



# TEACHING *PHRONESIS* TO ASPIRING POLICE OFFICERS: REPORT ON A PILOT STUDY

RESEARCH REPORT

KRISTJÁN KRISTJÁNSSON  
AIDAN THOMPSON  
ANDREW MAILE  
SHANE McLOUGHLIN

# Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues is a unique and leading centre for the examination of how character and virtues impact upon individuals and society. The Centre was founded in 2012 by Professor James Arthur. Based at the University of Birmingham, it has a dedicated team of over 20 academics from a range of disciplines, including: philosophy, psychology, education, theology and sociology.

With its focus on excellence, the Centre has a robust, rigorous research and evidence-based approach that is objective and non-political. It offers world-class research on the importance of developing good character and virtues and the benefits they bring to individuals and society. In undertaking its own innovative research, the Centre also seeks to partner with leading academics from other universities around the world and to develop strong strategic partnerships.

A key conviction underlying the existence of the Centre is that the virtues that make up good character can be learnt and taught, but that these have been largely neglected in schools and in the professions. It is also a key conviction that the more people exhibit good character and virtues, the healthier our society. As such, the Centre undertakes development projects seeking to promote the practical applications of its research evidence.



# Teaching *Phronesis* to Aspiring Police Officers:

## Report on Pilot Study Research Report

### CONTENTS

<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1 Purpose of the Report</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2 Background</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 Professionalism and the Unique Role of the Police	7
2.2 The Legitimacy Crisis and the Turn Towards Virtue Ethics	7
2.3 The Retrieval of <i>Phronesis</i>	8
2.4 What Exactly is <i>Phronesis</i> ?	9
2.5 The Ideas Behind a Taught <i>Phronesis</i> Intervention	11
2.6 The History of Policing in England and Wales	13
2.7 How Police Education is Organised in England and Wales	14
2.8 Overall Evaluative Goals	16
<b>3 Methods</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 Participants	18
3.2 Design and Research Questions	18
3.3 Ethical Considerations	22
<b>4 Findings</b>	<b>23</b>
4.1 Descriptive Statistics	23
4.2 Dropout	24
4.3 Cohort Differences	26
4.4 Interviews	27
<b>5 Discussion</b>	<b>31</b>
5.1 The Narrow Zone of Proximal Development	31
5.2 Lessons Learned from Lecturers: Recommendations for Further Work	32
5.3 Concluding Remarks	32
<b>References</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Research Team</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>38</b>



# Executive Summary

This report on a pilot study, conducted in the spring semester of 2022 in five police science departments at universities in England, draws upon and complements findings from an earlier report from the same research project, *Character Virtues in Policing* (Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021). As was noted in the report describing Phase 1 of this project, a research spotlight on the police is timely because of (a) the current changes in educational requirements in England and Wales making policing a graduate profession; (b) other factors associated with the professionalisation of policing; (c) the recent challenges that police forces have been facing to their legitimacy and socio-moral standing in the wake of various police scandals; and (d) the identified need for an intervention to cultivate practical wisdom that is explained in Section 1.

Among the recommendations of the first report was that virtue ethics needed to be foregrounded more explicitly in professional ethics courses within police science, not least the meta-virtue of *phronesis* (practical wisdom) that aids good decision-making in tricky dilemmatic situations of the kind that police officers often face. In the light of this key recommendation and encouragement from various police science lecturers, a short *phronesis* intervention was designed and trialled at five universities as part of Phase 2 of this project. The intervention comprised four 45-minute classes, along with a pre- and post-test using a validated measure of *phronesis* (Darnell *et al.*, 2022).

This report describes the motivations behind the intervention, its theoretical underpinning, design and outcomes.

More specifically, the project explored:

- What worked and did not work in a *phronesis* classroom intervention with police science students in the U.K.;
- What can be inferred from the administration of a *phronesis* measure (pre- and post-) about the students completing and not completing it;
- What lessons can be learned from interviews with lecturers about the strengths and weaknesses of the intervention and how it can be improved.

#### Key findings:

- There was great variability in students studying policing in the U.K. This made felicitously pitching a single intervention at all of them difficult.
- Some of this inter-university-course difference was caused by varying personality profiles of students, rather than different levels of *phronesis*.
- Those students most motivated to pursue the *phronesis* intervention (as judged by their willingness to complete a time-consuming post-survey) scored significantly higher on measures of (i) the virtue aspect of the Contingencies of Self-Worth measure and (ii) Moral Self-Relevance. Hence, sustained participation in the intervention was already predicted by some of the components that the intervention was meant to improve.
- The 'motivated students' also scored higher in perspective taking, empathic concern, pro-sociality, conscientiousness, extraversion and, most of all, agreeableness.
- Interviews with lecturers revealed overall satisfaction with the general suitability of the intervention and its relevance for use with students on all police science courses.
- However, the language in which the intervention was couched was deemed 'too

academic' for a considerable portion of the students.

- A need was identified to build the confidence levels of students when discussing complex police dilemmas in a reflective and deliberative way.
- The closer a *phronesis* intervention was connected to already existing themes (such as learning about the *Code of Ethics* [the *Code*] and the National Decision Model [NDM]), the more likely it was that the participants found it relevant. However, unnecessary repetitions must also be avoided.

#### Key recommendations:

- It was clear that student cohorts pursuing policing at different universities had different baseline characteristics; and this must be taken account of in future design of interventions. No 'one size fits all' intervention will work across the different educational contexts.
- Before a *phronesis* intervention is carried out again with policing students (or with serving police officers), an effort must be made to improve the confidence levels of the participants in discussing complicated dilemmas. A sufficient motivational level (e.g., making *phronesis* relevant to the individual) must be secured by relating the content even closer to existing teachings on the *Code*.
- Any revised intervention must be couched in language that is grounded and comprehensible and does not presuppose competence in the use of abstract academic concepts.

As this is the first research of its kind undertaken in the U.K., it offers significant lessons on how to teach excellence in ethical decision-making to aspiring police officers, with inferences and recommendations that are relevant for serving officers as well.

**'OUR NINE POLICING PRINCIPLES ARE:  
ACCOUNTABILITY, INTEGRITY, OPENNESS,  
FAIRNESS, LEADERSHIP, RESPECT,  
HONESTY, OBJECTIVITY, SELFLESSNESS.'**

**College of Policing, 2014**



WEST MIDLANDS  
POLICE

WEST MIDLANDS  
POLICE

# 1 Purpose of the Report

The *Virtues in Policing* research project (2020–2022) built upon the Jubilee Centre's extensive work exploring the role of character virtues in different professional occupations. The Centre deemed a character-and-virtue-focussed spotlight on the police timely, given the current changes in educational requirements in England and Wales, making policing a graduate profession, as well as other factors associated with the professionalisation of policing that began in the U.K. with the foundation of the College of Policing in 2013<sup>1</sup>, not to mention various challenges the police are facing presently regarding their reputation and legitimacy.

Furthermore, many professions are now turning their ethical lens away from deontological (rule-based) and utilitarian (outcome-based) considerations towards virtue ethical (characterological or agent-based) ones. The report that explored Phase 1 of the current project (Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021) indicated that U.K. policing – partly because of the general nature of policing as a moral practice, partly because of the unique national history of police practice that foregrounds policing through public consent – would lend itself well to this new lens. These general considerations are expanded upon in Section 2.

Apart from this general rationale, more specific motivations emerged that inspired the current research team to trial an intervention, aimed at cultivating the intellectual virtue of *phronesis* (practical wisdom, or excellence in moral decision-making), in police science students: an intervention that took place in the spring semester of 2022. Those motivations, which collectively informed the purpose behind the present report, can be spelled out as follows.

*First*, the dominant form of moral reasoning (identified in Phase 1), favoured by police science students and experienced police officers in dealing with hypothetical work-related dilemmas, was deontological (Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021). While this finding may be partly explained by the uniquely legalistic

nature of (at least some) police work, it goes against the current trend of professional decision-making towards a more flexible phronetic, virtue-based model<sup>2</sup>. A further finding from Phase 1 of the project was that higher educational level impacted positively on the preference for virtue-based reasoning<sup>3</sup>, which inspires hope that the current trajectory in U.K. policing towards a more educated and theoretically driven form of professionalism may create a fertile ground for embedding *phronetic* reasoning. This is not just an anomalous finding from one research project; previous research has suggested that psycho-social theory can empower police students to undertake the challenging decision-making situations they will face in the role, and that this will ultimately enhance their professionalism (Norman and Williams, 2017; Williams, Norman and Rowe, 2019: 260).

*Second*, the *Code* (College of Policing, 2014) is currently going through a process of revision, towards which one of the members of the current research team is contributing. As the *Code* is already steeped in a language of virtue and includes the NDM that simulates in many ways a *phronesis* decision model (Kristjánsson *et al.*, 2021), the time seems to be ripe to embed phronetic considerations more firmly within the *Code*. However, such efforts require evidence that *phronesis* is, indeed, feasible, educable and scalable in the context of police practice.

*Third*, adding further ballast to the first and second motivations is a recent report on redesigning policing and public safety in U.K. policing in the 21st century (Police Foundation, 2022). Taking as its premise the claim that 'nothing is more corrosive of public trust in the police than unethical, illegal and immoral conduct by police officers' (2022: 14), the Police Foundation (the U.K. policing think tank) recommends that the *Code* be prioritised even further in police culture, education, leadership and practice (2022: 95) and that 'understanding of ethical issues' be identified and foregrounded as a necessary skill for police officers (2022: 103).

*Fourth*, but not least, we were encouraged by the enthusiasm of the police science lecturers we worked with and interviewed in Phase 1, who unanimously voiced their interest in a bespoke *phronesis* intervention to trial with their students.

The creation and administration of the pilot intervention aimed to explore a variety of research questions. Those will be spelled out in more detail in Section 3. For present purposes, the most salient of those are:

- How is a *phronesis* intervention for the given cohort best designed and administered?
- Does the Centre's *phronesis* measure provide statistically significant findings about the students completing the intervention?
- What lessons can be learned about potential obstacles and facilitators from the first bespoke *phronesis* intervention ever created for police science students?

Apart from these specific questions, the research described in this report serves the broader aim of helping to facilitate a better equipped police service in the U.K. that is able to deliver an outstanding calibre of policing (see Section 2.8).

<sup>1</sup> Law enforcement is organised separately in each of the legal systems of the United Kingdom: England and Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland. To avoid complications, given different educational and practical traditions within those systems, the current study focussed on police science students in England.

<sup>2</sup> See findings from previous Jubilee Centre research under the heading *Virtues in the Professions*. Available at: [www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/professions](http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/professions) [Accessed: 14 July 2022].

<sup>3</sup> For reasons of space, this finding was not spelled out in the first report (Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021). However, it will be detailed in a forthcoming academic paper.

# 2 Background

## 2.1 PROFESSIONALISM AND THE UNIQUE ROLE OF THE POLICE

Professional practices occupy a unique and privileged place in the public eye. They are held up for sustained moral scrutiny, frequently in complicated circumstances and often in the face of conflicting demands. Professionals are expected to do the right thing; and they are expected to do the right thing both for individuals – be they clients, customers, patients, pupils, victims of crime or enemy combatants – and for society at large. In this light, the term 'professional' may be taken to define primarily those aspects of an occupation that mark it as a moral practice – and, correspondingly, the term 'unprofessional' largely serves to identify failures to meet the moral standards of an occupation. Professional practices are therefore characterised by general commitments to public service that recognise duties of responsibility, care and respect for others' rights and aspire to the highest standards of civilized personal conduct and interpersonal association between service providers and clients (Jubilee Centre, 2016).

