)

but was conducted as an open conversation with the participants about the possible manifestation of Procedural Justice in paramilitary policing and in policing of protests specifically. The examples and insights of the participants were incorporated into the manual as practical ideas to commanders to use while delivering the intervention.

In the first pilot, to avoid 'designer bias' [stemming from the involvement of the intervention's developer in the evaluation process (Andrews & Dowden, 2005)], the researcher did not take part in either 'staff preparation' - a type of training of trainers usually led by the unit's ENCO - or in the training day itself. An analysis of the data showed, this was not viable for such a challenging intervention, more complex and demanding than a regular training day in the education series; the load placed on both ENCO and commanders was too great for a successful result. This was amended in the second pilot, in which the researcher helped lead the staff training along with an EO, and attended the training day to provide necessary assistance to the commanders and education staff, mostly in the form of comments during breaks.

### **3.3 Data collection**

Several data collection means were used to assess the pilots and allow careful post-hoc examination:

- Video recording (1<sup>st</sup> pilot only)
- audio recordings
- observation notes
- evaluation questionnaire for the unit's ENCO (1<sup>st</sup> pilot only)
- evaluation questionnaire for the squad commanders (2<sup>nd</sup> pilot only)
- interview with commander (1<sup>st</sup> pilot only)
- group interviews with participating police officers

The process of detecting essential problem was straightforward. When a problem was detected in one of the sources, for example in the ENCO's evaluation questionnaire, the activity or issue was searched for in the other sources (such as the recording of the training day or the commander's interview) to ascertain if there was wider support for that point of view. If only one source pointed to a problem, a decision was made whether this was nonetheless a real issue that should be addressed.

#### [Section 4/ Data Analysis for Aim # 1: Testing Intervention Procedures](#)

To assess the feasibility of the intervention itself, the pilot examined factors pertaining to the implementation, and to the acceptability of the content in this particular social-organizational context. Regarding implementation, the assessment built on the development stage of the research and focused on the 'main uncertainties ... identified' (Craig et al., 2008); the four central issues were: **the collaboration of the Education Unit staff with the commanders who were charged with facilitating the intervention; the ability of those commanders to skilfully deliver the intervention; the relevance of the intervention to the unit's tasks and demographic make-up; and the modularity of manuals.**<sup>2</sup> These factors were theorised to influence both the quality of delivery and participant responsiveness. There was also an attempt to generally assess the four central aspects of implementation fidelity: adherence, exposure, quality of delivery, and participant responsiveness (Dane & Schneider, 1998, in Mihalic, 2002). The challenge was to tie the problems identified either through observations or by the participants and staff to these wider themes, separating anomalies from essential issues.

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<sup>2</sup> See appendix 5-E for the full discussion of these themes.

Regarding the acceptability of the content of the intervention, when mapping the problem theory using Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, two aspects were identified which may interfere with democratic policing: undemocratic societal trends and the experience of living in a 'deeply divided society'. These factors, located in the macro- and exo-systems, were theorised to be important factors shaping police norms. The pilot was a chance to gain a better understanding of how these issues play out at the unit level and organizational context, in order to fine-tune the intervention. The understanding of officers' attitudes towards democracy, protests and protesters is crucial, as this is the social environment in which the new messages are delivered. They are also assumed to influence the acceptability of the intervention.

#### **4.1 Identifying problems related to pre-detected implementation caveats**

Interventions delivered with high fidelity have been shown to be more effective (Lipsey, 1999, in Mihalic, 2002). It was therefore necessary to assess if the intervention in its present form had the potential to be delivered with fidelity.

##### ***Problems related to the ability of those commanders to skilfully deliver the intervention***

One of the hypothesised active ingredients of the BP's training model is the central role of the commander in the training process, termed 'the commander as educator'. It is most likely a necessary prerequisite that commanders be competent enough to handle this role. The development stages of the research uncovered that this might be a weakness of the model, as there was room for the improvement of commanders' facilitation skills. This was therefore one of the main issues the data analysis was concerned with, and the refinement of the manual following both the first and second

pilots was a response to a better understanding of commanders' needs and abilities. Several sections were adjusted and short introductions on what to focus on and how to best deliver the content were written, taking into consideration the proficiency of the commanders. This guided approach is demonstrated below, in the introduction to the manual and the instructions that accompanied the first activity (Box 2).

Most centrally, it appears leading a discussion – one of the vital aspects inherent in the BP's humanistic, dialogic training approach – is not necessarily a developed skill, not even among sharp, experienced commanders. It might even be said this skill presents a contradiction with the hierarchical leadership demanded of them. The response to this was the addition of clearer instructions for commanders in the manual. For example: a list of guiding question for a discussion, in the advised order, a suggestion not to speak while the 'case-study' video is playing in order to let officers form their own opinions and so on.

***Problems related to collaboration of the Education Unit staff with the commanders who are charged with facilitating the intervention***

At the heart of the BP's model is the assumption that support provided to commanders alongside collaborative work can enable the commander to lead the education process and deliver it effectively. The programme theory is one of educational dialogue – a collaborative work of commanders with education staff, with the commander delivering the activities and the education staff there to advise, support and serve as his 'sensors', to identify possible issues concerning ethics which require addressing. The relationship described in the development stage was not always operative, with difficulties surfacing both from the perspective of the education staff and of the commanders.

**Box 2 chapter 6: example of support for commanders included in the manual's introduction and the first activity in first module**

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## Introduction to the manual

Dear Commander!

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This training will give you the opportunity to discuss with your officers the ethical and professional aspects of policing protests in a democratic society. The training intends to set the standard within the corps and allow in-depth consideration of officers' role, as well as provide tools for decision making at the level of the police officer, compatible with the BP's and the state of Israel's values.

The training is made up of three modules:

1. 'Refresher': legal and moral boundaries of policing protests in a democracy
2. BP and Israeli Society: understanding existing challenges, learning new knowledge and introduction to the knowledge domain: "Trust & justice: improving the status of the police as a legitimate authority".
3. Decision making (at the police officer's level) during policing protest which accounts for trust and justice: an in-depth simulation

### Module number 1

## 'Refresher': legal and moral boundaries of policing protests in a democracy

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### TO THE COMMANDER:

THE PURPOSE OF THIS UNIT IS TO REFRESH AND STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING KNOWLEDGE REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN A DEMOCRACY BOTH GENERALLY AND SPECIFICALLY IN THE FIELD OF PROTESTS, SO THAT THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN PROFESSIONALISM AND MORALITY ARE STRENGTHENED

This activity aims to help officers situate themselves in the context of protest policing and begin to immerse themselves in it. By using the guiding questions you will assist your officers to understand what is expected of them in analysing such a situation ('modelling')

It is important that police officers are able to locate moral/ethical decisions within the legal-procedural system in order for the conversation to gain depth and prevent relying on clichés

 Length: one hour

Whole unit

## Modelling and practicing situation analysis

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For the purpose of this unit, you have two video-clips to choose from:

1. Social justice protests 2012 (the tent at Tel Aviv city hall)
2. Student protests on rising fees 2007

**State:** we will now proceed to watch a video clip of a protest or public disturbance/ we will then analyse it together so try while you are watching to think what your opinion is of the officers' behaviour from a professional' legal and moral perspective.

Emphasise: Some of you have received different documents to read in preparation for today (BP values & vision, policing powers document, 'protesters' rights' booklet, newspaper clippings describing protests from different perspectives). I would like you to answer the out of the knowledge you have refreshed or gained.

**Ask before watching the video-clip:**

- ? What right stand at the base of freedom to protest? What is the significance of being able to protest in a democratic country? What will happen if citizens are afraid to go out and protest?
- ? What is a 'disturbance of public order'? Does every disturbance of order necessitate the protest be dispersed?

### Ask after watching the video-clip:

- ? Did this situation reflect an order disturbance? How would you estimate the extent of that disturbance? (connect this question to the meaning of 'public disorder' discussed prior)
- ? Do we see here a 'prohibited gathering'? What would have made it permissible/forbidden?
- ? Is this protest legal or illegal? Under what grounds? (our working assumption is that this was a protest that received a license but digressed from its terms)
- ? Was there a gradual, reasonable and proportional use of force by the police? Elaborate. (emphasise: this criticism is for learning purposes)
- ? What are the means being used by the officers – grade them according to the order of tiers. What you have used the same means in the same way and order?

### Points it is important to get across:

- Both aspect together – morals and law- make up the police officers' professionalism in the field. It is therefore important to be persistent and challenging: the officer's act was legal, but was it moral? Furthermore, just because what the protester did was illegal that does not absolve us from discussing the morality of the officer's response.
- Ensure the participants answers are correct, and if not correct them to ensure everyone is 'on the same page'

**State:** We have just analysed one event together. In this manner you are expected to analyse protests and public disorder in the field. In the next activity you will get a chance to practice this.

Insufficient time was allocated to staff preparation in the both pilots, but more so in the first one. This is partly out of the hands of commanders who constantly have to make decisions of resource allocation and are faced with more urgent tasks or even the sleep deprivation of busy officers; this is an activity that receives less priority than others. It could however be hypothesised that commanders who have a close working relationship with the education staff might find the time despite the difficulty in juggling tasks.

There is also the question of the interaction during the staff training: is it technical and external, or does the commander create a space for in-depth discussion, enabling both practical and cognitive modelling of the future training? In the second and third pilot, some meaningful discussions took place during staff training, and the results were visible throughout the delivery of training. One of the strongest conclusions of the pilots phase was that a topic that was not explored during staff preparatory training will not be dealt with during the training itself. Furthermore, without experiencing the activity they were supposed to lead, even if very partially, it was difficult for the commanders to effectively deliver training components. This led to a decision to make a policy recommendation to raise the standards of staff training and for the purpose of this trial to have an education officer lead the preparation session, with the researcher present to provide feedback and assistance as necessary. This can also be tied to education-commanders collaboration, as it demands commanders acknowledge a need to rehearse or learn how to deliver the training, and allow the education staff member to take the lead.

In the post-pilot questionnaires and in verbal feedback squad commander reported

not being briefed well enough by Education unit staff. For instance, in the first pilot one complained he was not given proper instruction on how to facilitate the activities in the scenario analysis; in the second pilot, another requested being given the supporting materials for the 'problem solving' activity, which he realised after-hand would have enabled him to make significant connections between ethical and legal boundaries. This is not necessarily due to education staff not doing their job properly, but to the absence of an infrastructure of collaboration, one that would have smoothed-out the interaction.

Another issue related to education-command collaboration concerns the ability to accurately analyse the status, abilities and stance of the commander. The differences between the commanders who took part in the pilots (both unit and squad commands) illuminated how inseparable these are to the success of the intervention; a commander who does not have the respect of his subordinates and supporting staff will have great difficulty in leading a training session which challenges the conceptions of the police officers; this will be accentuated if the commander himself is not skilful enough to lead discussions and activities and if he does not see his role as including an educational dimension.

An important part of preparing for the delivery of a training programme is providing the necessary support to the commander ahead of time, setting appropriate aims - even if these are less extensive than originally planned - and making necessary adjustments to the programme; setting the bar too high can lead to failure to implement the intervention with satisfactory levels of fidelity. The difference between the first and second pilot is an exemplary demonstration of the role of the command

in creating the delivery 'climate' and how this translates into successful delivery of the intervention. The officers in the second pilot were highly resistant to the ideas presented by the training programme, and were agitated, angry and disrespectful as a result. It was clear the commander did not have the support of his staff members and the situation created was of him defending the idea's trust and legitimacy, instead of leading a discussion. Contrary to this, in the first pilot the commander was able to get across even ideas that lie outside the general consensus, for example that the PJ model applies to minority populations as well.

***Problems related to the relevance of the intervention to the unit's tasks and demographic make-up***

One of the central strategic means of the BP training model is 'matching educational activities to the needs of the task', or 'task-related education' as it is termed by the programme designers. This is the guiding principle in choosing where to concentrate resources and what educational themes to focus on. Pedagogically, this is about bringing 'education' down from the Olympus; ensuring it is not about detached ideals, but relevant to the everyday ethics required of police officers. Yet the development research indicated that there was not always agreement regarding the success of this approach among the 'clients' of the interventions; Commanders and police officers alike had conflicting opinions as to the degree of compatibility of the education programmes with their needs. This aspect of implementation is connected to potential receptiveness: will the content be engaging to police officers-participants? Can they comprehend the new knowledge? Will it create resistance that prevents it from being delivered?

Analysis of the data from the pilot studies pointed to relatively high perceptions of relevance by both participants and commanders in both units, despite the momentous difference between them. This difference was evident throughout, and translates into the analysis of the relevance of the intervention to the units' tasks and demographic make-up.

In the first pilot, the participants were mature and professional officers, well versed in policing powers, and the unit's positive climate was influenced by both strong leadership and sense of comradery. This means that while in some areas the bar was set too low, it was perceived overall by both commanders and participants as a high quality training day, despite the many technical and essential problems experienced. Some quotes from the focus group demonstrate this point: "This topic is relevant for us, geared towards our vocation"; "These discussion are very good to have, especially for the young officer"; "We should be combining the two things, law and ethics. It is good to 'bring home' the message that you are a man of the law but still must act morally, not like a robot".

Commander feedback confirmed the choice of case studies was appropriate and facilitated both responsiveness and acceptability: 'Choosing to focus on the social justice protests is good. If you are evicting Megaron [a hard-line illegal settlement] you will not connect [to the protesters] but the social protests is everyone, so they could "get into it"' (interview with commander, Pilot 1).

The second pilot was on the other end of the spectrum, with many new mandatory service officers and a lack of trust within the unit and towards a new commander who had not yet gained control and respect. The content of the day was therefore received

with very different sentiments. Tensions were high and participants displayed rage and mistrust of the ideas presented, as it touched on topics pertinent to their daily work. The weak understanding of powers meant the 'refresher' section was really a learning section. Due to these difficulties, it was necessary to deliver the third module on a separate occasion, several weeks later. Surprisingly, this had positive consequences, as the commander was better acquainted with the complex material and could revise it succinctly, the command team was now enlisted to support the commander, and the calming of high spirits allowed for a less defensive and more productive atmosphere. This demonstrated that the intervention was relevant to units with similar makeup and tasks as this one, but that an assessment of the ability of the commander to lead it was required beforehand. To account for this realisation, the manual was made more modular, enough to allow tailoring it to the needs and abilities of both commander and participants.

There are several examples of the relevance of the training. One of the squad commanders was extremely excited with being exposed to a pamphlet on protesters rights<sup>3</sup>; he took the copy to his office and told his subordinates that each one of them should take the time to read it thoroughly as it would add to their professionalism. Another squad commander noted on the second day of training that he could see the relevance of the training to his officers who had been policing a protest the week before: "It was a catastrophe and this day helps to analyse and understand it" (Researcher's observation notes, Pilot 2).

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<sup>3</sup> Produced by the Israeli Association for Civil Liberties. It was one of the accompanying documents of the problem-solving activity.

### ***Manualisation versus educational leadership: how modular should manuals be?***

There is an ongoing debate around the need for strict adherence to manuals in social interventions as opposed to an integrity of function (Wilson, 1998). This was one of the issues that came up in the development phase, where commanders' educational leadership can be expressed through autonomy in adapting education training manuals to their needs. It was unclear whether this harms the potential efficacy of the intervention, or if the adaptation is actually an advantage.

In this case, the flexibility given to commanders in the problem-solving activity proved problematic. In the first version of the manual commanders were supposed to write several case studies for their officers to analyse, in the spirit of educational leadership and modularity that increases both relevance and ownership. This flexibility unfortunately resulted in the task being left to the last minute and inappropriate case studies being selected. This was the core reason why the training day was 'derailed'. This example highlighted this unresolved dilemma; from the positive side, the squad commanders chose topics that represented serious ethical dilemmas that this particular unit's tasks involved (home evictions, children's rights), leading to thoughtful discussions with high levels of participation and high relevance to the issue of Procedural Justice. However, in the context of this training programme, with its concrete and focused aims and its tight schedule, this proved impossible to reconcile. It was therefore decided the activity would be altered: there would not be a written case study as the commanders did not have enough time to write one, but a video clip that would be chosen by the unit commander out of a small pool of videos (2 out of 3 options).

## 4.2 Identifying problems related to general categories of implementation

### *Participant responsiveness*

Participant responsiveness is an element of fidelity that relates to how engaged and involved in activities and content participants are; while this is tied to the element of relevance discussed above, it has other aspects as well.

Some of the implementation problems identified were seemingly technical but related to the best way to communicate complicated information to this population in this setting. The 'teaching poster', which was meant as an 'upgrade' to the usual un-aided lectures, could not be seen by the large group in the first pilot, and had to be screened using a laptop. Even then, it was difficult for participants to follow and comprehend: "The image was too crowded, so I lower my head and loose interest" (Sapir unit focus group, Pilot 1). The commander's feedback was also along the same lines, stating he found it impossible to use, and suggesting breaking down the different components to separate images. This led to the decision to turn the poster into an e-presentation, which would be easier for a commander less familiar with the material to lead and more engaging for the participants. The presentation software Prezi was used to create this didactic teaching component and it was improved several times to allow for both minor enhancements and refining of terminology. In addition, following the second pilot, a proposed script was also assembled to give commanders a better starting point for delivering this lecture; this was introduced into the trial.

The data analysis also gathered observations of commanders' choice of wording or examples which elicited positive responses from participants, out of the recognition that this is an invaluable learning opportunity that allows to align the intervention

to the context and through this increase participant responsiveness. For example, in the first pilot, while teaching the components of Procedural Justice, the commander gave an example of cordoning a road for emergency service vehicles while policing the social justice protests in 2011, and how the elements of PJ can be discerned in the police officers' behaviour. This example was then included in the instructions to commanders as it helped illuminate the core principles of the paradigm.

### ***Adherence***

Adherence is an element of fidelity that relates to a wide variety of factors: the core components, the appropriate population, the staff training, the delivery protocols and techniques, the aiding materials and the delivery locations. While the core implementation caveats discussed above essential relate to adherence to the training model's active ingredients, it was important to assess these other factors as well.

In both pilots, a noted difficulty was experienced by commanders in delivering the problem-solving activity with fidelity, probably due to the hierarchical nature of organization and style of work. An attempt was made to re-structure the activity: add more instructions to commanders, and produce an instruction sheet the officers can use themselves, in order to minimise the chance commanders would take over the session instead of letting the police officers lead it. These efforts were only partially successful in the second pilot, and depended on the squad commander's personal capacity. It was decided to keep this activity as part of the manual nonetheless as some elements were implemented.

Adherence to the indicate time-frame was a serious issue. Some of the activities were delivered in full whilst others took nearly twice their prescribed length. Participants

reported a feeling of 'missing out' and voiced the opinion that two days were needed to sufficiently discuss the matters at hand. There was a need to shorten some of the activities, mostly achieved by disposing of repetitions, originally intended to increase chances of knowledge acquisition. This demonstrated a clash between evidence and context; while it is clear that repetitions would have been desired, the time limitation of the organization called for re-prioritizing intervention components. This issue might be tied to aspects of facilitation skills: can commanders deliver the activities described in the length of time provided? The time estimations were based on the researchers' own experience as a professional facilitator, and lack of familiarity with which content would demand either less or more time for participants to process. This led to a 'technical' decision of shortening the intervention by taking out some activities.

The data analysis also tracked adherence to intervention activities to point out any whose exclusion was particularly detrimental to the goals of the day. For example in the first pilot, due to time pressure, the first step of the didactic lecture, which includes a 'group brainstorm' on some key concepts, was dropped. This was judged to be detrimental to the learning process. It appeared to make the complex material very difficult to comprehend, in line with cognitive learning theory which emphasises the importance of knowledge 'building blocks' (Bennel, 2005). The final manual therefore included a note to the commanders that this was a required step recommended to adhere to.

Physical conditions are an aspect of adherence; in both pilots they were not ideal and seem to be slightly below the usual standard: in the first pilot, the location was

moved at the last minute and there were not enough rooms to enable the small group delivery intended for some of the exercises. In the second pilot, the activity took place at the height of summer in a hall with no air-conditioning, making it very difficult to concentrate. It was decided to conduct the small group exercises in three groups only, to increase the chances that suitable rooms would be provided. While this might seem technical, classroom conditions have been shown to be an important learning-enabling factor (Tanner, 2008) after including control variables, for a sample of third-grade students drawn from 24 elementary schools. The sample means on the ITBS per school represented approximately 1,916 third-grade students. The independent variable set for developing a possible explanation of student achievement was the school's physical environment, defined as four sets of design patterns: movement and circulation (e.g., adequate personal space and efficient movement patterns throughout the school).

#### [Section 5/ Data Analysis for Aim # 2: Testing Research Procedures](#)

The second aim of the pilot stage was to test the suitability of the research design. Several aspects were tested: the acceptability of the research itself, estimated through the cooperation of education staff, commanders and police officers, and the usability of the questionnaires as the main form of data collection. The development of the questionnaires' content will be described in the next section, but an equally important aspect was developing a strategy to increase return rates of the questionnaires. Here too, the central liabilities were identified as part of the development work; during the first stage of the research, questionnaire returns had been close to zero, making them an impracticable data collection tool. A background interview with a researcher

at the central National Police research unit uncovered that according to their data, BP officers are significantly less likely to return mailed questionnaires, meaning there was less information available about them in the National Police. These two facts indicated that this may be a serious barrier to the success of the evaluation stage of the research.

During the first pilot these fears were realised, when none of the questionnaires were returned, despite a successful training day and committed commanders. Analysis of this failure led to the conclusion that distribution of the questionnaires could not be left to the commanders or to an ENCO, but needed to be under the responsibility of the researcher or a more senior member of the Education Unit, who could both prioritise it and ensure that it occurred.

In the second pilot, several more steps were taken in effort to improve the return rates. As incentives have been shown to increase uptake (Streiner & Norman, 2008), participating officers were told they would be included in a prize draw, with a chance to win a 50 NIS<sup>4</sup> multi-purpose voucher if they handed in the questionnaires to their commanders within a week. In addition, an electronic on-line format was developed using the *Qualtrics* website, and they were given the option of anonymously filling in the questionnaire (either by computer or smart phone). The questionnaire could be accessed through a link that would be sent to an email address they were asked to provide on a paper form at the end of the training day. These additional measures were an attempt to address some of the theorised barriers to the low form return rates: lack of motivation, reluctance to fill out test-like forms, and desire for anonymity.

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<sup>4</sup> 50 NIS is the equivalent of two hours of minimum wage work.

Despite these measures, the return rate was still quite low; 12 pen-and-paper questionnaires were returned and no electronic forms were filled out<sup>5</sup>. As the resources available only allowed the use of questionnaires as a data collection method, it was not possible to opt for another tool. A focus group of officers from the second cohort was convened to discuss this matter. The participating officers, though they were all relatively young and tech-savvy, were unanimously resistant to the idea of an online form, causing this option to be excluded from the trial itself. The discussion with officers also highlighted that there is a basic resistance to questionnaires. One reason is that because they demand stating one's personal opinion they contrast with the conception that police officers should be neutral and not voice personal opinion. It was therefore necessary to clarify to participating officers as part of the research process that the questionnaires were not an attempt to test them personally, but an opportunity for the organization to learn about the training process in order to improve them.

The lessons of this aspect of the pilot led to the formulation of the following questionnaire distribution process: despite the concern that participants would be too tired to properly answer the questionnaire after the training day, the best possible option was to include a short session immediately after, when the education staff and researcher were still present and have them answer the questionnaire in a controlled environment, with staff members who were committed to the task. It was important to tie the commitment to the training to the commitment to the questionnaire; it was therefore the commander who introduced the questionnaire session and explained its importance to the organization for learning about the possible benefits of the

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<sup>5</sup> While 7 officers were sent a link, the form was only accessed once, and only for a few seconds. Due to limited resources this option could not be explored further.

intervention.

In addition, the resistance to questionnaires, and the inability to reduce that resistance during the pilot shaped the decision to not use a 'before and after' design, but to opt for post-intervention questionnaires only, which is possible when using an experimental design, because while this significantly reduces sensitivity, the barriers to convincing participants to fill out and return the forms twice were deemed impassable.

Regarding the questionnaire form, several amendments were made based on the feedback provided in a focus group of five officers from the second pilot. Three central needs rose from the discussion: the forms should be simplified, unified and neutralised. To make the form less off-putting, the information sheet was separated from it and printed in a different colour. The demographic information section was shortened from four to three questions, and accompanied by a coloured box explaining that the personal data was needed to allow tailoring of the training to different units. The questionnaire was shortened both in terms of number of items and the length of the questions, which were simplified. In addition, less ordinary questions, like arranging activities by their correct order, were removed. In the section on Procedural Justice a text-box was added with a definition of the concept of legitimacy, to allow participants the assurance of that foundation, especially those in the control group. The headings of the five sections were changed to make the meaning less charged: for example, Section C's heading was changed from 'Attitudes to democracy' to 'Values of the BP and the state'. A specific question regarding use of force in demonstrations with different causes was removed, as officers found it 'angering' and 'provocative', stating it made them feel as if it was trying to uncover their political identification.

Regarding the acceptability of the research itself, the experience of the pilot indicated mixed feelings. There was both excitement about being part of the pilot – usually on the part of commanders and education staff – and apprehension that the research was targeting them, against them, or a Trojan horse in their midst. The experience of the pilot highlighted how important it was to portray the research as ‘scientific’ and therefore neutral, concerned with improving training and not taking a stance on any issues related to the training content. The policy set was that the goals of the research should be stated clearly at the start of the day by the commander himself, and as little interaction as possible during the sessions.

#### Section 6/ Conclusions of the Piloting Stage

The pilot demonstrated that intervention could be delivered with a satisfactory level of fidelity to the core components, and pointed to changes which should be made in the manual to increase the quality of implementation. One aspect which came to light was the fragility of the modular components: in making space for the commanders to express themselves and entrench their educational leadership the intervention became susceptible to an assortment of problems tied to the commander in the role of the facilitator: lack of preparation, lack of facilitation skills and lack of commitment to either specific goals of the intervention or the general goals of educational training. A significant part of the changes to the manual therefore focused on providing crutches to the commanders in the form of verbal instructions and suggestions. Modularity was minimised in an attempt to increase implementation fidelity.

The pilot’s conclusions amplified the hypothesis that the centrality of the commander in the BP’s training model is constructive, but also carries a risk. An appropriate

metaphor is that the commander is the 'Achilles heel' of the model. On the one hand, the potential effectiveness of training is magnified by his role, due to his ability to bridge the academy-field disconnect and secure the cooperation and trust of his subordinates (as was discussed extensively in Chapter 5). However, commanders may be unskilled or uncommitted or both, and in these cases their centrality poses a liability to the success of the intervention. This risk can be mitigated by correct analysis of the commander's level of preparedness beforehand by the relevant Education Unit staff member, and compensated for through more extensive involvement and provision of technical and pedagogical support during delivery. The experimental trial attempted to build on this understanding, as will be described in the next chapter.

Another significant idea which arose from the collated experience of the pilot stage was that educational interventions may be seen as a 'zone of proximal development' which can provide 'scaffolding' to police officers in their professionalization process. These terms originate from the field of developmental psychology and relate to young children's learning processes. In Vygotsky's theory of social development, the 'zone of proximal development' is 'the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers' (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86, in Chaiklin, 2003). This quote illustrates the social context of learning and significance of learning opportunities; the 'zone' does not refer to a social space but rather to an estimation of the child's capabilities.

'Scaffolding', a term developed by Vygotsky's followers, refers to the assistance provided during the learning process of a specific skill, concept and so forth (Chaiklin,

2003). For example, learning to perform a certain task may require developing cognitive skills such as self-regulation, representational thinking and strategic problem solving; the scaffolding is geared to developing these prerequisites which are needed for independent execution of the task.

These two concepts are useful in this context, as they provide a framework for considering the relevance and acceptability of the proposed intervention for specific units or organizations. The intervention includes components of modelling and peer-collaboration, which extend the capabilities of participating officers during the training itself. However, it may be that if the distance between the existing 'independent' capabilities to the skills or ideas proposed by the intervention is too great – ceasing to be proximal - the 'scaffolding' cannot succeed; these police officers and units' capabilities are too distant from the intervention, and the 'zone' becomes irrelevant. These concepts can be used to help analyse the situation in each unit and decide if the intervention can be delivered as intended, or if changes need to be made so that the distance between existing knowledge and skills of officers to the new ones the intervention aims to teach is minimised and scaffolding can take place. This may be crucial for more effective implementation and results. This type of assessment was attempted in the next stage of research.

The pilot also allowed to assess the acceptability of both the intervention and the research project; while it was found to of reasonable levels, there was the need to prepare for resistance to the both the central messages of the intervention and the data collection aspects. The strategies chosen relied on increasing the commitment of the participating commanders and impressing upon them their role as educational

leaders, out of a strengthened understanding that they are the only ones who can deliver controversial messages to the intervention's target population.

### Section 7/ An Annotated Manual

The last section of this chapter presents the final manual used in the experimental trial; it is not the full version (an example of which was included in the previous section) but includes all core activities. It also includes explanations of the rationale for using certain delivery approaches or content, based either on occupational training literature or the BP's training model principles. The progression from the initial draft described in Section 2 of this chapter is clearly visible in terms of methods and focus, but the central aims have remained consistent throughout the process.

The final manual is of a short-length training intervention that sets out to improve knowledge, attitudes and skills related to the policing of protests, aiming to align practices with democratic norms and increase awareness of the significance of police-citizen interactions. The training programme is evidence-led and draws on a humanistic approach, applying adult education and participatory delivery techniques, including discussion, critical analysis of case studies, scenario role-play and perspective.

The superordinate goals of this training programme are: increasing the democratic policing of protests and decreasing the inappropriate use of force. The specific aims by module and category are:

#### Module I/ Legal and moral boundaries in the policing of protests in a democracy

- Knowledge: policing powers for protests and riots
- Attitudes: police and democracy, protests in democracy
- Skills: analysing policing practices during protests

Module II/ The Border Police and Israeli Society: 'Trust, Legitimacy and Procedural Justice'

- Knowledge: social learning, the legitimacy and procedural justice model
- Attitudes: understanding the implications of the model for the police officer's role

Module III/ Practising discretion

- Skills: integration of the legitimacy paradigm into the decision making process, including multiple perspective taking including protesters and the general public, the norms of the police organization and society, and the elements of procedural justice.

## Box 3: An annotated manual

### Policing protests and public disorder: 'Everybody is taking about justice' / Educational training for enhancing the professional and ethical standards of BP officers

#### Unit #1: Legal and moral boundaries of policing protests in a democracy

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##### Section 1: Modelling and practicing situation analysis

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(Delivered to entire unit, estimated time: 1 hour)

The activity is centred on a video-clip of protest which is analysed through a joint discussion. There is a short discussion prior to the video clip which aims to highlight the foundational role of protests in a democracy, as well as to challenge the notion of 'public order'.

There are three video-clips to choose from:

1. Social justice protests 2012 : placing a tent inside Tel Aviv city hall
2. Protest regarding house eviction in Hebron: blocking Jerusalem road 2013
3. Student protests on rising fees 2007

After watching the video there is a list of guiding question which relate first to practical analysis of the situation:

- Did this situation reflect an order disturbance? How would you estimate the extent of that disturbance?
- Do we see here a 'prohibited gathering'? What would have made it permissible/forbidden?
- Is this protest legal or illegal? Under what grounds? (the working assumption is that this was a protest that received a license but digressed from its terms)
- Was there a gradual, reasonable and proportional use of force by the police? Elaborate. (Emphasise: this criticism is for learning purposes)
- What are the means being used by the officers? Grade them according to the order of tiers. What you have used the same means in the same way and order?

##### Section 2: 'Problem solving' activity

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(Delivered in 3 squads, estimated time: 30 min)

In this activity, participants watch another video clip (one of those listed above) and have to analyse it themselves based on their own expertise, the former activity and on a 'knowledge kit' (preferably received beforehand) which includes the following documents: BP values and vision, policing powers document, 'protesters' rights' booklet, three newspaper clippings describing protests from different perspectives. The process is facilitated by the squad commander and the participants have an analysis sheet to guide them.

Modelling scenario-analysis is a suggested technique for decreasing extraneous cognitive load, especially for use-of-force scenarios. (Bennell, Jones & Corey, 2007). In this case it is not only the commander's expertise but his 'ethical standards' which provide a learning opportunity.

The three options provide diversity both in level of force used, in type of protest and in degree of consensus in the public sphere. This allows commanders modularity based on the dilemmas most pressing for them.

These questions draw on technical training manuals in use in the BP, encompassing the procedural knowledge officers are expected to possess.

Training which emphasises problem solving techniques is used as part of the strategy of problem-oriented and community policing (Palmiotto, Birzer, & Unnithan, 2000). It has also been used widely in initial and ongoing medical education as part of problem-based learning programmes. It is based on adult education principles, and therefore accentuates the potential for increased motivation and team collaboration. It leads to heightened interest in subject matters (Norman & Schmidt, 2000) and there is some limited evidence that it increases knowledge and performance (Smits, Verbeek & de Buissonjé, 2002). This activity was created based on a medical learning model (Wood, 2003), focusing mostly on the first two aspects of recognizing and analysing the problem. Effectiveness in this case cannot be assumed as the integrity of function may be too low.

Participatory delivery techniques have been demonstrated to support behaviour change in occupational training (Davis et al., 1999). In this case an experiential learning exercise was adapted from image theatre (Boal, 2005). This kind of game-activity is part of the BP's training model.

The legitimacy in policing paradigm is gaining empirical support across the world and has been demonstrated as relevant to the Israeli context as well (Jonathan-Zamir & Weisburd, 2013). Intervention aimed at increasing legitimacy are potentially efficacious (Mazerolle et al., 2013). Specifically, training which advances procedurally justice policing has been shown to impact both police behaviour and citizens' perceptions (Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2013).

The items include:

Regarding the case:

- Is it 'public disorder'?
- Is it a 'prohibited gathering'?
- Is it a legal or illegal protest?
- Did the police officers use any powers? Which?