Although cases of scandals and whistleblowing within police forces have been more prominent across the Atlantic than in the U.K.<sup>4</sup>, the discourse on perceived police malpractice has also reached these shores, threatening to undermine the very core of policing as a moral practice. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) reported recently (2022) that the Metropolitan Police had not learned all the lessons from its failed investigation into the 1987 murder of private investigator Daniel Morgan, which was hampered by police corruption, and that its anti-corruption measures were still not fit for purpose. Such findings are specifically inimical to policing as a profession because of the unique moral nature of police work. Through the ideal of proactive policing, for example, it is taken to be the fundamental mission of the police force to create the ethical (characterological) conditions in the public that facilitate the public order – and thus contribute to the common good. The Police Foundation

report (2022: 11) states that promoting 'public safety by maintaining order and upholding the law' be at the core of policing. The former aim makes the moral practice of policing somewhat Janus-faced in a way that is unique among the professions, apart perhaps from the clergy. The idea here is not that proactive, ethically preventative policing is somehow antithetical to the liberal U.K. ideal – dating back to Robert Peel, the founder of Scotland Yard – of 'policing by consent'. Rather the idea is that the concept of the public order *qua* moral order is based on a broad consensus in society on what the minimal conditions of a 'moral order' entail (cf. Wood, 2020: 56).

This means that in working externally with the public to preserve the moral order, police officers also need to impose a moral order on themselves in order to maintain minimal legitimacy as preservers of the 'Queen's Peace'. The link to the concept of the 'common good' also connects this mission to the virtue ethical one of enabling the public to lead a good life, in the sense of objective wellbeing or flourishing, through the cultivation of civic virtue (Morrell and Bradford, 2019: 26). Virtue ethics thus seems to be built into the remit of the U.K. police, both historically and conceptually, from the bottom up. Hence, its Janus-facedness with respect to virtuous conduct, pointing both outwards (socio-morally) and inwards (characterologically).

Some of the more pragmatic and solution-oriented among police officers may be put off by the lack of a rigid decision-procedure within virtue ethics – in contradistinction, for example, to deontological rule-obedience (Morrell and Bradford, 2019). Others will see the very

Janus-facedness of police virtue ethics – especially its inward glance – as smacking of self-centredness: why should we care about the virtuous purity of the police officers themselves as long as they can help others and uphold law and order? Yet, the crisis of legitimacy elicited by recent scandals and misdemeanours has facilitated a more conscious (re)turn to virtue ethical ways of thinking within police forces, as evidenced by the recent Police Foundation report (2022: 14), which foregrounds 'ethical health checks' and the cultivation of 'reflective practice', both of which very much align with the spirit of virtue ethics.

## 2.2 THE LEGITIMACY CRISIS AND THE TURN TOWARDS VIRTUE ETHICS

The history of the ideal of *police legitimacy* in the U.K. is fascinating historically, as it dates back to the formation of Scotland Yard in the early 19th-century and a certain obsession with the idea of the British police simply 'being the people' (see further in Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021). This is very different from the ethical grounding of policing in countries such as France, and may explain why police ethics in the U.K. has historically been more amenable to the ideal of uncodifiable practical wisdom than that of many other countries and also why the British police tend to take a comparatively relaxed approach to public unrest.

In the academic discourse, there are two main discourses on legitimisation: a philosophical discourse and a social scientific one, and each one of those operates at two levels.

'ETHICAL BEHAVIOUR COMES FROM THE VALUES, BELIEFS, ATTITUDES AND KNOWLEDGE THAT GUIDE THE JUDGEMENTS OF EACH INDIVIDUAL.'

College of Policing, 2014

<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of the century, only a third of black Americans expressed confidence in the police, compared to two-thirds of white people (Tyler, 2004). More recent opinion polls suggest that this confidence dropped as low as 18% in 2020 following high profile incidents such as the killing of George Floyd, but recovered to nearer 27% in 2021. See 'In U.S., Black Confidence in Police Recovers From 2020 Low' [Online]. Available at: <https://news.gallup.com/poll/352304/black-confidence-police-recovers-2020-low.aspx> [Accessed: 2 August 2022].

The philosophical discourse is about the ultimate legitimacy of state powers, and those are typically (in the Western tradition) seen as being derived from some sort of original *social contract* (along Hobbesian, Lockean or Rousseauian lines), either real or hypothetical, whereby subjects accept the governance of a ruler. At a higher level, this discourse is about the justification of state power *per se* as conducive to the state's self-preservation; at a lower level it is about the legitimacy of particular state institutions (such as the police) and particular procedures. The social-science discourse similarly operates at two levels, a general and a specific one. It is not about theoretical, abstract justifications but rather the *de facto* perceived legitimacy of (potentially) coercive state authorities and institutions, as judged by the extent to which the general public actually consent to, and approve of, them and can hence count, in today's managerial language, as 'willing customers' of the state (Morrell and Bradford, 2019: chps. 1 and 3; Hinsch, 2010). When people feel that an authority is legitimate, they implicitly authorise that authority to determine what their behaviour will be within a given set of situations (Tyler, 2004: 87). The present discourse on police legitimacy and its perceived crisis is mainly concerned with this social-science discourse on legitimacy and at a lower level of engagement: namely, with the (perceived) legitimacy of the police, in particular, rather than of state authority, in general.

The recent Police Foundation report claims that there are 'worrying signs that police legitimacy and public confidence in the police have deteriorated in recent years' (2022: 81).

Moreover, a recent study involving interviews

with U.K. police officers offered a fairly dispirited view of the ideal of police legitimacy and an abandonment of the idea of policing by general public consent (Manning, 2019). These findings indicate a stronger 'legitimacy deficit' and greater disenfranchisement among U.K. police officers than could perhaps have been expected, possibly indicative of what Reiner (2012) calls 'mission-action-cynicism and pessimism', which may result in burn-out. Neyroud and Beckley (2001: 220) talk about the need for 'a renewal of the contract between the police officer and the citizen' in 21st century policing, which, in turn, requires 'a new commitment to ethics at the core of policing'.

There is some hope that virtue ethics can aid in that renewal, more so than deontology or consequentialism. The recent fragmentation of public opinion about some facets of police work operates precisely at the level of rules and regulations, foregrounded by deontology – which indicates that the deontological framework of 'principled policing' may be part of the problem rather than the solution. Moreover, increasing societal polarisation regarding sources of 'happiness' may make a consensus in contemporary fractured societies about the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' ever more unlikely. At the same time, empirical research indicates substantial cross-cultural agreement about fundamental human character strengths and virtues, such as honesty, compassion and courage (McGrath, 2015). Manning (2019) suggests that perhaps some new moral alignment can be found by focussing on the core virtues internal to the professional practice of policing. It is not clear, however, to what extent the general public can be expected to become acquainted, or identify, with the

specific virtues that are unique to police practice, as that will require substantial familiarity with the rough and tumble of actual police work.<sup>5</sup> In any case, the turn towards virtue ethics can be seen in police ethics in the U.K. in some notable recent works (Manning, 2019; Morrell and Bradford, 2019; Wood, 2020).

The research into professional virtue ethics that has been pursued within the Centre is neo-Aristotelian in the sense that it draws extensively on the founding father of virtue ethics himself, while updating his theories with contemporary empirical evidence (Jubilee Centre, 2016). The brand of virtue ethics that has gained most prominence in professional ethics in recent years is, however, based on MacIntyre's (1981) interpretation, which is more Hegelian (historically conditioned, perspectivist and sociological) than Aristotle's and which defines 'practice' more broadly than Aristotle did. Unsurprisingly, the most distinctively virtue ethical take on police ethics that has so far appeared in the literature, namely Manning's (2019) research project, is based on MacIntyre's rather than Aristotle's virtue ethics. For most present purposes, the distinction between these two versions is irrelevant; however, in what follows, whenever 'virtue ethics' is referred to, this is meant to denote the neo-Aristotelian version standardly applied in the work of the Centre, rather than MacIntyre's reimagining.

### 2.3 THE RETRIEVAL OF PHRONESIS

In the last few years, various factors have contributed to a heightened interest in the developmental and educational conundrums surrounding the metacognitive capacity or virtue of practical wisdom (*phronesis*) (Kristjánsson et



<sup>5</sup> Ideally, powerholders (here, the police) make claims about the legitimacy of their practice whilst the audience (the public) respond in the form of an ongoing dialogue. The powerholders then adjust their claims based upon the public response. The idea is that they agree the terms of what 'good' policing looks like through proactive dialogical engagement and mutual adjustments (see for example Beetham, 2013). The question remains, however, to what extent this ideal of a two-way traffic is realistic, especially given the fact that the police have at times had to follow certain rules or procedures that run counter to what the public think of as their professional duties.

al., 2021). The most significant of those is perhaps the recent turn in traditional wisdom research in psychology towards a practical, as distinct from a theoretical, concept of wisdom (Grossmann *et al.*, 2020), which has brought the developmental wisdom discourse in psychology into better alignment with the standard character-education literature (Huynh and Grossmann, 2020). This practical turn has then been aided by a more general burgeoning of interest in character-and-virtue research within psychology (Fowers *et al.*, 2021; Wright *et al.*, 2021).

The biggest growth industry in *phronesis* research in the last couple of decades has not been within philosophy, psychology or even moral/character education, however, but rather within *professional ethics*: the ethics of medicine, teaching, nursing, business, social work, policing, the military, and so forth. Schwartz and Sharpe's (2010) popular book on practical wisdom, which seems to have spurred some of the recent interest in *phronesis* in social science, highlights particularly the use (or absence) of *phronesis* within professional practice. The present research team strongly recommend this book as a preliminary reading to any aspiring students of *phronesis*, and especially so within professional ethics. It neatly sets the background of the motivation to reclaim *phronesis* as an ideal, in an age of ever tighter and better regulated (but essentially fallible) audit cultures, in which professional wisdom has increasingly been de-skilled and replaced with rules, codes and incentives. The book is a goldmine of examples, many of which are derived from actual professional practice, of why the carrots-and-sticks method does not work and why it is essentially anti-professional.

To say that Schwartz and Sharpe's book created the surge of interest in *phronesis* within professional ethics would be to get hold of the wrong end of the stick, however. That interest dates at least a couple of decades further back, when papers about virtue ethics in general and *phronesis* in particular began to appear in professional ethics journals with regularity: so much so that virtue ethics can now be seen as the moral theory of choice within many of those fields. Schwartz and Sharpe captured the mood rather than created it.

The reasons for the turning of the tide are, arguably, sociological as much or more than ideological. Throughout most of the 20th century, some sort of utilitarianism was the dominant moral framework justifying the role of professions in society,<sup>6</sup> complemented however with a deontological take on the practical ethics of professionals.<sup>7</sup> The way to keep professional agents on the straight and narrow – and strengthen their public reputation, acknowledged legitimacy and communal support – was seen to lie in ever-more detailed ethical codes, prescribing correct behaviour as well as procedures and sanctions to secure such behaviour. Repeated scandals within all the largest professions, often exposed by intra-professional whistleblowers, and with widespread media coverage, have shaken the foundations of this conviction. It suffices here to mention the 'banksters' held responsible for the 2008 financial crisis and the recent revelations of corruption within police forces in countries such as the U.S.A and the U.K. As a consequence, focusing attention on the *phronesis* of practitioners is now seen by many as a helpful way to rescue professional ethics from the clutches of a stale rule-and-code-touting formalism and a culture of mere compliance: a culture that has not been properly internalised to the extent that one would have expected moral virtues should be. This has created a fertile ground for theoretically-minded virtue ethicists, operating within the fields of professional ethics, as well as for empirical studies exploring the typical virtues and vices of different professions. The most substantial and cohesive body of empirical work into virtues (or lack thereof) in different professions is probably that created by a series of studies conducted by the Centre into the characterological aspects of medicine, teaching, law, nursing, business, the military, and policing (see Arthur *et al.*, 2021).

## 2.4 WHAT EXACTLY IS PHRONESIS?

This report has so far made wide reference to *phronesis* without defining the construct precisely. It is now time to make amends. As first elaborated upon historically by Aristotle, *phronesis* is considered a meta-virtue of holistic, integrative, contextual, practical reflection and adjudication about moral issues that are non-codifiable (i.e., not amenable to an algorithmic decision process), leading to moral action. When an important decision is required, one can decide well or decide poorly about how

to act. A perspicacious description of good decision-making about crucial moral issues therefore seems vital. As a 'virtue', *phronesis* refers to excellence in such decision-making. As a 'meta-virtue', it includes metacognitive considerations of the injunctions of different moral virtues, especially when those conflict, to reach a measured decision. *Phronesis* is metacognitive in that the *phronimos* (person endowed with *phronesis*) reflects on and evaluates his or her cognitions, emotions and actions in terms of their wisdom, desirability and harmony.

Neo-Aristotelians tend to agree that *phronesis* contains discrete components, performing a set of inter-related functions. While they do not always agree fully on the number and nature of those, what will be introduced here is the reconstructed Aristotelian model that has been chosen to ground the educational intervention for police science students that is the focus of this report. The reason for this choice is that this model is better grounded than previous conceptions and has been operationalised in a validated measure to test *phronesis* as an individual capacity (Darnell *et al.*, 2022). This model includes the following four functions (Kristjánsson *et al.*, 2021):

- **Constitutive Function.** *Phronesis* involves the cognitive ability to perceive the ethically salient aspects of a situation and to appreciate these as calling for specific kinds of responses. This ability can be cultivated and amounts to the capacity to 'read' a situation by seeing what is most important or central. We can also refer to this function as moral sensitivity.
- **Integrative Function.** Through *phronesis*, an individual integrates different components of a good life, via a process of checks and balances, especially in circumstances where different ethically salient considerations, or different kinds of virtues or values, appear to be in conflict and agents need to negotiate dilemmatic space.
- **Blueprint Function.** The integrative work of *phronesis* operates in conjunction with the agent's overall understanding of the kinds of things that matter for a flourishing life: the agent's own ethical identity (as an individual and, in the case of a professional, say, as a police officer), aims and aspirations, her understanding of what it takes to live and act well, and her need to live up to the standards that shape and are shaped by her understanding and experience of what matters in life. This amounts to a blueprint of flourishing.

<sup>6</sup> For example, as Jameel notes correctly, the formation of the National Health Service (NHS) in Britain in 1948 represented an essentially utilitarian model of healthcare: improving the overall health of the nation as a single-denominator outcome (Jameel, 2022: chp. 1).

<sup>7</sup> What attracted professional ethicists to such models was their apparent universality and impartiality (see for example Jameel, 2022: chp. 1). The fascination with deontological justifications never seems to have entered U.K. police ethics, however, to the extent that it did within medical ethics and – until recently at least – business ethics.

■ *Emotional Regulative Function.* Individuals foster their emotional wellbeing through *phronesis* by bringing their emotional responses into line with their understandings of the ethically salient aspects of their situation, their judgement and their recognition of what is at stake in the moment. We can also refer to this function as infusing emotion with reason.

As already indicated, professional ethics constitutes one of the growth areas in the recent resurgence of *phronesis* research. *Phronesis* is typically seen to offer an antidote to a 20th-century deontologically motivated obsession with written codes and rules (Schwartz and Sharpe, 2010). While professional codes of ethics tend to be essentially rule-based, the *Code* in U.K. policing (College of Policing, 2014) constitutes an exception. Although it employs the language of police ‘principles’, 8 of those 9 ‘principles’ happen to be virtues. Moreover, the *Code* produces the so-called NDM for police officers that bears a striking resemblance to an Aristotelian model of *phronesis*. The *Code* is replete with warnings about a belief in the unproblematic codifiability of police activities, and it foregrounds what we could call the three D’s of *phronesis* – discernment, deliberation and discretion – although it does not refer directly to the concept of *phronesis*. As mentioned in Section 1, the *Code* and its current revision served as one of the motivations behind the current project.

For reference, the 8 Policing Principles are: accountability; fairness; honesty; integrity; leadership; objectivity; openness; and respect. These principles originate from the ‘Principles of Public Life’ and are seen to represent a direct reflection of public expectations (Committee on Standards in Public Life; 1995).





## 2.5 THE IDEAS BEHIND A TAUGHT PHRONESIS INTERVENTION

The salience of the intellectual meta-virtue of *phronesis* for any Aristotelian or quasi-Aristotelian programme of character education can hardly be overemphasised. It must form the lynchpin of any sound, holistic programme that aims to target such education for older adolescents or aspiring professionals. For instance, no decent programme of professional ethics in police education and training could – from a neo-Aristotelian perspective – pass muster without primary attention being paid to *phronesis*.

All that said, when turning from the development to the education of *phronesis*, despite the abundance of teaching materials produced within the umbrella of so-called ‘character education’ in the last few decades, very little of it is geared towards the cultivation of *phronesis*. Individual research articles are sparse and disparate,<sup>8</sup> and meta-analyses are non-existent. Indeed, even if one widens the lens to wisdom education more generally, the state of the current literature cannot be described otherwise than as fairly limited. It is not only that interventions to cultivate wisdom are much rarer than interventions to build many other character strengths and virtues, such as gratitude or forgiveness, the ‘practical’ or ‘educational’ literature is even more eclectic than the general psychological literature on wisdom, and it is often difficult to see what various scholars have in common (Ferrari and Potworowski, 2010). Attempts to give an overview of this educational literature are also few and far between. It says a lot about the current state of play that the fairly brisk review by Grossmann *et al.* (2020: 117–119) is probably the best place to begin for researchers wanting to gain a comprehensive view of what has been done in this area (see also Huynh and Grossmann, 2020). This apparent lacuna may be partly due to the complexities and problematics involved in teaching (practical) wisdom, some of which are noted below.

A survey of the relevant background literature suggests that the diffusion characteristic of extant wisdom interventions lies in the fact that most interventions do not take any distinct model of wisdom, such as the one sketched in the preceding sub-section, as their starting point, and that they almost invariably work (implicitly) on just one, or at most two, components of

wisdom or *phronesis*, rather than the virtue as a whole.<sup>9</sup> Yet there is every reason to believe that light will emerge at the end of this tunnel, as 96% of the wisdom researchers that Grossmann *et al.* surveyed believed that wisdom is malleable in principle (2020: 117).

Aristotle himself considered *phronesis* to grow from teaching and experience (1985: 33 [1103a14–16]). It seems reasonable to suppose that the ‘experience’ required for *phronesis* development is experience of the sort of quandaries that *phronesis* is meant to solve: namely, by gradually becoming more adept at figuring out what to do about them and why. Obviously, those experiences cannot be induced artificially or pre-empted through any educational interventions, so let us confine our attention to the ‘teaching’ element. What is it precisely that we can teach students that helps them build up this intellectual virtue?

The intervention to teach *phronesis* to police science students, reported upon in this study, was fairly straightforward in terms of its method of delivery and content. The aim was, somewhat obviously, to help police students develop the different components of *phronesis* in the Aristotelian model, by taking them through some of the considerations that motivate and (ideally) strengthen each component. The main method of teaching was a guided discussion about relevant dilemmas: a method that has a long history in approaches to moral education as distinct as those of Kohlbergianism, neo-Kohlbergianism and virtue-based character education. Without wanting to underplay the potential strengths of this approach, which are fairly well documented within these three traditions (see for example Thoma *et al.*, 2013), it is worth acknowledging in advance some of its limitations (Kristjánsson, 2022).

To couch the rationale of the intervention in an academic educational language, it is set within what can be considered to be the police science students’ ‘zone of proximal development’ (ZPD) as *phronesis* learners. In line with Vygotsky (1978), the current project team understand the ZPD to sit between two other zones, of (1) what students can learn by themselves without going through the actual future experiences and (3) what students will have learned after going through the actual future experiences. The ZPD marks the in-between zone of (2) what students can learn prior to the actual experiences through ‘scaffolded teaching’ by a skilled tutor.

<sup>8</sup> In the case of police *phronesis* and its development more specifically, sources are almost non-existent. Yet see Schwarz and Lappalainen (2020).

<sup>9</sup> This is not surprising. As Wright *et al.* (2021: chp. 2) correctly note, one of the biggest weaknesses of existing measures of virtues is the lack of theoretical depth behind the conceptions being employed.

Here is the first problem. Policing is – along with professions such as medicine, nursing, teaching and the military – a *burdened profession* in the sense of one in which practitioners are likely to encounter various psychologically charged, and even life-changing, situations that are impossible to explain to students in sufficient depth before they encounter them. These are also professions with a high rate of burn-out, perhaps because of various factors that gradually seem to sap the practitioners' original moral purpose in entering them (Arthur *et al.*, 2021). Ideally, in order to elicit the necessary trust between the tutor and the student, the former should be a trusted mentor or a 'character friend' who has already gone through some of the experiences that are being related to students. Otherwise, there is danger that the 'scaffolding' effect will not be activated. In the case of the present research, the team simply did not have access to police science lecturers with sufficient knowledge of applied virtue ethics to steer a *phronesis* intervention themselves. The tutors, here, were the research team who were academics without grounding in police science and without practical experience in working within a police force. That was a notable limitation – although, on the other hand, having the same tutors deliver the intervention across different cohorts/universities offered a layer of methodological robustness, with tutors able to draw vicariously from the challenging experiences shared by police officers who were interviewed for the first phase of the project (Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021).

The second problem is that the dilemmas presented to the students involved experiences that were, in a fundamental sense, *embodied*. The term is not used here in any abstract philosophical sense, but simply as referring to the fact that the experiential context will involve physical processes and feelings (e.g., extreme adrenaline rush) that cannot be explained or experienced beforehand. Some of the dilemmas presented to the police science students thus involved situations that were always bound to elicit strong physical and emotional reactions – but ones which cannot be known 'in one's skin' prior to their teaching, unless similar experiences had been gained fortuitously through active volunteering, such as in the role of Special Constable. This is not to say that police students or officers could not draw to some extent on experiences garnered in other

fields of life (e.g., an extreme adrenaline rush during a sporting event). Nevertheless, the context and the exact nature of the 'embodiment' will always differ.

In short, one is dealing here with a ZPD that is severely circumscribed by the fact that the situations for which the students are being prepared are experientially conditioned and embodied. All that can be achieved within the ZPD is an *intellectual* exercise that may, at best, stimulate certain discrete components of *phronesis* but can only partially account for the context in which the eventual decision will be set.<sup>10</sup> If one ventures further than that, in attempting to expand the ZPD, two perils emerge. One is *developmental naivety*, in which complex experiences are reduced to an intellectual exercise in an attempt to articulate something that is inarticulable out of context – possibly inducing the infamous Dunning-Kruger effect.<sup>11</sup> The second is *paternalism*, in which one cavalierly ignores the students' need to engage in their own 'experiments in living' prior to becoming capable of making autonomous moral decisions, be those professional or personal.

That said, the temptation is very strong to expand the ZPD, especially if the tutors have gone through some of those experiences themselves and perhaps made mistakes that they want to pre-empt in students. The educational dilemma created here is a well-known one, with implications far beyond any interventions to cultivate Aristotelian *phronesis*. On the one hand, one may have tutors who know in their own skin what typically 'happens to the heart' in the relevant profession; on the other hand, one has budding professionals who have not gone through those experiences and are full of idealism about their future work. The educational dilemma is clear, opening up the question of how much one can or should tell the young apprentice beforehand about 'what happens to the heart' on the job. That said, the sharing of challenging and dilemmatic experiences is a well-used pedagogical tool in the police science classroom, with recruitment of police science lecturers increasingly drawing from serving police officers keen to move into education.

Even the two most vocal champions of *phronesis* as part of professional ethics education claim that it 'is not something that can be taught'

(Schwartz and Sharpe, 2010: 271) – although they probably understand the term 'teaching' more narrowly in this context than Aristotle did. While the current authors would not go as far as Schwartz and Sharpe, especially regarding the possibility of teaching *some components* of *phronesis*, it is worth reminding readers of the well-known Chinese fable of the farmer who impatiently tried to pull up his rice shoots to make them grow faster, as a result of which they lost their rootedness and withered away. Young police science students, for instance, need to be fed a diet that does not exhaust their capacities for digestion – which is not the same as saying that they should not be provided with an intellectual initiation into some of the tough and discretionary choices that await them, and with a stark warning that no police rule book will relieve them of the responsibility for making those choices themselves in the line of duty.

As always, however, the proof of the pudding lies in the eating; and the precise problematics of teaching *phronesis* to aspiring police officers cannot be evaluated until such interventions have been tried and tested in practice.

'[YOU MUST] SHOW  
COMPASSION AND  
EMPATHY, AS  
APPROPRIATE, TO  
PEOPLE YOU COME INTO  
CONTACT WITH'.