Regarding the police's actions:

- Is it legal or illegal?
- Is it moral or amoral?
- Is it professional or unprofessional?
- What is your opinion regarding the force used: was it gradual, reasonable and proportional?

#### Unit #2: New Knowledge: Border Police & Israeli Society

Understanding existing challenges and introduction to the knowledge domain: "Trust & justice: improving the status of the police as a legitimate authority".

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#### Section 1: Trust building: experiential exercise

(Delivered in 3 squads, estimated time: 30 min)

An experiential learning activity in which 3 pairs of officers go through a 'hazard maze' made of tables and chairs. One of the pair is blind-folded and his partner leads him through the maze. One of the leaders is given secret instructions to cause his partner to feel unsafe. The pairs are then 'interviewed' about the experience in front of the group to analyse how trust was built and broken. A short explanation should then be given that creates a parallel between learning not to trust in the game to learning not to trust police officers or other public officials based on experience. This is a type of 'social learning'. A discussion on this matter follows.

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#### Section 2: Didactic learning component

(Delivered to entire unit, estimated time: 1 hour and 30 min)

- Brainstorming activity on concepts: 'legitimacy' and 'justice'
- Prezi-guided lecture on Legitimacy and Procedural Justice: the lecture first introduces the basic model in which justice creates trust and legitimacy which in turn lead to police effectiveness. It then goes on to unpack the components of procedural justice, giving examples of each element. Finally it touches on 'iceberg effect' of each police-citizen interaction and on the ensuing responsibility of each officer.

Repeated exposure to information aids the acquisition of schemas, needed for developing proficiency in any field (Groeger, 1997, in Bennell et al., 2007).

Simulation-based training has been shown to improve police officer decision making in complex situations (Helsen & Starkes, 1999). While the resources available did not allow small group training and a virtual environment, it was attempted to include possible active components. For example, a video-clip of a real protest was used as the base of this activity, as evidence suggests the use of realistic stimuli is especially important.

The activities which make up the simulation draw on elements of the Perspective taking is central to the Lewin/Kolb experiential learning cycle, which has been shown to be efficacious as part of cognitive-behavioural therapy packages (Bennett-Levy et al., 2004). Steps 1-3 encourage perspective taking and imagining the results of paths of actions which have not be attempted in the 'real world' yet.

In order to facilitate training transfer, the last activity attempt to tie the training to the everyday practice; 'practice enabling strategies' or 'reinforcing methods' have been shown to be most promising both in medical education (Davis, et al., 1995) and in teacher training (Brouwer & Korthagen, 2005). Connecting field and training is one of the basic principles of the BP training model.

- Discussion to raise points of contention to the issues raised and compare to their own experiences, as well as discuss the relevance of the model to different population they encounter
- Review of the knowledge aspect of the material using a power-point quiz. Officers are asked to indicate the correct answer by raising their hand. The commander comments on each question pointing out correct answer and the source of the dilemma.
- Opportunity to examine attitudes related to the new knowledge domain using an 'attitude gauge', in which officers are asked to stand on the floor, sit, or stand on their chair, based on their level of agreement with a statement. Their stance then serves as the base for a short discussion examining their choices. The three statements used relate to widening effect of individual police officer's decision in a given situation, the potential of the single officer to influence how citizens perceive the police and the ability to realise the principles of procedural justice in their work, both generally and specifically in protests.

### Unit #3: Practicing discretion

Decision making (at the police officer's level) during policing protest which accounts for trust and justice: an in-depth simulation

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This four-stage simulation aims to allow officers to include their ethical-professional knowledge alongside the 'trust and legitimacy' knowledge domain as parameters in decision making. It is based around a short video of the social justice protests (summer 2012).

(Delivered to entire unit, estimated time: 1 hour)

**Part 1: To 'thicken the situation'**: analysis of the situation in the video from four points of view: the protesters, the police officers, top command, and the passer-by/citizen watching on the news.

**Part 2: To emphasise norms and challenges**: articulate the expectation of the citizens from the police, us (police officers) from ourselves and our colleagues and of the top command from us.

(Delivered in 3 squads, estimated time: 1 hour)

**Part 3: To consider discretion in protests, practice and give practical tools: creating a 'script' of a protest**

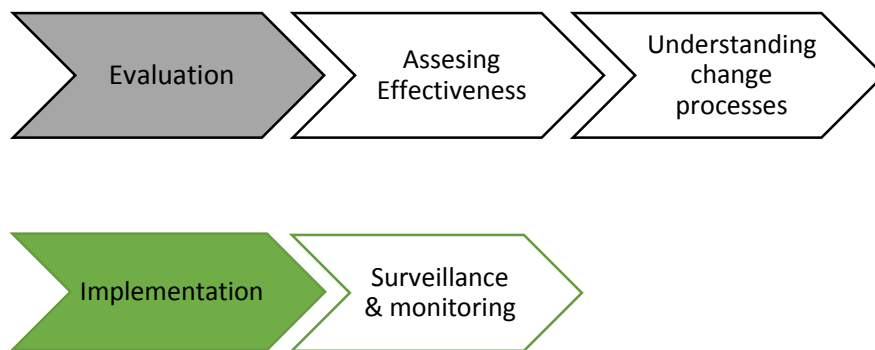
Going back to a certain point in the protest. The group is split in two to represent officers and protesters. Each group receives an arsenal of 'means' (on cards) and then proceeds to place them in turns on the floor, creating a script of a protest. The squad commanders participate using 'joker' cards which aggravate certain aspects of the situation, and by asking participants to reflect on their choices, thus navigating the exercise and ensuring it remains truthful to real-world decision.

**Part 4: Examining the practical application of procedural justice.** Joint examination of the script created to assess its quality and the prominence of the components of procedural justice within it. Officers are then asked to reflect their actions in recent protests and their ability to incorporate PJ in future ones.

## Chapter 7/

### Evaluating the Intervention: a Pilot Cluster-Randomised Cohort

**Study** *After the piloting of the training intervention, this chapter describes the*



*experimental pilot evaluation of the revised manual, aimed at improving policing of protests and aligning it with procedurally just practices. This chapter describes the methodology and results of a pilot quasi-experimental clustered trial, with an emphasis on the specially-designed questionnaire and implementation assessment tool.*

## Section 1/ Overview and Aims

This chapter turns to the experimental evaluation of the training intervention targeting the democratic policing of protests. Its development and piloting, the first two stages of the Medical Research Council's (MRC) framework, were described in previous chapters. This phase is aligned to the MRC's third stage, which focuses on evaluation and includes assessing effectiveness and understanding change processes (see figure in introduction). Within this stage, this study is framed as a pilot evaluation, intended to be used as the base for future efficacy-type evaluations (Flay et al., 2005). This classification is deemed appropriate for two central reasons. First, the breadth of the study was determined by the BP's organisational capacity and resources rather than statistical power calculations. Second, this was the first time the instruments were used with this hard-to-reach population.

### ***Research aims***

The pilot was concerned with determining if a short training intervention for Israeli Border Police officers, centred on procedural justice and legitimacy, could contribute to the democratic policing of protests in comparison with the usual training curricula. This study had four discrete aims, outlined below; this chapter is concerned primarily with the first.

- To assess the potential of the specific protest-centred training programme to impact knowledge, attitudes and skills.
- To confirm the feasibility of the specific training intervention, and of the content and methods it employed.
- To validate the measurement instruments for this population.

- To enhance understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the entire programme theory of the complex intervention

## Section 2/ Methods

### **Population and context**

The study participants were members of the Israeli Border Police (BP), the central paramilitary police force; as previously discussed they are deployed among other tasks in riot control and protest management. The BP is a hybrid organisation, and combines military and police characteristics. Significantly, the basic operative conception is of combat, and the deployment is principally military, operating in units or groups and not as individuals. Accordingly, training also takes place in the officers' own units, or in group formation.

The study focused on two sub-groups within the BP, in order to test the training's relative relevance to two different training settings: on-the-job training versus police academy training. Each training type carries potential as well as risks to 'training transfer' (the use of training in the job), as previous studies of police training have highlighted (as was discussed in chapter 2). Including both types of training enabled the study to reflect on the differences in implementation and results, and to plan appropriately for future scale-up.

The first population of interest was officers routinely involved in policing of protests within Israel-proper<sup>1</sup>, who receive on-the-job training concerning this task. As an organisation, the BP operates both in Israel and in the Occupied Palestinian Territories,

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<sup>1</sup> 'Israel proper' is a para-legal term referring to the territories belonging to Israel before the 1967 war, within which Israeli law applies.

and sometimes units and individuals work intermittently in both; it was deemed conceptually significant to separate the two in this study. The democratic policing of protests cannot be expected in the West Bank, especially when the policed are not citizens of Israel. This observations does not condone in any way police violence towards Palestinians, but simply recognises the huge difference between the two contexts. This shift in expectations is part of the challenge in shaping democratic policing norms for BP officers.

On-the-job training was identified as a focus of interest because it has the potential to inoculate police officers against the tendency of training messages to fade or 'decay' (Wortley & Homel, 1995). The 'yearly education series' was chosen as the organisational structure in which the intervention should be delivered; as described in Chapters 4 and 5, this is the central mechanism of on-the-job training in the BP, which consists of a week of training undertaken by each unit every year, with a changing theme that matches changing organisational priorities and needs. For example, the theme for the 2011 series was 'The BP and Democracy', and in 2010 'Circles of Belonging in Society'.

The second setting of interest was officers undergoing a professional development training course in the central training base. This represents another category of police training: police academy training. In the wider policing literature, the police academy has been theorised as too far removed from the field and therefore irrelevant to police officers' socialisation process (Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003). In the BP's training model, this shortcoming was supposedly addressed by different means, for example by using trainers who were serving commanders on loan for short time periods. The specific

course chosen for the delivery of the intervention was the junior command course.<sup>2</sup> It included officers who had served for at least a year and had some field experience. These officers were all in active IDF service and therefore relatively young, but the next level of command course was considered too exclusive and unrepresentative of the 'ordinary' police officers.

### **Study design**

To allow the determination of causality, a clustered quasi-randomised design was chosen. The design of the study was both theory-driven and pragmatic. The design and actual procedure are visualised in the flow chart (figure 1).

The decision to use a clustered design stemmed from the organisational structures of the BP, in which training is delivered within the officers' own unit or in a group to which they have been assigned for duration of a long-term course. Training is conceptualised as a group activity; the learning is hypothesised to be effective because the group and their commander all undergo the same process (Chapter 5 discusses this aspect of the intervention model). Both the group effect and the organisational support structures would be lost if individual randomisation was chosen. Pragmatically, delivering training as an individual level intervention was not a relevant option, despite the fact it would have allowed for a smaller N and 'powered-up' the study. The trial concurred with the BP's theoretical and practical framework; randomisation was therefore by cluster of either the operational unit or the professional development course group.

Regarding randomisation, experimental designs provide the best path to making causal claims, especially in psycho-social contexts (Bonell, Fletcher, Morton, Lorenc, &

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<sup>2</sup> MAKIM course, an acronym for class commanders

Flow of participants through the experimental phase of the Israeli Border Police Study



figure 1: study flowchart

Moore, 2012). Randomisation is a method for ensuring that any change in outcomes is caused primarily by exposure to the intervention (the experimental condition), and not from any difference within the groups compared that cannot be controlled for. The randomisation strategy in this study made use of both regular randomisation, manipulated as part of the research, and naturally occurring randomisation ('quasi randomisation') as part of organisational process; this combination was used to counterbalance the limited ability of this pilot trial to include a larger number of clusters, and the inability to ensure equality of groups using baseline measures.

The allocation process for the two sub-groups was slightly different; in each, it was guided by the aim of creating balanced, comparable groups. In the on-going-training arm of the trial (Arm A), which examined on-the-job training, the naturally occurring randomisation was of operational units to weeks of the year in which they received the training; this strategy was taken to increase the probability that the units selected was representative of the population. A time frame was selected and all units already scheduled to undergo yearly training during those months, and which answered the inclusion criteria, were to be included in the study; this was the sampling frame. Three units who fitted the inclusion criteria of being routinely involved in the policing of protests were identified, and were then randomised to either the intervention or control group (2:1) using computer-generated randomisation. The allocation process was conducted by a colleague and documented. Since any unit in the BP dealing with protest policing could hypothetically have undergone the training during the defined months, and since the units could only be included if they satisfied a specific inclusion criteria, this was deemed a sufficient step to create equality between the groups and reduce the selection bias to a reasonable level to ensure a quasi-random design.

In the police academy training arm (Arm B), a junior training course taking place during the months of the trial was identified. The 4-month course was delivered in four clusters of similar sizes (around 30 officers), with participants allocated to these clusters in a random-like manner (for example, police officers from the same organic unit are usually distributed evenly across groups, to avoid the creation of social 'cliques'). This was deemed a reasonable step to create a situation of natural randomisation, creating groups that in theory should not be substantially different from one another (for example in their socio-economic status, ethnicity, or attitudes to force) and thus creating potentially 'naturally occurring', well-balanced groups. These four groups were randomly allocated to either the intervention or control conditions using computer-generated randomisation. Here too, the allocation process was conducted by a colleague and documented. The ability to attribute differences between the groups to the intervention in this site is high since group membership is random, unlike in the on-the-job training in which two units have many different characteristics, beginning with area crime level and ending with officers' place of residence.

Significantly, it was not possible to extensively assess similarity of intervention and control groups. Due to significant concerns regarding anonymity (which, in the pilot phase, were identified as the reason for low return rates of questionnaires), it was decided to include minimal 'demographic information' in the questionnaires. This meant that only one measure – being in active service versus career phase – could be used to compare the intervention and control group, and only in one of the arms. This will be described in the results section.

To measure the effects of the intervention, questionnaires developed for this study were used; the development process and content is explained below. Data were collected only at one time-point from each cluster, which is an accepted methodological option in a randomised trial (Streiner & Norman, 2008). The assumption that the groups are similar aside from the manipulated variable (i.e. the intervention) allows use of one measurement point only; a similar strategy was used by Skogan et al. (2014). While this is understood to lower the ability to attribute differences to the intervention, the risk of high volume of missing data was judged to be greater, based on the results of the pilot, in which only around 10% returned the forms.

To assess implementation, the programme theory and change processes, several methods were used including an implementation checklist, semi-structured observations and focus groups. These tools and their outcomes will be discussed following the quantitative section of the paper.

### **The Intervention**

Each participant in the active clusters received the short training intervention described at length in Chapter 6. The intervention aims to improve knowledge, attitudes and skills related to the policing of protests, in order to align practices with democratic norms and increase awareness of the significance of police-citizen interactions. The training programme is evidence-led and draws on a humanistic approach, applying adult education and participatory delivery techniques, including discussion, critical analysis of case studies, scenario role-play and perspective taking. Importantly, it was anchored in the *Legitimacy and Procedural Justice* paradigm. As described in the previous chapter, the training programme consists of three modules (the full manual

is included in the previous chapter):

- Module I/ Legal and moral boundaries in the policing of protests in a democracy
- Module II/ The Border Police and Israeli society: 'Trust, Legitimacy and Procedural Justice'
- Module III/ Practising discretion

In both arms, the training was delivered by the acting commanders, with both active and 'behind the scenes' support of the Education Unit officers and staff; commanders followed the same manual and had access to the necessary teaching aids. As researcher, I was present in all sessions but did not take an active role in delivering the training; my role was to observe the sessions in order to assess fidelity and record the delivery of the intervention (through audio device and note-taking).

In order to promote integrity in delivery, aside from the staff preparation training (detailed below), all commanders and junior commanders received copies of the manual. The manual produced was edited by an officer from the Education Unit to ensure it would be understandable and usable for the command staff. The manual went into great detail regarding how to perform the techniques, giving examples for leading questions in discussions, and even supplying basic props to ensure a uniform as possible execution.

### **Training of Trainers: staff preparation**

As detailed in the intervention's theory of change, it is not professional facilitators who deliver training in the BP, but rather commanders; either unit commanders in on-the-job training or individuals on loan to the police academy for short periods of time

in the professional development courses. Education Unit staff support commanders in this role by preparing them ahead of time and providing assistance during training. This organisational arrangement can be seen as a core component of the intervention and therefore received special attention.

To ensure proper implementation, all commanders and their staff underwent preparation in their unit, in which the training manual and topic were introduced (Gough, 2004). The exact content of preparation varied from unit to unit but was fashioned to include a review of the entire day (reading through the manual), with some of the activities being verbally explained and some carried out to give the commanders a better understanding of how to facilitate them. There was an additional time set aside at a later date to go over any queries the commander had and help him prepare. The training of trainers was led by Education Unit officers, with the assistance of the researcher. The lower-level commanders, who were charged with delivering some of the activities, were given support by local Education Unit staff members. The preparation varied slightly from cluster to cluster, based both on the willingness and commitment of the commanders and on their operational availability. The implications of this variation will be discussed in the implementation assessment section.

### **Comparison: the control condition**

As emphasised in the previous chapter, this training was developed on the base of training already delivered to BP officers. It can be considered an exemplary training which emphasised elements of training model whose potential for creating change was identified in the development stage of the research process. Like all other

educational training in the BP, it is not training which is adjoined to a dramatic change in policies or practices, or a policing philosophy, but rather operates within the bounds of existing policing tactics, and tries to minimise the distance between the proclaimed values and norms of the organization and the reality on the ground.

The training intervention being trialled is an add-on to the usual training undertaken by officers; it includes policing powers in protests and highlights the place of protests in democracy. The new intervention uses a more participatory approach (problem solving, video clip analysis, scenario analysis) and introduces the Procedural Justice framework as relevant to policing attitudes and skills. The comparison is an attempt to assess the relative advantage of these methods and content over the usual training undergone by officers. The similarities between the intervention evaluated and the 'treatment as usual' control group potentially makes demonstrating change difficult.

### Section 3/ Quantitative Assessment of Intervention Effects

The central aim of the study was to assess how the intervention affects the knowledge, attitudes and skills of police officers; a closed-ended questionnaire was designed to address this goal. Understanding how to best measure the effects of training on officers is one of the great challenges facing this area of study and practice. This study followed the theoretical model of how training transfer might occur, and tested the three broad intermediate outcomes (knowledge, attitudes and skills) which may precede behaviour change. While officers' behaviour on the job is the ultimate goal of training, the scope of this study did not allow to address this type of outcome measure.

For methodological and practical reasons, the study only uses individual level

outcomes. I originally intended to use group level outcomes such as citizen complains figures which are at unit-level, or unit 'organisational climate' assessments which are carried out by the National Police research unit (MAMDA). This turned out to be both not feasible and not relevant. It was not feasible as I could not gain access to organisational data or measurement tools. It was not relevant as comparing between so few clusters would have been meaningless. The individual level outcomes were the most meaningful that could be used in these circumstances, and considering no other data exists they are of value regardless.

The design of the questionnaire presented two central challenges. Firstly, no 'gold standard' validated instrument exists for this topic and this population. Second, the Border Police population was considered unreceptive to this method of data collection and there was a risk the response rate would be too low to allow meaningful data to be gathered. These two challenges interact, since extensive piloting to produce validated measures was not a feasible option.

A valid scale is one 'that allows to make inferences about a person' (Streiner & Norman, 2008, p. 258). In the absence of a 'gold standard' measurement tool in the field – which has been recognised as 'unchartered ground' – It was necessary to attempt to increase the face and content validity as preceding step to criterion validation. Face and content validity are judgment-based, but nonetheless important as they affect 'the inferences that can be drawn from a score' (Messick, 1989, in Streiner & Norman, 2008).

To ensure face and content validity, the questionnaire design combined a theoretical and empirical strategy. The development of the questionnaire was theory-based, so

as a starting point the hypotheses of the study were explicated. Each hypothesis was then used to generate the formulations that would enable confirming or rejecting the hypothesis. For example, the first hypothesis of the study was that training will have a positive influence on knowledge of policing powers in protests (H1); this was further clarified to relate to both the source of power and the procedural proficiency. Items were shaped from training manuals in use by the BP to ensure accuracy and reviewed by professional riot trainers to confirm relevance.

The questionnaire draws as far as possible on items previously used and validated. The literature was searched to identify relevant items used in similar or related studies, as close to the population of the study as possible. This increased the chances they will be both 'useful and psychometrically sound' (Streiner & Norman, 2008, p. 16). For example, another hypothesis was that training will have a positive influence on the willingness of officers to adopt the world view of the legitimacy paradigm into their view of policing (H3). Section 3 of the questionnaire drew on both published and then-yet-unpublished research which had attempted to assess the same matter among British and American police officers. The wording was changed as little as possible, to maintain the original meaning while adapting to the national and organisational context; for example, the word 'gang member' was replaced with criminal, which is more relevant to the Border Police's tasks. If no external academic source was available from which to draw the items an alternative strategy was chosen (as described in the example of H1).

All hypothesis and the ensuing questionnaire sections and ideas are displayed in the chart below (table 1). The full questionnaire with all items is included in appendix A.

## Piloting the questionnaire

The questionnaire was piloted during the piloting of the intervention to assess the appropriateness of both content and format. In terms of format, there was an attempt to test the advantages of using an on-line version; this was unsuccessful and met with zero response. The low response rate (around 20%, with 12 completed forms) did not allow for statistical analysis, but was meaningful for shaping the research design.

A focus group of five officers from the second trial run<sup>3</sup> was conducted to gain insight on how they view the questions. It used a 'thinking aloud' technique (Streiner & Norman, 2008) to ascertain participants understanding of the items. Aside from specific comments on wording of specific items, some of the general conclusions were: the information sheet was off-putting; the questionnaire was too long, and used overly sophisticated language; some questions were perceived as inflammatory and caused what officers termed a 'firewall' (resistance to responding). All group members confirmed they would be uninterested in trying an electronic version and 'trusted' a pen-and-paper version more. These conclusions highlighted the need to maintain officers' motivation and reduce item numbers while assuring the key hypothesis could still be tested. The questionnaire was re-designed accordingly.

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<sup>3</sup> An additional focus group from the first trial was ceased abruptly when officers were called away from an emergency task, and so yielded no data.

**Table 1: From hypotheses to questionnaire items**

#	Hypothesis	Area	of # Items	Source
1	The intervention will improve knowledge of police powers ((protests	Knowledge	6	Border Police Public Order Training Manuals
2	The intervention will improve knowledge of the legitimacy paradigm	Knowledge	5	Variety of academic literature, for example Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012
3	The intervention will increase support for the procedural justice framework	Attitudes	10	Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2014; Bradford & Quinton, 2013
4	The intervention will increase the likelihood officers choose to apply procedural justice principles to policing protests	Skills	5	Qualitative data from pilot stage of trial
5	Support for democratic principles may be positively correlated to support for procedural justice principles	Attitudes	6	Israeli Democracy Scale, the Latin American Public Opinion Project, Bradford & Quinton 2013

### **The Questionnaire**

The questionnaire was divided into five sections, each reflecting aspects of the hypotheses of the study: two concerning knowledge, two concerning attitudes and one concerning skills.

### ***Items assessing knowledge regarding legalistic and procedural aspects of protest policing***

While the training did not attempt to introduce any new knowledge of policing powers, it was hypothesised that it would serve as a 'booster session' and improve officers' knowledge of both the source of their powers in the specific area of protest policing (two items) as well as proficiency in the procedural and legalistic aspects of these powers (four items). The items were based on training materials in use by the protest & riot training centre in the central BP academy, which were also used to develop the first module of the training course under examination (Border Police Public Order Policing Manual, 2012). This section of the questionnaire contained both true/false and multiple choice questions, to create a score range of 0-6.

### ***Items assessing knowledge regarding Legitimacy and Procedural Justice***

As this training course was based on an adult education approach, legitimacy and procedural justice were taught as a knowledge component, to give officers an opportunity to understand the reason for adopting this approach in policing. It was theorised that this knowledge was necessary for a subsequent change in attitudes and skills, and this hypothesis was tested using six items. As the questionnaires were intended for both the control and intervention groups, the challenge was to frame items in a way that makes it possible to answer without having received the training, using common sense; this potentially decreases their ability to distinguish between groups. The items in this section tested understanding of the basic assumptions of this model, focusing on three different aspects: legitimacy (three items), police

effectiveness (one item), and the components of procedural justice (two items). The items all build on scholarly work in this area, which was also used to design the second training module (for example Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). This section of the questionnaire contained both true/false and multiple choice questions, to create a score range of 0-6.

### ***Items assessing attitudes to Procedural Justice***

As one of the hypothesis of the intervention was that support for procedural justice as a guiding principle in police work was a necessary element for training transfer, this section of the questionnaire sought to measure this support. Respect, as a central component, was measured using the 'respect towards civilians' index used in a training experiment of Chicago police officers (Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2013); four of the original five items were used (the scale scored 0.70 Alpha Cronbach coefficient). The remaining three components (neutrality, participation and benevolence) were measured using two items each. One item in each couple was adapted from a questionnaire used to assess procedural justice related attitudes among English police officers (Bradford & Quinton, 2014). The remaining pair was teased out from the Quality of Interaction index used by Rosenbaum & Lawrence (2013). As the training encouraged procedural justice specifically in the context of protests and this had not been measured in any study before, some of the items were changed to relate to this task. All items were attitudinal statements using a Likert scale of 1-10, from 'completely agree' to 'completely disagree'.

### ***Items assessing Procedural Justice-related skills***

Skills are hypothesised as important to training transfer. This section of the questionnaire attempted to measure a willingness to perform or prioritise policing duties which are anchored in a Procedural Justice framework. Using questionnaires to measure potential skills involved less resources than a live or written scenario analysis. Because this policing task had not been previously written about from a procedural justice perspective the items were developed as part of the pilot stage, by interpreting officers' discussions in the second and third training module, and by directly asking them both in the third pilot run and in the focus groups what the procedurally just policing of protests might include in terms of specific behaviours. The five items developed related to all four procedural justice components to reflect a well-rounded skills set. A Juster scale of probabilities was used, which asked officers to assess the chances of them performing certain actions while policing protests from 0% ('slight chance') to 100% ('high chance'), with four categories in between (20, 40, 60, 80%).

### ***Items assessing attitudes to democracy and to democratic policing***

Unlike the other sections of the questionnaire, which relate to the central aim of assessing intervention effects, this section relates to the aim of understanding change processes. As noted above, one of the goals of this trial was to 'unpack the black box of training' in order to better understand processes of change. We hypothesised that more positive attitudes towards democracy will positively correlate to higher acceptance of training. Officers' acceptance of the democratic value framework may

be of importance for the acceptance of a Procedural Justice framework, especially in societies in which democracy is less established. There was no hypothesised difference between the groups, as these are core attitudes the intervention did not aim to change.

The items in this section sought to evaluate support for core democratic principles (two items) and for the tenants of democratic policing (four items). Items were drawn from a variety of sources: the Israeli Democracy Scale (Herman, Atmor, Heller, & Lebel, 2013); the Latin American Public Opinion Project; Vanderbilt University (Latin American Public Opinion Project, 2006); and scales on suspects' rights and use of force used by Bradford & Quinton (2014). All items were attitudinal statements using a Likert scale of 1-10, from 'completely agree' to 'completely disagree'.

#### [Section 4/ Qualitative Assessment of Intervention Delivery and Change Processes](#)

In line with the study's aims, of assessing the feasibility of delivering the intervention with fidelity, and of developing a hypothesis of the change processes which occur during training in order to inform future research and substantiate the theoretical model of police training, three primary methods were used: an implementation measurement tool, observations, and focus groups. The results will not be explicated systematically in this chapter; only the aspects which help illuminate the quantitative results will be conveyed.

#### **An Implementation matrix**

Especially in an efficacy trial such as this, assessing the fidelity of the implementation is of value (Craig et al., 2008). As implementation is central to the success of any intervention, it is important to be able to assess it systematically from two perspectives.

First, the gap between conceptualization of the intervention and its execution, most importantly how and how well the specific components or techniques were delivered. Second, the equal treatment of the groups in the trial, an aspect which can potentially introduce bias (Smits, Verbeek, & de Buissonjé, 2002). This is needed in order to draw conclusions both regarding 'active ingredients' as well as whether lack of proper implementation is a contributing cause to the failure of an intervention to achieve the desired results. In order to achieve this rigour an implementation assessment tool was used.

The implementation tool was developed in a participatory fashion to ensure a good fit with the programme's basic premises. The tool's departure point is the Blueprints implementation model (Mihalic, 2004), and accordingly it assesses four main aspects: adherence, exposure, quality of delivery and participant responsiveness. In order to create a matrix rather than a more technical checklist, and to capture 'the more elusive aspects of superior implementation' of an educational programme (Gough, 2004, pg. 6), it also drew on the Sure Start implementation framework to assess process, progress and holistic fit (Belsky, 2007). Within these three conceptual domains, aspects relevant uniquely to police training and to the Border Police's model were expressed. For example, it relates to the interaction between the commander and the education staff, and to the commander's technical capacity to lead educational training. The implementation tool was tested during the piloting stage described in the previous chapter. An overview of all the tool's categories is available below (Table 2).

The development and full results will be discussed elsewhere, but this chapter will highlight the overall findings and draw on them to consider the quantitative results.

**Table 2: Implementation tool - central categories**

Process	Partnership of Education Unit staff and commanders: on-going dialogue	
	Educational leadership of local Education Unit staff	
	Command staff preparation process	Preparation Execution
Focus and Execution	Programme	Core issues
		Other relevant ethical topics
	Exposure	Number of activities
		Length of activities
	Delivery	Unit commander: technical capacity
		Unit commander: ethical capacity
		Command staff: technical and ethical capacity
		Education staff: technical and ethical capacity
	Participation	Officers involvement
		Unit building ( <i>Bildung</i> )
Continuity		
Holistic overview	Connection to overarching goals	Ethical dialogue
		Unit building role ( <i>Bildung</i> )
		Socialising to organisational values
		Organisational preparedness
	The commander's role: personal and organisational vision	

## Section 5/ Results

### Study procedure

In practice, the study's design deviated from the planned procedure, especially in Arm A. After the allocation process, it was discovered that due to an emergency security situation, one of the intervention groups had been relocated to the southern Israeli border and its tasks changed so they no longer included the policing of protests.

The unit would not participate in training until the end of the year, and would be impossible to access even as a control group. It was judged that including a unit that did not share the basic characteristics would bias the study more than excluding the unit, as its inclusion would make it more difficult to assume differences were the result of the intervention.

The study therefore includes one unit in each allocation in Arm A, which are matched to a certain extent. Both these units were of the same organisational type ('101'); this guaranteed some crucial similarities, such as the ratio of active servicemen versus career officers, the type of duties, the command structure, and the officers' self-perception of serving in a front-line unit. However, because they were from different districts this meant that there could be differences which would prevent the identification of intervention effects, such as the overall numbers of protests policed per year, media attention, etc. This will be discussed in more detail in the discussion.

In addition, it became clear that '101' units were actually made up of two affiliated units with slightly different tasks. As the majority of the intervention was delivered to these two halves separately, it was decided to treat them as one cluster for this stage of the analysis, but as two sub-groups for the purpose of future sensitivity analysis.

Another deviation from the original plan was that it was not possible to deliver the intervention in the course of one day as planned. In Arm A, a half day training session was added to enable all content to be delivered (bringing the intervention to 10 hours). The additional half day was delivered several weeks later, as part of a monthly on-the-job training day. In Arm B on the other hand, there were greater time constraints, and so a slightly shorter version that could be delivered in one day (six hours) was created.

The reduced version had one less problem-solving exercise in Module I, and a shorter lecture in Module II.

In practice, 227 police officers in six clusters participated in the trial, with 105 receiving the intervention and 122 serving as the control group. In theory, the police units and course groups included in the trial should have comprised a total of 258 police officers, according to organisational records. The lower figures reflect the numbers of questionnaires collected. Because of the nature of the BP's organisational culture, it is very difficult to assess how many people were actually there on the day, given that police officers may have been on site but not present. For instance, a small number were always away, on patrol duty or guarding the unit's weapons. It is also possible that officers who did not take part in the training had returned by the time the questionnaires were distributed. As there is no guarantee that those who participated are those who answered the questionnaires, the study can be said to have employed an 'intention to treat' analysis.

### **Delivering the intervention with fidelity**

All training sessions were observed by the researcher and a research assistant. Notes were taken throughout the session in an attempt to record all occurrences and interactions, as well as physical aspects. When possible, sessions were audio-recorded as well, to allow for accurate additions and corrections. Observations were guided by the implementation tool, to ensure a systematic approach that would extend beyond anecdotal descriptions. The observation notes were primarily used to help complete the implementation forms post-hoc, and to explain the questionnaire results.

Reviewing the implementation tool and the observation notes, it can be concluded

the intervention was delivered with relative fidelity. The implementation tool was used to guide the structured interviews with the education officers who served as support staff in the different training sites. During these interviews, post-hoc analysis was conducted to assess the implementation in the four active clusters.

For the majority of activities, whilst the delivery was close enough in nature to the manual, the level of proficiency in delivery may have lessened any potential efficacy; this will be discussed further in relation to the implementation matrix in the discussion section. However, in the first module there were actual missing components. For example, police officers were meant to receive a set of documents, including copies of policing powers relating to protests, ahead of time and to use them to lead small-group problem solving exercise. This delivery approach presented a challenge to the commanders and the officers alike, and this set of activities was either not carried out or carried out in a partial fashion (where the officers only received the materials during the session). In some instances, junior commanders made statements that contradicted either the knowledge-related or attitude-related components of the intervention.

### **Delivering the questionnaires**

The experience of the feasibility and piloting stages was of an extremely low response rate: for example, in the second pilot run only 12, of around 50 officers, returned the questionnaires. This indicated a high risk that asking officers to complete two sets of questionnaires would result in either low return rates or erratic participation. The decision to avoid a before-after design marks the trade-off between higher participation that minimises selection bias (i.e. only the more committed participants

filling in and submitting the questionnaire) and a lowered sensitivity of the data with respect to identifying differences between intervention and control conditions.