College of Policing, 2014

<sup>10</sup> Unsurprisingly, therefore, Ardel (2020) found that a wisdom intervention that targeted 'the whole person' had a greater effect than more context-and-discipline-specific teaching. At the same time, Grossmann's (2017) research indicates that teaching about how wisdom exemplars react to dilemmas is most beneficial to students if those examples are situated within specific contexts that the exemplars encountered and mastered. Those findings are not incompatible. If practical wisdom (*phronesis*) is a multi-component construct, as the Aristotelian model assumes, it is likely that a broad approach to enhancing it will be the most effective pedagogical strategy. On the other hand, the content of the stories used to hone the different components may need to be highly situation-specific for it to resonate with the students.

<sup>11</sup> The Dunning-Kruger effect is a cognitive bias through which people with limited knowledge or competence in a given intellectual or social domain greatly overestimate their own knowledge or competence in that domain.

# POLICE

## 2.6 THE HISTORY OF POLICING IN ENGLAND AND WALES

To better ground the rationale of this study, it needs to be set in the context of the history of policing and police education in a national context.

The training and education of police officers in England and Wales has been described as fragmented and complicated (Bolton, 2005). Until recently, these practices have remained fairly insular, having been run independently from the general education sector, and in what has been described as an almost constant state of flux (Tong and Hallenberg, 2018). From 1829, and for a long time thereafter, the training provided to police officers was minimal and consisted primarily of drill-based exercises, which responded to the primary needs of the time, namely foot patrol and the occasional controlling of riots (Tong and Hallenberg, 2018). As the work of policing became increasingly complex, greater effort and time was spent on the training of new recruits. Specialised departments were established, which included the Criminal Investigation Department in 1878, corresponding with specialised training courses provided in large urban forces. In 1907, the Metropolitan Police Training School was established in London to provide basic police training, in operation until 1974, and was then rebuilt in Hendon.

The Desborough Committee, founded after the First World War, sought to standardise the conditions of service and to elevate the police's social and economic status, which Martin and

Wilson (1969) speculate was 'a conscious attempt to put police work on a more professional footing' (as cited in Tong and Hallenberg, 2018: 18). One of the committee's notable recommendations was the improvement and assimilation of education and training throughout the Police Service. In 1934, the Metropolitan Police College was established at Hendon, a military-style training institution designed to prepare both newly recruited and already serving officers for senior rank. After the Second World War, the National Police College was established at Ryton-on-Dunsmore, providing both residential and non-residential courses for junior and senior officers, as well as short courses; from 1979 it was known as the Police Staff College. The Metropolitan Police Training School was also established after the Second World War, offering a 17-week foundational training course for recruit constables, run at Hendon until 2007 (Shohel *et al.*, 2018).

In the post-war period, there was an increase in police specialisation and division of labour, with a reoriented focus on 'technology, specialisation and managerial professionalism' (Reiner, 2010: 79, as cited in Tong and Hallenberg, 2018). During this period there was a growing investment in the training of new recruits, which led to the establishment of regional, centralised training in District Training Centres (DTCs) instead of it occurring at local forces, with a committee of Chief Constables responsible for the curriculum designed, and modelling teaching methods used in the military (HMIC, 2002). The visible patrolling of the 'bobby on the beat' became less common, as the practice was seen

as uneconomical, and instead officers became less engaged with the public, which arguably led to a decrease in public confidence (Bolton, 2005). The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a renewed politicisation of policing, with a shift away from drills and legislation towards enhanced public relations and the design and delivery of centralised training (HMIC, 2002), as well as full integration of female officers and active recruitment from minority ethnic groups (Tong and Hallenberg, 2018). The inclusion of training in social skills, communication studies, psychology and sociology, among others, heralded official acknowledgment that the role of the police officer required more than implementation and adherence to the law. Yet, ethics training continued to be scarce.

The 1980s brought further changes, driven largely by uncertainty regarding policing's role. The inquiry into the Brixton Riots of 1981 by Lord Scarman was an important juncture in identifying controversial policies in the policing environment (Constable and Smith, 2015) and emphasised the need for operational effectiveness, political accountability, reconsideration of police priorities and economic viability (Tong and Hallenberg, 2018). In the 1990s, DTCs continued to deliver initial police training, many of which were still run along militaristic lines, with a focus on fitness, discipline, drills, law and procedure. Despite suggestions that the training provided was no longer fit for purpose, and recommendations made for graduate entry into policing, there was little change in the provision (Constable and Smith, 2015). In 2002, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary advised that if

policing 'is to be viewed as a profession, the initial training and development provided must be comparable with other professions' (2002: 43). Yet, the 31 weeks of training received by a probationer police officer was considered inadequate and it was suggested that no other profession would allow a new recruit to undertake professional responsibilities after so little training or without the awarding of a recognised qualification (HMIC, 2002). Indeed, it was considered 'highly unlikely that the current format meets the needs of [policing in] the twenty-first century' (HMIC, 2002: 43).

Further changes in initial training and the wider policy environment were driven by the identification of controversial issues in policing, such as the MacPherson Report in 1999 concerning the murder of Stephen Lawrence, the 'Training Matter' report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary in 2002, and the BBC's 'Secret Policeman' documentary in 2003, which highlighted, among many challenging issues, evidence of institutional racism (Constable and Smith, 2015; Tong and Hallenberg, 2018). In 2005, the Initial Police Learning and Development Programme (IPLDP) was launched, as a response to the 2002 HMIC report, which led to the decentralising of initial training and a more tailored approach to the contextual needs of officers. The delivery of the 26-week IPLDP training of new recruits comprised four phases: (i) induction, (ii) community placement, (iii) supervised patrol and (iv) independent patrol. Local police forces were responsible for running the training programme, and since 2010 a Diploma in Policing was awarded upon successful completion.

As Ramshaw and Soppitt (2018) note, a wave of modernisation and reform could be witnessed in the structure and nature of policing in England and Wales at the dawn of the new millennium. The community policing model transitioned into neighbourhood policing (Millie and Herrington, 2006), and more attention was paid to leadership and management (Neyroud, 2011). Alongside this, there has also been an increased interest in intelligence-led policing (Ratcliffe, 2016), and a greater focus on evidence-based policing (Goode and Lumsden, 2018), which remains relevant today (Brown *et al.*, 2018; Stanko, 2020), as well as the embedding of ethical codes throughout all areas of policing operations and practice (Millie and Blackler, 2017). Yet, this embedding was apparently not followed up with any enhanced systematic educational provisions to explain the relevant constructs and ideals to existing police officers or entrants.

The complexity of modern policing in England and Wales mirrored changes witnessed locally, while also paying attention to the challenges of contemporary society that are evidenced globally (Ramshaw and Soppitt, 2018; Wall and Williams, 2013). In order to appropriately deal with these challenges, and following the cumulative evidence and recommendations that achievement of recognised qualifications be a requirement for recruitment into policing, a watershed review by Neyroud (2011) led to the establishment of a new professional qualification framework for policing (Brown *et al.*, 2018; Hunter *et al.*, 2019). The rhetoric of professionalisation in policing highlights how academic education is a core characteristic of a profession, and is necessary for work that requires significant responsibility, high levels of complexity and guaranteed competence (Hallenberg and Cockcroft, 2017). As such, the professionalisation agenda of policing in the U.K. has been a driving force for the overhaul of policing educational requirements and, most notably, a replacement of vocational training programmes with higher-level degree offerings across the service (Hunter and May, 2019).

However, although the academic discourse on the need to 'level up' the educational requirements for becoming a police officer have gone hand in hand with an often painful public discourse on how the police fall short, psychologically, morally and characterologically, in dealing with members of the public, the academic discourse has not provided any clear blueprint on what sort of education would be best suited to remedy those shortcomings. For example, the cultivation of 'police *phronesis*' has not been explicitly mentioned, to the best of the present research team's knowledge, in any of the relevant policy documents.

## 2.7 HOW POLICE EDUCATION IS ORGANISED IN ENGLAND AND WALES

The professionalisation of policing follows similar professional qualifications of allied occupations, such as social work, teaching and nursing (Flanagan, 2008; Simmell-Binning and Towers, 2017); and aligns with greater interagency partnerships, which see police officers interacting with degree-qualified professionals (Rogers and Frevel, 2018). Thus, after over a century of independent training in policing craft (detailed in the section above), and recognition of the increasing complexity of policing since the approach of the new millennium (HMIC, 1999), the requirement for greater professionalism through education and training was recommended by the Neyroud report, as previously mentioned, proposing that

the police move from 'being a service that acts professionally to becoming a professional service' (Neyroud, 2011: 129).

Since receiving the mandate, the professionalisation agenda of policing in England and Wales has been driven forwards through implementation of the Policing Education Qualifications Framework (PEQF) by the College of Policing (Williams *et al.*, 2019). A key element is that new police recruits require a Level 6 entry point qualification, namely a university degree. This degree level requirement for all new recruits thus means that a degree level qualification in policing must be acquired prior to recruitment, upon entry into the force, or within the first three years of service (Hough and Stanko, 2019). According to the PEQF, police constables may gain entrance into the police force through three permitted routes:

- An accredited pre-join university degree in professional policing, which was introduced from the 2019-20 academic year, requiring prospective police recruits to complete a degree in policing prior to joining the police force;
- A Police Constable Degree Apprenticeship (PCDA), which was introduced in 2018, and involves a three-year programme in which operational policing work is undertaken in parallel with academic studies.<sup>12</sup> These PCDA courses involve partnerships between different forces and accredited Universities (see appendices); and
- The Degree Holder Entry Programme (DHEP), which was introduced from the 2020-21 academic year, and which involves two years' work at an accredited police force for recruits that have already graduated with an undergraduate degree that may be unrelated to policing.

The College of Policing has discretionary power in the accreditation of pre-professional police degree university programmes and PCDA/DHEPs. Yet, despite the professionalisation and legitimisation of policing being driven through the route of academic qualifications, an understanding of how police education can be applied in practice remains limited. Further limitations in understanding these recent changes include challenges and concerns regarding how organisations can interpret this knowledge and best utilise their new recruits (Williams *et al.*, 2019).

Higher educational attainment is associated with decreased use of physical and verbal force in interactions between police and the public, fewer complaints, less disciplinary action within forces, higher levels of satisfaction among the

<sup>12</sup> This is the most complex route and there have been delays to setting it up in some constabularies.

public, greater knowledge, recognition and appreciation of differences in values and lifestyles among people from different cultural, minority and ethnic groups (for example Brown, 2018; Paoline and Terrill, 2007; Paterson, 2011; Wimshurst and Ransley, 2007).

The rationale for academic entrance requirements into policing, driven by the increasing rhetoric of police professionalisation (Cockcroft, 2015), also includes the more familiar benefits associated with university level education (Hallenberg and Cockcroft, 2017). Indeed, the graduate value in policing also rests on the university experience itself, which is considered to stimulate the imagination and curiosity of its students, to broaden their horizons, improve verbal and written communication skills, provide self-directed learning opportunities and foster intellectual confidence (Brown, 2018; Glover *et al.*, 2002; Nellis, 2001). Applied to policing specifically, the more 'generic' skills that may be inculcated during one's university experience include critical thinking skills, ability to conduct research and undertake analysis (Green and Linsdell, 2010; Brown, 2018).

The more general benefits of degree-level education and university experience also raises critical questions about the value and purpose of degree apprenticeships. General criticism about the apprentice degree route is targeted at the required learning hours when compared to a full-time undergraduate degree. According to Lambert (2016), a minimum of 900 hours' worth of learning is required for an apprenticeship, compared to the 3,600 hours of learning required for a university degree. While this might be the case more generally for apprenticeships in the U.K., the picture is somewhat different for policing. Student officers recruited through the PCDA and DHEP routes are given full-time, salaried contracts. Within the 40 hours they are contracted to work per week, 20% of their time is allocated for engaging with academic content and 'off-the job learning', which is provided through a partner university (College of Policing, 2018; 2019; Shohel *et al.*, 2020). Thus, for these apprenticeship routes, only 720 hours of allocated learning time is provided. In practice, students and academics may consider 20% of working hours an insufficient amount of time spent on the academic element of the degree, especially when compared to full-time university students. While the PCDA and DHEP are intended to be blended learning experiences, in the syllabus provided by the College of Policing, as detailed in the National Policing Curriculum, the required coursework is vast (Shohel *et al.*, 2020). In addition, higher education advocates



‘AS A POLICE OFFICER, MEMBER OF POLICE STAFF OR OTHER PERSON WORKING FOR THE POLICE SERVICE, YOU MUST KEEP IN MIND AT ALL TIMES THAT THE PUBLIC EXPECT YOU TO MAINTAIN THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOUR. YOU MUST, THEREFORE, ALWAYS THINK ABOUT HOW A MEMBER OF THE PUBLIC MAY REGARD YOUR BEHAVIOUR, WHETHER ON OR OFF DUTY.’