Based on the piloting, the following strategy was used to raise response rates: A specific time was allocated to the activity, and commanders were requested to introduce the activity by explaining the value of questionnaire completion to the Border Police, as it would enable the organisation to benefit from a study in which it had invested great resources. In addition, the questionnaire itself was printed on colourful paper, with a short information sheet on top. The minimal demographic details requested were accompanied by an explanation of why they were needed.

Questionnaires were filled out by the intervention group participants almost immediately after receiving the intervention, following a short break. There was an attempt to equalise the conditions of questionnaire delivery for the control groups in order to minimise bias. The control group in Arm A received the questionnaires on the first day of their 'yearly education series', so were hypothesised to be in the same 'frame of mind' as the intervention group. In Arm B, the control group filled out the questionnaires the day after the intervention group, to ensure the same point in the timeline of the professional course, and thus minimise historical bias. However, this approach may have meant that control group participants were more alert, as this was not at a late hour of the night and following an intensive day of training.

### **Blinding at data entry stage**

To minimise bias, the researcher was blinded at the stage of data entry. The data from each of the seven units were kept in sealed brown envelopes. Eight new envelopes were prepared and marked A I- IV (to indicate the Arm A of the trial) and B I-IV (to

indicate Arm B). A person external to the research transferred the contents of each envelope to a new envelope, creating a code sheet which was kept in a secure location until all data had been entered. All the groups were about the same size, so this was not a distinguishing characteristic. The one group that was larger was split up into two piles and placed in two envelopes, to ensure that the larger numbers would not give away this group's identity.

The researcher then entered the data into a spreadsheet sheet prepared ahead of time. Each questionnaire was numbered so it could be compared to the spreadsheet line in a 'quality assurance test'. At the end of the data entry, Stage 2 forms from each envelope were randomly selected and checked for accuracy against the line with the matching number. The accuracy rate was 100 percent.

### **Analysis plan**

In the first stage, the response rate to the questionnaires was assessed. The data was analysed using Stata software. The demographic variables were first examined to uncover the characteristics of the participants, as well as any major unforeseen differences between the groups. The entire database was then analysed to establish the percentage of missing items, and to ensure that the data was complete enough to not create bias.

In line with the study's aim of determining whether the intervention would create a difference between groups, appropriate statistical tests were chosen for the central part of the analysis. Analysis was also conducted to allow to differentiate between effects across training sites; this is necessary as the training might be better suited to some training structures than others. As the scales had not been validated, each

item was tested separately. While each section could be treated as a scale, this would have been a less robust approach at this stage, less useful for development of valid measurement tools. This topic will be discussed in a separate paper, so at this point no related statistics are reported.

Items in the knowledge section are categorical (true/false, correct/incorrect), and accordingly Pearson's Chi-square was selected. In the instances of cells of less than 5, a Fisher's exact test was run. Each item was assessed for mean result as well. Items in the attitudes and skills section, as ordinal variables, were analysed using a Mann-Whitney rank sum test. They were also assessed for distribution, mean and range. These tests allowed for the discovery of effects in both directions, as negative effects could not be ruled out.

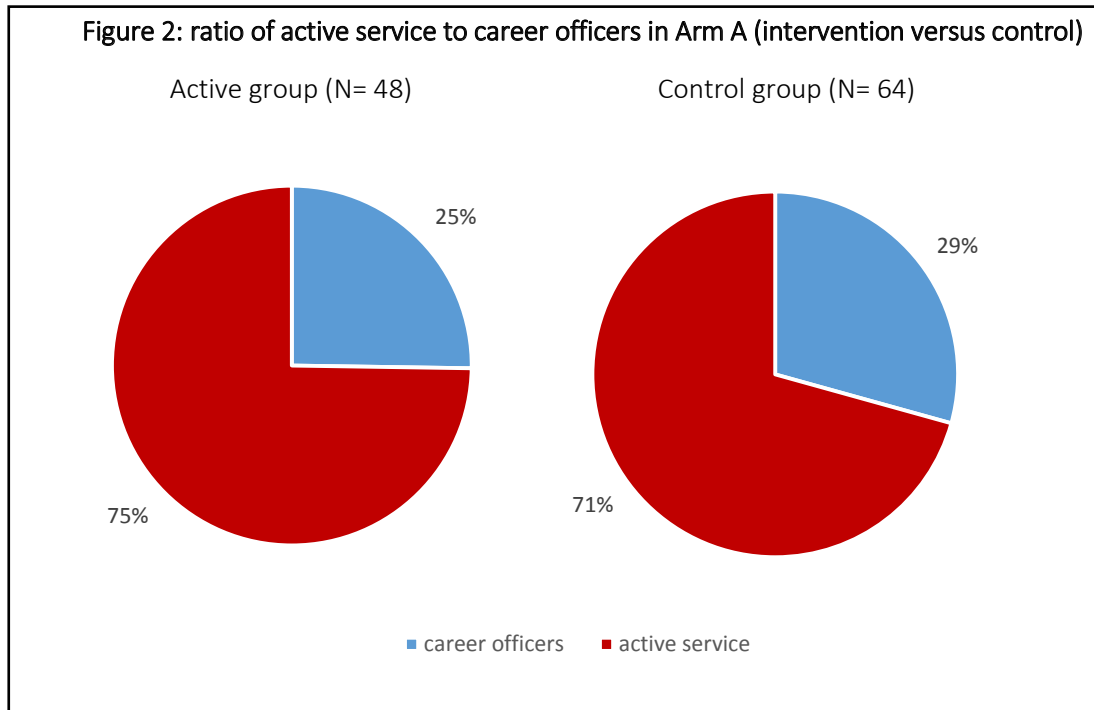
One of the reasons underpinning the importance of this experiment is that the dearth of studies in the field makes it difficult to calculate the sample size needed to achieve statistical power. Knowledge of expected effect sizes and of inter-cluster correlation for this type of intervention is still limited. A recent cluster-randomised study in the field, published after the conclusion of this study, found effect sizes of between 1.2-1.6, but included 150 clusters (Skogan, Craen, & Hennessy, 2014). Clustered trial usually require between 50-100% more participants than individually-randomised trials (Puffer, Torgerson, & Watson, 2005). A recent study of police training, in which officers were randomised individually to receive or not receive training, included a similar number of participants; this helped establish that the study may be underpowered. As stated previously, the number of clusters in the study was determined pragmatically (by the organisation), rather than through a power calculation that would have taken the

intra-cluster correlation coefficient into account (Puffer et al., 2005). This is one of the reasons why the study is considered a pilot trial.

### **Response rates and group characteristics**

Assuming that all officers that were part of the unit were actually present, there was a 90% response rate in the active group, and 87% in the control group. This slight difference is to be expected, taking into account the lessened sense of commitment. This calculation was 'reversed'; the human resource data was checked to discover how many police officers were listed as belonging to the participating units as the time of the study, as it was not possible to know how many were actually present. The data was judged to be complete enough for meaningful analysis, with 2% of data cells missing (under the accepted 5%) (Ibrahim, Chu, & Chen, 2012).

Descriptive statistics are limited in scope; in order to preserve both anonymity and participants' feelings of confidence in the aims of the study, only basic demographic data was provided. For example, there were very few women in each group, so asking participants to state their sex would have served to identify individuals. Arm B's participants were highly homogenous, due to the context being examined: they were all under 25 and still in active service. In Arm A, 25% of the active clusters were career police officers in comparison with 29% in the control cluster. A similar percentage were over 25, and had taken a command course. This helped ascertain that the differences between the groups were not significant, by indicating that the two groups were comparable. It would of course have been preferable to compare the groups regarding other characteristics, but this was not a possibility, and considering the pilot nature of this trial it was judged sufficient.



**Quantitative results: treatment effects by category & training site**

***Did the intervention improve knowledge of policing powers?***

Two items out of six in this section showed a significant difference between groups: a\_3 and a\_4.

**Item a\_3:** What is an ‘illegal protest’?

The high-ranking officer on-site announced it is illegal

The organizers did not ask the police for a licence

It is a gathering of over 50 people listening to a political speech or marching together and that do not have a licence

**Item a\_4:** In the second tier of protests and public disorder (‘a non-violent disruption of order’) what are the means available to the police?

- All means except firing rubber bullets
- No means are available
- Use of force is allowed, but with no means

When testing for differences between intervention and control, the control group participants were more likely to provide the correct answer to item a\_3; 77 out of 119 as opposed to 51 out of 104 in the intervention group: (N= 223)= 5.57, p= 0.02 (table 3).

Allocation	True	False	Total
Control group	42	77	119
Active group	53	51	104
Total	95	128	223

Pearson chi2(1)= 5.57      Pr= 0.018

When testing for differences between the trial sites, there was a significant difference in answer patterns for item a\_4. In Arm A (on the job training), the control group were once again more likely to give a positive answer: (N=111) =8.72, p = 0.00. But when comparing Arm B (training academy) to the control group, the intervention group received significantly better results: (N=111) =16.69, p =0.00 (table 4).

<b>Arm A only</b>			
Allocation	True	False	Total
Control group	12	52	64
Active group	21	26	47
Total	33	78	1

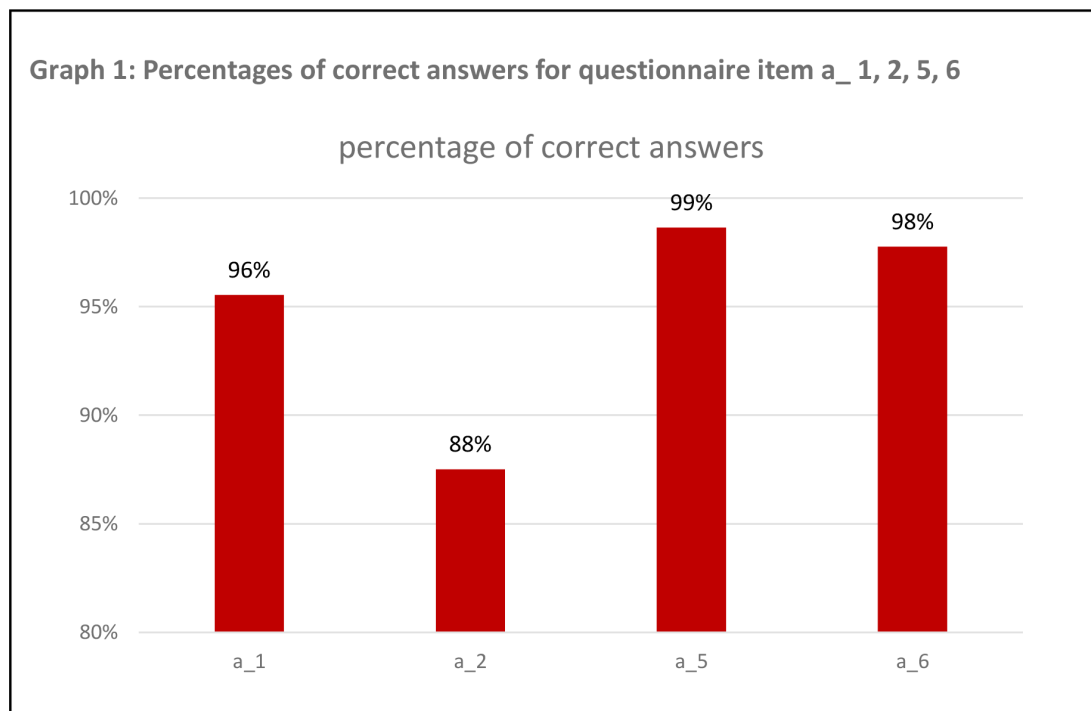
Pearson chi2(1)= 8.72      Pr= 0.003

<b>Arm B only</b>			
Allocation	True	False	Total
Control group	12	52	64
Active group	21	26	47
Total	33	78	1

Pearson chi2(1)= 8.72      Pr= 0.003

For the remaining four items, no differences between groups were found; notably, the clear majority of participants answered correctly. For example in item a\_1, only five participants in the control group and five participants in the intervention group did not choose the correct answer, as can be seen in the graph below.



A comparison between the groups revealed the intervention group achieved significantly better results on item b\_5: (N=224)= 4.76, p = 0.03 (table 5).

**Item b\_5:** The higher the level of police legitimacy, the higher the willingness of citizens to answer to the demands of police officers, to cooperate with them and .(to assist them in their work (true / false

**Table 5: Knowledge regarding legitimacy (item b\_5)**

Allocation	True	False	Total
Control group	18	103	121
Active group	6	97	103
Total	24	200	224

Pearson chi2(1)= 4.76 Pr= 0.029

<b>Arm A only</b>			
Allocation	True	False	Total
Control group	14	50	64
Active group	3	44	47
Total	17	94	111

Fisher's exact= 0.032

One sided fisher's exact= 0.021

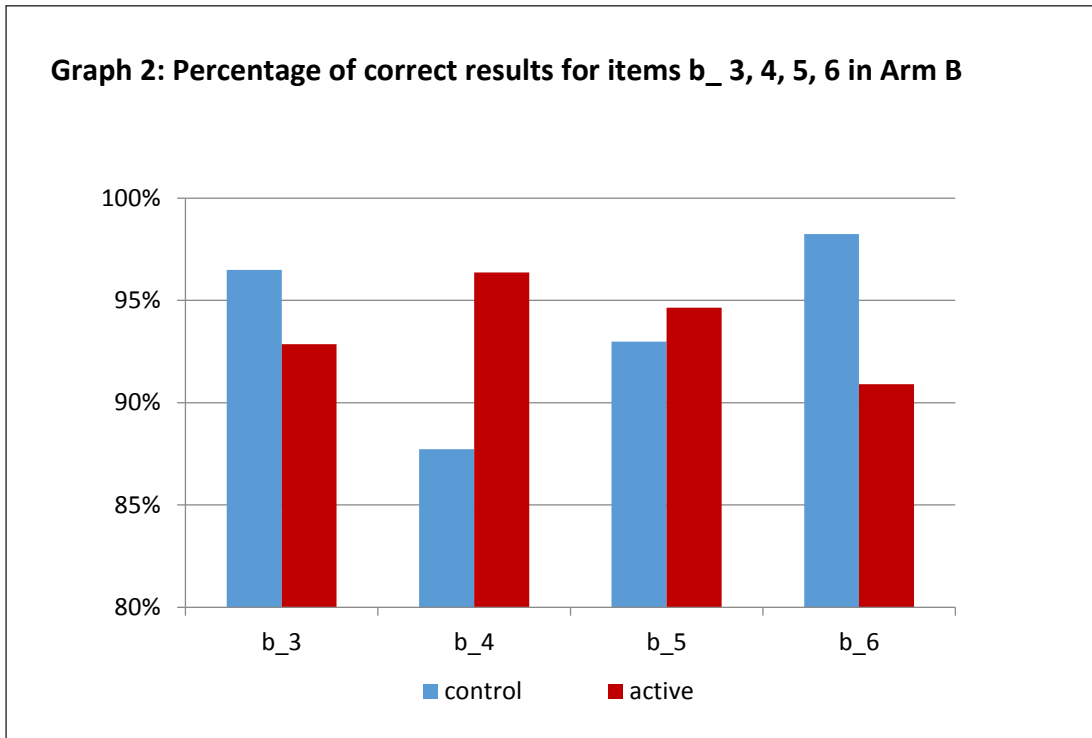
When comparing the two arms of the trial separately, Arm A (on-the-job training) achieved better scores on an additional item: b\_1:(N=111)= 7.87, p= 0.01). It sustained a significant result on item b\_5: (N=111, Fisher's exact = 0.03)(table 6).

**Item b\_1:** Police effectiveness is possible when (a) citizens report crimes (b) when the police has unlimited power or (c) when citizens obey the law only out .(of fear of being caught

<b>Table 6: Knowledge regarding legitimacy (item b_1)</b>			
<b>Arm A only</b>			
Allocation	True	False	Total
Control group	43	21	64
Active group	19	28	47
Total	62	49	111

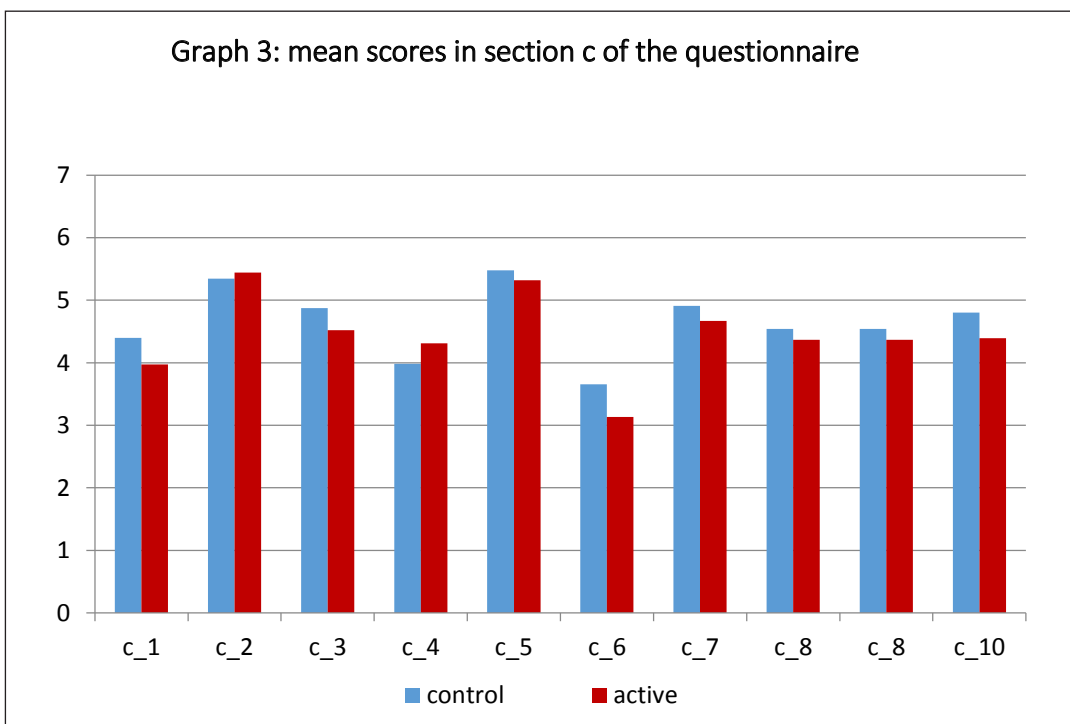
Pearson chi2(1)= 7.87                      Pr= 0.005

Regarding the results of the second arm of the trial (Arm B) it is worth highlighting that the for items b\_ 3, 4, 5 and 6 there are very few incorrect answers for both groups (7 is the highest cell number for incorrect answers). This is clearly visible in the graph below.



***Did the intervention increase support for the Procedural Justice framework?***

When using a Mann-Whitney rank sum test, no differences between the intervention and control group were found on any of the items. The graph below presents the mean of each item in Section C of the questionnaire in the intervention versus the control group. This demonstrates the similar pattern of answers regardless of allocation.



When analysing the results for each arm separately, with some of the items which assessed the ‘respect’ facet of procedural justice, the intervention group displayed less positive attitudes than the control group. Of these, only item c\_1 was significant. A two-sample Mann-Whitney test indicated more negative attitudes among intervention group participants: (N=115)  $z = 2.24$ ,  $p < 0.02$ . Items c\_2 and c\_3 were close to the cut-off point, indicating a possible trend (table 7).

**Item c\_1:** It’s ok not to treat someone with respect if they don’t treat you with respect

**Table 7: Attitudes regarding procedural justice (all C items)**

**Arm B only**

**Statistic: Two-sample Wilcoxon rank-sum (Mann-Whitney) test**

Item	Z	Prob
Respect 1	2.243	*0.0249
Respect 2	1.801	0.0717
Respect 3	1.754	0.0794
Participation 4	-0.923	w0.3561
Neutrality 5	0.544	0.5867
Benevolence 6	1.469	0.1419
Participation 7	1.066	0.2865
Benevolence 8	-0.518	0.6047
Participation 9	-0.198	0.8430
Neutrality 10	0.747	0.4553

**Did the intervention increase support for procedurally just policing skills or actions during protests?**

No difference between groups was found on items assessing an officer’s willingness to use a procedural justice approach in policing protests, either when comparing the

entire intervention and control groups, or each arm separately.

### ***A difference between groups in democracy-related attitudes***

Although no difference between the groups were expected, statistical analysis using a Mann-Whitney rank sum test revealed that on item e\_2, which assessed general attitudes to democracy, the intervention group were more likely to negatively rate their agreement with a statement limiting free speech (N=215)  $z = 2.64, p < 0.00$ . The full analysis relating to this set of items will be presented in a future paper.

<p><b>Item e_2:</b> It should be forbidden for a speaker to publicly voice (for example in a protest, on television or radio) stern criticism against the State of Israel</p>
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### **Procedure and results of focus groups**

Three focus group were conducted with officers from three out of the four intervention clusters; the strategy was to conduct a focus group for each of the clusters that underwent the intervention, but it was not possible to coordinate the second group in Arm A. This possibly introduced a bias, as this was not only a technical issue but also reflected the commander's prioritization of the activity. As was highlighted in the implementation matrix, the commander's commitment and connection is hypothesised to be a factor that could greatly influence the successful delivery and internalisation of training messages.

Eleven officers participated in the focus groups; officers were selected by the unit/group commanders, who were instructed not to select the best participants, but simply those who would be representative of the group. Some of the participants had not attended whole sections of the training (for example one officer had not yet been assigned to the unit when the first part of the training took place). It should also

be noted that one of the participants was part of the junior command staff so had undergone staff preparation and had led some of the activities; he was invested in the discussion and often set the tone. This could have created an unrepresentative/unusually positive atmosphere.

The focus groups took officers through each training activity and asked them both about content and delivery methods. This data collection method served to triangulate the data gathered in the observations, as well as to inform understanding of the possible change process and assess feasibility and acceptability. Each focus group was approximately one hour long. A full thematic analysis of the interviews, relating to opportunities and barriers in using a Procedural Justice framework for training police officers in deeply divided societies, will be presented in the next chapter

When examining the data gathered in the focus groups, officers seem to present a more ambivalent or positive response than questionnaires portray. All the focus groups were supportive of the training in general, but expressed opinions that one day on the topic was not enough, and more scenarios should be practiced if the training was to be effective. Alongside negative statements concerning the irrelevance of a Procedural Justice approach to protest policing, the narrative that emerged was of value: *'Your approach (refers to how you interact with citizens) is everything, especially in our line of work...it's a top value. In one word you can resolve a demonstration that would have lasted 8 hours...even in life-threatening situations.'* Beyond this basic approval, officers expressed a desire for a reality in which justice guided the interactions between them and the public, but were hesitant as to the feasibility of this in 'real life'. This mix of positive and negative themes will be discussed further in the next chapter.

## Section 6/ Discussion

This study sought to assess the ability of the training programme to impact the knowledge, attitudes and skills of police officers. It also aimed to assess the feasibility of the programme, the suitability of the measurement instruments and advance understanding of the programme theory.

### **The challenge of influencing knowledge, attitudes and skills**

Regarding the first and central aim, when looking to the quantitative results, a mixed picture is revealed. While the intervention group achieved more positive scores in some of the knowledge and attitudes related items, there were also a few items in which the control group scored higher. There was no significant difference in skills. Examining these results, it appears they are consistent with theories guiding training programmes (KUSAB) and with empirical findings that knowledge is easier to change than skills and behaviour (for example Beaudry, 1989, in Grimshaw et al., 2001).

The results are considerably less positive than those reported by Skogan et al. (2014) for officers who had not yet been to training. Statistical controls were used to increase confidence in the findings of the second study, which was based on observational data. Results In the short term, training increased officer support for all of the procedural justice dimensions included in the experiment. Post-training, officers were more likely to endorse the importance of giving citizens a voice, granting them dignity and respect, demonstrating neutrality, and (with the least enthusiasm for a similar training intervention, but somewhat aligned with results reported by Rosenbaum & Lawrence (2013) for a related intervention. The difference could be attributed to several factors. First, it is important to keep in mind that the comparison group in this

trial receives on-going educational training which advocates a humanistic, democratic approach, and the results may reflect that this intervention is in fact an ‘additive dose’ – and a small one at that – to an existing complex intervention. Other factors, to be discussed below, are faulty implementation, a clash of the training message with organisational tactics and message, and the context of the study within a deeply divided society. Due to both the exploratory nature of this field of study as well as the measurement tool, each finding will be examined separately, to see what light it can shed on both the training intervention, the study design and the questionnaire. This exploration will draw on both theory and the additional data sources: the observations, implementation tool and focus groups.

### ***Knowledge***

When looking over the first section, which assessed knowledge of policing powers relating to protests and riots, the percentage of correct answers indicates a solid understanding of powers among officers, as should be expected for a ‘reminder’ or booster training. The unintended result was of a ceiling effect of sorts, which prevents differentiation between the groups. In an earlier version of the questionnaire used in the piloting stage, the scores were much lower. This could be a result of unclear wording that was subsequently changed, or could indicate that the unit participating was not representative and has a deficit of knowledge in this area. As most items did not serve to differentiate between groups, they should not be used in the future. Our hypothesis itself could be called into question: we hypothesised the training would contribute to a difference between groups. However, Rosenbaum & Lawrence (2013) used a ‘legalistic proficiency’ scale to demonstrate the difference between knowledge

of police power, which they hypothesised to be similar in the intervention and control groups, and of the probability of using a procedurally just approach on the job.

Some of the items that did differentiate went against the study hypothesis; across both arms of the study participants' scores were lower on items assessing understanding of the legal definition of illegal protests and the means they were allowed to use at different types of protests. While poor implementation could explain no difference between groups, it may have also caused a confusion which lowered officers' performance. Furthermore, observation notes revealed that incomplete or wrong explanations by junior commanders leading the small group activities may be the cause of the negative results. The lack of agreement and clarity within the organisation regarding what makes an illegal protest may have been given a stage within this participatory exercise and caused iatrogenic harm.

The result pattern for the item testing knowledge of the means allowed for use at different types of protests is more difficult to interpret. In Site A (on the job training), intervention participants were less likely to know the correct answer, but this could be the result of a pre-existing difference. With only two units being compared and no 'before' data, there is no way of establishing if this was harm caused by the intervention. It is a point of concern that a unit that deals with many protests did not know what means were legally available to it. In Site B (the training academy), there was an improvement on this item. This may be the result of learning which occurred in the third module, in which officers simulated policing a demonstration, and in this arm of the trial was delivered with high fidelity and proficiency. This is a valuable result in terms of policy since legal factors are the most prominent in determining officers' behaviour (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

In the section assessing knowledge of the Legitimacy Paradigm and Procedural Justice, the data concurred with the study hypothesis. The intervention group achieved a better score on one out of six items, and when looking at Site A only, the intervention group were more likely to know the correct answer in three out of the six items. The difference in the extent of the improvement between the sites can be a result of pre-existing differences between groups in Site A, or of the competitive context of Site B; in a junior command course, participants are driven to achieve their best and control group participants may have felt driven to make more educated guesses despite not having encountered this material previously.

### ***Attitudes***

Moving on to examine changes in attitudes, the study hypothesis was refuted as the intervention did not cause more acceptance of the procedural justice world view. This is line with social psychology theories about the complexity of attitude change (Petty, Wegener & Fabrigar, 1997)attitude change, and the consequences of holding attitudes. In the structure area, particular attention is paid to work on attitude accessibility, ambivalence, and the affective versus cognitive bases of attitudes. In persuasion, our review examines research that has focused on high effort cognitive processes (central route. While there was no difference between the groups overall, the intervention may have contributed to less positive attitudes among Site B participants on items relating to respect.

Both the lack of change and the change in the negative direction might be attributed to the socio-political context of the intervention, which as discussed previously cannot be overlooked in a study of policing practices (Sklansky, 2008); the focus on

context is also an essential part of the methodological framework of the thesis, which incorporates a 'realistic' foundation (Bonnell et al., 2012). Israel as a deeply divided society, and the Border Police as a paramilitary organisation may be less receptive to ideas of procedural justice (Hasisi, 2008) and the literature shows that most researchers emphasize the centrality of the political variable in order to understand police-minority interactions. This Article acknowledges the centrality of the political variable and adds a cultural variable that may improve the understanding of police-minority relations in a deeply divided society. In some societies, the disparity in the perceptions of majority and minority groups cannot be attributed solely to the political variable, but also to cultural differences. This is especially prominent in the case of native or immigrant minorities. Hence, it is reasonable to expect that this cultural pluralism will be reflected in minorities' interaction with and its perception of the police. Findings from a survey conducted in Israel indicate that political disagreements between Jews and Arabs have negatively affected the Arab minority's perceptions of the police. This Article also shows that the Arab minority group is not homogenous in regard to their relationship with the police; there are significant political and cultural differences among Arab sub-groups (Muslim, Christian, and Druze; this will be explored further in the next chapter. In addition, the observation notes and the focus groups reveal a strong preoccupation with respect not as it relates to the construct of human dignity - which is a central aspect procedural justice - but to respect, as honour, that the police officers expect to be awarded by all those they police. The training seem to have triggered in officers sentiments of humiliation and disrespect often suffered at the hands of protesters:

*'It depends on how the protester reacts. And (currently) most protesters think we are biased, so they see us that way and don't let us. We are there for them*

*but they don't see it that way, they don't appreciate the police, hold us in low esteem. We experience it first-hand... it's painful to see what is happening to the police in this country, in trying to look good we reduce our honour and worth.'*

As the word in Hebrew for dignity and honour is the same, the wording of the questionnaire may not have allowed officers to separate the two facets of respect (Kamir, 2004). Considering that officers in Arm B of the trial (the police academy) are younger on average, they may have been less able to cope with these feeling of anger and could potentially explain the difference between groups (Phillips, Henry, Hosie, & Milne, 2006).

While the section of the questionnaire aiming to assess attitudes on democracy, and democratic policing was not meant to measure a difference between groups but to help understand processes of change, participants in the intervention group had more positive attitudes to free speech, as determined by item e\_2. Considering that protests are a sub-type of free speech and that Module I of the training manual dealt with this issue specifically, it is possible that this is the reason for the difference. This serves to support the utility of the intervention as enhancing democratic policing, but at the same time indicates this item should not be used in future studies as the intervention mediates the answer to it.

### ***Skills***

The last facet evaluated by the questionnaire is 'skills', as measured by participants' estimation they will use a certain tactic when policing a protest. In seeking to understand the lack of significant results (as opposed to those reported by Skogan et al., 2014) officers who had not yet been to training. Statistical controls were used to increase

confidence in the findings of the second study, which was based on observational data. Results In the short term, training increased officer support for all of the procedural justice dimensions included in the experiment. Post-training, officers were more likely to endorse the importance of giving citizens a voice, granting them dignity and respect, demonstrating neutrality, and (with the least enthusiasm, one possibility is that the focus on Procedural Justice in the context of protests may have caused a clash between organisational messages and training messages, resulting in a failure of the former, as described previously by Mastrofski and colleagues 1996()). While it was police officers' and commanders' description of the neutrality as a guiding value which led to choosing Procedural Justice as a world view which would garner support, it may be that in the context of the endless balancing act of protest policing, the message of neutrality is incompatible with a message of dialogue, which is inherent to procedurally just policing (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). This may help explain why the intervention did not increase officers' willingness to employ procedurally just tactics (section 4/items d 1-5).

In addition it should not be forgotten that this scale was created for this study, and may not be a reliable measure; developing more solid understanding of how procedural justice is expressed in the policing of protests is a prerequisite of more robust measurement tools.

### **Limitations**

When assessing this study, some limitations are evident. First, there were several deviations from the original design, as described above. One of the three units in Arm A (on-the-job training) was redirected away from protest policing and could not be

accessed. This resulted in a smaller sample, and made it more difficult to attribute differences between the groups to the intervention rather than to pre-existing characteristics. The intervention itself not delivered as intended: it was extended over two days in Arm A, and shortened in Arm B.

This study was also at risk of contamination; the messages of the training could have been conveyed informally to control group participants, which could blur the difference between groups and lead to a Type 2 error. In both arms, the central path to minimise these risks was to condense the length of time between staff preparation, intervention delivery and questionnaire delivery.

This was a pilot study, intended to assess the potential efficacy of an evidence-led training intervention in a unique socio-political and organisational context. The quasi-randomisation, the small number of clusters which weakened its design and possibly left it underpowered, the single data collection point, and the use of un-validated questionnaires as the only quantitative data source mean that the conclusions which can be drawn from the study are limited. They should serve primarily to inform the design of future research which further explores the potential of such intervention.

### **Strengthening the theory of police training: Contact theory as a possible path forward**

When taking a bird-eye view of the intervention and the results, *contact theory* appears to be a meaningful framework in which to consider them, and might provide fruitful possibilities for both the design of future interventions and the design of future evaluations. Contact theory is an education related model usually studied in the context of peace education or citizenship studies. The basic idea is that “contact

between members of opposing groups will promote positive intergroup attitudes in individuals and improve the relationships between the groups” (Allport, 1954; Niens, 2009). There are three central approaches: De-categorization, which emphasises interpersonal contact; Inter-group contact, which highlights group identities; and Superordinate-categorization, which focuses on broader social categories

This is a widely studied theory, has been refined and tested in many contexts. Both Systematic Reviews (Aboud et al., 2012) and Meta-analyses provide support for educational interventions based on this theory (Pettigrew, 1986). A moderating or prerequisite factor appears to be the existence of complimentary governmental macro policies regarding superordinate identities and democratic values (Niens, 2009).

The ‘stretching’ of the theory away from its original focus on ethnic-political divides and how they might be bridged through personal facilitated contact make it relevant for including police training within its scope; it appears useful for analysing such training curriculums, and the possible change processes such interventions might foster. The first extension is the use of ‘imagined intergroup contact’ which can take the form of cognitive exercises (though questions such as ‘what would they say’, ‘what would they do’) and media-based curriculums (such as video-clips and movies) (Crisp & Turner, 2009). This extension has been found to be just as effective as face-to-face contact. Both of these techniques were used in this training programme, lending support to the theory’s relevance.

A second extension is the departure from the original focus on national or high-level identity groups; it is claimed the positive effects can be extended to other types of groups, not only ethnic or racial, so this theory can be utilised to consider the police

as *in-group* versus the protesters as *out-group*. This is on par with how the police officers in the focus groups described their experience. Furthermore, perspective taking has been identified as a mediator of change in decreasing prejudice towards the out-group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The prominence of this theme in discussion provides support to contact theory as a useful framework for understanding the change process and highlighting its role in propelling effectiveness.

Several participants talked about the benefit of *seeing reality* “not only from your point of view”. One participant, as part of contemplating how this day might have benefited him, relayed imagining a child in a protest, scrutinising the police. He described wanting the child to feel pride and to know that they are guarding him, rather to question this because the officer uses force, for example by shoving his father: “For the child to feel safety, to preserve that child thinking that you are there to keep him safe.”

Some participants described reality from the protesters’ perspective, for example:

During a protest you come face to face not with a terrorist or a criminal, but a normative citizen. So you need to change your perception, how you see the situation... they are angry and they want to rage at us, and we are standing there as representatives of the government ... in the middle... and we need to apply discretion according to what we know (of them).

These accounts provide support both to the approach and methodologies used in the police training programme. Future research might continue exploring the benefits of similar intervention designs: An emphasis on humanising the policed groups, activities which encourage officers to place themselves in ‘in the shoes’ of protesters and consider situations from their point of view. Interventions might go further than this by creating opportunities to speak with protests of different kinds face to face

(Diamond & Lobitz, 1973).

The negative results are also better understood in light of contact theory. According to Pettigrew's (1998) review of Contact Theory, repeated contact is needed for positive change. The process which underpins this pattern is emotional: while first contact increases anxiety, repeated positive contact will decrease it. The negative results on the item measuring attitudes to respect as a central part of police-citizen interaction can be a result of this anxiety. If this result is indeed caused by the intervention, it may be indicative of a beginning of a process: the training touched the participants, it challenged them, and they were not left neutral by it. This is on the one hand encouraging, but on the other highlights the responsibility of delivering any intervention, and the potential of it to cause harm – both to officers and to citizens – if not followed through or delivered appropriately. The Border Police therefore have a responsibility to continue this process, to bring the police officers into repeated 'contact' with Israel's protesters in a facilitated manner through continued training.

The BP's training model already contains a gestalt aspect (see 'holistic continuum of training' in the organisational means category, in the 'sites of change' section). Some findings from the first stage of the research (Chapter 5) pointed to a "patchiness of the training process" as a possible barrier to efficacious implementation of the training model. This perspective reinforces the necessity of this element within the training model, and highlights that it may be important not only for increased training effectiveness but to ensure training not causing harm.

## Chapter 8/

### On the borders of Legitimacy: Procedural Justice training in the Israeli Border Police



*The just behaviour of police officers in their interactions with citizens has been demonstrated as an antecedent of police legitimacy in Western democracies and beyond. As this paradigm gains prominence, the implementation of procedural justice interventions should be examined in order to better focus policy efforts in varied contexts. This chapter draws on the study of training in the Israeli Border Police to propose four factors that may influence the efficacy of procedural justice interventions in deeply divided societies: the perceptions of police officers regarding the minority group as deserving a relationship based on legitimacy; the depth of the existing deficit in legitimacy within that group; the paramilitary attributes of the police organisation; and high policing tasks, specifically protests, as discouraging dialogue. Highlighting these factors is of value to the successful delivery of interventions and advances understanding of police legitimacy in different contexts.*

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## Background: Legitimacy in theory and in practice

As was discussed in previous chapters, in recent years legitimacy in policing has become a prominent model for understanding police-citizen relations and their implications; it is a central paradigm in policing in terms of both research focus and policy interventions. Legitimacy theory, which originates in political science, is based on the assumption that people feel a responsibility to comply with the rules of the authorities they perceive as legitimate (Tyler, 2004). For the public to cooperate with the police, help them, and even obey the laws when they are not present, the police must be perceived as legitimate. This premise leads to the question: what causes the police to be perceived as legitimate? Answering this question is significant at a policy level because, in a democracy, without widespread compliance the police cannot be effective in carrying out its duties or keeping citizens safe (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

A growing body of work has established procedural justice as an explanatory variable of police legitimacy. Empirical research points to “the appropriateness of the manner in which the police exercise their authority” as central to the public’s perceptions of their legitimacy (Tyler 2004, p. 91). The quality of decision-making by police officers (is it participative, neutral and benevolent?) and the quality of their interpersonal interaction with citizens (is it dignified, polite and respectful?) will determine the public’s view of the police (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012).

Evaluations of interventions to increase legitimacy through the improvement of procedural justice are showing promising results. A systematic review of interventions to increase procedural justice concluded they can be used “as vehicles for promoting and enhancing citizen satisfaction with and confidence in police, compliance and

cooperation, and perceptions of procedural justice.” (Mazerolle et al, 2013). This review pointed to training interventions as an especially promising avenue for increasing procedural justice; in eight out of the 41 studies it identified, the method chosen for improving police-citizen interactions was training. Two recent training studies are the *The Greater Manchester Police procedural justice training experiment* (Wheller, Quinton, Fildes & Mills, 2013) and the Chicago Police procedural justice on-the-job training project (Skogan, Craen & Hennessy, 2014). Both studies demonstrated that training can be an effective course of action for changing officers’ attitudes, and the former also showed that training could improve the quality of interactions with the public.

While the procedural justice model has been shown to be empirically valid for minority groups, and in areas where police-citizen relations are strained (Tyler, 2005), there is a more limited understanding of how the model applies to socio-political settings in which these tensions are a defining characteristic. There is a demonstrated difference in the way minorities view the police within established democracies (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). This difference is more pronounced in societies with entrenched internal conflict. While the mistrust of minorities is a function of their macro relations with the state, sometimes police actions and practices deepen the mistrust, making the situation unbearable and unviable (Ben-Porat & Gopher, 2013).

The very focus on procedural justice may sometimes obscure other variables that contribute to the legitimacy of the police. Public perceptions are more than the aggregation of personal ones, and in some societies police may have access to cultural capital stemming from their historic status or their level of effectiveness; alternately,

it could lead to a great deficit of such capital. For instance, there is evidence that in situations in which the police cannot provide a basic level of security and order, perceptions of effectiveness become as important as perceptions of procedural justice (Bradford et al., 2013; Tankebe, 2009, in Bradford, Jackson & Hough, 2013). Bradford et al. provide an important reminder that “the sources of legitimating perceptions and behaviours are likely to be complex and varied, so a wider range of factors need to be considered in order to arrive at a fully rounded understanding of the phenomenon” (pg. 3).

Accepting the premise that there are variables other than procedural justice that may be as important for establishing legitimacy, or may interact with it, it follows that these variables may lessen the effectiveness of procedural justice-related interventions. Bradford et al. (2013) suggest there are “boundaries to the fairness-legitimacy nexus that might usefully focus policy efforts to improve the empirical legitimacy of the police” (pg. 10). They further claim that it is likely that in the places most in need of such interventions, these interventions are likely to be the least influential in terms of magnitude of effect. This cautious approach emphasises the need to understand how legitimacy is constructed, and how it can be applied in contexts outside of Western democracies.

## Aims

Since theory is being used to shape policy, this chapter will specifically discuss the application of a procedural justice framework to training interventions. So far, all such studies were carried out in deep-rooted Western democracies, characterised by Anglo-American Democratic Policing (Manning, 2010). It cannot be assumed that

training will have the same effects in countries with a different socio-political reality.

The central aim of the chapter is to propose several factors that may influence the efficacy of procedural justice training interventions for police officers in deeply divided societies, by reflecting on the study of training in the Israeli Border Police (BP). These hypothesised factors could serve as the base for future research on the components of legitimacy in deeply divided societies, as well as for policy-focused research. Four factors will be examined which may influence the effectiveness of interventions striving to foster procedural justice: the perceptions of police officers regarding the minority group as deserving a relationship based on legitimacy; the depth of the existing deficit in legitimacy within that group; the paramilitary attributes of the police organisation; and the focus on high policing tasks, specifically protests. These factors are derived from themes identified in a BP study, the methodology of which is described below.

### [Section 1/ The context of the intervention](#)

The Israeli model of policing is compatible with two prototypes described in the literature: democratic policing, and policing of a deeply divided society (Manning, 2010; Weitzer, 1995). As both models are structured as matrices, there is no barrier to thinking of them as overlapping. The police are at the forefront of the clashes between the Israeli state and society and the Arab-Palestinian minority. It is at the hands of police officers that the minority often experiences the discrimination that is a result of the society's attitudes and power structure. Police officers, on the other hand, are expected to contain the conflict between a state-backed democratic standard of policing and the structural discrimination that the police enforces, (for example house

demolitions in 'un-recognised' villages, over-policing and under-policing of certain areas and phenomena). This duality means that while legitimacy is a requirement for effective policing, the elements needed to achieve it may be substantially different in Israel than in a Western democracy. The empirical study of training in this context allows us to examine this difference.

## Section 2/ Methodology

This chapter draws on qualitative data collected as part of the process evaluation components of the research to identify themes that may limit the relevance of procedural justice training in general. The primary data source is five group interviews, in which 18 police officers participated. These were supported by structured observations of all the training courses delivered as part of the study (7 in total); the data was gathered in both the pilot and trial stages (figure 1).<sup>1</sup>

Potential participants for the focus groups were sampled using a pragmatic approach, through their direct commanders. Commanders were instructed not to select the best participants, but simply those who would be representative of the group, for example both active service and regular officers. While some of the participants were selected simply for pragmatic reasons (i.e. their shift had ended at the time of the scheduled interview) it is likely others were selected because the commander thought they had the necessary verbal skills or other qualities suitable for the task. This latter selection process could have introduced some bias. Notably, some participants had not attended whole sections of the training and one was part of the junior command staff and had undergone staff preparation as well.

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<sup>1</sup> The methodology used in the group interviews was described in chapter 6 and 7 more in-depth, including the topic guide and make-up of groups.

In the focus groups, the researcher first reviewed each training activity and then asked officers for their views of the content and delivery methods. This data collection method served to triangulate the data gathered in the observations, as well as to assess feasibility and acceptability and illuminate possible change process. The approach taken was that since training is a group activity, there is value in interviewing officers in groups as the interaction between individuals within the groups enables officers to understand their experiences (Lavie-Ajayi, 2014). Each focus group was approximately one hour long.

As part of a thematic analysis approach a combination of inductive and deductive coding was used (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The dual research question leading the coding asked: which factors support the use of procedural justice as an anchor of training and which discourage it? Analysis took place in two stages: First, data from the pilot stage was analysed from a data-driven perspective. The central themes identified at this stage were then used to analyse the data from the trial stage in a category-led approach. At this second stage, the themes were refined and fleshed out. The themes selected were derived from coded items mentioned in more than one group, often in the majority of them, which had received substantial attention from participants during the discussion. At both stages, the data from the observations was used to enrich understanding of the context of officers' statements and reflect on them. This strategy is consistent with social constructionist epistemology (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Three themes were found to support the use of procedural justice training:

“compatibility and relevance of procedural justice to everyday tasks,” “officers’ hopes for the future,” and “civilizing of protesters.” Four themes were identified which may have barred the success of the training: “officers’ perceptions of legitimacy as limited,” “encountering low levels of legitimacy,” “respect: a demand for reciprocity,” and “limited room for dialogue: a clash of organisational tactics and training message.” The combination of these themes illuminates the experiences of officers who underwent the training intervention.

This chapter attempts to build on the negative themes in pointing to, and describing factors that impede use of procedural justice as an anchor of training. Moving from qualitative themes to more analytic factors might aid future empirical work and provide a sound base for designing social policy.

The main section of the chapter therefore presents four factors of relevance to the efficacy of procedural justice training, which draw on the four themes listed above<sup>2</sup>. Two of these factors relate to the societal context of the intervention: “officers’ perception of deservingness of legitimacy” and “operating within a deficit in legitimacy.” The second pair of factors relate to the organisational context of the intervention: “paramilitary attributes (doctrine and mission)” and “high policing tasks (protests) as limiting procedural justice.” Within each factor, the relevant theme identified in the thematic analysis will be presented alongside pertinent observational and sociological data, which will help contextualise it and explain its possible relevance.

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<sup>2</sup> The factors are not identical to the themes and therefore there is a slight variation in the language used to describe them.

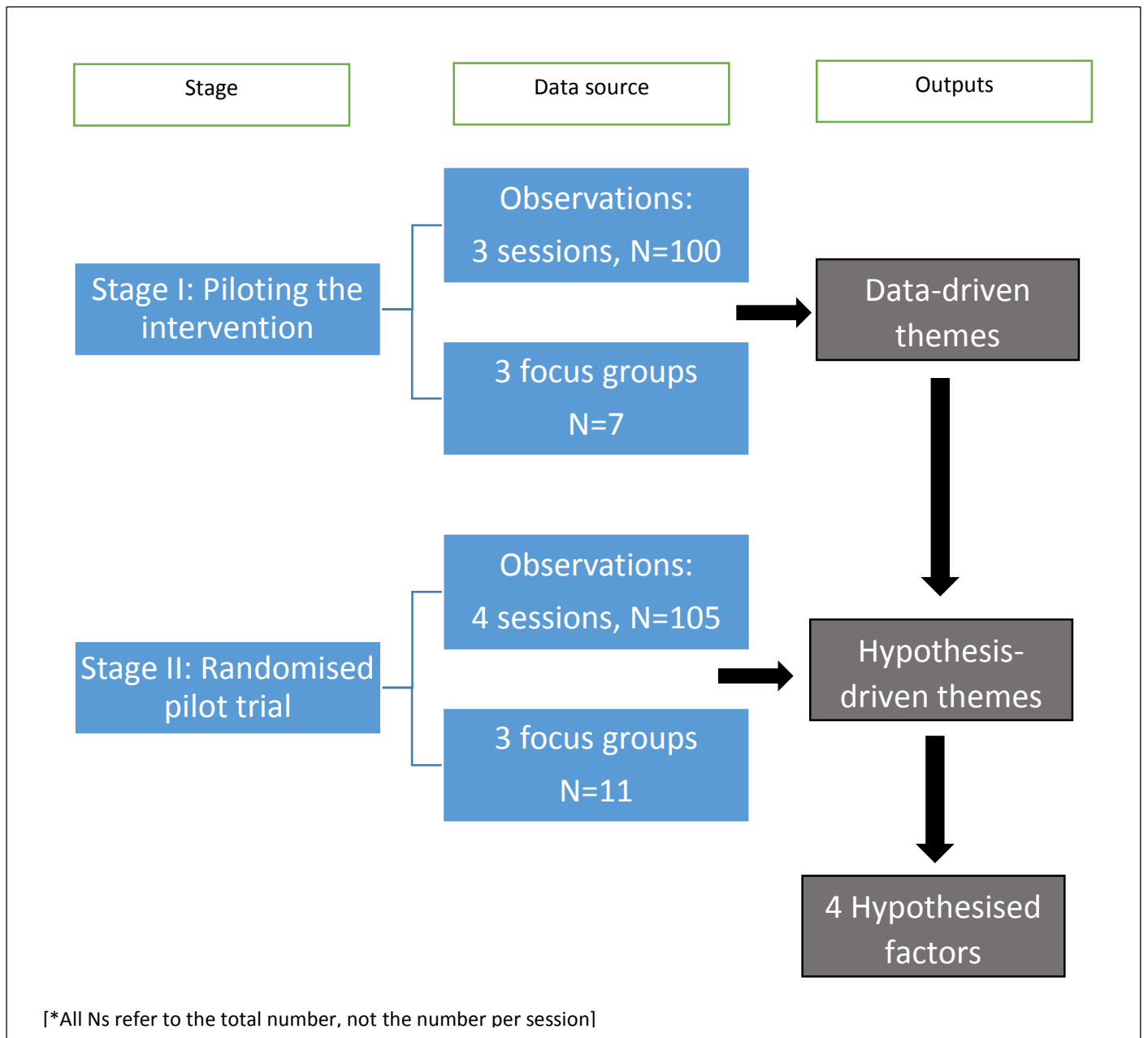


figure 1: study flowchart

### Section 3/ The societal context of the intervention: boundaries of legitimacy/ fairness in deeply divided societies

The Border Police study provided an opportunity to examine the variations of the legitimacy-fairness nexus in a deeply divided society. Two main factors emerged which should be examined further: the police's own perceptions of legitimacy, and the effects of an existing deficit in legitimacy.

Deeply divided societies are characterised by "extreme polarization along ethnic lines" (Hasi & Weitzer, 2007: 728). In Israel, the status of the Arab minority is liminal. Upon the country's establishment in 1948, Palestinians in its territory were granted citizenship (or allowed to apply for it). However, until 1966 they were placed under military rule, which curtailed their freedoms and subjected them to military rather than civilian law (Peled & Shafir, 1996). Today, though they principally enjoy equal rights, they are subject to some institutional discrimination.

The police in deeply divided societies are "highly politicized, prone to violence, unaccountable, and heavily biased in favour of one ethnic, racial or religious group" (Weitzer, 1995, p. 1). Hasi & Weitzer argue that in these contexts especially, it is not only what the police "do," but what they "represent" which determines their perceived legitimacy. Israel's model of policing appears to be a good fit with Weitzer's model, which includes, among others, over-representation of the dominant group in the force make-up and policing responsibilities that include not only traditional policing tasks but also "internal security" tasks (defined as low versus high policing by Brodeur, 2007). The legacy of military rule, alongside the protracted conflict with Palestinians who are not citizens of Israel, deeply affects the way the police see and

treat this minority. As Hasisi and Weitzer claim, “the greater the perceived threat presented by the minority group, the greater the level of suspicion and conflict between the police and the minority” (2007: 6). In Israel, this “perceived threat” seems to be constantly rising.

Its classification within the deeply divided society policing model does not exclude Israel from also adhering to the legitimacy-fairness model found suitable for Anglo-American Democratic Policing. Indeed, recent research carried out in Israel shows the Tylerian model operates in line with Western norms in predicting public views of legitimacy (Jonathan-Zamir & Weisburd, 2013). The findings demonstrate that even during time periods characterised by security threats, procedural justice remains “the primary antecedent to legitimacy” (pg. 20). The Israeli public values just interactions more than performance even in the context of paramilitary policing. These findings are important as they substantiate the initial premise that procedural justice is relevant outside a Western context.

Nonetheless, and as might be expected, the Arab minority is much more critical of the police than the Jewish majority. Arab citizens perceive the police as less legitimate, and report less willingness to support the police, either by not cooperating with police requests or not complying with the law (Factor, Castilo & Rattner, 2014). An earlier survey of the attitudes of Jews and Arabs in Israel towards the police came to similar conclusions, revealing a negative view of the police: Arabs believe policing is biased, are less receptive of the police, and believe there is a misconduct problem among officers (Hasisi & Weitzer, 2007). These data are consistent with views of minorities in other similar societies, who tend to express less trust and lesser feelings

of safety. The most recent data shows that levels of trust in the police among Arabs in Israel are lower than among Jews, but not as distinctly as one might expect (43.5% compared to 61.9%) (Herman, Atmor, Heller & Lebel, 2013). The relative high trust awarded the police by this minority compared to other deeply divided societies provides an indication of the intricateness of legitimacy. The data illuminate the interconnectedness of police legitimacy to wider state legitimacy.

More empirical and theoretical work is needed to understand the dynamic that determines the relative importance of procedural justice in generating legitimacy in deeply divided societies. One potentially productive question which may shed light on this topic is why citizens obey the police (Tankebe, 2009). An illuminating area of interaction is protests, in which support for policing differs: only 35% of Arabs versus 61% of Jews found it 'very important' to support the police in dispersing protests if "public order is disturbed, for example flow of traffic" (Herman et al., 2013: 113). This reflects a difference in legitimacy not only around "trust" in an abstract manner but legitimacy in enforcing the law in particular and familiar situations. The low level of support from Arab respondents may be due to perceptions that the law is enforced disproportionately. For the Jewish population, the high level of support may reflect the "security dividend" they gain as a result of their involvement in policing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Hasisi & Weitzer, 2007). This contrast will likely be present in attitudes to the BP, who are charged with policing of protests, alongside other state security related tasks.

### **3.1 Factor 1/ Officers' perception of deservingness of legitimacy: the other side of the coin**

The findings from the BP study suggest the way the police themselves understand legitimacy and procedural justice is of importance to legitimacy, and to the success of interventions based on the legitimacy-fairness model. This factor draws on the theme identified in the thematic analysis which pointed to officers' perceptions that the legitimacy model is limited to certain parts of the population.

Officers' attitudes are, in part, shaped by the historical relations of the police with the public and by their own perceptions as individuals. The question raised is: do the police perceive the Arab minority as a group worthy of a relationship that has legitimacy at its base? If there is little support for such a relationship, this may undermine procedural justice-related training. In order to begin to answer this question, an antecedent one is presented: what, in the experience or identity of the police officers, would make them unwilling to accepting ideas and behaviours in the realm of procedural justice and legitimacy, thus making training a less efficacious route? Both questions arise from the dialogic approach to legitimacy, which emphasises its interactive character (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012).

The history of the BP provides some clues. As part of the apparatus of military rule, in 1956 BP officers in Kfar Kassem shot to death 43 farmers, among them women and children, who had unintentionally broke a curfew (Boymel, 2007). In the years that followed, this organisation was also central to the policing of uprisings in the Occupied Territories. During the violent internal clashes which erupted in parallel to the beginning of the Second Intifada (in 2000), 13 Arab citizens were shot dead, some

by BP officers (Hasisi, 2008). This history of violence supports the proposition that the legacy of the BP does not only reduce the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the Arab population, but also functions as an identity creator for the officers currently serving in the corps.

Observations and interviews indicate that BP officers' identity is influenced by this history, and that it determines the expectations they have of themselves. There appears to be a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' at work, in which officers see themselves as 'the bad guys'. The recruitment process into the BP of young conscripts from socially disadvantaged groups might play a part in ensuring they will continue to play this role: "We are BP officers, what do you expect?" was a recurrent half-joking response in discussions. In informal conversations with commanders they revealed that some young men enlist to this corps because "they want to beat-up Arabs." There was however a parallel contradictory narrative regarding the change the organisation was undergoing, and declaration that 'we have changed' by officers, commanders and education staff.

The BP's identity contributes to the challenges of policing a deeply divided society, particularly because of the diverse set of tasks officers are expected to carry out. This wide array of tasks necessitates switching between low and high policing, between policing within Israel proper and in the Occupied Territories, between being a law enforcement organisation and part of the security apparatus. Officers who took part in the study experienced this praxis in a way that possibly contributes to the challenge of accepting a legitimacy/fairness framework.

One of the units who took part in the study is stationed in the south of the country,

in an area populated by Bedouin Arabs<sup>3</sup>. In the months leading up to the training they were tasked with policing many protests surrounding the Prayer Law, a new “resettlement” bill which could have caused thousands of Bedouins to be uprooted from their homes. The new bill threatened to erase what little legitimacy the Israeli state had in these communities, so officers faced a dual slump in legitimacy: legitimacy of the law and police legitimacy. These protests can therefore be characterised as legitimacy hot-spots. Just as there are dynamics, situations and characteristics that make a certain geographical location a crime hot-spot, so certain policing tasks are inherently prone to weakening legitimacy (Braga & Weisburd, 2010).

BP officers may face difficulty in policing Arab citizens of Israel and not conflating them with the Arab ‘enemies’ they police in the Occupied Territories; Hasisi (2008) has referred to this as ‘policing the enemy within’. Here, the versatile nature of their role means officers have to alternate between a “real” enemy and a symbolic one. For the officers policing these communities, the challenge to separate out these protests from the Palestinian conflict is understandably substantial. It is added to by the protesters’ choice to demonstrate under Palestinian banners and flags, thereby highlighting the nationalistic elements of their cause. The exhibition of the Palestinian paraphernalia poses symbolic difficulty for the officers, who use it to categorize the protesters as enemies, rather than citizens, and as such not deserving the same just treatment. The demand posed during the training intervention to remain fair and respectful even in such a situation was seen as inflammatory by the participating officers. This created significant tension during the training sessions, with sentiments of anger, resentment, and resistance displayed. In this instance, the officers’ recent experiences hampered

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<sup>3</sup> This is one of the groups that makes up the Arab minority in Israel. They are stigmatised as being involved in criminal activities and are seen this way by the police officers.

the intervention's efforts to promote a legitimacy/fairness perspective.

The qualitative data pointed to officers' own perceptions of legitimacy as significant, not only the public's perceptions of police legitimacy which are usually studied; this allows a glimpse at the other side of the coin. When asked during the focus groups if they think the public in its entirety deserves a relationship with legitimacy at its base, characterised by justice, officers voiced positive sentiments, but reserved their acceptance to the "normative" parts of society. Three of the focus groups excluded it as irrelevant to the Arab population: "It is possible in Jerusalem, it is possible in Kfar-Saba (Jewish cities), not in Taiibe, not in Jaljulia (Arab cities)." This response is perhaps not surprising considering that during delivery of the intervention, commanders focused their efforts on convincing officers of the validity of the model itself, and had little time to explore the topic of relevance to minorities; the minorities aspect came up during the delivery of the training only in three of the units. This indicates either that the commanders felt disempowered to convince officers of this point, or that they themselves were not persuaded of its validity. During staff preparation sessions, some of the commanders voiced scepticism with the fit of the model to minority groups. This serves as a reminder that both officers and commanders not only police the deeply divided society, but are also a part of it.

### **3.2 Factor 2/ Operating within a legitimacy deficit**

Another possible factor which may limit the relevance of procedural justice interventions in deeply divided societies is the existence of a legitimacy deficit so large that it neutralises efforts of police officers to behave in a just manner; the challenge of operating in a reality in which the police have very low legitimacy was the second

theme identified in the qualitative analysis. As procedural justice is experienced during interactions between the police and the public, it is possible that members of the minority group will enter that interaction with a bias that will prevent the officers from behaving in ways compatible with the four elements of procedural justice. This proposition does not mean to suggest unjust interactions are the fault of the citizens, but to move from a rhetoric that blames officers to a description of dynamics alluded to strongly by the qualitative data. All groups discussed this as a barrier to the possibility that the legitimacy perspective would be truly useful to them. One fascinating account explains that using a procedural justice approach cannot work in a situation of deep mistrust:

*It didn't start today, it started ages ago, in 1948...slowly their hate towards us..., the Jewish people and those in uniform and the BP is vast, you see it. You are looking at a man you stop on the street for the simplest thing, checking his car, you look at him and you see the hate in his eyes. You cannot get along with him, a person that hates you and any second could take something out of their pocket and do (stabbing motion). I am not saying it [procedural justice] is principally wrong, but when it comes to the Arab public, it just cannot be realised. I don't see a way for us to regain their trust, we cannot make them believe in us. If you could just snap your fingers and get trust to rise even a bit things would change. But trust is such a powerful issue, it is so difficult to change with any population, so with them... it will require effort aimed specifically at that...*

This is a painful interpretation of the reality: Alongside the clarity regarding the devastating consequences of broken trust, it also highlights that officers are blind to the role of the police in fostering that mistrust. This blind-spot does not invalidate the possible actuality of the phenomenon observed by officers, which should be followed up with empirical research

## Section 4/ The organisational context of the intervention: paramilitary policing and high policing

Two additional factors arose from the study that may have a bearing on the relevance of procedural justice interventions. Observational and qualitative data indicated the paramilitary attributes of the BP may make officers less receptive to ideas of procedural justice, due to using military strategies like “deterrence” and being charged with missions relating to “state security,” and specifically due to their engagement in paramilitary policing of protests. The two factors within this section were derived jointly from two themes: officers’ demand for respect from the public as a prerequisite for respect to the public, and officers’ sense that it would be challenging to successfully police protests using procedural justice. As the organisational context is nested in the societal context, it may be these factors are relevant particularly for deeply divided societies, but they may be significant for a wider context as well, since both paramilitary and high policing are prevalent in Western Democracies.

### **4.1 Factor 3/ Paramilitary attributes of the police organisation**

The BP is a hybrid corps, with strong military organisational characteristics. Despite the fact that for all intents and purposes BP officers function as policemen in terms of their powers, their basic operative conception is not of service to the public but of combat, and their deployment is principally military, operating in units or small groups and not as individuals.

Paramilitary police organisations have become a prominent and “normal” part of the law enforcement and security scenery in most Western democracies in the post 9-11 political and security circumstances (Balko, 2006). Furthermore, it can be claimed that

militarization is a trait that appears to some degree in all police organisations (Roche, in press). It is therefore prudent to consider the fit of the procedural justice model to highly militarised police organisations, even outside a deeply divided society.

A paramilitary police organisation is “a police force with military status” (Weger 2009: 44). In practical terms, some of the features of these organisations are: having training and education with the military, a harmonising doctrine, armaments and equipment with the military, being transferred to the armed forces in the case of emergency or war, having tasks in defence of the country, a military hierarchy, and centralised decision making (Easton, 2001 in Weger, 2009). These elements are compatible with the characteristics of the Israeli BP. Two of these features in particular seem to serve as barriers to the acceptance of the procedural justice model and its enactment: a shared doctrine with the army and tasks in defence of the country. These two features resonated with the qualitative themes.

#### ***4.1.1: A military doctrine***

As an organisation situated in between the National Police and Israel Defence Force (IDF), the BP is built on strategic operational principles that draw from both worlds. This duality is probably accentuated by the fact that each officer in the BP was once, or still is, also a soldier in the IDF, and as such has received military training. One of the three central operative principles used by the IDF is deterrence and it is also prevalent in the BP (Shabtai, 2012); It is the centrality of deterrence which appears to negate procedurally just policing.

In the focus groups, the need for deterrence was tied to the need for respect, one of the four central themes. Officers understand effective policing as requiring deterrence;

without respect deterrence cannot be achieved and officers cannot carry out their tasks. For example, one of the officers explained that the procedural justice model goes against his common sense of how to succeed: “We have to be able to create deterrence to be effective.” In another group, a heated debate took place regarding how far the model can be implemented before the ability to deter is harmed: “We need to know what the borders are, when do you have to add the element of deterrence. You do want people to understand you, to support you, everything that is written here (in the model), to trust you, but there also needs to be a kind of deterrence, a type of ‘distance’<sup>4</sup>.” In yet another group an officer stated: “But you cannot mix this (behaving justly) with us looking like rags, being disrespected. In some situations you have to turn immediately to action... to affirm our position as police officers.” These quotes reflect a widespread sentiment that acting justly would lower deterrence and effectiveness. While it is possible that this worldview is prominent in less militarised police organisations, here it appears to stem from the core operational doctrine.

Officers specifically opposed “being respectful to civilians,” a central and defining element of procedural justice. Instead, they demanded reciprocity: if you respect me I will respect you, and following from this, if you don’t respect me I will not respect you. A linguistic aspect which should be added to this exposition is that in Hebrew, respect, honour and dignity are the same word. It might be assumed therefore that while procedurally just policing calls for dignity towards the policed, officers are asking the policed to honour them (Kamir, 2004). This receives some support in the quantitative results: opposed to the research hypothesis, police officers in the police academy intervention groups were less likely to be supportive of the three statements

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<sup>4</sup> Military slang for clear boundaries between commanders and their subordinates

concerning the need to treat citizens with respect than were their colleagues in the control group (although only one of these items was statistically significant, at  $p = 0.0249$ ). This could indicate the training intervention had a negative effect by reminding officers they were not honoured as they would like to be.

#### ***4.1.2 Tasks in defence of the country***

BP officers carry out diverse tasks, some involving state security, which can be classified as high policing, and some that are traditional low policing tasks; this is often the case in deeply divided societies. Observations and qualitative data imply that the challenge that officers face in discerning between these tasks, in the discussion and in their minds, is immense.

One example is the challenge of separating public order policing in Israel and in the Occupied Territories. In the Occupied Territories, the BP is often called in to police mass riots, in which they can be severely harmed. This possibility is always in their minds, and they come to view all protests as possible combat zones. In several instances during the delivery of the training programme, officers led the conversation to focus on the most extreme situations possible, most commonly a version of a “ticking bomb” scenario. The tasks in defence of the country are so prominent in officers’ minds, that these preoccupations prevent officers from discussing ostensibly “minor” issues, like freedom of assembly or the stability of democracy, with the appropriate deference.

While danger and its effects are a theme in the wider policing literature (for example Skolnick, 1966), the context of a paramilitary organisation may introduce an additional element, which concerns the identification of one’s self (or role) with the state, in a

way that distorts the concept of legitimacy. This distortion is visible in this self-aware statement by a young police officer, in which he reflects on a harmless row with a protester. “The moment she tore the wiper from the windshield I formed a prejudice: (they are) left-wingers and anarchists (who) hate the police and the state and you are the patriot, you are there to defend the country and uphold public order and (you see it as though) it is a clash between these positions.” This quotation highlights police officers’ tendency to view themselves as holding legitimacy that is not tied to the public they serve, but to the state as an entity. Following from this, they may be less willing to accept the necessity of procedural justice.

#### **4.2 Factor 4/ High policing: limited possibilities of enacting procedural justice in the policing of protests and riots**

A specific case of high policing in which BP officers engage is the policing of protests; this task was the focus of the training intervention. One of the themes which arose from the focus groups was the difficulty to enact procedural justice while performing this task. The need to maintain neutrality in face of impending societal chaos may bar officers from enacting procedural justice in the deeply divided society.

The systematic review of police legitimacy interventions placed faith in the possibility that all types of police interactions could be structured to include elements of procedural justice, thereby enhancing public trust and legitimacy (Mazerolle et al., 2013). Critically examining this assumption, this section surveys the barriers to implementing procedural justice during the policing of protests and riots, a task that was not featured in the systematic review.