College of Policing, 2014

commend the value of the liberalising environment and the diversity of people and ideas that are nourished on university campuses, which can promote greater interpersonal relationships, enhanced tolerance of interpersonal differences and an enriched understanding and appreciation for multi-cultural societies. These findings are in contrast to the often-limiting occupational cultures that are existent in some police forces (Brown, 2018; Williams *et al.*, 2019).

Yet, ultimately, the intention of the PEQF is to provide consistency in terms of design, delivery and assessment of initial police training across England and Wales by accredited providers, delivering on the need to bring the profession of policing in line with other graduate entrance professional programmes. Through implementation of the PEQF, it is intended that ‘by 2025 policing will be a profession with a more representative workforce that will align the right skills, powers and experience to meet the challenging requirements of contemporary professional policing in England and Wales (Brown, 2021; College of Policing, 2019).<sup>13</sup>

## 2.8 OVERALL EVALUATIVE GOALS

Some of the specific aims of the current study were set out in Section 1, and a more detailed set of research questions and remaining quandaries will be introduced in Sections 3 and 5. However, the overall aims of the project are wider than those encapsulated in those specific questions. Rather than merely exploring the possibility of teaching one discrete concept to police science students and helping them concretise it in their thoughts, the project as a whole (Phases 1 and 2) has aimed to serve the broader ambition of helping to facilitate a better equipped police service in the U.K. that is able to deliver the calibre of policing required by contemporary society.

Apart from this broader aim for policing in the U.K., the design of a *phronesis* educational intervention also serves a more encompassing theoretical aim in the context of professionally-oriented character education. For some reason, the prominence of *phronesis* has not – until very recently at least – been reflected in the vast practical literature on Aristotelian character development and education. This is particularly the case prior to the recent work by Jubilee Centre colleagues (Darnell *et al.*, 2019; Darnell *et al.*, 2022), where no instrument to evaluate *phronesis* progress existed that could be used for pre- and post-testing of educational interventions.

At best, educated guesses can be offered about this lacuna. First, far more teaching materials have been produced for the primary and lower secondary levels of the school system than for the upper secondary and early college (undergraduate) levels where *phronesis* development is usually considered to emerge.

Second, as outspoken as Aristotle himself was about methods of early-years moral education, especially habituation and emulation/role-modelling, he was singularly unhelpful in delineating useful strategies for *phronesis* development, to the extent of simply trading in platitudes. For example, it is not very illuminating to assert that *phronesis* is developed through ‘teaching and experience’ (Aristotle, 1985: 33 [1103a14–16]); one wants to know what kind of teaching? – what sort of experience? More specifically, Aristotle failed to elaborate on what *phronesis*-enhancing teaching would look like, when it should take place in an ideal developmental trajectory, how long it should last, and at which stage, if ever, the teaching is complete so that the learners will count as *phronimoi*. These lacunae are reflected in the burgeoning recent literature on character educational strategies for aspiring professionals, including police officers. Yet they rarely, if ever, address the question of what a *phronesis* intervention would look like, either for university students in a particular subject field or for experienced police officers (such as a continuing professional development programme).

When coupled with the Centre’s earlier and more rudimentary attempt to carve out educational resources on *phronesis* for professionals (Harrison and Khatoon, 2017), the hope was that the current research project could shed light on some of the considerations that need to be taken into account in designing a suitable *phronesis* intervention for aspiring or experienced police officers (and, by analogy, other professionals), but that it also identifies some of the obstacles that have to be overcome for such an intervention to be effective.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendices A and B on police forces offering entrance via PCDA, and a list of College of Policing accredited pre-join-degree-in-professional-policing providers.



**POLICE**



# 3 Methods

The present research utilised a mixed-method approach to explore the effectiveness of an education intervention with (i) undergraduate university students enrolled in a professional policing degree and (ii) postgraduate students undertaking a PCDA that is co-facilitated between police forces in partnership with a certified university. The design of this project utilised different data collections methods, as detailed below. This section explains the rationale, design and methods utilised in the project and provides a narrative description of the educational intervention.

The research included:

- A literature review of the existent policing literature, both U.K. and international, including documentation from the College of Policing;
- The design and delivery of an educational intervention aimed to cultivate practical wisdom among police science students and PCDA's;
- Pre- and post-seminar validated survey instrument on *phronesis* that was completed by (some of) the police science students and PCDA's;
- Semi-structured interviews undertaken with five lecturers at the universities that took part in the educational interventions, who facilitated access to the students and observed the delivery of the educational intervention.

Details pertaining to the educational intervention, survey and interview instruments, participants, methods of analysis and the ethical considerations and limitations of the study are reported upon below.

## 3.1 PARTICIPANTS

For the intervention, 131 students were recruited from five U.K. universities: Anglia Ruskin University, Birmingham City University, University of Derby, University of Gloucestershire, University of Wolverhampton. Of those 131 students, ten students did not complete the pre-intervention survey.

Some 121 policing students (62 male and 54 female, 5 missing) across those five universities completed the pre-intervention survey. Of those, 12 participants were 'DHEP', one participant was 'PCDA', 68 participants were 'Pre-join degree', 25 participants were 'Other' (non-PCDA or Pre-join), with 15 missing. The post-intervention survey responses were much lower. Reasons for this are explained in section 4.2. Post-intervention survey completions included 10 male, 11 female, 1 preferred not to say, with 81 missing. Of those, 3 were 'DHEP', one was 'PCDA', 17 were 'Pre-join degree' (including other 1), with 82 missing. Of the pre-intervention survey cohort, nine participants reported as 'Asian/Asian British', five participants were 'Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups', and 112 were 'White/White British/White other' and 9 were missing). Of the post-intervention survey cohort, one participant identified as being of 'Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups', 20 were 'White/White British' and 82 were missing.

Following completion of the post-intervention surveys, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the five lecturers who facilitated

access to their students for the delivery of the intervention at their respective universities. The intervention began in the first university on 26th January 2022 and ended in the last university on 7th April 2022. The interviews took place between 9th-25th May 2022.

## 3.2 DESIGN AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study was intended to be a pilot test of a quasi-experimental intervention design. Our intervention was designed to promote practical wisdom (*phronesis*) in policing students. We measured aspects of *phronesis* before and after the intervention. We also measured participants' (Big-Five) personalities.

As this was a pilot study, no definitive list of research questions was created at the outset of the project, but rather the research team adjusted questions gradually in accordance with the overarching exploratory aim of figuring out whether an intervention of this kind held out promise of advancing an understanding of *phronesis*, awareness of its value, and strategies for enacting it in students. That said, the primary research questions that began the project were:

- How is a *phronesis* intervention for the given cohort best designed and administered? We hypothesised that running this intervention in five different police science departments would give us some insights into what works and does not work in those classrooms.



■ Does the Centre's *phronesis* measure provide statistically significant findings about the students completing the intervention? The research team hypothesised that a four-week intervention, made up of one 45 minute per week teaching session, would not suffice to yield statistically significant differences at pre- and post-test periods. However, the administration of the measure was expected to yield important and useful information about the participants themselves, especially their motivational levels, as judged by the fact whether they persevered in completing both the pre- and post-intervention surveys, which were intentionally constructed to be fairly long (45 minutes) and repetitive. Therefore, an additional research question was developed following creation of the pre- and post-intervention survey and the intervention itself.

■ What lessons can be learned about potential obstacles and facilitators from the first bespoke *phronesis* intervention to be created for police science students? The research team hypothesised that interviews with lecturers would provide valuable qualitative insights into the pros and cons of running an intervention of this kind and what would need to be improved for possible subsequent repetitions and iterations of the intervention, given its uniqueness as a teaching intervention.

### 3.2.1 Intervention

The project aimed to practically improve participants' levels of practical wisdom, or *phronesis* via the four-week intervention. Whilst this by itself was an ambitious aim, there were two further aims of the project. The secondary aim of piloting a measure such as the intervention, was to test whether such a tool was practical for police science students. A tertiary aim of the intervention was to better understand participant profiles in terms of those most- and least-likely to complete pre- and post-intervention surveys, and sought to use such profiles to navigate the obstacles involved in delivering such an intervention with similar cohorts in the future. Naturally, therefore, there were several constraints acting upon our ability to assess any improvement to participants' levels of *phronesis*, which we acknowledge below.

The first constraint that we encountered was that of time. The most we could negotiate with participating universities was an intervention made up of 4x45 minutes of class time spread

over 4–6 weeks. Typically, 'professional ethics' was not a special subject in those police science students' timetables so we had to negotiate an entry into 'related' taught subjects in the curriculum (such as 'Accountability' and 'Ethics'), where time was already limited. This may seem like a fortuitous and non-philosophically relevant consideration, but in the light of Aristotle's own insistence that the development of good character is a practical, rather than a theoretical, enterprise, it was highly relevant in this instance. Given the way professional education is conducted, it was unrealistic to assume that the time allocated to direct teaching about *phronesis* would be anything other than strictly limited. A decision was taken that, since no assumptions could be made regarding participants' pre-existing knowledge of or background in virtue theory, the design of the intervention, therefore, required the first class to be mostly focussed on what is referred to as 'virtue literacy'<sup>14</sup>: simply explaining to participants what terms such as 'character', 'virtue', 'virtue ethics' and '*phronesis*' mean, and how those might be related to the *Code* and the NDM. The intervention, in each participating institution, was delivered by one member of the research team (as tutor). In some classes, another member was present (as observer), and in some cases the lecturer was also present (as observer). However, the latter's substantive input was, in all cases, minimal or non-existent, as requested by the research team from the outset.

As the first class of the intervention was delivered as an introductory session to the language of virtue and key concepts of *phronesis* and virtue theory, the 'substantive' part of the intervention was divided across the three remaining classes. The pedagogical approach taken, after much internal debate and consideration, was to dedicate those classes mostly to a deep discussion of topical police dilemmas (one dilemma per class). The specifics of each dilemma used was the topic of both internal debate and external consultation, in order to ensure that they were relevant, realistic and relatable. The research team utilised the expertise of the Expert Panel who had been involved in a similar capacity in Phase 1 of this project (see Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021).

The tutors guided participants through a discussion about the particulars of the dilemma presented, prompted by the following questions:

(1) which virtues or values are competing here [in the relevant dilemma] and steering the police officer (later: 'you') in different directions? (2) What are the pros and cons of each action option? (3) Is the police officer experiencing strong emotions prior to the decision? (4) If so, what are those emotions? (5) What should the police officer do, in your view? These questions were meant to tap into the components of the *phronesis* model introduced earlier (Kristjánsson *et al.*, 2021). At the close of the intervention, participants were asked to relate their answers to the *Code* and the NDM – with extension questions prompting participants to reflect further upon how the *Code* and the NDM relate to the *phronesis* model, and what the possible synergies of those might be. The curriculum for each of the four seminars is detailed below.<sup>15</sup> The content was designed by the research team, based on findings about needs and expectations recorded in the first phase of the project (Kristjánsson, Thompson and Maile, 2021).

The seminars were delivered in-person at the respective participating university campuses or the police headquarters in which the educational component of the PCDA was taking place.