The policing of protests is an immensely challenging task, in part because it requires

the use of discretion in unpredictable, dynamic, multi-participant situations. While it is easy to be outraged at police brutality toward protesters in totalitarian regimes, it is perhaps the police misuse of force in demonstrations in stable democracies that is more remarkable. In the policing of protests, police hold the thread to unravelling the democratic fabric of society. There is a link between the ability to exercise the right to protest without fear and the strength of a democratic society (della Porta, 1997). The added element of contact between the police and a normative public, which does not occur often, makes it a legitimacy hotspot.

A recent affirmation of the relevance of procedural justice to policing protests is found in the GODIAC project<sup>5</sup>. The standpoint of this endeavour is that dialogue and communication are “strategic principles in managing and preventing public disorder” when the overarching goal of the police and the state is to “uphold fundamental human rights and to increase public safety” (Tysk & Wessman 2013: 2); this is underlined as a “European approach,” suitable for the European Union’s stated values. As “dialogue” was identified in the review as a central attribute leading to the success of procedural justice interventions, the project demonstrated the viability of this approach for public order policing (Mazerolle et al., 2013).

One of the aims of the Israeli study was to advance the understanding of how procedural justice can be practically enacted in the policing of protests. The pilot stage of the trial sought to extract specific behaviours or practices that would fit this model, both through observations and by directly asking officers how they thought it would manifest; this yielded some valuable ideas and examples. The questionnaire

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<sup>5</sup> Swedish acronym for ‘Good practice for dialogue and communication as strategic principles for policing political manifestations in Europe’.

was designed based on this process. An example of such a behaviour or skill is demonstrated in the following questionnaire item: “What are the chances that during a protest you will pay attention to the requests of protesters, for example by directing them to the relevant person or passing on their grievances?” The quantitative data showed no support for an intervention effect. While this may be due to faults in the study design and tools, it may also point to a rejection of these principles as relevant for policing protests.

The participants’ rejection of the procedural justice elements as operative principles may stem from a mismatch with the BP’s existing operational strategies, or from a sense that protesters are possible “enemies within” (Hasisi, 2008). There is some evidence for both causes in the qualitative data. For example, one officer stated:

*It’s not my job in the middle of a protest when I am busy organising the entire world to begin to explain to you what is happening.... I say, be professional, stand straight, do your job in the best possible way, don’t talk – don’t talk! Don’t voice any personal opinions, just uphold public order, protect the public peace and property, finish your job and go...If someone asks you, you can say, respectfully, sir it’s not my place, go to this commander, not more... It makes you lose focus of your tasks.*

In fact, officers in the BP are instructed to be as un-communicative as possible, because it could open the door to their emotional involvement, and cause them “to act out of emotion.” This is a negative expression used several times in different police units observed during the study. The directive in place is to “pull down the mask and do your job,” as one commander expressed it; this seems to leave no room for a dialogue on the ground. This approach may be necessary when there is such a lack of consensus in society; the nature of the deeply divided society may demand that officers are completely disengaged when carrying out their job, ruling out the

strategies for enactment of procedural justice relevant for other tasks. As dialogue was hypothesised to be the active ingredient in procedural justice interventions, this may be an issue deserving further investigation.

### Limitations

The process evaluation data used in this chapter has a few limitations that should be noted. The data was drawn from a small sample of officers and the selection of participants was not controlled. It should be considered however, that over half the themes uncovered were negative, and so there is less reason to think the composition of participants painted too positive a picture. It should also be reiterated that moving from qualitative themes of a single study to analytic factors calls for caution; the factors are not presented as irrefutable but explicated here to allow further empirical research (Greenhalgh, 2006). Despite this, because this population is hard to reach, and the access granted to officers was unprecedented, the study provides an opportunity to develop an understanding of this subject based on the often overlooked perspective of the police officers themselves.



## Chapter 9/

### Knowledge translation: reflections and insights from the Border Police study and beyond



*The concluding chapter of the thesis draws on the four-year experience of conducting a mixed-methods study in a unique and under-researched setting. It argues that participatory research is crucial for knowledge transfer, despite – and because of – the ‘traditional’ tensions between police and academia. It examines research partnerships as the direction policing research has taken to support use of research, and describes the existing evidence for this approach. The Border Police research is used as a case study of a participatory approach for advancing knowledge translation. The chapter describes the research partnership in detail, adding to the literature of ‘using evidence’ in policing.*

## Chapter Aims

As this thesis is situated in an Evidence-based Practice framework, knowledge transfer was deliberated from its inception. The final stage of the MRC framework, which has guided this research project, is concerned with 'implementation'; this stage is framed to include the dissemination of the research findings, and the incorporation of the findings in policy and practice. Rather than focus on technical aspects of how the bottom-line findings of the evaluation study were communicated to the police organisation, this chapter provides a holistic examination of knowledge translation. This choice recognises that while the experimental part of the study yielded limited findings only, which the BP should not necessarily adopt, valuable knowledge and evidence was communicated to the BP (and by them) throughout the lengthy study. It is this process which provides a learning opportunity.

This chapter is therefore utilised to examine the central questions in the knowledge transfer field in general and in a policing context in order to evaluate this project in this regards. It is a chance to take a critical and introspective look, asking 'what next' not only in terms of what research questions still need to be answered but how research should be shaped to increase its use. It is hoped this case study adds to the literature of 'using evidence' in policing.

### Section 1/ Knowledge Transfer in Policing

Knowledge transfer, translation, and sharing are some of the terms used to describe the 'interactive process involving the interchange of knowledge between research users and researcher producers' (Mitton, Adair, Mckenzie, Patten,2007, p. 729); the

terms are not synonymous but represent different approaches to the issue. Knowledge transfer is intrinsic to the evidence-based practice movement; aligning professional practice and policy with the best available evidence is a core target.

Evidenced-based Practice calls for the use of the best available evidence for answering an intervention or policy-related question (Sackett et al., 1996). How that evidence is used, who decides what the best available evidence is, and how they decide it, are among the concerns of the 'evidence movement'.

While the traditional view is that evidence or research findings are used directly, or instrumentally, to shape policy, the more common use is conceptual use, which informs but does not direct. It is indirect and subtle; it alters knowledge and attitudes, challenges world views and catalyses the formation of new networks (Nutley, Walter, & Davies, 2007). This extended outlook is not only more pragmatic, but more aligned with the behaviour change literature; changing the behaviour of policy makers and practitioners is wrongly separated from that of patients or 'ordinary people'.

The question of research use is also a question of the nature of knowledge: is it something which can be transferred between people or organisations? Using what vessels? The *revised modernist perspective* recognises that research can be communicated, but argues that it must be interpreted in context if it is to be useable (Louise, 1998, in Nutley). More elegantly stated, knowledge is not 'transferred' but 'transformed' during its use (Desforges, 2000, in Nutley)<sup>1</sup>. This contextualised view of research receives support in the literature. Adopting this perspective requires an investment in this process of 'translation', which becomes a shared effort of

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<sup>1</sup> Although Desforges advocates a constructivist position which this research does not support, this expression illuminates the problematic nature of the term 'knowledge transfer'

researchers and communities.

One more aspect of research use not often discussed but potentially of value is the 'process use' of research. This relates to a change in practice that is created through the design and conduct of research and not exclusively through the 'bottom-line' findings (Patton, 1998). It is the engagement of users with research and through the action of research that leads to change, and this lasts 'beyond the shelf life' of a single project and can contribute to sustained policy and practice impact. Process use includes learning to think and act '*evaluatively*', clarifying goals and logic-models, and facilitating communication among stakeholders. As will be discussed below, all of these processes occurred during the Border Police study and were significant to knowledge translation.

### **Research partnerships as the proposed path to knowledge translation in policing**

The issue of knowledge transfer in policing has focused on the traditional divide between the police and academia, as two separate worlds or cultures difficult to bridge. This divide has been described as a 'dialogue of the deaf' (Johnston & Shearing, 2009). It is exemplified by the widely used typology of police researchers as located within a matrix of insiders and outsiders in relation to the police organisation (Brown, 1996).

With the growing recognition on both sides that translating academic findings into police culture is necessary for improving policing, there is a turn to partnerships and collaborations as an operative route (Stanko, Jackson, Bradford & Hohl, 2012). In 2014, the journal *Policing* published an issue that heralded a new science of policing, and identified joint ownership of research as the key to moving forward. Neyroud

& Weisburd's (2014) conceptualisation of a new police science emphasised joint control of the research process, a balance of valuing craft and science, and leadership within the police. A recent empirical study demonstrated police officers and agencies who had collaborated with academic researchers believed they benefited from this partnership (Hansen, Alpert & Rojek, 2014).

A spectrum of partnerships have been described, with varying levels of commitment, resources and time invested: from the 'embedded criminologist' model (Braga & Davis, 2014) to the evidence-based policing matrix demonstration project (Grieco, Vovak, & Lum, 2014).

### **Evidence on promoting research use**

The evidence on the promotion of research seems to be consistent with the direction of partnerships and collaboration taken in the policing field. There is accumulating data that suggests passive dissemination is ineffective in encouraging use of research. The Medical Research Council points to some substantiated strategies: involving users in the design of the research question and process, contextualised research as well as contextualised dissemination, and interactive strategies for communicating the data. User involvement is advised at all stages of developing complex interventions, as it is "likely to result in better, more relevant science and a higher chance of producing implementable data" (Craig et al., 2008, pg. 15).

By systematically analysing case studies from a variety of contexts, Nutley et al. go a step further and have identified five mechanisms which can facilitate knowledge transfer: (1) dissemination which is tailored to audiences; (2) interaction between researchers, practitioners and policy makers, achieved through developing stronger

links and collaborations; (3) reliance on social influence effects by enlisting experts and peers; (4) facilitation that enables the use of research, including technical, financial and emotional support, and; (5) the use of incentives and reinforcement.

Interaction emerges from this analysis not only one of the mechanisms but a theme that arises from all of them. As a mechanism, interaction is defined as a ‘two-way flow of information’: on the one hand access to research findings and on the other to users’ needs and perspectives. Instrumental use of research takes place when there is the opportunity for practitioners to negotiate the meaning of research on their own (Simons et al., 2003); this explanatory mechanism is linked to constructivist theories of learning. Significantly, interaction “may support research use even in initially antagonistic environments” (Huberman, 1990).

The extent and strength of linkages between researchers and users – through both formal and informal networks - has been found to be the best indicator for research use (Court & Young, 2003; Weiss, 1995). The hypothesised explanation is that these actions or qualities increase relevance, ownership and trust, all three of which are crucial conditions for knowledge translation.

A research partnership is a structure that allow to maximise all five ‘knowledge translation’ factors discussed above. Aside from the central characteristic of enabling meaningful interaction, it also raises chances of tailored dissemination and ensures valued peers are involved in the research process thus capitalising on social influence.

Trust has been singled out as a crucial component for the success of research partnerships in policing (Rosenfeld, 2014). However, the difficulties of definition and measurement, and its relation to the other variables nullify it as a factor to consider in

the research use equation. It is the research itself that defines the partnership, and is therefore a more substantiated direction of investing resources and thought.

Use of participatory methods as part of the collaborative process instils meaning into the collaboration, and therefore may be particularly important for bridging the divide between police organisations and academia, and advancing evidence-based practice. Participatory research is a “collaborative approach to research that equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each brings” (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003 in Flicker, 2008). One aspect of participatory research approach is that it does not only wish to involve traditional ‘participants’ as active members of the research team, but that it actively provides them with opportunities to become ‘experts’ in the research method; this has been a meaningful element in police action research endeavours (Beal & Kerlikowske, 2010).

Participatory methods can be used throughout the research cycle, for example at the stage of refining the research question. Their use does not contradict the use of rigorous experimental research designs, but has actually been demonstrated as possibly advantageous (Howden-Chapman et al., 2007). The partnership is strengthened when it is continuous and long-term: “A full collaborative partnership between academics and their clients” is desired “throughout the whole process of knowledge generation, validation, diffusion, and use” (Bradley & Nixon, 2009, p. 432).

The research partnership in the Border Police study described throughout this thesis was a structure which facilitated meaningful interaction; the use of participatory research methods and a participatory approach were key in creating interactions which enhanced the use of research evidence in practice. The most structured element in this

process was the participatory research method, tailored to a police organisation, which was used to develop the exemplary training intervention (described in chapter 6). This consensus development process provides a blueprint of how to facilitate and structure interaction in a way that allows both 'hard evidence' and local expertise to be combined and negotiated. Its fine-grained depiction (in appendix 6-B) accentuates elements argued by Nutley et al. (2007) to contribute to the use of evidence, and allows it to be replicated in other contexts, for different tasks. It potentially advances understanding of "how academic expert knowledge can effectively engage with practitioner expert knowledge in the search for enhanced effectiveness." (Bradley & Nixon, 2009, p. 431).

## [Section 2/The Border Police Research Partnership: Trust, Participation, Ownership](#)

This section turns to examining the research partnership with the Border Police: its developments and attributes and how these may have supported the knowledge translation which occurred.

This study presents an opportunity to examine the issue of knowledge translation in an unlikely context: an under-researched and historically un-collaborative police organisation in a deeply divided society. While it was not within the scope of the research to carry out a detailed study which focused on this issue (for example interviewing police officials on their views and experiences concerning this topic), it is still possible to use the material to reflect on process and outcomes<sup>2</sup>.

I began collaborating with the Israeli Border Police in 2008, not as a researcher but as an external service provider, developing training programmes on the theme of human

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<sup>2</sup> In order to carry out this reflection process, I relied on some of the lines of inquiry used in analytical auto-ethnography approach (Anderson, 2006). To clarify, this does not mean that I used this methodology to collect data, simply that I sought to make the reflection process more systematic and used this methodology to help guide the process.

trafficking. My application to the National Police to conduct a study on training in the BP was supported by the Education Unit, who became my partners in the research process. Most case studies of police-academia partnerships described in the literature include a 'bridging element', whether a research unit, committed leader, or a former officer now doing research. In this case the bridge was the Education Unit, as will be elaborated on below. The research lasted from September 2011 to March 2014, and I remain in informal contact with my collaborators to this day.

The design of the Border Police research project was guided by the MRC framework, so user involvement and active dissemination were central principles in shaping it from its inception. For example, active dissemination was conducted throughout the project, with briefings on progress and findings given periodically both to the Education Unit and to the relevant government ministry (as shown in the research flowchart). The findings were produced as reports to the organisation, 'translated' for the organisation both by being written in Hebrew and by being written using a language and format appropriate for the needs of a police organisation.

As my identity as a researcher matured, I chose to see the project not as 'my research' but as a partnership, and actively promoted participatory elements. This was due partly to pragmatic reasons: as this partnership was based on the trust the Education Unit granted me, and was not policy induced or top-down in the sense that it did not come from the ministry or command levels, trust appeared to be a requirement if worthwhile findings were to be produced. It was also a result of ethical and political convictions. Considering the ethical aspects of research and how it reproduces societal power structures drove me to include knowledge sharing elements (Díaz &

Simmons, 1999). One example is workshops delivered to the Education unit staff in which I shared different aspects of the knowledge I was using in my work, for example implementation frameworks.

The specific local of the research project also shaped the project. Realising the extent of mistrust between police and academia in Israel and how far it is tied to the political context of a deeply divided society strengthened my view of research and academic scrutiny as a mechanism that could advance a democratic policing culture. These realisations anchored my responsibility to work in a way that would increase chances of future collaboration and open the door to more projects by making police see the value of such collaborations.

The Border Police study contained elements which have been identified above as playing a positive role in shaping research use (Nutley et al., 2007). Firstly, the research was conducted 'locally', within the organisation, which increases the chances of its use because it fits priorities and needs and increases ownership and validity. Second, the individuals with whom I led the study at the BP had 'positive attitudes to research', which appears to be a strong indicator. Third, the long term and intensive nature of the study created ample opportunities for meaningful interaction, much of it unstructured. Fourth, and most importantly, the use of participatory research methods and a participatory approach was key in creating interactions which were directed at enhancing the use of research evidence in practice.

Based on the extensive access I was granted, which is highly unusual in the Israeli context, it could be said this partnership was characterised by high levels of trust. This trust may be a product of the four factors mentioned above, or may be related

to the positive results I achieved in my earlier interactions with the organisation as a service provider. It may also be a result of the shared commitment to values of humanism and common identification as 'educationalists', with a strong public service commitment. The presence of trust in a successful working partnership also resonates with prior findings.

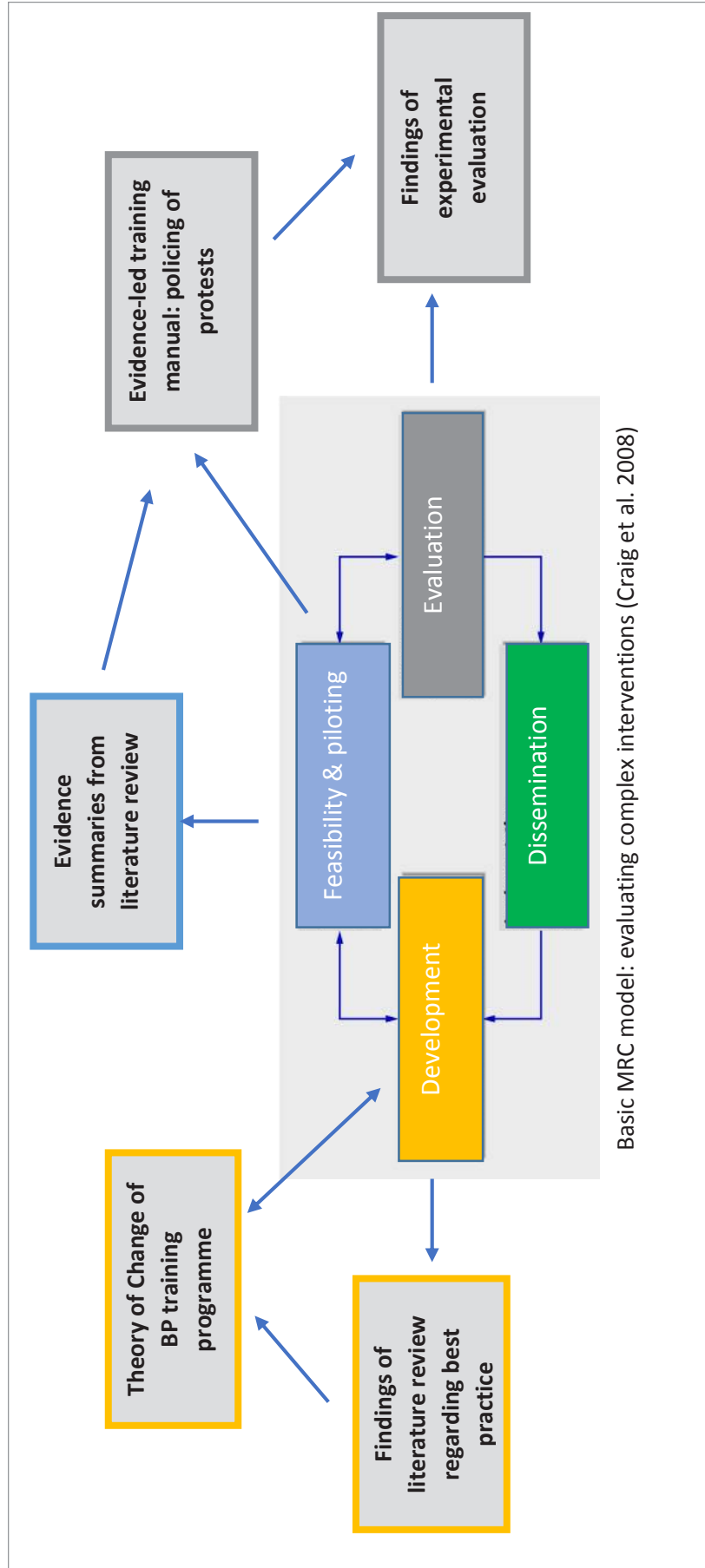
The research process itself shaped my understanding and insights of research use, thus affecting not only 'participants' but researcher as well. Starting out, the only research I was concerned with 'transferring' is the actual results of the intervention trial, the so-called 'bottom line'. However, as the project materialised, it became clear I was introducing the organisation to a variety of research findings, and I became vested in disseminating them as well as the concepts of research and evidence itself. Some of that research, for example the findings concerning procedural justice, come from a robust and even 'evidence-based' body of knowledge, and I began to see my responsibility as a researcher to expose the organisation to this grounded paradigm.

### **'Research' and 'Research Translation' in the Border Police study**

Following the wide conceptualisation of 'research use' discussed in the previous section, I now turn to outlining the different aspects of 'research' that made up the Border Police study and then judge the extent of their 'use'. There are four central elements of research that make up this study, which are distributed along a spectrum of new and existing, and grounded and exploratory. I describe them chronologically, for ease, and provide a combination of objective and subjective judgments regarding the extent of their use and the reasons for it.

First is the 'theory of change' of educational training; a complex intervention unique

Figure 1: 'Use of Research' in the Border Police Study in relation to the MRC model



to this organisation. This stage includes a blend of new and existing research: the model was created based on qualitative data gathered for this research, and then analysed and evaluated in relation to a literature review that identified good practice in occupational training, attempting to rely mostly on evidence at the top of the research hierarchy. This part of the research was used both as product and process. The process assisted the Education Unit in clarifying its goals and perhaps sharpen their practices by comprehending the logic model's core components.

As a product, the programme model began being used as a training tool, to help teach new staff about the unit and their work as part of the professional socialisation process. This was led by the education officers who were most involved in the research, and they often contacted me and shared their experiences. I was also invited to personally 'teach' the model at professional development seminars. This strongly resonates with the concept of a 'process use of research' (Quinn Patton, 2003). It is difficult to judge the extent of the influence, or how long the materials will be in use, as there is relatively high changeover within the organisation.

Second is the research evidence that served as the 'building blocks' of the exemplary intervention. While these research findings were communicated across time and organisational structures, they are most clearly found in the six evidence summaries presented during the roundtable of organisational experts; these will be described in depth in the third section of this chapter. These 'evidence summaries' of course relied on existing evidence, and generally on highly established findings and they included both evidence regarding policing practices (to serve as content of training) and evidence regarding training methodologies, to help design the training (delivery methods).

Most notable among these data was the Legitimacy and Procedural Justice domain. I encountered this paradigm in the early stages of the research project, and as it advanced began to appreciate the relevance to the Border Police and to the Israeli context. I felt both obligated and motivated to introduce it to decision makers at the organisation. Aside from 'acceptability' issues, which were discussed in previous chapters, this aspect of 'research' was the most used. Legitimacy and Procedural Justice have become core features of the 'educational language', according to the Education Unit leaders. It was chosen as the central yearly theme in 2014. It has indeed been 'translated' into the organisation; it is referred to as 'contagious justice', a term that police officers came up with during one of the training sessions and which captures the idea of the wide influence of even a single officer's actions.

In addition, the organisation grappled with applying this framework to policing of Palestinians in the occupied territories, which is within the duty of half of their manpower. The challenge was to continue to speak about procedural justice when this does not lead to police legitimacy, but perhaps only to local legitimacy or local trust, or even because it is the right thing to do regardless of the utility.

The training intervention itself may also be seen as a type of research finding, as it is the product of a research process. As mentioned above, aside from its use during the experimental trial, it served as a base for developing a week-long training course which the majority of officers in the corps underwent in 2014<sup>3</sup>. This is then is another piece of research that was used past the context of the specific study and even to shape policy. I was asked to consult on the 'translation' of the one-day training course into

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<sup>3</sup> Due to the extensive military operation in the summer of 2014 many units did not undergo training, so although in principle all BP officers were intended to participate in reality this did not happen.

a week-long one, so that my expertise could be relied on and to attempt an element of fidelity: that the new product would still be within the realms of 'evidence'. This new product 'belongs' entirely to the Border Police and is a good example of use of research outside the specific project.

The last aspect of research are the actual findings from the RCT regarding effective training to promote democratic policing of protests, both in terms of content and delivery means. It is possible to say that this is the most exploratory and also the least used aspect of research. This may be due to several factors. First, I had little opportunity to disseminate the findings, as the research project had concluded by the time the results were in. There was little chance for interactions at this stage, as I was focused on writing up my DPhil. Second, the mixed nature of the findings were difficult to communicate. The questionnaire results pointed to both positive and negative influences on participants, but the pilot nature of the study meant I could not definitely attribute this to the intervention, and that it might be a result of the un-tested research instruments or the weaknesses in the study design. One of the findings was that training could potentially cause harm if it is not holistic and continuous, in a way that allows officers to process challenging educational-professional messages. This type of finding calls for organisational revision and may be experienced as discouraging. More effort in dissemination is required to ensure these less easy-to-stomach findings are implemented.

The BP research project might also be said to include an example of misuse of research: the BP chose to 'adopt' the training intervention regardless of the final results and in fact before they were in, and indeed the mixed results did not cause them to

reconsider their chosen course of action. It may be that police organisations are less willing to accept that an intervention does not 'work' when it is 'their' knowledge and 'their' evidence. This may cause ineffective adaptation of evidence-based policies into police organisations.

The above exposition of research and its use in this study exposes a long-term, multi-stage process that enabled meaningful interaction between the research and the user community, which in turn allowed to contextualise evidence and translate it. It is possible to see how these research activities and findings contribute to different stages of knowledge translation described in accepted models such as the PRECEED model; by contributing to predisposing, enabling and reinforcing elements within the targeted organisation, they enhance policy makers' chances of 'ethically sound application of evidence' (Davis et al., 2003).

The features of this process strongly echo those identified as important for successful knowledge translation: considerable investment of resources (time, energy), committed leaders, appreciation of goals and culture by both sides, open communication, trust, and participatory research methods. This serves as support to Nutley et al.'s (2007) model in a policing context; while some of the studies they rely on are from the criminal justice system, none are specifically from the policing world. Furthermore, it strengthens their claim that interaction is relevant even in unreceptive organisational climates. The Israeli Border Police is perhaps less accountable and less open to criticism than British police forces, in part due to the socio-political context, and yet interaction facilitated trust and research use nonetheless.

It is worthwhile to consider carrying out a future analysis of the Border Police as

an organisation and of the extent to which the research findings (for example the manualised intervention) were adopted using structured 'innovation diffusion' models, for example that proposed by Greenhalgh and her colleagues (Greenhalgh, Robert, Macfarlane, Bate & Kyriakidou, 2004). The discussion of knowledge translation in in policing may benefit from such models being tailored to a policing context, but it was not within the scope of this thesis to provide such analysis.



Chapter 10/

Conclusions and Future research

This thesis has sought to advance the knowledge and evidence base of democratic police training, motivated by the conviction that this academic field of research could contribute to human welfare. As explained in the Introduction and in the methodology chapter, a series of interlinked research questions were utilised to address this goal. While each chapter included results of a particular question and some discussion of its significance, this final chapter will attempt to provide an overview of all questions discussed in the thesis, and to bring together the different strands of conclusions that can be drawn from it. This underscores the different contributions to the literature made by this thesis.

#### Research Questions relating to 1st and 2nd stages of MRC framework

The first set of questions was concerned with identifying the evidence-base of police training, as recommended in the first phase of the MRC framework. I find the answers created in this part of the thesis to be of particular importance, as they serve as a general knowledge base for other police training research to draw on. This advances the goal of making police training a more theoretical field, moving away from one-off isolated case studies to an academic, scientific dialogue.

The first significant step was the identification of the four dominant theoretical frameworks of training in use in police organisations: adult education, socialisation, the KUSAB framework (Krathwohl, 2002), and higher education as an alternative to in-house training. These frameworks do not contradict one another, but rather offer a way of conceptualising or locating existing practices. The BP approach seems to combine the socialisation and KUSAB approaches.

The thesis was able to point to several 'good practice' and 'bad practice' principles encapsulating the evidence on effective mechanisms and strategies of occupational training, as well as effective behaviour change mechanisms specific to police officers. This was based on a literature review that drew on high-quality data. Some examples of these principles are: the disruptive tendency for disconnect between police academy and the field, the need to align general organisational strategies with training messages, the significance of the identity of the trainers, and the importance of interactive methods to learning. These principles served as the reference point for evaluating the BP's intervention, but can also serve as a stand-alone reference in evaluating other programmes.

The next question sought to identify factors within the police officers' ecology that might be of relevance to the success or failure of democratic police training. Based on a combination of academic literature, grey literature and elite interviews, I mapped a series of factors, beginning at the societal level and down to the individual officer, that potentially disrupted BP officers' ability to act in accordance with democratic norms. This led me to hypothesise that currently the environment in which officers operate is 'criminogenic', in the sense that it is not conducive to democratic policing, but may actually encourage the misuse of force. The risk-map itself (also referred to as problem theory) can serve as a template for similar analyses in different contexts.

Next, the thesis turned to identifying the theories of change of educational training in the Israeli BP, and to assessing whether components of it were compatible with effective training strategies identified in the literature. Using a conjuncture of two methodologies - Theories of Change and Grounded Theory - a model of educational

training was produced (Weiss, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The model includes a goals category and two types of means, organisational and content-related. It is not a linear model, as it describes a complex intervention, using a range of means to achieve an assortment of goals. The theory of the intervention has two types of validation. First, the theories of the different stakeholders – designers, deliverers, recipients – were harmonious, and there was relatively little discord in the descriptions. Second, comparison of the model's components with the principles identified before the commencement of the fieldwork provides support for the potential efficacy of the training intervention. These components were defined as the potential active ingredients.

Based on this, a theoretical model of police training was put forward, which included four key aspects: individual learning, group effect, trainer effect and organisational alignment. This model is intended to serve as a starting point for an academic dialogue: these aspects need to be developed or disputed in further research. Anchoring the study of police training around a theoretical model can help transition the field and focus efforts on identifying effective mechanisms of change, rather than on descriptions of insular case-studies.

The next two questions addressed in the thesis were the base for designing an exemplary training programme which could be experimentally tested. This development stage was explicitly positioned to create a platform on which evidence and local experience and needs could be interweaved; this was identified in the introduction as a principle tenant of this thesis, necessary for realising evidence-based practice. First, once a focus for the programme was selected, there was the need to use a systematic review to determine the question: could police training interventions for policing

of demonstrations and public disorder influence the knowledge, attitudes, skills or behaviours related to democratic policing norms of police officers in democratic countries? Despite extensive searches of electronic databases and contacting relevant research institutes and police organisations, the review could not locate any relevant studies. As an empty review, this helps highlight a gap in the literature which should be addressed, and provides a framework for researchers developing studies with this focus (Yaffe et al., 2012).

The second question set out to identify which active ingredients of the BP intervention, and what evidence-led content and methods should be included in the exemplary training manual. This was done using a consensus development process, specially tailored to the BP; this demonstrates the usefulness of this method for incorporating evidence with local craft knowledge in police organisations. Through the process, several key components were selected and developed. 'Procedural Justice and Legitimacy' was identified by the internal 'experts' as relevant, despite not being used in the organisation before and not being part of the public discourse; this was one of the external evidence-led components incorporated in the training package. Existing components were emphasised and enhanced. For example, the BP already made use of participatory, interactive delivery methods, but the process allowed them to examine their current use of simulations and provide an improved version, better aligned to a theory-led mechanism of change.

#### [Lessons from the experimental pilot trial](#)

The next question addressed the effectiveness of the training intervention developed: Is procedural justice-focused training an effective intervention for improving

knowledge, attitudes and skills related to the democratic policing of protests by Israeli Border Police officers? This was assessed using a pilot of quasi-randomised design. The ability to build on the theoretical base provided by the first stages of the research and test theoretical constructs rather than a 'black box intervention' is another advantage of this study.

The findings of the study point to a mixed result in terms of knowledge and attitudes, with the intervention group performing 'better' than the control in some items, and 'worse' in others. There was no visible change in skills. These findings are consistent with existing literature on what is 'easier' to change. It should also be noted that there was some difference between the police academy arm of the study and the 'on-the-job' training arm in terms of 'what worked'; this accentuates the need to address these discrete training arenas differently.

Despite its exploratory nature, this trial of procedural justice training is of value: it studies an emerging field which, despite being of public value, is still 'unchartered territory' from an academic perspective (Skogan et al., 2014). In addition, it is the first to investigate a context outside of Western democracies, and it is the first to specifically look into policing of protests. For robust knowledge to accumulate in this field on which policy decisions can be based, such pilot studies are indispensable.

Aside from the valuable data provided to the Israeli Border Police's Education Unit, which could help them improve their training model, this pilot study is a crucial step in the construction of the evidence-base of police training. Data from this study could be used to inform future studies in this relatively new field, such as input on the design of questionnaires and the creation of reliable and valid scales; estimating the

relevant effect sizes to be expected from training interventions in different contexts; and computing the intra-cluster correlation necessary to determine the power needed in cluster-randomised trials. Particularly, it is important in exploring the potential of different approaches to procedural justice training, both in terms of content and delivery methods; considering the prominence of such training packages in recent years, there is the need to understand how to 'increase' procedural justice in police officers' behaviour.

### **Contact theory as a potential framework for designing police training**

As was discussed in chapter 7, the pattern of the results of the trial point to contact theory as a potentially potent framework for the design and evaluation of police training interventions; this is an educational theory which originates in peace education which focuses on the 'meeting' (real or imagined) of different groups as needed for improving the relationship between them. In the case of police training, police officers are the in-group and citizens as a whole or as a specific sub-population are the out-group; this seems to echo the literature which describes a divided us-and-them world view as characteristic of police officers (Waddington, 1999). One of the claims made in the second chapter was that currently police training is a pragmatic a-theoretic activity; identifying existing educational theories and testing their compatibility with this field is valuable in responding to this need.

Contact theory can help model the change process that occurs during police training, which is one of the tasks proposed in the MRC framework as crucial to the development and evaluation of social interventions. Of particular interest is the interaction over time of knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviours; these were identified throughout

the thesis as the central means and outcomes of the training intervention.

Contact theory provides a possible theory to explain the change processes necessary for training transfer. One of the model's hypotheses is that a change in behaviour is what causes changes in attitude, and not vice versa: participants need to 'try out' the new behaviour to enable them to experience the world differently, and it is this experience that may cause them to evaluate their former positions (Pettigrew, 1998). If this is the case, it is a change in priorities of behaviour ('skills') that would be most meaningful. As there was no change in this category in the trial, it may well be that no change in behaviour will ensue from this training.

This analysis helps identify two aspects that should be expressed in the design of future studies: passage of time and change processes. In designing evaluation studies of such training interventions, there needs to be measurement over an extended period of time to test the hypothesis that things will get worse before they get better. This will give officers a chance to reflect on the content of the training though their continued policing tasks, and to try out new behaviours in the field.

The quantitative results of the trial seem to be less positive than the picture painted by the group interviews (described in Chapters 7 and 8). While participants' sentiments of procedural justice and democratic policing were far from ideal, they still portrayed a higher acceptability of the model and its implications for their work than the quantitative results suggest. There are several possible explanations for this difference. First, this a subjective interpretation which introduces bias and cannot be accurately estimated. Second, it may be that the specific officers chosen, either by chance or not, had higher than average positive views of the intervention. Although there was a request to send

'ordinary' police officers, commanders may have decided to select officers they felt more confident of, who had excelled and were to be rewarded by their selection, or who were simply more verbal. Third, the time that passed following the intervention may have alleviated anxiety or defensiveness caused by the training. The focus group itself may have also contributed to positive effects, through factors such as the good rapport established during the small group sessions, the repeated exposure to the model during the focus group (perhaps in an easier-to-digest or clearer fashion than facilitating commanders managed), and the technique of Socratic questioning that allowed participants to examine their initial resistance. These may have all contributed to a more positive, open approach among participating officers.

The mixed results of this study emphasise that training can be a double-edged sword; training is perhaps not the panacea it is often set up to be (Manning, 2010). As in all other areas of social intervention, recognising the possibility that training could cause harm is an ethical and practical imperative. If police training does not achieve its aims of positively contributing to knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviours, or if it leads to a change for the worse in these parameters, the repercussions are not only an unprofessional police force, but a public which does not receive the service it is entitled to in a democratic society. The onus to evaluate police training interventions is therefore a heavy one, and this trial serves as a reminder that good intentions are not enough.

### **Considering the feasibility and acceptability of the intervention: the importance of high-quality implementation**

While the literature provides strong support for a connection between high fidelity

and effective results (for example Andrews & Dowden, 2005), there is a need for closer examination of this relationship in the context of police training. The semi-structured implementation tool developed for this study helps shed some light on the trial results. The staff preparation and quality of delivery seem to both stem from commanders' support of educational training in general and of this training day specifically. Whenever meaningful discussions took place during the preparation sessions, these were echoed during the training day, and translated to more skilful delivery and higher levels of participation by police officers. The variation in commanders' commitment and facilitation skills was striking, and may have contributed to the limited and sometimes negative results of the intervention.

This pattern emphasises that relying on commanders to lead educational training is the Achilles' heel of the BP's training model, as the results from the piloting phase also suggested. During the implementation-related summative interview, this training course in particular was judged by the Education Unit officers to be challenging for commanders, containing more complicated elements than they were used to, both in term of content and of delivery methods. This training may have therefore overstretched the limits of organisation's capacity, also contributing to diminished effects.

Another significant idea which arises from this research is that educational interventions may be seen as a 'zone of proximal development' which can provide 'scaffolding' to police officers in their professionalization process. These terms originate from the field of developmental psychology and relate to young children's learning processes. In Vygotsky's theory of social development, the 'zone of proximal development' is 'the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent

problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers' (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86, in Chaiklin, 2003). This quote illustrates the social context of learning and significance of learning opportunities; the 'zone' does not refer to a social space, but rather to an estimation of the child's capabilities.

'Scaffolding', a term developed by Vygotsky's followers, refers to the assistance provided during the learning process of a specific skill, concept, or similar (Chaiklin, 2003). For example, learning to perform a certain task may require developing cognitive skills such as self-regulation, representational thinking and strategic problem solving; the scaffolding is geared to developing these prerequisites, which are needed for independent execution of the task.

These two concepts are useful in this context, as they provide a framework for considering the relevance and acceptability of the proposed intervention for specific units or organizations. The intervention includes components of modelling and peer-collaboration, which extended the capabilities of participating officers during the training itself. However, it may be that if the distance between the existing 'independent' capabilities and the skills or ideas proposed by the intervention is too great – ceasing to be proximal – the 'scaffolding' cannot succeed; the capabilities of these police officers and their units are too remote from the intervention, and the 'zone' becomes irrelevant. These concepts can be used to help analyse the situation in each unit and decide if the intervention can be delivered as intended, or if changes need to be made so that the gap between existing knowledge and the new skills the intervention intends to teach, is minimised; scaffolding can then take place. This may

be crucial for more effective implementation and results.

The findings also address the issue of standardisation as a necessary element in randomised trials of complex social interventions (Hawe, Shiell, & Riley, 2004). Hawe and her colleagues argue that in order to account for the complexity involved in delivering interventions to communities or organisations, it is necessary to standardise not the form of the intervention (i.e. the activities) but the functions and processes. This research attempted to take into account the idea of *integrity of function*. For most activities, there was room for 'local' adaptations: commanders could choose the examples most relevant for them either from a pool of activities or in the discussion. Furthermore, the training manual also included the guiding ideas of the intervention, which the discussion was expected to revolve around, for example freedom of protest. In addition, the intervention was assessed in terms of process; for example, the implementation tool included a category on the commander's ethical leadership, and the role of the Education Unit member in facilitating the delivery.

Despite this, the 'shackles of simple interventions' are hard to throw off (Hawe et al., 2004; p. 1561), not only for researchers but also for the organisation. Not enough resources (in terms of time and effort) were invested in ensuring compatibility with the unique attributes of each commander and each group; this possibly would have contributed to more positive results. The findings of the BP study emphasise that more work is needed to achieve high quality implementation which goes beyond checklists in police training interventions.

### 'Active ingredients' of police training interventions

The Border Police Educational Training study presented an invaluable opportunity to

consider the active ingredients of police training interventions; the modelling of the complex intervention enabled me to highlight and discuss what appear to be central challenges relevant to other policing organisations as well. The solutions developed by the BP to deal with those challenges appear theoretically viable, and their efficacy and transferability should be explored on that ground.

I will highlight here one particular aspect of the BP training: the conceptualisation of the training as providing officers with the skill to incorporate ethical parameters into their decision making process. Discretion as a (if not the) defining element of policing was deliberated in the opening chapter of this thesis, and positioned as inherently tied to the significance of training; it is because officers have the de-facto mandate of decision making that they require quality training that can help them make the complex judgements that are integral to their roles.

The BP model recognises that part of the challenge of training is incorporating into knowledge of laws and procedures the ethical standards of democratic policing. This conceptualisation both emphasises the complexity of the police officer's role and the complexity of training that can help them appropriately meet the demands of that role. In turn, it helps define the task of incorporating into such training the tools needed for such a complex task. Training cannot stop at delivering discrete components such as the law, the procedure, the values; its challenge is to assist officers to integrate these in real life. The BP study provided the opportunity to examine one such task in one particular context, and assess the appropriateness of the content of the intervention to these. As more theoretically-oriented and contextualised training interventions are trialled, it will be possible to piece together mechanisms and processes of change that are effective in this task.

While this pilot experimental study could not conclusively determine ‘what works’, it has affirmed that the four mechanisms proposed as the core of the ‘theoretical model of police training’ should indeed be examined further in this and other contexts: individual learning, the group environment, the identity of the trainer and the organisational and societal context. All appeared to be significant to the implementation and effectiveness of the intervention.

### [The relevance of procedural justice to policing of protests and to policing in deeply divided societies: interaction of context and intervention](#)

The BP study serves to accentuate the importance of context, both organisational and contextual; this reinforces the suitability of the Realist Trials methodological approach. One strand of the findings of this thesis relates to the relevance of procedural justice to the policing of protests and to policing in deeply divided societies. The importance of the fairness displayed by officers in their interaction with citizens has been demonstrated empirically – including in Israel – and indeed serves as one of the justifications for researching police training. However, this thesis widens the academic conversation by considering the synchronicity of procedural fairness with a) protests, and b) divided societies. The study’s findings prompts the question: can we expect procedural fairness in the policing of protests, one of the most common and public forms of high policing? Can interventions that seek to ‘increase’ procedural justice in deeply divided societies succeed, considering the explosive dynamics of police and minorities? Both these aspects were identified as possible barriers that may have reduced the efficacy of the intervention trialed. The themes and factors presented highlight a possible divergence in how procedural justice interventions will

be received in deeply divided societies, compared to more homogenous democracies. These suggestions, regarding possible boundaries to the legitimacy paradigm, will need to be substantiated through future research.

This line of findings further illuminates the complex interaction of intervention and context, leading to another observation. In the context of the BP study, 'knowledge', a core element of the KUSAB training approach described in Chapter 2 and used by the BP as well as the UK police, loses its discrete nature. The legitimacy paradigm was presented to police officers as a part of the intervention, as a body of scientific knowledge which offers a roadmap to success. Yet, as can be seen from the quantitative and qualitative data presented here, it was met with resistance from the officers. While resistance to training has been described in the literature and is not unique to the Israeli police (see Chapter 2), the source of the resistance as clashing with the specific societal and organisational reality should be carefully scrutinized. Disregarding the reactions of officers to the model may hamper intervention effectiveness. This resistance can be viewed as revealing the 'loaded' nature of knowledge in police training interventions. While the 'contested' nature of knowledge has been discussed in relation to other professions as well (for example medicine, in Blackler, 1995), the phenomenon I describe here pertains particularly to the training sphere. It highlights the importance of factoring into the design of interventions the baggage that comes with any knowledge component of the intervention in a specific organizational and societal context.

While the thesis focused more on the challenges encountered in the delivery of the intervention, the positive themes were not meant to be disregarded. It can be argued

that this study provides justification for further experimental testing of procedural justice-focused interventions in Israel and other divided societies; there was relative acceptance of the framework at the level of the organisation and of the police officers. Acceptance of the training varied between and within intervention groups, and was possibly shaped by the commander's identity and skills, the unit-level context and officers' own past experiences; these mediating and moderating variables should be examined in future research. Better understanding of both the strengths and the weaknesses of procedural justice training is needed to advance democratic policing across the globe.

### The value of participatory approaches

As discussed in Chapter 9, within this specific case study, building a research partnership and incorporating participatory research methods appears to have led to significant knowledge integration, despite the potentially hostile organisational environment.

Looking beyond this case study, the tailored consensus development process used in this study can be singled out as a participatory research method that may be useful for advancing evidence-based policing interventions and assisting knowledge translation. While here it was used for designing a training intervention, it can potentially be used to shape other types of police practices. Its success in this unpromising context emphasises the strength of participatory research methods. The tailored method seems to enable the three elements highlighted in the literature as crucial for reforming police science: ownership and control of the research, a balance of valuing craft and science, and leadership within the police (Neyroud & Weisburd, 2014). It

also allows for capacity building within the organisation, which is meaningful both as an ethical position, and for advancing police science (Fyfe, CEPOL 2012).

### A complex intervention in a complex context

The Border Police training intervention attempted to 'work' not only through the means used inside the classroom, but also by relying on organisational structures and narratives. Training in the Border Police, and possibly in other police organisations, was demonstrated to have the features of a complex intervention: delivered in different formats, at different points in officers' careers, and serving diverse organisational functions (among other characteristics).

The research process and findings also suggest that incorporating insights and methods from the field of complexity science might be beneficial in future research (Shiell et al., 2008). For example, the characterisation used in complex systems evaluations of *feedback loops* and *tipping points* seems useful. In this case, training commanders during staff training was both a goal and a possible mediator of the intervention. In addition, the intervention seemed to have 'won hearts and minds' among education officers and unit commanders, leading to the intervention being adopted in a way that could make an impact the original evaluation was not designed to detect. Looking forward, conceptualising and developing police training interventions as complex interventions in complex contexts might be the key to promoting effective democratic police training.



## Appendices

### Appendix 3-A: Theoretical and Organisational Frameworks to Police Training

This appendix includes a detailed exposition of four theoretical and organisational frameworks to police training.

#### 1. **Adult Education: Adult Learning Theory and the Participatory Approach**

Adult Education (*Andragogy*), together with Adult Learning Theory (ALT) has been identified as a theoretical base in several official training curriculums. In the United Kingdom, Centrex - until recently the organization responsible for police training - chose core values of training which reflect that of adult education (Central Police Training and Development Authority, 2007). This approach is also used in their trainer development program (Smith, 2004). Another example is the Police Recruitment Education Program (PREP) in Australia, which was designed in accordance with principles such as experiential learning and reflexive practice (Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003). The use of ALT in professional training has not been limited to policing; training curriculums based on ALT have also been used in the training of physicians, where they were shown to improve skills and behaviours (Green & Ellis, 1997).

*Andragogy* is 'the art and science of helping adults learn' (Knowles, 1980, p. 43, in Merriam, 2001, p. 5). Observational data suggests adults learn throughout their lives, with experiential learning playing a crucial role, especially through the interconnection between learning and everyday tasks (Brookfield, 1986, in Jones & Hendry, 1994). ALT has been criticised for not being an empirically tested theory, but more of a 'good practice' model (or simply 'right practice'). Regarding its relevance

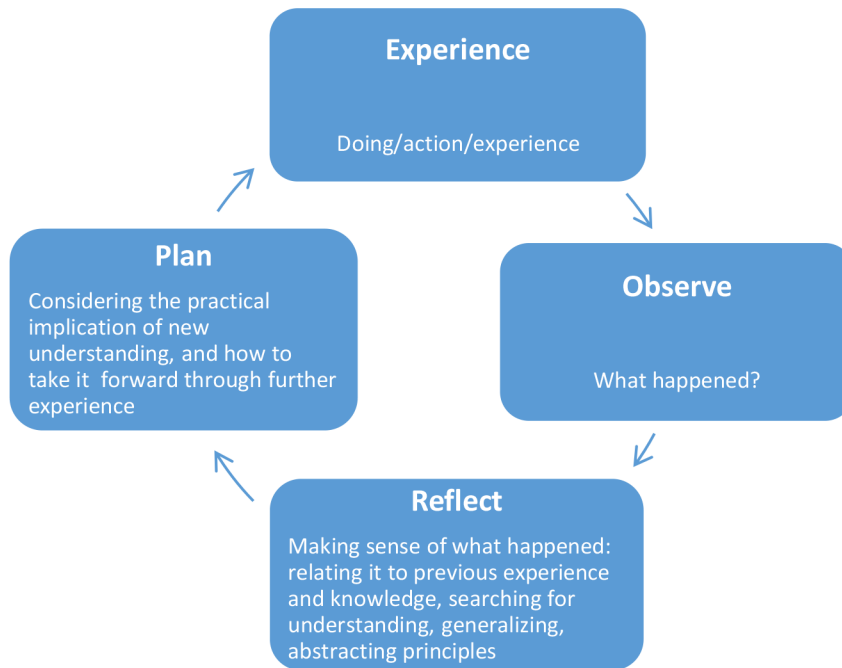
to occupational training, the self-directed learning element within it has been singled out as contrasting a situation in which a specific body of knowledge exists, especially as there is no evidence of this element being tied to better performance levels (Norman, 1999) first described by Malcolm Knowles in the early 1970s, is based on a number of apparently self-evident axioms about how adults learn. The fundamental assumptions remain largely untested, and a critical analysis suggests that they may be largely a product of the environment in which adults find themselves rather than of any innate differences between adults and children. What evidence does exist suggests that one critical component of adult learning, self-assessment, is not easy. Further, while students can learn the skills to learn on their own (i.e., can acquire self-directed learning skills).

Despite its shortcomings, ALT is considered a relevant foundation for police training. Especially for on-going training, the police officers' experiences could and should serve as the focal point of the learning experience (Bayley & Bittner, 1984). If the training relates to tasks the officers are meant to perform, then it would be directly applicable and related to their everyday and their social-professional role. ALT might have a particular limitation in police training; as training has often been placed as an external activity to 'real' police work, so the internal motivation of officers to learn may be limited. Because internal motivation is considered essential to success, efficacy might be reduced in organisations where training is devalued.

Support for the potential effectiveness of using an ALT approach is found in its use of behavioural experiments. Behavioural experiments are widely used as part of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) with proven efficacy. This is a technique which actually

originates in ALT, specifically the Lewin/Kolb experiential cycle (Bennett-Levy, Butler, Fennell, Hackmann, & Mueller, Westbrook, David, 2004); it is essentially a planned experimental activity, based on actual personal experimentation or observation. Its design is derived directly from a cognitive formulation of the problem experienced by the client, and its primary purpose is to obtain new information which may help to test validity of existing beliefs and construct more adaptive ones.

Elements of police training based in ALT may be conceptualised as behavioural experiments, constructed to make use of the experiential cycle: plan, experience, observe and reflect (Figure 1). Trainees could be encouraged to experiment with different types of behaviour in the classroom through role-play or simulation, or in the field itself, as described by Smith (2004). This has the potential to be efficacious, since several similarities to the context of CBT can be identified. First, the principle goal in both cases is to facilitate behaviour change or a change in cognitions. Secondly, there is a shared concept of 'underlying assumptions', which are rules that generalise across situations; these are fuelled by core beliefs which in both cases are often seen as 'dysfunctional'. Additionally, just as in CBT there is recognition that schemas bias the information the client attends to and the behavioural experiment aims to raise her awareness of this; the same is process is relevant to the police officer in the field.



**Figure 1: The Lewin/Kolb experiential circle (Bennett-Levy et al., 2004, p. 19)**

A sub-type of ALT, which shares similar grounding in humanistic philosophy, is the Participatory approach, which places emphasis on police officers playing an active role in the training process. Policing scholar Ker Muir (1977, in Sklansky, 2008) stated that it is ‘crucial for police to engage in ongoing and collective reflection’ (p. 80) as a necessary precaution put in place to allow officers to be ‘trusted with power’. This type of reflection was most clearly reflected in the training programme set up by Oakland police chief Charles Gain between the years 1967-73, which encouraged a participatory approach to class discussions. An Action Research project was set up with the aim of developing a training programme to reduce police violence, using a ‘team policing’ approach. Though this project was considered a success by its creators, this type of approach is rarely used.

## **2. Training as transmission of culture: the socialization approach**

Janet Chan (Chan, 1997; Chan et al., 2003) has used the theoretical framework proposed by Bourdieu to sketch a theory of possible change within police organizations

and apply it to a training approach. Her refined theory relates to Bourdieu's concepts of '*field*' (general context) and '*habitus*' (internal context) to describe policing, adding in Sackmann's theory of 'culture as knowledge' (1991, in Chan, 1997) to ground and develop the essence of the policing *habitus*. While police behaviour will be affected by the *field* through political and social pressures, it is also situated within the policing *habitus* as a site of socialization. Within this theory, training plays a role of inoculation or resilience-building to the dominant occupational police culture.

Chan and her colleagues (2003) propose a theory of training as a site in which culture is transmitted, particularly relying on Schien's (1985) adaptation of Learning Theory as the method through which this transmission occurs. They demonstrate their hypothesis using a longitudinal qualitative study. Learning Theory is a behavioural approach which identifies positive reinforcement of successful solutions and negative reinforcement to successfully avoid anxiety provoking situations. In their proposed model, training introduces models of good practice which in turn would counter the models of bad practice visible in the field, most importantly because they would prove more effective when put to use by the trainees.

Socialization is described as the recruits' encounter with the policing model, their ability to classify it as 'good' or 'bad', and then their choice to either adopt the model or not. They recognise that in reality, recruits will encounter 'good' and 'bad' models both in academy and field training. The proportion of good versus bad models will be determined by the organisational culture as well as by the quality and structure of the training.

Chan et al.'s (2003) study of police training was initiated following the development

of a new training course, which was trying to advance a prototype of professionalism and create officers 'with the ability to analyse problems, empathize with others, reflect on their own values and biases and take appropriate actions in ambiguous or dangerous situations' (p. 306). This was set up to contrast a previous prototype of policing that was considered unwanted by reformers. The assumption made by the programme's designers was that exposure to 'the ethics, the social and legal context of policing, and the prejudice recruits bring to the job' (pg. 314) would challenge the 'crime fighting' prototype of policing. In this case, they were trying to present practice models that would reflect their ideal officer, in contrast to the one present in the field.

Data collected over two years through interviews, questionnaires and observations showed that recruits followed underwent a change. Their attitudes changed in a way that made them able to better fit into the existing police *habitus*, as had been described in previous studies. This included a rise in cynicism, distrust of management and the general public, and a negative attitude towards the criminal justice system. However, the study showed that recruits did indeed choose which models to adopt, and made conscious decisions regarding this. Their choice was heavily affected by the disregard for the academy displayed by veteran officers in the field, and by their need to 'blend in' during the probationary period. Chan and her colleagues (2003) also reason that the lack of support by all ranks - or rather their abstention from fully adopting the proposed reforms - also directed recruits' choices.

### 3. **Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives and the KUSAB approach**

The United Kingdom's Police Training Council advocates a training approach in which 'everyone working in the police service develops the Knowledge, Understanding, Skills, Attitudes and Behaviour (KUSAB) required to meet the present and future needs

of the police service' (1993, in Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2002).

KUSAB is derived from a theoretical model known as Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. Bloom's Taxonomy is an influential construct, used by educationists in practice and in theory (Bloom et al., 1956 in Seddon, 1978). Simply put, it is 'a framework for classifying statements of what we expect or intend students to learn as a result of instruction' (Krathwohl, 2002, p. 212). The taxonomy identifies six different types of learning goals: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation, with behavior not clearly falling into any of the categories. Working within this model, educational objectives could be set up in regard to each learning goal, depending on the student or the context. Part of the aim of setting up the taxonomy was to enable educators to communicate meaningfully regarding their objectives (Seddon, 1978).

Developed in the 1980s, Bloom's Taxonomy has served as the base for outcome-based education. It is a prominent framework used within different education systems, including in the UK. It includes widely used concepts such as 'standards', 'targets', and 'attainment levels', providing a framework for measuring teaching effectiveness (Elliot, 2004). This is criticized by Elliot as being part of a control ideology that enforces a technical outlook on the field. The alternative perspective is that it creates a structure in which designers and trainers must consider what they want the training to achieve, and cannot discard the important process of setting objectives.

In the design of training, this theory is usually used in a simplified form, loosely relating to all five categories of knowledge, understanding, skills, attitudes and behavior as part of the strategy of police training. Lesson plans are often constructed to include

all aspects of the taxonomy, often in consecutive order. The manual of the training curriculum can then be inspected to ensure it meets the five types of objectives. Because the knowledge category is more straightforward and easier to deliver, it appears that many training interventions do not go beyond the first categories of the model.

One example of a training intervention which seems to follow (though not explicitly) the KUSAB model is presented by Buchanan & Perry (1985). They describe a 'family crisis intervention' training model which had been widely used for over a decade across the United States. The five-day training course includes a knowledge and understanding element which focuses on alcohol and drug abuse, spousal abuse, stress in police work, cultural training, psychiatric emergencies and available community agencies. The design includes training in the skills which were identified as necessary to 'respond to and resolve domestic disputes' (p. 562), identified as: safety, diffusion, communication, resolution and referral. The additional element is the attitude change of student-officers regarding domestic disputes, their legitimacy to intervene, and the belief that they could make a positive difference.

The authors' hypothesis, based in social psychology, is that the attitude-behaviour relationship can be strengthened by linking target and action elements. Training sought to make officers' attitudes towards disputants more positive: that they could and should act as these disputants would want them to, and that disputants may benefit from their assistance. While evidence on the effectiveness of this approach is far from conclusive, self-report measures up to four years following the intervention show officers believed it gave them better understanding, as well as the skills to be

more effective in dealing with family crisis.

#### **4. Higher Education as an alternative to training: Officers as practical criminologists**

In parallel to reforms which focused on training to improve policing standards, for over a hundred years police reformers have repeatedly advocated higher education as the most promising route to pursue. The underlying assumptions have remained the same: attracting men and women of high calibre, and 'gaining' officers who understand the sociological context of policing. In a sense, this approach transfers the burden of quality training outside of the force, acknowledging that police departments either cannot or will not supply it.

Regarding the first aim, of improving the quality of personnel, Sherman claims this line of reform did not succeed (1978). The same people, in the sociological sense, are being hired, since entry-level educational requirements to the police force were never adopted in most countries. While more officers complete some form of college education, these are usually non-degree-level courses in community colleges. These courses are often mechanical in their approach and usually take the form of extended training rather than academic education. For this reason, Sherman discounts the studies which have found no correlation between college education and better performance; he claims this is not the education envisioned.

The vision of university education was tied to ideas of police and societal reform; the education required for this was not just technical, and therefore the university was not just a setting but a context in which policing would be developed and recreated. One of the early police reformers, August Vollmer, first raised the idea of college

education in 1907, and established a university summer school in 1908 as part of his aspiration to make every patrolman a 'practical criminologist' (Walker, 1977). Lee Brown, a renowned police chief and Commissioner, stated that a higher education is a prerequisite for the police to fulfil their role in a contemporary democratic society: 'In order to function in a society characterized by massive socioeconomic problems... we need a new [officer] – one who understands the complexities of human life, one who is able to understand the legacy of discrimination in this country and reflect positively upon the demands for freedom, justice and equality; one who is able to understand the philosophy of dissent; one who understands that he/she has a legal and moral obligation to be responsive to the people - all the people, and not merely the prevailing power structure in the [officer's] community' (Brown, 1974, p. 116-117, in Cox & Moore, 1992, p. 252).

Sherman (1978) argues that because the education reform took a path that was so different from this vision, it served a reactionary, conservative role. He criticises the relationships that have developed between colleges and local departments, which result in highly 'practical' courses taking precedence, with no place for research or educational leadership. In this situation, the policing field is ignoring the important question, which is not a dichotomous yes or no to college education, but what should that education be, and what are the effects not on an individual officer but on a changing sociology of a police department.

\*

Looking over these four approaches, it seems they all have a 'good enough' theoretical base. As there is no evidence that one approach is more effective than the others, it

might be argued that as long as police organisations are conscious of the strategies they are using, there is a better chance for more meaningful evaluation and reflection, and possibly more effective training interventions in the long-run.

Appendix 5-A : Policy documents included in the initial analysis  
(Titles translated from Hebrew)

1	From vision to practice – Education Unit Border Police
2	A document for the education staff for the implementation of ‘mission and designation’ – the basic education programme of BP
3	‘Model for the design of ‘ethical training
4	‘The educational continuum in the BP – ‘building capabilities
5	(Ethical Training’ in the BP (introduction to manual on BP values’
6	An address to the commander

Appendix 5-B: List of categories identified during the ‘open coding’ phase  
(Translated from Hebrew)

Open coding’ categories’	
I. Organisational goals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Assisting the commander in carrying out his job</li> <li>2. Embedding a new conceptualization on professionalism in the organisation</li> <li>3. Developing and implementing the field of educational training in the organisation</li> </ol>
II. Training Transfer	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. The officers’ identity</li> <li>5. Norms: behaviours at the level of individual and organisation</li> </ol>
III. Empowerment and responsibility	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Empowering individuals serving in the corps</li> <li>7. Empowering the units and the organisation</li> </ol>
IV. Knowledge	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. ‘Knowledge areas’: topics related to the mission, the police in a democracy, Israeli society, BP heritage</li> </ol>
V. Attitude & Values	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. The idea of the ‘ethical police officer’, ethics as a ‘tool-box’</li> <li>10. Identification with the organisation and the state</li> <li>11. The value of the organisation and the state</li> </ol>
VI. Skills	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Making ethical decisions</li> <li>13. Including ethical parameters in the decision making process</li> <li>14. Practicing ‘an ethical language’ and ethical dilemmas</li> </ol>

<p>VII. Delivery mechanisms</p>	<p>15. Sites: educational routine</p> <p>16. Sites: the central training base</p> <p>17. Experiencing discussion, tolerance and dialogue within the unit and the organisation</p> <p>18. Internal analysis to recognize needs and problems</p> <p>19. Investing in manpower</p> <p>20. Tool: Ethical dialogue (general)</p> <p>21. Tool: Ethical training (specific tool)</p> <p>22. Tool: simulations</p> <p>23. Tool: analysing past events (both positive and negative)</p>
<p>VIII. Agents of change</p>	<p>24. The commander as educator</p> <p>25. The role of the Education Unit staff members</p>
<p>IX. Organisational strategies</p>	<p>26. Alertness of commanders and education staff to unit events and unit climate</p> <p>Holistic education approach ('Gestalt'): chronological continuum, continuum between training base ('police academy') to HQ to field, positioning of education staff in the field, joint work of professionals from different departments.</p> <p>27. Empowering the image of the commander and the unit</p> <p>28. Aligning the educational training to the needs of the mission</p> <p>29. Unified messages and unified policy in order to set clear norms and borders</p>

## Appendix 5-C: Example of topic guide for feasibility stage interviews – Police

### Officers group interview

(Translated from Hebrew)

Introduction	Go over information sheet again, ensure consent forms have been signed, explain what the session will involve in more detail and why it is being recorded, explain again that it will not be used against them, that honest responses are best.
Experience of Training	Please describe the training session you took part in. What was the content/focus? What methodologies do you remember? What did you learn? Did you enjoy the training? What didn't you like about it? Did you find it useful?
Perceptions of knowledge, attitudes & skills	What do you think role of this training was? What were you expected to get out of your training? What did you learn? What attitudes was the training trying to target? How do you feel about these things? Do you think it will affect the way you police 'on the ground'?
Problems with training	Do you think this training might be useful to yourself, your unit, other officers in the BP? Does training contradict other organisational strategies: are you taught things in training that contradict your everyday assignments or the overall spirit of your orders?
Concluding the session	Do you have any further comments? Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

Appendix 5-D: Questionnaire for police officers observed undergoing 'The

Border Police & Democracy' training

(Translated from Hebrew)

Please circle: 1 is lowest, 5 highest

I am in mandatory service/regular service  
I have been in the BP for \_\_\_ years

How much did this day contribute to me as a BP officer	1	2	3	4	5
How much did this day contribute to me as (a person (a citizen	1	2	3	4	5

**Content:**

1. Circle the three values that this training was most focused on:

Tolerance	Professionalism	Personal example	Human life
Human dignity	Wisdom	Courage	Comradery
Lawfulness	Determinacy	Pure use of weapons	Legacy

2. This training course was about the BP and democracy. Circle the two democratic principles you think have the most to do with the BP's work:

Protecting freedom of protest	Maintaining public order
Protecting freedom of movement	Maintaining equality between citizens
Protecting the rule of law	Protecting citizens from crime

During the third day there was use of a photo exhibition documenting BP's tasks.

3. Which picture helped you understand BP's role in the democracy the best?

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Skills:

4. How much do you think the scenario activity presented by the commander

(specify for each unit topic chosen) will help you in carrying out your job?

1	2	3	4	5
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5. Are there daily tasks this training course gave you the tools to perform better?

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**Thanks for your cooperation!**

## Appendix 5-E: An extended discussion of Implementation issues that point to possible barriers to successful training

Interviewees in all three sub-groups discussed problems with educational training, as they were asked to do as part of the group interviews; some problems surfaced related to the area of implementation of the intervention. Implementation is central to the efficacy and success of any intervention, and often cannot be separated from the intervention itself (Mihalic, 2004). In assessing the quality of implementation, four central aspects were considered: adherence, exposure, quality of delivery and participant responsiveness (Dane & Schneider, 1998, in Mihalic, 2002).

The central issues identified relate to a lack of adherence in two core components: the collaborative work of commanders and Education Unit staff, and commanders' intervention delivery skills, which are probably related to a reduced quality of delivery of the intervention and reduced participant responsiveness. The appropriateness of manualisation was also discussed, which is related to the 'exposure' aspect. Systematic failure in the execution of key elements of the intervention should lead to a revision of the programme theory, or to an examination of the actual ability to 'connect the dots' in the process of change that the intervention attempts to create.

### *Collaboration between education and command staff: lacking adherence to core component*

At the heart of this intervention is the assumption that support provided to commanders alongside collaborative work can enable the commander to lead the education process and deliver it effectively. The programme theory is one of educational dialogue – a collaborative work of commanders with education staff, with the commander delivering the activities and the education staff there to advise, support and serve as his 'sensors' to identify possible

issues concerning ethics which require addressing. The relationship described was not always operative; the collaborative process was one of the active ingredients of the intervention, but it met some difficulties at the implementation stage. This appears to be due to the nature of work in a hierarchical organisation, and to the relative inexperience of the ENCOs, who are conscripts, in relation to unit commanders who are experienced professionals. This issue is visible both from the perspective of the education staff and of the commanders. There are gaps between the different regimental headquarters, but it is important to emphasise that in some, serious collaborative work is being carried out by Education staff together with company commanders.

The work of female NCOs and officers in conjunction with commanders is not always ideal, and often features tensions and power dynamics. Commanders displayed an ambivalence towards Education because of the workload created by the requirement to deliver educational content: “Commanders tell me: “sometimes we feel that Education is a hindrance instead of a help” (Rotem, EOs). According to ENCOs, the mere fact of their responsibility to inspect units as part of the Operations Branch, which is used in turn to assess commanders, introduces an element of power wielded by NCOs which is not welcomed by commanders; this is echoed by Commander Kobi’s highly critical and somewhat defensive stance. There is no consensus as to the real connection of commanders to the subject of education, and to what extent they have internalised the organisational and pedagogic conception of ‘the commander as educator’. In addition, a routine of struggle against commanders about integrating educational content is described.