**'THE NATIONAL DECISION MODEL IS INHERENTLY FLEXIBLE. IT CAN BE APPLIED TO SPONTANEOUS INCIDENTS OR PLANNED OPERATIONS, BY AN INDIVIDUAL OR TEAMS OF PEOPLE, AND TO OPERATIONAL AND NON-OPERATIONAL SITUATIONS.'**

**College of Policing, 2014**

<sup>14</sup> See Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues (2022) *The Jubilee Centre Framework for Character Education in Schools* Available at: [www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/framework](http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/framework) [Accessed: 15 August 2022].

<sup>15</sup> The PowerPoint slides used for the four seminars can be accessed on the project webpage, [www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/policing](http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/policing) [Accessed: 14 July 2022].

### 3.2.1.1 Seminar One

The first seminar provided a general introduction to the rationale of the research project, providing an overview of the aims of the *phronesis* intervention, and details of what the next four seminar sessions would include. Included within this opening introduction was an explanation about the pre- and post-intervention surveys that participants were asked to complete, with a link to the Qualtrics survey provided. In order to set the scene and encourage students to think about the importance of ethical thinking and decision-making in policing, students were presented with the following ethical dilemma concerning whistleblowing:

*You work in a police response unit. A new female student officer of South Asian heritage joins your team under the degree holder's entry programme. Whilst you are alone with a close and experienced white, male colleague, he refers to the new officer and comments, 'I bet her parents are disappointed she's a copper. A Paki with a degree; there's not many of them – she should have done Law and become a Lawyer, or Finance and been an Accountant.' You have never previously heard your colleague express views like this and have worked alongside him for a number of years.<sup>16</sup>*

How do you figure out the right thing to do in situations like this?

Students were asked to reflect on how they would approach responding to the situation with the goal of doing the right thing, with the discussion guided by the tutor. Following this discussion, students were reminded of the NDM and the principles in the Code. In describing the principles, it was explained how all but one of the principles could be considered virtues, and tutors used this as a segue into providing a brief overview of the three main competing ethical theories: deontology, consequentialism and virtue ethics. Further information was provided regarding the domains, or 'Building Blocks', of virtue, namely intellectual, moral, civic and performance virtues (Jubilee Centre, 2022: 9). Subsequently a definition of *phronesis* and the model of *phronesis* were provided and explained to the students, highlighting the similarities between the NDM and *phronesis*. The final activity of the session involved asking participants to brainstorm the virtues that they deemed most important for a 'good' police officer.

### 3.2.1.2 Seminar Two

To begin the second session, participants were presented with the list of virtues that they had brainstormed in the first session, and were asked to group them according to the four domains of virtue. This conversation was guided by the tutor, before participants were asked to identify any virtues that might conflict with one another, either in policing, or in more general terms. The principle of virtues conflicting and creating a need to make a decision about a given scenario provided important scaffolding on which the concept of *phronesis* is based. Participants were then asked to discuss in small groups what they thought were the two most important and two least important virtues for professional policing before feeding back their choices to the whole group. Once similarities and differences in choices between the groups had been debated, participants were then presented with the following ethical dilemma concerning domestic violence:

*Two police officers (POs) are sent to a 999 call from a female caller, who states that her partner is acting aggressively. On arrival, it is apparent that the woman is uninjured, but the woman's partner has a black eye. The partner says that 'he deserved it' because he was acting like a fool. The Force policy is that 'positive action' must be taken in all domestic violence cases. The more experienced PO says that, because there had been no prior calls, the victim did not want to press charges and the woman had been the complainant to 999, then this call is best resolved by giving an informal resolution. The other, more junior PO expresses the alternative opinion, believing that, strictly speaking, the woman should be arrested for assault. The more experienced PO appears to dismiss the junior PO's opinion.*

What should the junior PO do?

Tutors then facilitated a guided discussion about the dilemma via small groups, with discussions encouraged to focus on the questions detailed above, and with participants discussing the nine policing principles and identifying which one/s were the most applicable to this dilemma. Lastly, tutors presented to participants the value of showing *phronesis* in response to the dilemma, and how that might materialise through an action choice. There followed a general discussion about the moral complexity of police work.

### 3.2.1.3 Seminar Three

This third session began with a discussion about recent scandals in U.K. policing, asking participants to provide some examples of incidents that have recently featured on the news, or affected them. Following this was a guided discussion about what participants thought the best remedy might be to each scandal that was raised. Participants were then presented with the following ethical dilemma concerning 'stop and search':

*Two POs are called to attend an area where residents have been complaining about groups of young people gathering, with allegations of anti-social behaviour and drug taking. Police intelligence indicates that this area is a hot spot for drug dealing activity. There are several calls received each week by neighbours with these allegations, but in previous cases involving Stop and Search procedures no drugs have been found. Every Stop and Search that was undertaken has resulted in complaints from the young people and their parents, and attracted adverse attention from local media and the wider community. Several colleagues within the Force have been the subject of these complaints and the POs have witnessed the distress that investigation has had on them and their families. As a result, the morale within the police team is low. The POs Sergeant has instructed that he does not want his team doing any more Stop and Searches until 'the heat is off him' from his bosses. At the scene, the POs can clearly smell cannabis and see other drug paraphernalia discarded nearby. One of the neighbours who made the complaint arrives on the scene, insisting that the POs undertake Stop and Search interventions. One of the POs does not want to Stop and Search, while the other PO wonders if it is the right thing to do in order to deal with the issue properly.*

What should the POs do?

Following previous seminars, the tutor guided participants, in small group discussions, as with seminar two, before asking participants to feed back to the larger group. Following seminar two, tutors outlined how *phronesis* may be shown through particular action choices, before participants were guided through a discussion about whether there were any situations in which a police officer can justifiably break the law, and how the nine policing principles applied to the dilemma.

<sup>16</sup> To make the dilemma realistic and engaging, the Expert Panel deemed it necessary to frame it in a language that may strike some readers as offensive.

### 3.2.1.4 Seminar Four

The final seminar introduced students to the concept of Aristotle's Golden Mean by providing a theoretical explanation followed by a group activity in which a list of six virtues were provided. Participants were asked to provide the term or phrases used for the vices of excess and deficiency for each virtue. Participants were then presented with the same whistleblowing dilemma that was used in the first seminar. The same questions were provided to participants in small groups and guided the discussion to elicit responses as to how participants may respond to the dilemma. As with the previous seminars, participants were also asked to discuss the nine policing principles and identify which one/s were the most applicable in this particular scenario, depending on their choice of action. Participants were also asked to consider how their choices of actions might be different if using the NDM. This final consideration was intended to enable participants, guided by the tutor, to consider the synergy between the NDM and *phronesis* in terms of decision-making in policing.

### 3.2.2 Measurement

The development of *phronesis* amongst participants was measured using the series of measurement tools validated in previous Centre work (see Darnell *et al.*, 2022; Kristjánsson *et al.*, 2020). This measure includes four main components:

- The *Emotional Regulation* function, constituted of IRI perspective-taking and IRI Empathy;
- the *Blueprint* function, constituted of Moral Self-Relevance, Contingencies of Self Worth: Virtue, and Moral Aspects of Identity;
- the *Integrative* function, constituted of 'Good Actions' and 'Good Justifications' across two moral dilemmas;
- and the *Constitutive* function, constituted of Virtue Identification, Virtue Selection, and Virtue Relevance.<sup>17</sup>

#### 3.2.2.1 Emotional Regulation

To capture the emotional regulation function of *phronesis*, two subscales from the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; Davis, 1983) were utilised, namely 'empathic concern' (one's feeling of concern for others, e.g. 'I am often quite touched by things that I see happen') and 'perspective taking' (consideration and adoption of other people's points of view, e.g. 'I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how

things look from their perspective'). Participants rated each statement on a five-point scale ranging from 'describes me very well' to 'does not describe me very well).

#### 3.2.2.2 Blueprint

In order to capture the blueprint (moral identity) function of *phronesis*, three measures/subscales were utilised. The 'Personal Identity Orientation' subscale of the Aspects of Identity (AOI; Cheek *et al.*, 2002) measure asked participants to rate how important 'personal values and moral standards are' to them on a five-point scale ranging from 'extremely important' to 'not at all important'. The Contingencies of Self-Worth (CSW; Crocker *et al.*, 2003) 'Virtue' subscale focusses on how important virtuous living is to one's self esteem. Participants rated five items (e.g. 'My self-esteem depends on whether or not I follow my moral/ethical principles') on a seven-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Moral Self Relevance (MSR; Patrick and Gibbs, 2012) measures how important moral and non-moral qualities are to one's sense of self by asking participants to rate 16 qualities on a five-point scale ranging from 'extremely important to me' to 'not important to me'.

#### 3.2.2.3 Integrative Function

The Integrative (moral reasoning) Function of *phronesis* was captured by measuring the two hypothesised components, moral perception and moral adjudication, by means of a series of tasks and questionnaires that centre on two dilemmas from the Adolescent Intermediate Concept Measure (AD-ICM; Thoma *et al.*, 2013). The dilemmas emphasised loyalty (whether to dismiss a friend you manage whose performance at work is poor) and honesty (what to do when friends cheat in a test), and placed the participant in the role of the protagonist in the dilemma story. More details on the specifics of this component and its measures can be found in Kristjánsson *et al.* (2021).

#### 3.2.2.4 Constitutive Function

The Constitutive (moral adjudication) Function of *phronesis* was captured with the use of two measures. First, the 21-item Situated Wise Reasoning Scale (SWIS; Brienze *et al.*, 2018) was used, which reflects five facets of wise reasoning: (i) recognition of others perspective, (ii) consideration of change and various ways a situation might unfold, (iii) recognising one's limits of knowledge, (iv) consideration of compromise and conflict resolution, and (v)

viewing an event from the perspective of an outsider. Participants were asked to respond to questions from the SWIS by placing themselves in the position of the protagonist in the two dilemma stories referred to above (see Kristjánsson *et al.*, 2021). Second, the Adolescent Intermediate Concept Measure (AD-ICM; Thoma *et al.*, 2013) was again used to measure 'intermediate concepts' (the transition from thinking based on personal interest to conventional thinking). In response to a list of action choices that the protagonist might make in the dilemma stories, the participant is asked to rate on a five-point scale ranging from 'I strongly believe this is a good choice' to 'I strongly believe this is a bad choice' (e.g. Danielle [the protagonist] should send an anonymous note to the teacher about what happened). This process was then repeated, providing a list of reasons that the protagonist might use as possible justifications for their actions, with a five-point scale ranging from 'I strongly believe this is a good reason' to 'I strongly believe this is a bad reason'. Participants were also asked to rank their top three and bottom two justifications. The particulars for the scoring of this function can also be found in Kristjánsson *et al.* (2021).

In Darnell *et al.* (2022), these measures were found to fit with the hypothesised Neo-Aristotelian model of *phronesis* using a structural equation modelling approach. It is also worth noting that this model of *phronesis* was positively associated with prosocial behaviour, a characteristic that many might like to see a police officer in possession of.

In the present research, the research team used the same component measures to assess the intervention effectiveness in this research. However, in contrast to the original trialling of the instrument, where small financial incentives were offered to secure retention, no such incentives were offered to complete (twice) a lengthy pre- and post-intervention survey (as previously noted, the surveys took approximately 45 minutes to complete, and were usually completed outside of timetabled teaching time).

### 3.2.3 Data Preparation and Analysis

Once participants had completed the post-intervention survey, or at least once reasonable time had elapsed for participants to complete the post-intervention survey, data were downloaded from Qualtrics survey software. A pseudonymous code was used to link data from

<sup>17</sup> For an account of the sub-components of *phronesis* tested by each measure, the research team refers to Kristjánsson *et al.* (2020) and Darnell *et al.* (2022).



the pre-test to data from the post-test. Normality was tested for using a Shapiro-Wilk test and found that the data were mostly non-normally distributed, which led to the adoption of non-parametric tests, when applicable.

Following this, personality of participants was measured using the 44-item version of the Big Five Inventory (hereinafter, BFI; John & Srivastava, 1998). The dimensions of personality assessed were Openness (conceptualised as intrinsic interest in ideas/aesthetics), Conscientiousness (intrinsic propensity for industriousness and orderliness), Extraversion (intrinsic levels of assertiveness and gregariousness), Agreeableness (intrinsic levels of compassion and politeness), and Negative emotionality (intrinsic levels of emotional volatility and withdrawal).