Even though all three commanders express deep appreciation for the senior education officers, differences can be seen in their perceptions of the education team. For Commander

Kobi, the ENCO was not a sufficiently professional and experienced figure in order to support him. “The biggest mistake is that they are letting 18-year-old girls define education for me” (Kobi). Dror too felt that working with NCOs was problematic: “I personally cannot generate a discussion or an interaction with the NCO...If I had to sit down with her, it would take me twice as long. Secondly, the age gap between us is such that my perspective is different than hers...life experience, experience commanding. She doesn’t have that, she’s young.” Attitudes towards the NCO is not unequivocal: the NCO’s role can be conducive in helping to produce successful educational activity, by understanding the important focal points and in helping to acquire physical aids and educational materials. Commanders also appreciated their fruitful collaboration with the junior command.

It is worth noting the antagonism might be misdirected at ENCOs, stemming from the resources commanders are required to invest in Education; Kobi complained about the amount of time he was required to invest in training, and suggested that this be based on achievements on the ground and not according to a uniform criteria.

*Commanders’ capacity to lead educational Processes: reduced quality of delivery possibly resulting from deficient staff training (adherence)*

Another, related, hypothesised active ingredient of this intervention is the central role of the commander in the training process, termed ‘the commander as educator’ (in the means category: ‘agents of change’). This is what makes the intervention so unique and potentially effective, as will be highlighted in the next section. It is most likely a necessary prerequisite that commanders be competent enough to handle this role. From the perspective of the education team and some police officers, there was room for improvement. In order to assess this intervention, it is necessary to understand what happens when the commander’s abilities

are such that it is not possible to deliver the intervention with positive outcomes. Can the intervention be modular enough to accommodate the diversity in abilities, considering how politically difficult (organisation-wise) it is to admit or discuss an incompetence of a serving commander? These are focal questions the Education Unit must address.

The Education personnel mostly showed great appreciation for commanders and their capacities: "Platoon commanders [...] and company commanders [...] have acquired insane proficiency in recent years" (Sharon, EOs). This is a level-headed outlook, which conveys the education officers' awareness of the commanders' many areas of responsibility. However, differences are mentioned in the abilities of commanders and in the skills of senior staff members; ENCOs faced difficulties in working with personnel who had no conception or capacity of educational command, as described in several statements: "There is a plethora of officers, of platoon commanders who know...how to handle the discourse, how to conduct discussions in a truly facilitating manner, but it is not enough" (Dafna, EOs) ; "Fine, not every commander has these abilities, and we should not aspire for every one of them to be an inspiration, but not every commander has even that [basic] ability" (Noam, ENCOs); "But having said that, I think what's happening here is not euphoric, we still have a way to go. I think commanders can see when what goes on is wrong, they do not know yet how to analyse it ethically. I think we are at a stage where they are able to say this is alright or this is not alright, [...] but there is still room for progress, we are really not there yet" (Ronna, EOs).

One of the commanders also spoke of the uneven abilities of commanders, stating he was aware that not all commanders in the organisation were able or willing to lead educational processes themselves. Police officers in the Barak unit felt that commanders were not always 'the right people for the job' when it came to education training; they expressed a view that the commander should lead the training only if he had authority and experience in the

specific field, and if not the appropriate facilitator should be recruited: “The commander can do it, but it depends how. If you bring a person with professional knowledge, experience and everything, it will look different, not just reading off a page”; “and to bring the professionals to deliver that topic, that is what will make it good, and that is how people will understand [the message]”.

*Relevance of the education programme to the units: lacking adherence to core principle and the ensuing decrease in participant responsiveness*

One of the central strategic means of the intervention model is ‘matching educational activities to the needs of the task’, or ‘task-related education’ as it is termed by the programme designers. This is the guiding principle in choosing where to concentrate resources and what educational themes to focus on. Pedagogically, this is about bringing ‘education’ down from the Olympus; ensuring it is not about detached ideals, but relevant to the everyday ethics required of police officers. Yet there was not always agreement regarding the success of this approach among the ‘clients’ of the interventions.

Commanders had conflicting opinions as to the degree of compatibility of the education programmes with their units. The interview data clearly expresses that for commanders Kobi and Dror, the programmes were insufficiently compatible with each unit. In addition, they claimed it took too long to process test case studies for specific programmes, when rapid responses to developments on the ground were needed. “In the formal and technical fields I would not say the programmes I receive from the ENCO fit me or my police officers. Sometimes they are low-quality, with trivial black-and-white dilemmas that every police officer can recognize” (Dror). In comparison, Commander Tomer says: “The lesson plans that they build, they do not build them alone, it is always done with people on the ground. They

are so relevant, it isn't just another programme... that has nothing to do with things on the ground. Here the lesson plans have live examples with things that have happened to us; these are dilemmas that you face all the time" (Tomer). This contradiction might stem from a higher relevance of the programme to units that operate in the occupied territories, or have a higher proportion of conscripts. It might also stem from the personal approach of the commander.

Some police officers also experienced an irrelevance concerning the content of training; they stated that while topics were usually relevant to their work, they sometimes found it difficult to understand how either the topics of a training session or the focus it took were related to them: "There were all these redundant conversations...what does it matter if we are talking about this now, it will not change anything" (49<sup>th</sup> Battalion); "They could have taken racism in the context of our work, but they took it to things that have nothing to do with us, no one here has a flat to sell" (49<sup>th</sup> Battalion). These sentiments reflected the researcher's observations that while the topics chosen are worthy, they are outside the sphere of the police officers; the desire to turn officers into idealists who advance an ethical society should be separated from the desire to help shape ethical officers who provide democratically-oriented policing.

#### *Fidelity versus Adaptation: training manuals*

The three commanders declared that they often change the programmes or deviate from them in order to calibrate them to the state of the unit or to current events. At the same time they recognize that perfect compatibility is impossible due to the plethora of missions in the various units, and suggest each commander should be responsible for calibrating materials for his own unit. This demonstrates their ambiguity; all three commanders address the importance of the commander's independence in relation to the educational material and

the way it is to be conveyed. This autonomy is actually in line with the programme theory, which advocates space for the commander's educational leadership, as can be demonstrated in this description: "To their credit, they do not force us to work according to it [their programmes], if you have a method to teach [about] 'solidarity', 'responsibility', I never told them I preferred to do it differently [and was refused]. They are strict with the subjects which is fine because you need an annual programme" (Dror). It is unclear if the departure from the manuals provided harms the potential efficacy of the intervention or if the adaptation is actually an advantage.

To summarise, these implementation problems should be taken into consideration in assessing the programme theory. It is important to note that the issues raised touch mostly on aspects of the implementation highlighted in the interviews in answer to the question of problems of the intervention, and are not the result of a systematic process evaluation. These issues were the base for the design of an implementation matrix, which was used as part of the evaluation phase of the research.

## Appendix 6-A / A Systematic Review of Police Training Interventions targeting the democratic policing of protests

One of the central tasks of the research project described in this thesis was the development of an exemplary training intervention focusing on the policing of protests. A crucial step was the assessment the state of the evidence concerning police training on the specific policing task chosen as the focus of the intervention. To ensure the most rigorous assessment, a systematic review of the literature was conducted (Rychetnik, Frommer, Hawe, & Shiell, 2002). The review's protocol is registered with the Campbell Collaboration, and this appendix follows their recommended format.

### **The Intervention: Training that targets the Policing of protests**

This systematic review focused on training interventions that target the attitudes, behaviour, and skills related to the use and misuse of police powers and force, as understood within a framework of *democratic policing*. Specifically, it focused on training interventions which address two broad goals concerning the policing of demonstrations or policing of public disorder: (a) improving discretion in a way that increases the chance that police officers will make decisions compatible with democratic norms and human rights norms, and (b) minimizing the misuse of force which explicitly harms individual and democratic rights.

The systematic reviewing of training interventions presents several challenges, revolving around the diversity contained within this category. A brief review of training manuals revealed that different police organisations may have different approaches to delivering training. Training may be anchored around legislation, procedures, or values. Training could be delivered as part of basic induction programmes or as on-

the-job professional development; it may use a didactic or a participatory delivery approach; it may be delivered in a group format or as an e-learning module to individuals.

Additional challenges arise from the diversity in attitudes towards protests in different countries and even different police organisations (della Porta, 1997). There is a variation in conceptions and legal frameworks of appropriate use of force as well as different strategies regarding the policing of protests (McPhail, Schweingruber . This may create incompatible descriptions of what constitutes the 'democratic policing' of protests.

While taking this complexity into consideration, this review aimed to consider all training interventions focused on protests and riots, which set out to socialise police officers to policing norms that correspond to democratic values, and address either the use of force or discretion, and that measure this socialisation in relation to officers' knowledge, attitudes, skills or behaviours. These interventions may focus on either macro aspects: general tactics of policing protests, or micro aspects, the interactions between officers and protesters.

## **Objectives**

As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, there is a need to establish an evidence-base regarding different types of training. As stated above, this systematic review will focus on training interventions that address the improvement of discretion or the minimizing the misuse of force in the policing of demonstrations or the policing of public disorder. Demonstrations and public disorder incidents are

focal arenas in which the human rights at the core of the democratic society are either exercised and upheld, or disregarded and abused. With the widespread social justice protests sweeping the globe recently, the interaction of police and citizens in these arenas has been under considerable public and academic scrutiny . It is of the utmost importance to be able to point to interventions that can effectively train officers to carry out their tasks in the most professional manner.

There is a need to systematically search for and synthesise new research, particularly studies that were not included in the literature reviews highlighted in Chapter 2, or that have been published since. Considering the nature of the policing field, 'good practice' manuals and even good quality experimental studies may be in existence but only available in the form of 'grey literature'. It is therefore important and necessary to contact researchers and police departments in order to access them.

By undertaking these tasks, this review can serve as a foundation for a recognised and accessible evidence base of police training regarding demonstrations and public disorder, to be used by practitioners and policy makers on the ground. It can assist both the formation of policies and the design of training interventions. Researchers may use this work to help shape future research, for example in choice of the outcome measures, and drive the field to a more evidence-based practice orientation.

Following from this, the review aimed to assess the current state of the evidence regarding the effectiveness of police training interventions targeting the policing of demonstrations and public disorder. This is seen as part of the construction of a larger evidence base of police training in general.

The review also sought to help shed light on the interaction between change in knowledge, attitudes and skills as components of training and behaviour change as the ultimate outcome. Understanding how training may work is crucial for the continual design of more effective training.

In addition, the review strove to ensure the inclusion of high quality grey literature, especially studies carried out within police organisations which have not come to light. It will also aim to ensure the inclusion of studies from new democracies, not only the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, which have featured more prominently in past narrative reviews.

### **Research question**

Do police training interventions for policing of demonstrations and public disorder influence the knowledge, attitudes, skills or behaviours related to *democratic policing* norms of police officers in democratic countries?

In order to answer this question and to establish an evidence-base that may be useful for both researchers and practitioners, the review aimed to:

- Systematically identify the available evidence from published and unpublished empirical and quasi-experimental studies on the ability of training interventions to affect participants' knowledge, attitudes, skills, and behaviour
- Synthesise the available evidence
- Explore active interaction effects between hypothesised active components and outcomes

- Identify the prominent approaches currently in use in designing police training on this topic
- Identify possible causes of heterogeneity, focusing on delivery mechanisms, content, timing, and organisational effects, in order to inform future research

## Methods

As this review did not identify any relevant studies, much of this methods section describes the pre-planned procedures that would have been used.

### ***Research Question in PICOC format***

***Population*** police officers

***Intervention*** training on policing of demonstrations and public disorder

***Comparison*** no training or variation in training

***Outcomes*** knowledge, attitudes, skills & behaviours, specifically those related to democratic policing norms (i.e. improving discretion, minimizing misuse of force)

***Context*** democratic countries

### ***Criteria for including and excluding studies***

#### ***Types of study designs***

All studies with a randomised and quasi-experimental design where there is a control group (randomised either at the individual or cluster level), (McAuley, 2002).

Because quasi-randomised designs have greater chances of introducing bias, such designs would have been critically assessed, for example:

- Designs comparing a cohort of recruits with the next cohort: this necessitates taking into consideration the possibility of historical bias (this would have been explored separately for each study in consultation with methods experts in that context)
- Designs which take advantage of the fact that recruit cohorts are randomly divided into training sub-groups to use some of the groups as experiment groups and some as control groups.
- Designs in which the experimental group includes officers who volunteer to undergo training. This clearly puts the study at risk of selection bias, but as long as there is comparable baseline data which may be used and as long as the limitations were made explicit it would have been included. A sensitivity analysis would have been carried out to help reach a decision, drawing on similar analyses carried out in other studies.

### ***Types of participants***

All members and units of public police in democratic countries, as identified in the Democracy Index (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2010), not limited to any geographical location. This includes all different ranks of police, in different police organisations and specializations. This variety would have been viewed as a source of heterogeneity important to explore rather than as a shortcoming (Davidoff, 2009). There would be no limit on the language of the study.

### ***Types of interventions***

All studies that evaluate educational training interventions for police, which support

the practice of *democratic policing* of demonstrations and public disorder, either explicitly or implicitly. These interventions may be delivered as part of initial training or continuing professional development training. This wide inclusion criterion recognises different police cultures between countries and even in relation to different ranks.

**Educational Interventions:** Educational interventions may be defined as any attempts to modify attitudes or behaviour of police by communicating topic-relevant knowledge (Davis, Thomson, Oxman, & Haynes, 1995). Delivery may include the use of written, visual or audio-visual materials, modelling, role-play, dilemma spotlighting, facilitated discussion and others. These may be in the context of conferences, seminars or small-group sessions.

**Manualisation:** Manuals of interventions would have been requested from authors as they are necessary to allow future replication as well as provide clarity regarding the content and methodology of the intervention. We planned to compile a two-tier list of studies based on the manuals' level of detail (Carroll & Nuro, 2002). The lower tier would have included manuals that provide the basic components which need to be available in order for the intervention to be included: delivery mechanisms, methodology, lesson outline, basic logic model. The second tier would have included manuals which also list additional components that are useful for narrative and future analysis: an advanced theory of change, training of trainers, lesson plans, etc.

**Length of interventions:** Both short-term (one-off sessions and short training courses) or long-term interventions (for example specialization training courses).

**Delivery of interventions:** Interventions delivered either by police personnel or by

external experts (in topic or skills) commissioned for this purpose.

### ***Comparisons***

Comparison to 'no treatment' or to an alternative intervention, for example didactic versus participatory education methods, or the dissemination of directives (official policy documents) versus an education intervention.

### ***Duration of follow-up***

All durations of follow-up.

### ***Time Frame***

Searches would be limited to 1970 onwards, so as to still be relevant to modern policing practices.

### **Types of outcome measures**

#### **Primary outcome**

1. Police Behaviour Change towards *democratic policing* practices, as measured by:
  - a. Change in skills (improvement of existing skills or introduction of new ones). This might be measured by supervisor reports or by self-reports, as well as by systematic observations of police-citizen interactions (such as were used by Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, & Moyal, 2013) .

b. Use of unlawful force by police, measured by number of incidents and level of violence (as reported by general data from police, police regulatory bodies and external complaints commissions, and by research specific data in the form of supervisor reports or by self-report).

c. Specific use-of-force incidents related to minority groups (as analysed by police regulatory bodies or official police data).

Secondary outcomes:

1. Measures of police attitudes to democratic norms or values, civil rights & human rights.

2. Measures of subject-related knowledge including laws, procedures and knowledge in the domain of social science, specifically sociology, psychology, and criminology (for example psychology of crowds as relevant to policing of protests).

3. Measures of skills as assessed in a controlled environment or through questionnaire items assessing preference to use certain policing strategies, as used for example by Rosenbaum to assess victim-oriented policing (Rosenbaum, 1987).

4. Reports and feedback by police or by research teams, which may include reports of distress or other adverse outcomes to participants and also of satisfaction and relevance to job.

5. Public perceptions and satisfaction with police, for example through measurements of *procedural fairness* (Mazerolle, Bennett, Manning, Davis, & Sargeant, 2013).

Outcome measures were not listed as an inclusion criteria in the review, to prevent bias (Petticrew & Roberts, 2008) . In addition, because there are no *gold standard* outcome measures in this field, we planned to assess the bias introduced by different reporting means than we would have encountered; for example, self-report data as opposed to official data, police data as opposed to external regulatory agencies' data, questionnaires which have been validated and previously used with the population as opposed to questionnaires adapted for the study by the researchers.

**In summary:**

**Inclusion criteria:**

All studies using an experimental design which evaluate training interventions for police that target democratic norms, focusing on the policing of demonstrations or public disorder would be included.

**Exclusion criteria:**

Studies would be excluded if:

- No control group exists

- They focus on private police forces. Only public police will be included in the review, as private police are not expected to deliver the standards of *democratic policing*.
- The population is a military unit, unless it is of a hybrid nature (para-military units with a social order role)
- The context is of a non-democratic country
- If the intervention described is not of an educational nature, for example if it is a psychologically-oriented one-on-one counselling session
- If no training manual or general plan is available to allow clarity regarding the content of the intervention (upon request from authors and not necessarily within the published study)

## **Search strategy**

### *Electronic Search*

The central search strategy for eligible studies made use of a variety of electronic databases, including the UK's National Police Library. Google Scholar™ was also searched to ensure inclusion of non-indexed trade journals. To supplement this process, we planned to contact first authors of included studies to check if they knew of any other relevant studies or were conducting on-going relevant studies that had not yet been published.

*Databases & Gateways include:*

I. Proquest: Social Sciences

(<http://search.proquest.com/socialsciences>)

Sub-sites include:

- Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA)
- Australian education index
- British education index
- Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC)
- International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)
- National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS)
- PAIS international
- ProQuest – Dissertations and Theses
- Sociological abstracts
- Worldwide Political Science Abstracts

II. SAGE (social sciences and humanities section)

The database sections searched included the following disciplines:

- Criminology
- Education
- Politics & international relations
- Sociology

III. Informaworld (Taylor and Francis journals)

(<http://www.tandfonline.com/>)

IV. Web of Knowledge

([www.isiknowledge.com](http://www.isiknowledge.com) )

V. OVID SP

(<http://www.ovid.com>)

VI. PsychINFO ( behavioural and social sciences)

- VII. Wiley online library  
(<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/>)
- VIII. UK National Police Library (<http://library.college.police.uk>)
- IX. University of Oxford Library catalogue (<http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>)
- X. RAND publication database ([http://www.rand.org/pubs/pubs\\_search.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/pubs_search.html))
- XI. National Institute of Justice  
(<http://www.nij.gov/publications/Pages/welcome.aspx>)
- XII. Google scholar

### *Search terms and scoping search*

The search strategy bridged the specificity-oriented approach taken by Patterson et al. in their review of stress management interventions for police officers (Patterson et al., 2012) and the sensitivity-oriented approach of Mazerolle et al. (2013). A scoping search was carried out to help finalize the search terms. We used the search string to search the ProQuest gateway, focusing on the social sciences databases, and refined it accordingly. No relevant studies were identified in the scoping search; however the titles retrieved do provide support for the appropriateness of the search string chosen.

Three research tiers were identified: the first for intervention, the second for population, and the third for study type. The first tier was chosen to identify training programmes that focused on policing of protests or demonstrations. The second tier aimed to identify police officers as the population of interest. The third tier was based on the evidence-oriented search string used in the Legitimacy in Policing review (Mazerolle et al., 2013). Since not all database were sophisticated enough to allow

the use of long search strings, the search varied slightly across databases.

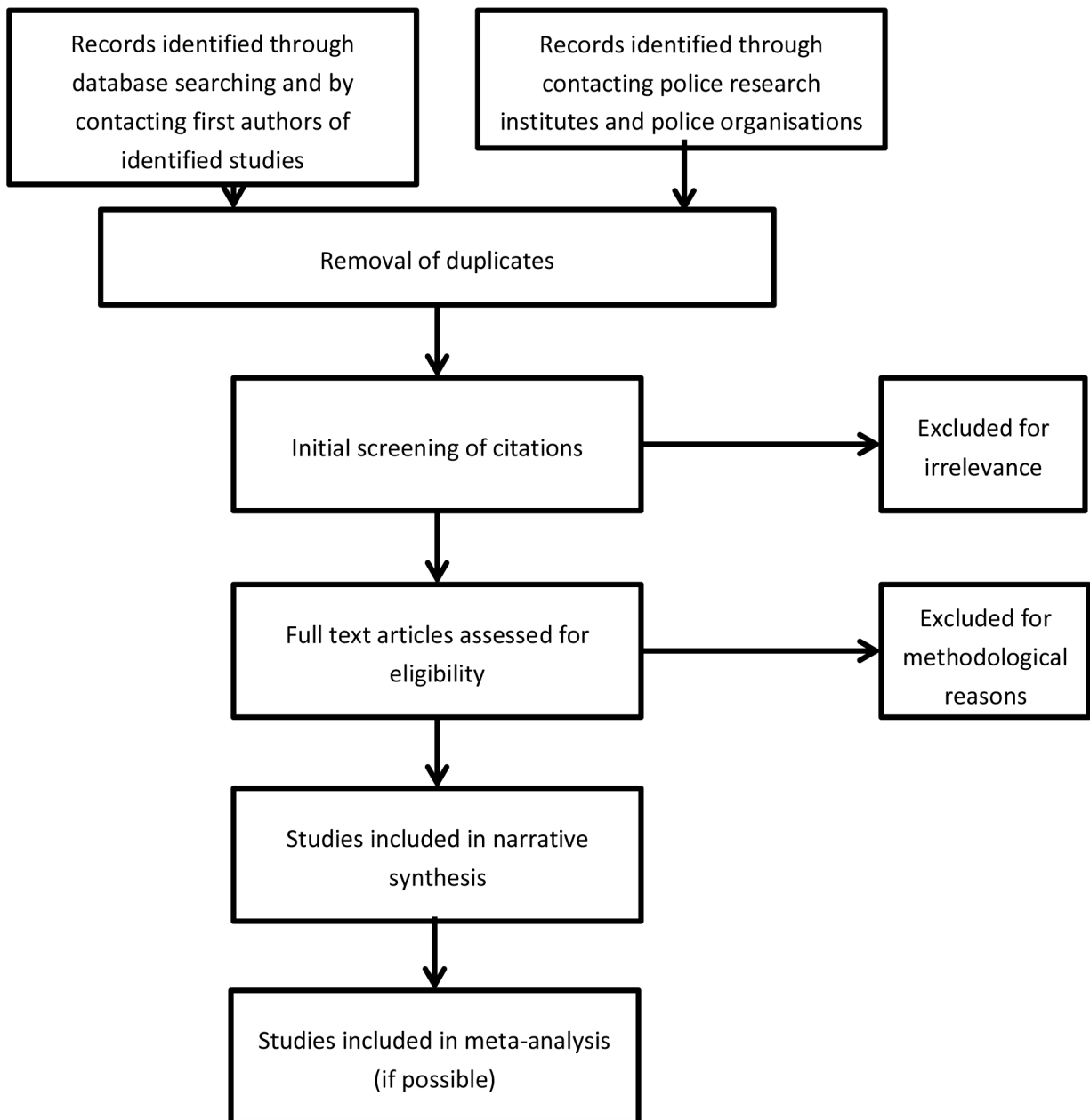
### *Method of searching*

The search terms listed above were used to search the gateways and databases. The reviewers made joint decisions regarding the adaptation of the search string to accommodate for reduced capacity of the some of the search engines. The list of studies which came up in the search was stored using Zotero Reference manager. All titles and abstracts were read by the first reviewer (YL) to sort the relevant from irrelevant studies. In cases where this was insufficient for reaching a decision the full text was accessed and read. When necessary the second reviewer (PM) was consulted. The planned process is elucidated in the flowchart below (Figure 1).

In addition, when the focus of the study picked up by the search was protest policing but not police training, the first authors were contacted to inquire whether they were aware of any studies that would meet the inclusion criteria. While this went beyond what the protocol described it was decided to pursue this additional step to ensure a more thorough search process.

Table 1: Search tiers

<b>Tier category</b>	<b>Search terms</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Tier 1</b>  <b>Intervention: training regarding protests</b>	training, education, professional development, learning  AND  protest, protests, riot, riots, 'public order'	Patterson et al. (2011) use training or program* only with no additional terms. We chose to add more search terms to increase sensitivity, and to include the topic of the training.
<b>Tier 2</b>  <b>Population: policing</b>	police, policing, "Criminal justice", "Law enforcement"	Patterson et al.'s (2011) review used only the 'police' search term only with no additional terms. We use three additional ones, drawing on Mazerolle et al.'s (2013) more sensitive string.
<b>Tier 3</b>  <b>Study design</b>	evaluation, empirical, experiment, experimental, trial, effective*, efficacy, study, studies	This is a search string which aims to identify 'evidence focused' papers, which draws on Mazerolle et al.'s (2013) filter. In case the search capacity is limited only the term 'evaluation' will be used as it is the most sensitive. Some databases allow choosing 'RCT' as publication type, in which case the search will be run twice with this option included.



**Figure 1: Flowchart of planned search for and identification of studies (Adapted from Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, & Altman, 2009)**

*'Grey literature' search strategy*

'Grey literature' is recognised as pertinent to decreasing the bias of a review; in the case of this review, this refers to unpublished studies or those published in non-academic venues, commissioned by states, Non-Governmental Organisations or

police departments themselves. In a review dealing with police training there is added importance in seeking out grey literature, considering the division that often exists between academia and police forces. In order to achieve a systematic fashion and increase ability for replication of the 'grey literature' section of the search, the search procedure is specified here. This strategy is a strength of the review as it addresses an inherent weakness in the field of policing research. The database of police research institutes created might serve as a knowledge network, and provide the base for future systematic reviews into policing practices.

A list of institutions was identified that included both national criminal justice research institutes and institutes of policing or criminology at universities (Appendix b). Effort was made to identify centres in New Democracies outside the Anglo-American context. The institutes were contacted via email with a request to either provide or direct us to studies which answer the search criteria (Appendix d). They were also asked to circulate our request within the organisation. A two-month response deadline was given.

In addition, an attempt was made to identify research units within the national police organisations or overseeing ministries of all countries included as democracies in the Democracy Index (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2010), (Appendix c). The research organs were contacted via email or website contact form with a request to either provide or direct us to studies which answer the search criteria (Appendix e). A two-month response deadline was given.

### *Selection of studies*

We planned to compile studies identified as relevant from the electronic literature search and from the grey literature search into a single list of titles. This list would have been appraised separately by each of the reviewers to determine inclusion in the review. The two final lists would have been compared and any mismatches discussed so a joint decision could be reached. As no papers were identified through either search, the selection process stopped at the initial screening of citations (see flowchart above).

### *Criteria for determination of independent findings*

While it was not expected that multiple studies using the same data set would be identified by the review, in case this occurred the original authors would have been contacted to clarify any inconsistent information, and the study would have been represented by one score only in the meta-analysis.

### **Data extraction and management**

Once a list of studies had been agreed on, the full text of all studies would have been obtained. All authors would have been contacted and asked to provide a full manual or more detailed description of the intervention. The data would then have been extracted using the extraction form (Appendix a) as a necessary step to both narrative analysis and meta-analysis.

The first planned step in extraction process was to review the inclusion criteria, using the eligibility criteria as a checklist. In case the paper discussed

an intervention relevant to the review but did not assess its effectiveness using the criteria set, this paper would have been earmarked as relevant to the general discussion, but not included in next steps of extraction.

#### *Details of study coding categories*

In the second stage, each aspect of the eligibility criteria would have been examined in depth. The data would have been coded using the following categories:

- 1) Population and Context: police officers' specialization (verbal description), ranks (do they command other officers, yes/no), time in service (number of years, if under one year state as fraction), education (number of years), age, police organisation type (national, local, special forces, other), Country Name (text), Democracy type (full/flawed, according to Economist Democracy Index)
- 2) Intervention: context of training (recruit training, regular on-going training, specialist training course), length of training (workshop, day training, course - under one week, course – over one week OR number of hours) manualisation (basic outline, full manual, none ; if none contact the authors and allow three weeks for response), delivery (police academy staff, organic commander/supervisor, external specialist), training approach (didactic only, didactic and participatory, online, directive), content (short verbal description required).
- 3) Study Design: Randomisation (yes/quasi/no; if quasi include short verbal description of method and identity of control group), unit of randomisation (individual, units, stations, other), number of groups (include title), numbers in each group, comparison group (text).

4) Outcomes: As no known gold-standard tool is available, for each category of interest we would have noted if questionnaire items or other methods were used to assess outcomes in this area, and give a short verbal description: police behaviour change - skills deployment, police behaviour change - use of force, police attitudes, knowledge levels in relevant areas, police satisfaction with training intervention, public perceptions.

5) Results: effect sizes or other statistical assessments of significance reported, authors' conclusion.

*Assessment of risk bias in included studies:*

As part of the data extraction, items necessary for assessing risk of bias would have been identified and noted, in line with the Cochrane Collaboration tool for assessing Risk of Bias (Higgins et al., 2011). These include sequence generation method, allocation concealment, blinding of assessors, addressing incomplete outcome data and selective reporting.

In addition, we also planned to assess how adequately the intervention was implemented; inadequate implementation of educational interventions has been recognized as a focal issue, which introduces bias and obscures attempts to assess their effectiveness (Gallagher, 2004). For example, Smits et al. (2002) were unable to assess equal treatment of group in a study of continuing medical education (Smits, Verbeek, & de Buissonjé, 2002), a field in which there is relative awareness regarding scientific methods. Implementation of police training interventions might be especially prone to lack of '*implementation fidelity*', as '*mixed messages*' during delivery of training have often been described (Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003). The

extraction form includes an item to assess whether an implementation measure has been used, and an additional one to assess if implementation was carried out with sufficient fidelity (see Appendix a).

### **Statistical Procedures and Conventions**

Descriptive statistics would have been used to summarise the extracted data: categorical data was to be presented in frequencies and percentages and interval data with means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum.

A meta-analysis would have been performed if quantitative synthesis was possible. If two or more studies were included that measure similar outcomes, and contain sufficient information to calculate effect sizes, meta-analysis was planned to synthesise these data. A random effects model would have been utilised since variation between studies was likely (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2010); the chances that the studies identified would have been close replications of each other was considered slim. In the social sciences such homogeneity is rare, and we estimated that in the field of police training the heterogeneity between studies in matters of procedures and outcome measures would be even greater.

Effect sizes for each outcome measure in the studies would have been encoded according to the procedures outlined by Lipsey and Wilson (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). Experimental and quasi- experimental study results would be treated separately in the analyses, because of the greater risk of bias present in non-randomized studies. We planned to use the software package Comprehensive Meta-Analysis software Version 2 (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2005) to perform computations

of effect sizes and related statistics. RevMan5 software (Higgins & Green, 2009) was to be used to construct forest plots for graphical representation of results.

In accordance with accepted techniques, a sensitivity analysis would have been conducted on the potential impact that each study has on the mean effect (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins & Rothstein, 2009).

The literature highlights several moderating and mediating variables that were planned to be examined within the context of this synthesis (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). In line with recommendations by the National Research Council, moderators would have included context (on the job training, recruit/initial training), hierarchical ranks of the participants (e.g. constable, detective, etc.), delivery methodologies, age, and years of experience on the police force. Possible mediators may have been: the training group size, and implementation fidelity.

As the policing field is limited in the quantity and quality of evaluation research, a publication selection bias would have been assessed using the recommended procedure as advised by the Campbell Collaboration (Higgins et al., 2011).

### **Narrative analysis**

In the case that a meta-analysis was not possible, we planned to perform a narrative analysis to identify themes that may be of importance to the success of training interventions. Useful strategies for enhancing democratic norms in the policing of protests would have been mapped by identifying shared attributes of effective versus ineffective training interventions, specifically focusing on the theorised moderators and mediators.

## **Treatment of qualitative research**

We did not plan to include qualitative research in a systematic synthesis, but had we identified a high-quality qualitative paper we would have included it in our discussion on future research (Greenhalgh, 2006).

## **Results and discussion**

Neither the electronic search nor the grey literature search uncovered studies which met the inclusion criteria. None of the citations collected as part of the electronic search were relevant for inclusion. With the majority of them this could be decided merely from the title and abstract, and a small minority necessitated accessing the full text. If the full text could not be accessed authors were contacted, but this yielded no identified studies. Table 2 below gives examples of studies identified in the systematic search, and helps illustrate that none of the studies were close to meeting inclusion criteria.

No studies were identified by the grey literature search either. Several individuals and organisations responded, and some forwarded the request to colleagues or suggested experts who should be contacted. Despite this, no evaluations of protest police training could be found.

As this study uncovered no studies which match the inclusion criteria, it can be classified as an 'empty' review. Within the framework of evidence-based policing, there is definite value in such a result, as it highlights topics where rigorous evaluation research is lacking (Yaffe, Montgomery, Hopewell, & Shepard, 2012). Such reviews can help set a research agenda and drive future work.

**Table 2: Examples of identified studies which did not meet the preliminary inclusion criteria**

<b>Author &amp; Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Reason for exclusion</b>
Hartley, 1992	CACTUS: Command and Control Training Using Knowledge-Based Simulations.	Study design: not an evaluation of the effects of intervention on any outcome, but a description of a training tool for policing protests.
Munsters et al., 2013	The effects of transport, riot control training and night patrols on the workload and stress of mounted police horses.	Population: the study evaluated the effects of riot training on police horses.
Pfister, 1975	Outcomes of laboratory training for police officers.	Intervention: training not focused on policing of protests but on 'sensitivity and communication' in general.
Hoggett & Stott, 2010	Crowd psychology, public order police training and the policing of football crowds.	Study design: Does not include an experimental evaluation of the training, only an overview.

It is important to highlight that the 'emptiness' of this review is not a result of factors that have been criticised in the past: it did not ask too specific a question or apply too stringent inclusion criteria. The 'study design' criteria was chosen as the minimum threshold to allow the determination of causality. It aimed to include high quality studies that answer a minimum criteria of a control group, as identified by the Cochrane EPOC group for the inclusion of controlled trials in systematic reviews (McAuley, 2002). By searching for any police training intervention that aims to enhance the democratic policing of protests, we set the widest criteria possible for including police training interventions that would have allowed us to meaningfully synthesis

their results, either narratively or statistically. We also did not limit the population beyond the conceptual category of public police forces. It therefore is not the case that this review did not identify studies because of too stringent inclusion criteria, or because an unrealistic population was selected (Pawson, Greenhalgh, Harvey, & Walshe, 2005).

The emptiness of this review therefore points to real lack of evidence in a field for which there is a demonstrated need for research to direct policy makers' and practitioners' decision making. In line with the recommendation of the Cochrane Empty Review Project, this review does not take a cascading approach, in which the next level of evidence is presented if no high quality research is found, as this can result in a review providing misleading results (Yaffe et al., 2012). Since the search did not identify any evaluations of the intervention of interest this line of analysis would not have been very fruitful in any case.

Our discussion therefore turns to considering future research. There is no disillusion that practitioners and policy makers wait for systematic reviews to make decision on the ground; police officers around the world continue to be trained in protest policing despite no clear evidence on 'what works' to enhance democratic policing practices. Indeed, the next chapter describes the development of such training despite no results to this review; it can still be considered an evidence-led training manual, as it made use of best available evidence from other areas.

While this review is not able to point to existing research, it can propose the framework for any future research carried out which hopes to address the research question, shaping both decisions of fellow police scholars as well as of police research organisations and funding bodies. Future research should strive for three core features

in order to allow for meaningful synthesis of evidence. First, assessments of police training should include the empirical evaluation of police behaviour, or the three factors which may predict it (knowledge, attitudes, and skills). Second, authors should provide basic information at least regarding the content of the intervention and what it was compared to, and make fuller information available on related websites. As large heterogeneity between interventions is to be expected, solid understanding of intervention components is crucial for thematic comparisons to be made. Third and more generically, adherence to reporting guidelines will allow critical appraisal of the quality of the studies; use of the CONSORT statement for reporting of Randomised Controlled Trials provides appropriate facilitation (Moher, 1998).

In their analysis of the topic of empty reviews, Yaffe and her colleagues (2012) maintain that rather than pointing to a 'dead-end' field of study that should be abandoned, "the absence of evidence in the empty review might help stimulate appropriate research." Accordingly, this empty review emphasises the need for high quality experimental research, research that explores training interventions which effectively encourage the democratic policing of protests. The development and trialling of such an intervention, described in Chapters 6 and 7, can be seen as the way forward from an empty review, that will hopefully lead to its "eventual updating ... with eligible studies."

**Appendix a: Extraction form**

	<b>Category</b>	<b>Data Type</b>	<b>Data Entry</b>	<b>Description</b>
Trial Characteristics	Article Number			
	Inclusion Criteria	Text		
	Randomisation (yes/quasi/no)	Y/N		
	Control group identity	Text		
	Unit of randomisation (individual, units, stations, other)	Categorical		
	Number of groups	Numerical		
	Numbers in each group	Numerical		
	Total number of participants	Numerical		
	Excluded before randomisation	%		
	Country	Text		
	Power calculation	Y/N		
	Trial registered	Y/N		
Participants	Police officers' specialization	Text		
	Ranks - do they command other officers	Y/N		
	Time in service (number of years, if under one year state as fraction)	Numerical		
	Education (number of years)	Numerical		
	Age	Numerical		

Context	Police organisation type (national, local, special forces, other)	Categorical		
	Democracy type (full, flawed)	Categorical		
Intervention	Length of training in hours	numerical		
	Manualisation (basic outline, full manual, none)	categorical		
	Delivery (police academy staff, organic commander/supervisor, external specialist)	categorical		
	Training approach (didactic only, didactic and participatory, online, directive)	categorical		
	Content	description		
Outcomes	Police behaviour change- use of force	description		
	Police attitudes	description		
	Knowledge levels in relevant areas	description		
	Police satisfaction with training intervention	description		
	public perceptions	description		
Source of Bias	1a. Sequence generation	Y/N/U		
	1b. Evidence	Text		
	2a. Allocation concealment?	Y/N/U		
	2b. Evidence	Text		

	3a. Blinding? (Assessors)	Y/N/U		
	3b. Evidence	Text		
	4a. Blinding? (Providers)	Y/N/U		
	4b. Evidence	Text		
	5a. Incomplete outcome data addressed?	Y/N/U		
	5b. Evidence	Text		
	6a. Free of selective reporting?	Y/N/U		
	6b. Evidence	Text		
	7a. Implementation tool	Y/N/U		
	7b. Evidence	Text		
	8a. Fidelity/ Quality management	high/low		
	8b. Evidence	Text		
Other	Funding Source	Text		
	Notes	Text		

***Appendix b: Independent Research Institutes***

Area	Name
Anglo-American	The National Police Research Platform
	Centre for Evidence-based Crime Policy, George Mason University
	The Scottish Institute of Policing Research

	College of Policing
	Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security
	European Police College
	European Society of Criminology
	The Dutch Society, Security and Police Foundation
	National Research Institute of Legal Policy
	The Institute of Criminology and Social Prevention
Latin America	Latin America Initiative at the Brookings Institute
	United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (ILANUD)
	Centre for Studies on Public Security and Citizenship
	The Institute for Security and Democracy, AC-Insyde
	The Centre for Police Research and Development (CPRD)
	The Centre for Public Security Studies (CESC) in the Institute of Public Affairs (University of Chile)

Africa	Institute for Security Studies
	Safer South Africa Foundation
General	The International Police Training Institute

**Appendix C: List of Police Research Institutes** (ordered according to ‘democracy scores’)

<b>Country Name</b>	<b>Name of research institute or Governmental Department in charge of police</b>
Norway	Norwegian Police University College
Sweden	Linné University – Police Education
Iceland	The National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police
Denmark	Danish Police Knowledge and Research Centre
New Zealand	Royal New Zealand Policing College
Australia	ANZPAA- Australia New Zealand Policing Advisory Agency
Switzerland	None listed in formal resources
Canada	Canadian Police College
Finland	Research Department at Police College of Finland
Netherlands	Police Academy of the Netherlands
Luxemburg	None listed in formal resources
Austria	Security Academy (Sicherheitsakademie) – Institute for Science and Research

Ireland	Garda Research Unit
Germany	Faculty for Police Science at German Police University
Malta	Institute of Criminology - University of Malta
UK	College of Policing
Czech Republic	(The Institute of Criminology and Social Prevention (ICSP
Uruguay	unable to locate
Mauritius	Police training school
South Korea	Korean National Police University - Police Science Institute
USA	National Association of Police Chiefs
Costa Rica	Ministry of Public Security - National Police Academy
Japan	National Police Agency - National Research Institute of Police Science
Belgium	Centre for Police Studies
Spain	None listed in formal resources

**Appendix D: Letters to research institutes**

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION



Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2ER  
Tel: +44(0)1865 270325 Fax: +44(0)1865 270324  
www.spi.ox.ac.uk

Dear XXXXX

We are writing to you in your capacity as \_\_\_\_\_ to kindly request information concerning the evaluation of training programmes conducted by your institute. Specifically, we are interested in training that focuses on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for policing demonstrations in a way that is consistent with democratic values.

The Centre for Evidence Based Intervention at the University of Oxford and the Campbell Collaboration are conducting a systematic overview of police training interventions and programmes concerning the democratic policing of protests and demonstrations.

Our review aims to create an inventory of good practice. We therefore seek to identify as many such evaluations as possible. We are aware that especially in this field a substantial amount of important information is not published in peer-reviewed journals. Rather, the richest sources of information for such training programmes are police institutions and police practitioners.

We would be grateful if are able to provide us with any such information in the form of internal reports or unpublished data. Similarly, we would also be appreciative if you are able to signpost us to other work that you think may be relevant.

We would like to finish our data collection by the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 2014.

If you would like further information, the title is available online at <http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/project/201/>> and the protocol will published shortly.

Many thanks in advance

Yael Litmanovitz

Centre for Evidence Based Intervention  
Department of Social Policy & Intervention  
University of Oxford  
[yael.litmanovitz@spi.ox.ac.uk](mailto:yael.litmanovitz@spi.ox.ac.uk)

**Appendix e: Letter to police research institutes**

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION



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The Centre for Evidence Based Intervention at the University of Oxford and the Campbell Collaboration are conducting a systematic review of police training interventions and programmes concerning the democratic policing of protests and demonstrations.

Our review aims to create an inventory of good practice. We therefore seek to identify as many such evaluations as possible. We would be grateful if you are able to provide us with any such information in the form of articles, reports, or unpublished data and circulate this call for information in your institute. Similarly, we would also be appreciative if you are able to signpost us to other work that you think may be relevant.

We would like to finish our data collection by the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 2014.

If you would like further information, the title is available online at <http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/project/201/> and the protocol will be published shortly.

Many thanks in advance

Yael Litmanovitz

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## Appendix 6-B / Using Consensus Development techniques with police organisations: a detailed exposition

In search for a method to systematically obtain input from different professionals within the Border Police and draw on their expertise, Consensus Development (CD) techniques were found to most closely match the aims and the needs of this research project. Consensus development methods are an appropriate strategy for “creating structured environments in which expert judgment and clinical data can be wisely combined” (Fink, Kosecoff, Chassin, & Brook, 1984). It is important to differentiate it from scientific methods for creating new knowledge; it is a method for making policy decisions that rely on existing knowledge regarding best practice and expert opinions (Murphy et al., 1998). As the requirement and goals of this research were also distinct to an educational intervention, CD, often used in a health context, was used loosely enough to allow its benefits to be expressed but avoid unnecessary and irrelevant procedures. To ensure the most appropriate use of CD a comprehensive report on ‘best practice in consensus development methods’ was consulted and followed whenever possible (Murphy et al., 1998).

The strong case for using a formal group decision-making process is laid out by Murphy et al. (1998). The first advantage relates to the element of relying on a group decision, which for instance means the chances of reaching a wrong decision are reduced by relying on the knowledge and expertise of many. The formalization elements additionally aid in increasing the use of rationality in the discussion and curbing the negative facets of group decisions by controlling the process. Significantly for the policing context in which organisational resistance has already been identified as a serious caveat, it lends both the force of the authority of the group of internal

experts and the credibility of a scientific method to the final product. Indeed during the delivery of the final product, the identity of those experts who took part in the design process was often mentioned, especially the riot unit's commander, to assure and garner support from both commanders and participants.

Several limitations to these techniques should be noted. First, there is no strong evidence tying these methods to better decisions (Fink et al., 1984). Second, more specifically, there is a risk of the group congregating around popular misconceptions or being unable to reach decision in cases where serious disagreement exists. In this instance, there was a risk participants would resist the central premises of the draft intervention, which would have necessitated going against the existing evidence.

There are several formal methods of consensus development; none of them were appropriate on their own for this organisational context and this purpose. Therefore, in this project, a combination of the RAND version of a Nominal Group Technique (NGT) and a Consensus Development Conference (CDC) was used (Bernstein et al., 1999 & Ferguson, 1996, in Murphy et al., 1998). A Nominal Group Technique process allows group members to first individually assess their opinion regarding the matters at hand, using a mailed questionnaire. The collated results are presented to the group members in a face-to-face meeting, during which they discuss the issue further. A second round of questionnaires then follows to assess the changes in opinion and reach a final decision. A Nominal Group technique was found to be 'feasible and reliable' in the generation of research priorities by practitioners (Vella, Goldfrad, Rowan, Bion & Black, 2000) 2000, lending support to the decision to use it in the context of this research project. A Consensus Development Conference is a facilitated session of experts in which evidence is presented to them by lobbying groups.

The adaptation and conjunction of these methods was based on two factors: the aim and the identity of the partners. The aim of this endeavour was not clinical guidelines but a training course. The participating experts were not academics but police officers and police trainers of different ranks and backgrounds. The tailored product reflects these parameters. The entire process was designed taking into consideration the recommendations of Murphy et al.'s review (1998), which pointed out best practice in the following aspects: setting the task or question to be addressed, selecting the participants, choosing and preparing the scientific evidence, structuring the interaction and methods of synthesising individual judgments.

Consensus Development may be especially valuable to developing evidence-led training interventions because they are seen to offer a way of "dealing with conflicting scientific evidence" by, for instance, allowing 'a greater role for the qualitative assessment of evidence' (Jones & Hunter, 1995). In this endeavour, the challenge was to use existing evidence pertaining to different aspects of the intervention, mostly the content and the delivery methods. However, in the current state of the evidence, there is no certainty regarding the relevance of research findings to this context, due to possible implementation barriers and unique societal and organizational interactions.

The CD process was therefore required to assess the fit of the current evidence to the Israeli Border Police. Accordingly, the aim was not to reach absolute consensus but to expose serious problems which may arise and identify the best way to integrate research with organisational practice. Fink et al. (1984) emphasise that the "Dissemination and implementation of such findings is the ultimate aim of consensus activities", not the consensus building process in itself; this helps justify the adaptation

of the method for the particular output sought.

The specific tailoring of the approach was also an attempt to substantiate the collaborative research process, and sought to facilitate knowledge transfer by increasing project ownership and sharing knowledge and expertise 'both ways'. The systematic 'consensus development' has several advantages to advancing this secondary aim: the researcher was able to better understand the stance of different figures within the organisation on the chosen topic of research; it enabled the participants to reflect on core issues the research grapples with before the conference, which would allow them to begin the discussion from a more thoughtful place that in turn would result in a more productive conversation; and by including their expertise in the conference as a starting point and not only eliciting one-way questions, this procedure 'makes space' for their expertise in a more intentional way, redefining the power relations to a more equal one.

In this study, the consensus development process included four steps, described in-depth below:

### **Step 1/ Creating the skeleton of the training intervention**

This step preceded the formal CD techniques but should be seen as part of the process, as it created the body of work around which consensus needs to be built. To give a parallel from the public health field in which such techniques are usually used, the draft manual is the equivalent of a suggested treatment protocol being brought before an expert group. This step was carried out in close working partnership with the deputy head of the Education Unit, and the central decisions, including the setting of aims for the intervention were shared. Three essential characteristics of the

training programme were shaped as part of this stage: combining technical training with ethical training, including a Procedural Justice component, and using the both BP training model and their existing practices as the base for the manual. They will be described briefly as they are needed to make sense of the final product.

Looking to and including aspects from the 'technical training' division of the BP in educational training is the first innovation proposed by this intervention. This draws firstly on the observations of interviewees on the feasibility stage, that the understanding of policing powers is a weakness in the BP that contributes to abuse of powers. Secondly, it stems from the analysis of the theoretical model of training which found that one element of 'good practice' in occupational training not included in the BP's programme: the focus on specific skills or tasks, in a way which allows participants to break down the behavioural changes required of them to 'micro-steps'. In practical terms, this was translated to including policing powers in the training programme and focusing on a specific task (protests) rather than on policing generally. In order to meaningfully combine technical aspects of police work, existing training manuals of the public order unit were surveyed. This included 'technical training' courses on the topic of protests and riots, that dealt both with the legal and practical aspects of policing these tasks, and educational training manuals on the core values of the BP.

The second central innovation of this step was the decision to use the framework of 'Procedural Justice and Legitimacy' as the core element of the training programme; a new knowledge domain, attitudinal perspective and practical tool for police officers to use in the policing of protests. The Legitimacy paradigm has been highlighted in the policing literature as a promising route of reform. As a strategy which has gained

international empirical support and is widely endorsed, it was judged to have the potential to make a contribution to police officers' skills and lead to a change in policing behaviours. Because it is now widely researched, it could also provide the foundations needed for meaningful research: a common conceptual language and measurement instruments. Furthermore, during the feasibility stage police officers and commanders spoke of the police's role in a way that reflected instinctual understanding of the basic elements of the paradigm, thus indicating there could be organizational buy-in of the theories' premises.

The third emphasis was ensuring the use of the same 'language' of existing training and guaranteeing the BP's model was as fully represented in the new intervention. A central implication of this was the use of adult education as an overarching framework, as it is the fundamental approach of educational training in the BP. Adult education is centred on core principles such as experiential learning, self-directed learning and reflexive practice. Central policing theorists have argued that adult education is the most appropriate approach, especially for on-going training; if training relates to relevant tasks police officers' experiences could and should serve as the focal point of the learning experience (Bayley & Bittner, 1984). In this case, the educational approach was expressed in the choice of delivery methods, which included problem solving, reflection on professional experiences and experiential learning. It also meant that rather than provide officers with ready-made scripts of procedurally just encounters, we chose to expose officers to legitimacy theory and confront them with the possible consequences of their actions.

With these key choices in mind, a skeleton of a training programme concerning the policing of protests was designed, in close consultation with the deputy head of the Education Unit. It contained three modules, or sessions, regarding which the aims were set, as well as some ideas for realising these aims and questions to highlight problems which may arise. The first session's aims was (re)learning policing powers in protests and public disorder ('refreshing' the existing knowledge base) in context of 'the police in a democracy'. The delivery methods suggested included revision of existing knowledge, case-study analysis and 'problem solving' techniques. The second session, titled 'the role of BP in Israeli Democracy and Society', focused on deepening understanding of the challenges of policing protests by introducing the concepts of trust and legitimacy as constructed through Procedural Justice. The methods suggested were a combination of experimental learning and didactic, frontal teaching. The third session aimed to improve discretionary decision making in protests within a PJ framework, specifically the use of force and powers. The central delivery method recommended was simulation training or 'scenarios' analysis.

This skeleton was seen as only the starting point for the design process, as it necessitated essential input from personnel with different expertise within the BP. Some of the areas in which this input was needed are: the core legal and procedural framework of policing protests; 'translation' of the theoretical framework of procedural justice into terms and examples easily grasped by participants; and finding the appropriate case studies for the analysis and the scenarios. The next section will describe the collaborative process that led from the skeleton to a functional pilot intervention.

## Step 2/ Assessing experts' individual stances using a questionnaire

As in the RAND Nominal Group Technique, a group of nine experts were selected, based on their expertise, their availability and their role in the organization. They were selected to represent the types of organisational knowledge necessary to make the crucial decisions in designing the intervention: the commander of a national public order unit, four members of the Education Unit both from headquarters and the field, the head of an organisation that provides facilitation and training development services to the BP, and two members of the technical training unit, one from headquarters and one from the central training base.<sup>1</sup> Together, this group could provide insights necessary for designing a training intervention both evidence-led and feasible to implement.

In the first stage of the process, participants were asked to individually assess their stance using a questionnaire, which included nine statements; agreement with the statements was ranked on a scale of 1-10 rather than 1-9 as in the RAND model, as this might have been confusing for non-academics. The questions chosen related to the core decisions that would determine the content and methods used in the intervention. The first aspect the items sought to evaluate was the knowledge and attitudes of average BP officers, including the state of knowledge regarding policing powers in the area of protests and riots, the attitudes regarding democracy, protests and legitimacy, and the norms of behaviour in the field. The second aspect was the potential and problems of delivery methodologies currently in use. To ensure the questions were clear the first person interviewed was the deputy head of the Education

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<sup>1</sup> However both were called away on the day of the conference, and only one was able to attend a second meeting scheduled to discuss the training. Their contribution was therefore diminished.

Unit, who was asked to comment on any problems she thought it contained.

Before the phone interview all participants - even those who were already involved in the research - received a formal letter asking them to take part and explaining the process. Participants filled out the questionnaire in a facilitated phone interview, during which they were given a chance to express their opinions verbally as well. At the beginning of the phone conversation, the process and its rationale was again explained, including that the answers would be collated and therefore anonymous. The questions were read out in the same fashion each time, and no feedback to the answer received was given.

**Table1 : Pre-conference questionnaire results**

#	Topic	Question: In your opinion, on a scale of 1-10, to what extent....	Average	Range
1	Knowledge & Attitudes	...does the average BP officer understand the role of the police in a democratic society?	6.11	4-8
2	Knowledge & Attitudes	...does the average BP officer understand the significance of the ability to protest in a democratic country?	5.66	3-8
3	Knowledge & Attitudes	...can a BP officer recognise 'moral boundaries' and act according to them during protests of Israeli citizens?	6.94	4-10

4	Knowledge & Attitudes	...does the average BP officer know and understand his powers in policing protests of Israeli citizens?	7.38	6-8.5
5	Knowledge & Attitudes	...does the average BP officer make decisions or acts in accordance with policing powers in the field of protests and riots?	7.61	6-9
6	Knowledge & Attitudes	...does the average BP officer think that his personal behaviour impacts the way citizens perceive the Israeli Police as a whole?	6.66	4-9
7	Delivery Methods	...is didactic instruction effective in teaching new knowledge? (i.e. the commander or instructor delivers material through a lecture, power-point presentation etc.)	6.75	3-9
8	Delivery Methods	...is the use of simulations effective to practicing decision making?	8.38	4-10
9	Delivery Methods	...are participatory methodologies effective for internalisation of training messages among the average BP officer?	8	6-10

Drawing on their responses a second draft of the training intervention was prepared. This was a skeletal draft that went one step further than the initial draft which contained only the aims of each module and suggested delivery approaches, and included recommendations for specific content and activities. The draft also emphasized the dilemmas such choices presented. The nominal as well as verbal responses assisted the design process by pointing the way to a successfully bridging between existing research evidence and the specific context and mission, either by providing a snapshot of the reality on the ground as they know it, or by highlighting known problematic elements of a certain topic or method. For example, based on the responses concerning the average understanding of the role of BP and of protests in a democracy, which were the lowest in the questionnaire (6.11 and 5.66) the first module included more elementary ideas than was originally envisaged.

### **Step 3: An expert 'roundtable'**

After the incorporation of the input from the questionnaire stage into the draft intervention, the experts met in person for the conference stage, which took place at the BP headquarters<sup>2</sup>. At this conference they were given a 2-page hand-out which included brief evidence summaries in plain language. The six summaries introduced the core issues that led the process of designing the intervention:

1. Knowledge, attitudes and skills, and their relation to behaviour change
2. Legitimacy & Procedural Justice
3. Learning theory and cognitive load theory
4. Problem solving as a technique in police training and in policing
5. Participatory delivery methods

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<sup>2</sup> The conference was audio-recorded and typed up so that the data could be used in a more thorough fashion.

## 6. Simulations as a training tool

Unlike in formal Consensus Development Conference, I both facilitated the session and presented the evidence summaries, instead of the external experts usually brought in to present evidence on different topics. To ensure a more collaborative atmosphere, the summaries were given as hand-outs and discussed jointly during the session rather than in a frontal presentation, as this could have constructed an unhelpful power structure. Participants were also presented with the collated results of the questionnaires, not only of the average score but of the range of answers, supplemented by some unattributed verbal responses. Both the questionnaire items and the evidence summaries were introduced into the discussion when the relevant element of the intervention was discussed. This was essential for discussing how to best utilise evidence alongside experience in this context and led to an innovative approach which proved itself in the pilot and trial.

For example, when talking over Module 3, which is concerned with acquiring and practicing skills for democratic policing of protests, I read out the evidence summary on the topic of simulation training and then shared the nominal grade given to the related statement, the range of answers and the verbal comments that accompanied it, and this was followed by a group discussion. There is some robust evidence of effectiveness of simulations as a training technique for improving policing skills (Helsen & Starkes, 1999, in Bennell, Jones, & Corey, 2007). In the BP, there are no resources that allow for the type of simulations which have shown efficacy (small groups and high-tech environments), and the preliminary round uncovered that while there was strong support for the notion that using simulation training may be efficacious for

practicing decision making (8.38), the range of nominal answers (as low as 4) and the verbal answers pointed to un-skilled facilitation and the delivery environment as factors that create difficulties in implementing the tool successfully.

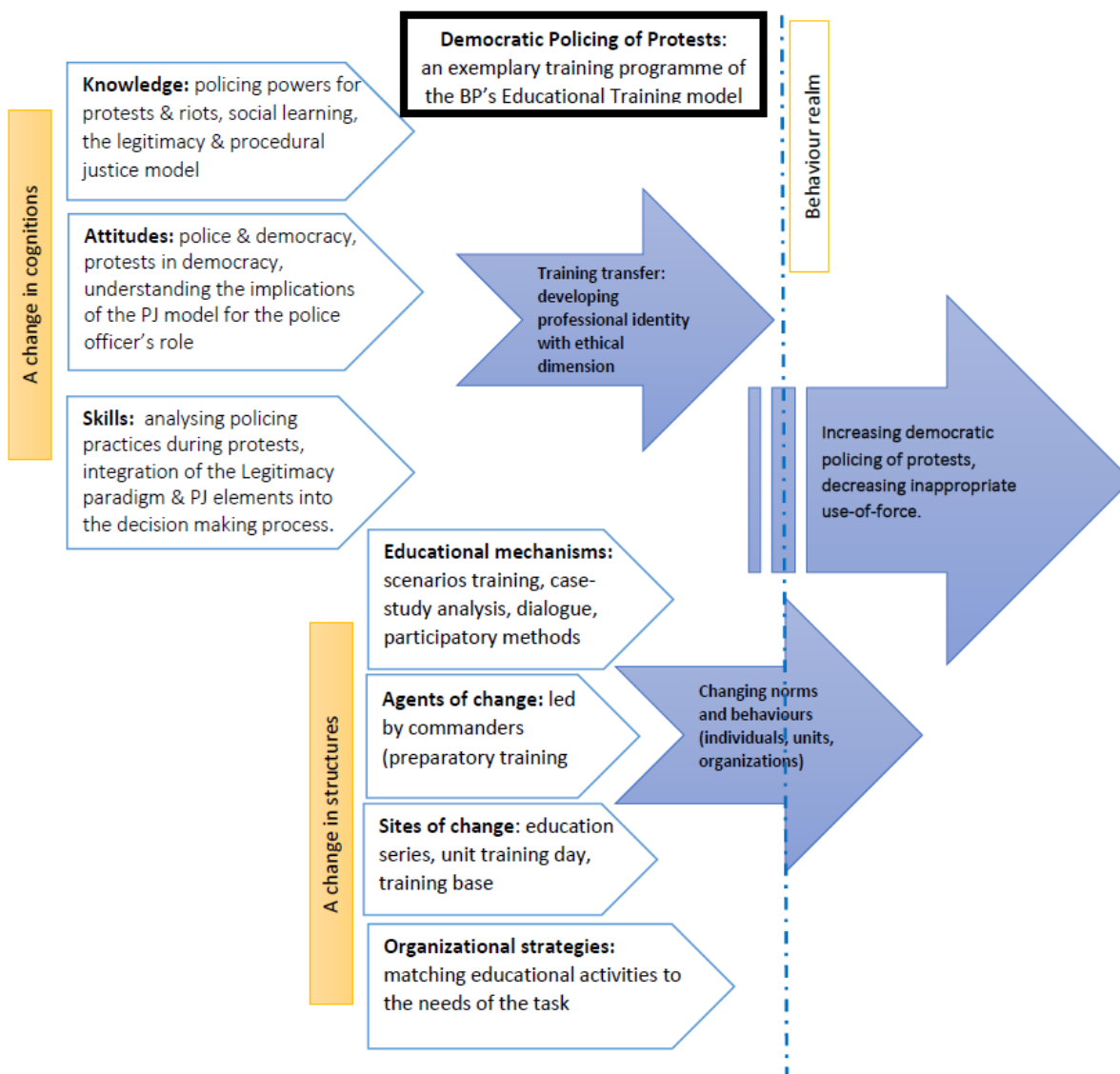
The conference participants brainstormed and discussed how to circumnavigate these problems to allow for more fruitful use of the method, as it was agreed that despite caveats there is no better alternative. The consensus development process produced a four-step simulation activity that begins with a video clip of a real demonstration as a replacement for a virtual environment, and moves on to analyse the situation, establish what the norms of action should be and then rehearse possible action scenarios using a 'script construction' activity. This demonstrates the usefulness of the adapted NGT to making decisions based on a combination of evidence and craft/experience in this context.

#### **Step 4: Finalising a working draft**

Following the conference stage, a third draft of the training intervention was prepared, which as in the example above, incorporated the input of the participants, while attempting not to go against evidence findings when the two contradicted each other. For example, regarding the need to practice new information, while participants thought this may be superfluous, the research on cognitive load was behind the decision to include a quiz of the new information learned in Module 2 (Clark et al., 2006 in Bennell et al., 2007). This version was presented to the deputy head of the Education Unit for approval and was made available to the participating experts.

As can be seen in the figure below, the intervention created is aligned with the training model in use in the Border Police, and this was one of the central factors

guiding the design process; The training programme's aims, the content it focuses on and the delivery methods it uses are compatible with those outlined in the training model (Chapter 5). This is important to note, as it relates to the guiding premises of the research. It is an exemplary intervention of the general training model in use, and its evaluation is intended to shed light on the efficacy of all training, not of a one-off isolated project. This has value in the terms of the research partnership as it is of long-term value to the organisation.



The Border Police training model as a guiding factor in intervention design

Appendix 7-A: Questionnaire for pilot quasi-randomised trial – policing protests and public disorder

\*This is a version translated from English and does not include the graphics and colours of the original Hebrew version.

**Dear officer!**

**Please take the time to answer the questions thoroughly.**

**This questionnaire is intended to help the BP improve its training operations, so your participation is important to us.**

**If you have any questions regarding this questionnaire or any of the questions in it please ask your commanders or the education staff.**

**Additional details about the study can be found on the information sheet.**

**The questionnaire has 5 parts, each with around 6 questions.**

**Thank you!**

**The Oxford Research Team and BP Education Unit**

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Some details about you (we need this to understand how to adjust training to different officers who serve in the BP)

1. I am in mandatory service/ a career officer
2. I am over 25/ under 25
3. I have been through basic command training yes/ no

## Part 1: Knowledge on Policing Powers

1. What principle is the base of the police's power to disperse a protest?
  - a. Guarding individual freedoms
  - b. Protecting the government's policies
  - c. Maintaining public order
2. Why does a protest endanger public order?
  - a. Because there can be a disruption to the 'fabric of life', for example a disruption of traffic
  - b. Because it could result in people being wounded and crushed as a result of masses gathering
  - c. Because the act of assembly could encourage others to disrupt public order
  - d. All the answers are correct
3. What makes a protest illegal?
  - a. A present high-ranking officer announced it is illegal
  - b. The organizers did not ask the police for a licence
  - c. It is a gathering of over 50 people who are hearing a political speech or marching together and that do not have a licence
4. In the second level of protests & public disorder ('a non-violent disruption of order') what are the means available to the police?
  - a. All means except firing rubber bullets
  - b. No means are available
  - c. Use of force is allowed but with no means
5. Talking to protesters ahead of time in order to prevent public disorder is part of the tactics of policing protests  
Circle the correct answer: True/ False
6. Before arresting protesters for illegal assembly, the police needs to inform protesters the protest is illegal and give them a chance to disperse  
Circle the correct answer: True/ False

## **Part 2: Knowledge on the topic of public trust**

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### **Definition:**

**Legitimate Authority: an authority that is accepted by the public and has firm standing**

1. Police effectiveness is possible when:
  - a. Citizens report crime
  - b. The police has unlimited power
  - c. When citizens obey the law only because they know they will get caught
2. Police legitimacy is:
  - a. a state of being in which people do not criticise the police
  - b. a state of being in which people cooperate with the laws out of responsibility toward an and a feeling of partnership
  - c. a state of being in which people obey the law only because they want to avoid confrontations with the police
3. If we want to improve the standing of the police as a legitimate authority we should make sure officers behave justly  
**True/False**
4. The higher the level of police legitimacy, the higher the willingness of citizens to answer to the demands of police officers, to cooperate with them and to assist them in their work **True/False**
5. When citizens attribute bad intentions to officers there is less chance they will cooperate with the police  
**True/False**
6. Justice in the process of police work is made up of both how the officer treats the citizen and quality of decisions that he makes  
**True/False**

If you want to explain any of your answers more in-depth do so here (please state the number of the question)

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### Part 3: Attitudes on Respect and Justice

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How much do you agree on a scale of 1-7

1-totally disagree

7- totally agree

1. It's ok not to treat someone with respect if they don't treat you with respect
2. It's almost impossible to be respectful when the person in front of you is a criminal
3. You cannot expect officers to control their feelings when people treat them with disrespect
4. The time officers spent talking to citizens and answering questions could be put to better use to carry out the real tasks of the BP, like dealing with public disorder and crime
5. As an officer, I am supposed to give everyone the same just treatment, no matter what they are protesting about or who they are
6. If protesters think we are dispersing a demonstration because we have something against them, that's their problem.
7. When we police a protest we should try to take into account the wants and feelings of the protesters
8. It's important that officers take the time to explain their decisions to the public
9. Officers should give citizens a chance to voice their opinions when we make decisions that affect them.
10. Officers should treat everyone with the same respect, no matter what their attitude is to policemen and to the police

If you want to explain any of your answers more in-depth do so here  
(please state the number of the question)

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**Part 4: Policing demonstrations**

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What is the chance you will choose to carry out the following activities when you are policing a protest (if it is possible)?

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%

- a. Talking to passers-by and explaining what's happening
- b. Talking to protesters about their actions
- c. Answering protesters' questions regarding police actions
- d. Answering protesters who speak to you with anger and reminding them that you are there to keep the peace and have nothing against them
- e. Taking notice of protesters requests, for example by telling them who the person they need to talk to is, or passing it on yourself.

If you want to explain any of your answers more in-depth do so here (please state the number of the question)

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**Part 5: BP and Israel's values**

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How much do you agree with the following statements on a scale of 1-7

1-totally disagree

7-totally agree

1. People from different minorities (for example homosexuals) should be allowed to run for public office (for example MP, city council, union chairman)
2. It should be forbidden for a speaker to publicly voice (for example in a protest, on television or radio) stern criticism against the state of Israel
3. When people decide to break the law they lose the right to receive respectful treatment from the police
4. We should respect the rights of people who are suspect in committing an offence
5. We should respect the rights of people who have committed a grave crime
6. We should allow officers to use more force to deal with situations of aggression

If you want to explain any of your answers more in-depth do so here (please state the number of the question)

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**Thank you for your cooperation!**



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