The semi-structured interviews with lecturers lasted approximately 30 minutes and were conducted online via Zoom. The recorded interviews were transcribed, and subsequently analysed by means of inductive thematic analysis, which enabled the key themes to be identified (Braun and Clarke, 2006). All findings discussed in Section 4.4 that might link to the identities of individuals or universities have been anonymised.

### 3.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Full ethical approval for the project was granted by the University of Birmingham's Ethical Approval Committee, with updates and notes to file being approved and amendments made as the design of the project progressed. Any potential identification of participants has been avoided through the anonymisation of interview transcripts and survey responses.

# 4 Findings

The initial data were collated, and the measures were scored in accordance with guidelines from prior publications (see Section 3.2.2). The research team were cognisant of high levels of attrition observed during the pilot study. Therefore, the descriptive data were considered first, in order to form an initial impression before deciding which variables to explore further.

## 4.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Descriptive statistics for all continuous variables are outlined in Table 1.

**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Pre- and Post-intervention *Phronesis* Sub-measures.**

	Pre-test				Post-test			
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mdn</i>
Perspective taking	84	3.52	.56	3.57	17	3.45	.73	3.57
Empathic concern	84	3.57	.65	3.57	17	3.53	.75	3.53
Contingencies of self-worth	84	5.13	1.08	5.40	17	5.02	1.18	5.20
Moral self-relevance	84	17.40	3.22	17.5	17	23.40	4.28	24.50
Pro-sociality	84	70.30	8.99	70.00	17	70.50	7.71	71.00
'Good' action choice Dilemma 1	115	1.88	2.49	1	21	1.57	2.31	1
'Bad' action choice Dilemma 1	115	.54	2.04	0	21	.81	2.23	1
'Good' action choice Dilemma 2	115	1.23	1.93	1	21	1.05	2.18	1
'Bad' action choice Dilemma 2	115	1.18	2.49	0	21	1.29	2.57	0
'Good' justification Dilemma 1	115	.71	1.99	0	21	.76	1.89	1
'Bad' justification Dilemma 1	115	.03	2.28	0	21	.71	2.51	1
'Good' justification Dilemma 2	115	-.24	2.23	0	21	-.52	1.78	0
'Bad' justification Dilemma 2	115	.77	2.07	0	21	.10	2.36	0
Openness	87	32.40	5.03	33	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Conscientiousness	87	31.5	4.93	31	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Extraversion	87	25.90	6.47	25	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Agreeableness	87	33.50	5.16	34	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Negative emotion	87	23.40	5.18	24	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

As Table 1 shows, there was a large amount of dropout from pre- to post-intervention. Given this, it would not be appropriate to test for intervention effects, as the sample would be underpowered, and the results would likely be biased. For example, if all the most likely people to benefit from the intervention dropped out, a false null result may be obtained. However, as this was a pilot study, the research team sought to compare the (pre-intervention survey) characteristics of those who did and did not complete the post-intervention assessments. This was based on the hypothesis that retention might show us something about the motivation levels of the students completing the surveys.

**'EVERY PERSON WORKING FOR THE POLICE SERVICE MUST WORK HONESTLY AND ETHICALLY. THE PUBLIC EXPECT THE POLICE TO DO THE RIGHT THING IN THE RIGHT WAY.'**

College of Policing, 2014

## 4.2 DROPOUT

Table 2 shows the statistical test results on the differences between those who did and did not drop out of the study between completing the pre- and post-intervention surveys. Variables where there are significant differences between those who dropped out and those who did not are highlighted in bold.

**Table 2: Differentially Predicting Drop out Based on Baseline Characteristics.**

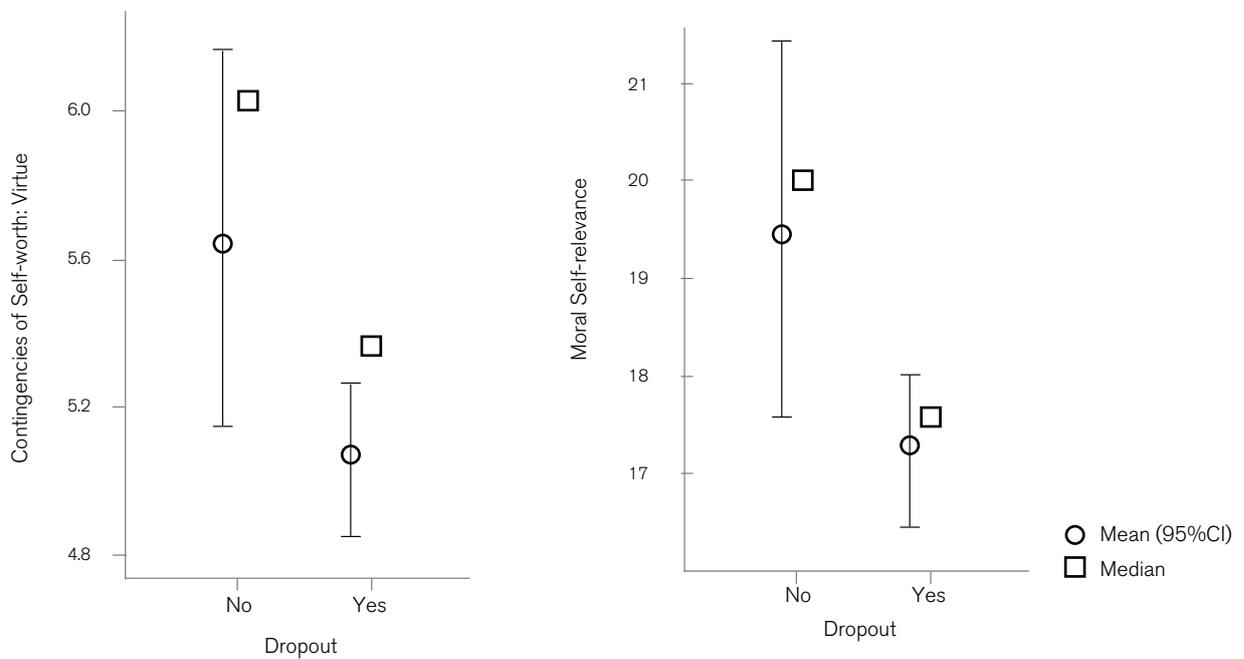
	<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Rank biserial effect size</i>
Openness	275	0.469	0.01964
Conscientiousness	187	0.074	0.33214
Extraversion	264	0.602	0.05714
Agreeableness	280	0.500	0.00179
Negative emotion	240	0.266	0.14464
Perspective taking	179	0.072	0.33581
Empathic concern	232	0.271	0.14100
<b>Contingencies of self-worth: Virtue</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>0.036</b>	<b>0.41187</b>
Pro-sociality	240	0.282	0.13382
<b>Moral self-relevance</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>0.022</b>	<b>0.46382</b>
Aspects of moral identity	177	0.054	0.34508
D1 MJ bad	339	0.671	0.09613
D1 MJ good	324	0.738	0.13618
D1 AC bad	351	0.389	0.06275
D1 AC good	294	0.836	0.21629
D2 MJ bad	328	0.716	0.12550
D2 AC bad	268	0.098	0.28438
D2 AC good	234	0.044	0.37650
D2 MJ good	302	0.185	0.37650

Differences were significant in (i) the Virtue aspect of the Contingencies of self-worth measure and (ii) Moral self-relevance between those who would and would not later drop out. Chart 1 specifically shows that those who scored higher on both of these variables were less likely to drop out.

Note.  $H_a: \mu_0 > \mu_1$ ; D1 = Dilemma 1, D2 = Dilemma 2, AC = Action choice, MJ = Moral justification.



Chart 1: Visual Depiction of Significant Differences between Those Who Did and Did Not Drop Out



The above results are, perhaps, unsurprising in retrospect. Those who found virtue to be less relevant to their self-worth and those who did not find morals to be relevant to their sense of self were less likely to complete the study. In light of these findings, correlates of these variables were explored in more detail.

Those who scored higher in Contingencies of self-worth: Virtue, also tended to score higher in Perspective taking ( $r = .36, p < .001$ ), Empathic concern ( $r = .51, p < .001$ ), Pro-sociality ( $r = .30, p = .007$ ), Conscientiousness ( $r = .33, p = .003$ ), Extraversion ( $r = .23, p = .044$ ) and most of all, Agreeableness ( $r = .45, p < .001$ ). They also tended to score higher on 'bad' action

choices in Dilemma 2 ( $r = .24, p = .029$ ). Those who scored higher in Moral self-relevance, also tended to score higher in Perspective taking ( $r = .28, p = .010$ ), Empathic concern ( $r = .35, p = .001$ ), Pro-sociality ( $r = .23, p = .040$ ), and most of all, Agreeableness ( $r = .45, p < .001$ ). They also tended to score lower on both 'good' action choices in Dilemma 1 ( $r = -.25, p = .020$ ), and 'bad' moral justifications in Dilemma 2 ( $r = -.31, p = .004$ ).

Based on qualitative feedback (see Section 4.4, below) and the experiences of the research team regarding participant engagement when delivering the intervention, which (anecdotally) differed considerably across the participating

cohorts, it was anticipated that the factors predicting dropout and related variables would differ across universities. Therefore, inter-university differences were explored across the main variables of interest.

### 4.3 COHORT DIFFERENCES

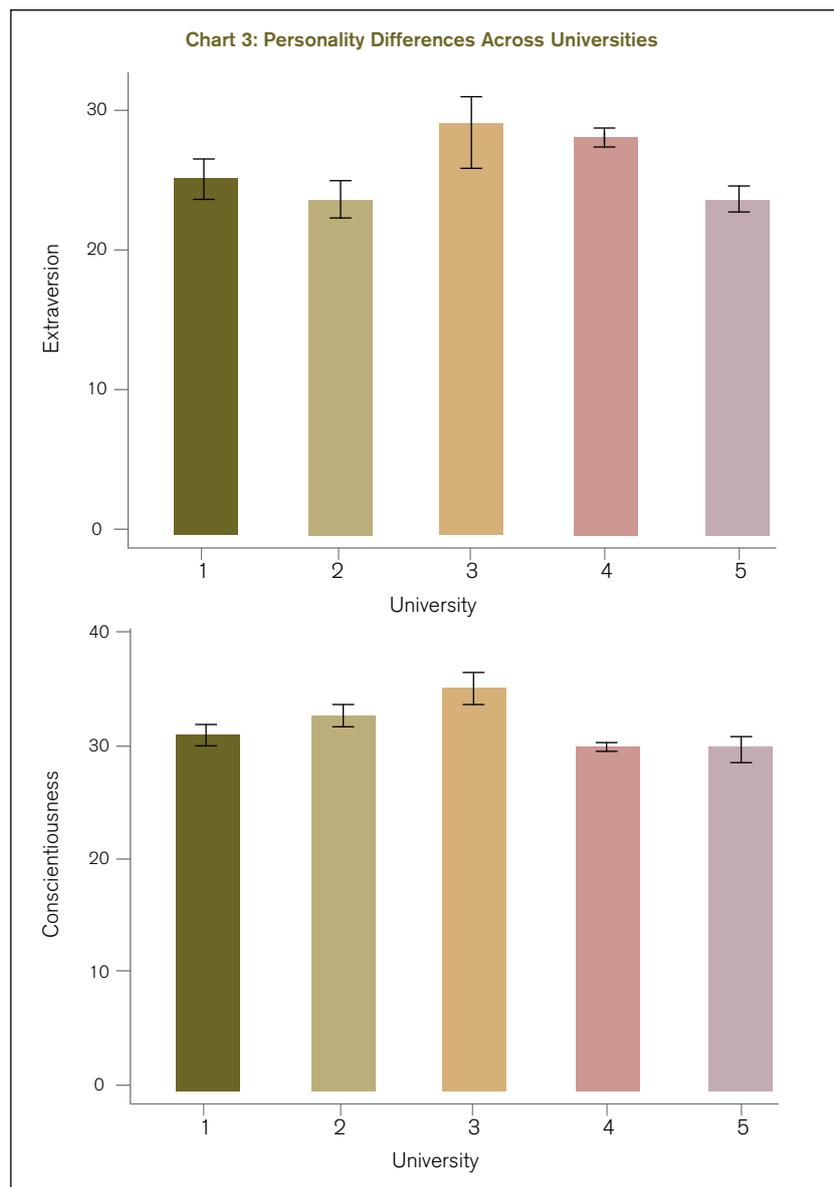
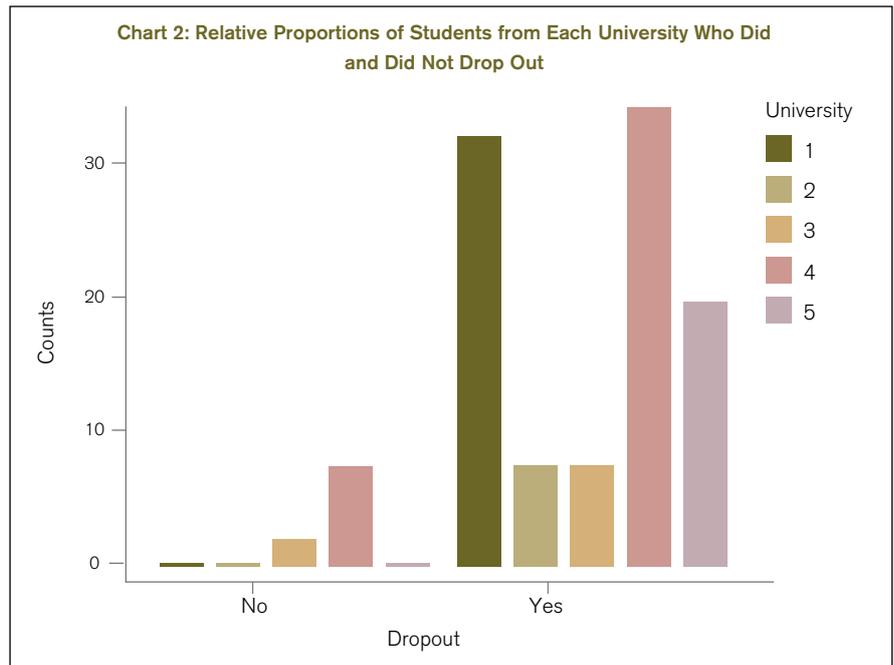
Given that dropout was correlated with CSW Virtue and Moral self-relevance, tests were conducted to discover whether these, and other variables of interest, might have differed across participating cohorts.

Proportions of dropout were non-significantly different across universities, perhaps due to the limited sample size, but only marginally so ( $\chi^2[115] = 9.14, p = .058$ ). The proportions of dropout across universities are illustrated in Chart 2. As per Chart 2, almost all participants who were retained at post-test studied at universities 3 and 4, with especially poor retention of participants noted in universities 1 and 5.

Inter-university personality differences were explored first as these tend to reflect relatively life-long robust individual differences that manifest across contexts, and so these should be factored in before acquired proclivities. The completion of a MANOVA revealed significant differences in personality across universities (*Pillai's Trace* = .47,  $F[20, 324] = 2.14, p = .003$ ) overall. More specifically, there were significant differences in Conscientiousness ( $F[4, 82] = 4.61, p = .002$ ), and Extraversion ( $F[4, 82] = 4.85, p = .001$ ) across universities. These differences are plotted in Chart 3.

It may be possible that, in a larger scale study, Extraversion might negatively predict dropout, as the differences observed across universities in Chart 3 (i.e., universities 3 and 4 scored higher than everyone else) were mirrored in the retention rates illustrated in Chart 2 (i.e., universities 3 and 4 had the highest retention rates from pre- to post-intervention). In contrast, Conscientiousness was highest in university 3, but students at university 4 scored significantly lower.

The research team also sought to explore differences in moral dilemma performance across universities at pre-test. However, a MANOVA revealed no overall difference in moral reasoning scores across any of our variables of interest (*Pillai's Trace* = .32,  $F[32, 424] = 1.16, p = .256$ ). Similarly, there were no differences across universities in terms of moral perception (*Pillai's Trace* = .14,  $F[8, 158] = 1.52, p = .156$ ), nor moral blueprint/identity (*Pillai's Trace* = .17,  $F[12, 231] = 1.13, p = .334$ ). As such, it can be inferred that with this dataset, personality may be an important factor to consider when retaining participants within longitudinal intervention studies (see McLoughlin *et al.*, 2021; 2022).



As already mentioned, the tutors delivering the interventions noted (anecdotally) considerable differences in receptivity and motivation of students across the five universities. The findings listed above may provide some explanation of those perceptions. Somewhat surprisingly, however, the differences in question had less to do with substantive differences in moral competences than with personality differences, which are usually considered amoral.

All in all, these findings revealed considerable difference among policing students across universities, which may explain different motivation levels in engaging meaningfully in a challenging intervention with extensive pre- and post-intervention surveys.

#### 4.4 INTERVIEWS

Follow up interviews were conducted with five university lecturers who had facilitated access to participants and convened the seminars that were used for the educational intervention. Qualitative analysis of these data revealed four main themes:

- Suitability of the intervention;
- Barriers and tools;
- Confidence-building;
- Practical relevance of the intervention.

These themes are discussed below and illustrated with quotes from the interviews.

##### 4.4.1 Theme 1: Suitability of the Intervention

All five participants indicated in their interviews that the intervention was, in their estimation, well-designed, had achievable learning outcomes that were well suited to the content and pedagogy, complemented the modules that the students were studying at the time of delivery, and met the criteria stipulated in the PEQF designed by the College of Policing.

*...the subject matter blended very well with our module on 'Police Standards of Professional Behaviour'. And so, in that sense, I think other universities, incorporating that kind of content into their policing degrees or police apprenticeships, that it lends well with...the content of the PEQF. (P1)*

*I just want to say 'thank you' for thinking about others and allowing us to participate... You know the feedback from the students has been great, they really enjoyed it and it's created an opportunity for me to think about that module and how I could do things differently in that module. It worked fantastically well, using those*



*sessions as the backdrop to some of the abhorrent decision-making by police officers that took place during the Cardiff Three investigation. (P3)*

One limitation to the study was reflected by the differences across the curriculum and learning outcomes, in terms of how they were organised and scaffolded within each university, and how participants had been introduced to aspects and considerations of police ethics previously, including the nine principles within the Code and the NDM, as participant 5 suggested below:

*In the first year, we talk about ethics in policing and we talk about the Code of Ethics and we discuss what the Code means, but it's... an early introduction into it... these are the behaviours that you need, that we're seeking in policing, these positive behaviours... You know, philosophical thinking in terms of phronesis, practical wisdom, you know it's about living a good life, it's not about being sort of rules-based, there's some consequentialism involved, but you know... these are concepts that the students start to think 'Oh God, these are ancient philosophers and... what's this got to do with policing?'. At this level I think they're ready for that, they're absolutely ready to want to get those concepts... They're ready to actually think about... what's the philosophical theory that sits behind this? ...Where did the ethics of policing [and] the Code come from? (P5)*

Thus, the timing of the delivery, and the level at which it was delivered (i.e. to first year, second year, or third year undergraduate students) may influence students' receptiveness to it and ability to comprehend and apply the learning objectives. This receptiveness to the intervention, and the

ability to engage in the level of discussion sought in the seminars, may well be influenced by how the students have been introduced to policing ethics and ethical theory, and when (which differed considerably between universities). In contrast to the reflection on the suitable timing of the intervention at the university referred to in the quote above, participant 2 shared some feedback received from a second-year student:

*...[the tutor] was recapping on stuff that we had learned in our first term, in our first year... It can be frustrating, because it has been recapped on so much. (P2)*

However, participant 2 also indicated that the students did not seem to be able to see the link between the Code and the NDM, and how these guides complement the exercise of professional phronesis – which was central to discussions held as part of the intervention – and the importance of autonomy and discretion among police officers, which was a core component of the main teaching module that participants were being taught at the time of the intervention:

*...I think [it requires] sort of making it clear how it links in with what I'm teaching, I mean, maybe even thinking about doing it with level fours, because I think they'll be more receptive... I think that they probably just didn't realize the [link], maybe going forward, ensuring that that link is clear. (P2)*

#### 4.4.2 Theme 2: Barriers and Tools

As the theme above considers the suitability of the intervention for the PEQF and the modules that it was delivered alongside, areas that might need addressing were identified and recommendations for improvement were made. As participant 4 indicated below, while the content may have been well thought-out and planned, there is also the indication that the level the intervention was developed at was, for some, pitched at a higher level than the students were used to dealing with. This finding highlights an opportunity, should this pilot educational intervention be trialled again, to rethink the barriers that might arise from the use of language or concepts that students may not feel sufficiently equipped to engage with.

*I think the content was... Okay, you said don't be polite and be honest, I will be... but I thought the content was well put together and well thought through. I think with the group that I had, I think a lot of it may well have been above their level... it shouldn't have been because we're talking postgraduate, we're talking degree-level entrance, but the feedback that I got was that they were struggling to understand it. And so potentially it was pitched at too high a level for them. Again, that may well be in the content or it may be in the class and it's difficult really to say... (P4)*

*I think that for my students – and I mean this in the nicest way – some of the language that was used I think they probably struggled with a little bit... I think some of them hear those longer words and then they just switch off, which is just the way they are... (P2)*

*I think the use of language; I think, it's... ethics that you started with, and I think that's an unfamiliar term to the vast majority of people, and although you explain it, [it] still remains quite daunting to a number of people. Yeah I think it's the use of language, and I think it needs, it probably would work slightly better by simplifying the language... bring it down to a lower level. Because there's a couple... with educational needs that were really struggling to understand the concepts, but I think it's because of the language that you were using rather than the actual concept itself, because it's simplified terms they understood, you know... (P4)*

It is important to acknowledge from the outset that some students may be less familiar with philosophical language or academic terminology, especially with such a newly developed intervention. At many universities, the police science degree programmes were still being iteratively developed, and typically received a lot

of instruction from former police officers. As the quotes below indicate, it may be the case that many of the former police officers, now delivering the academic content and teaching material on these policing modules, may choose to engage with students using language that is more akin to active policing than academic study:

*I think it just comes back to those big words... the students just don't really, I don't think they ever had a lecturer or anyone speak to them... as eloquently as [the tutor] did if that makes sense... I just think that they're not used to that, I think if they'd had more of experience from different kind of lecturers... but in the first two years it's mainly ex-police officers talking to them, so I think that they aren't used to someone else, it's very different from what they used to... (P2)*

*...initially, some of the terms were new, like phronesis, the Golden Mean and so on, but I felt once those terms were explained to them, the students clearly understood the relevance and were able to discuss those... (P1)*

This barrier to engagement and motivation level of participants presents an opportunity for further study, as well as reinforcing the inherent value of the intervention due to students' lack of familiarity with theoretical, academic philosophical policing discussions. Providing students with the relevant language and terminology, often referred to as virtue literacy, serves as a means of equipping pre-service police officers with a tool for them to use in engaging in these ethical discussions and debates, both in the classroom and, hopefully, in practice:

*...so talking about philosophy, it doesn't come naturally to them...but it was important because it gave them the language, and talking about those principles, reminding them of those principles, gave them the language they needed to deconstruct the dilemmas later on. (P1)*  
*I think, apart from that [language barrier], I think they were really good... they tried to think about scenarios, which I think is really what the students tend to respond... I think you can see how it developed over the four weeks as well, so it sort of started off and then it grew over the four weeks... the only issue with the content for me was just that it was sometimes a little bit too heavy and for my students, I think that they probably struggled with that a little bit. (P2)*

*I thought the content was pitched at exactly the right level, because you've chosen [dilemmas] that they may have had some experience of, or*

*weren't specifically policing type [dilemmas], so they could potentially put themselves into that... I mean it's like a lot of stuff isn't it with group work, actually getting students to engage and to contribute is really, really difficult. So, I think if I were redoing that in the future, I would just give them those extra tools to help them stimulate the discussion more, you know give feedback and responses to the questions and that might be something think about the future... (P3)*

As the above theme explicates, one of the challenges that arose was around the perceived barrier of hearing matters discussed in a way that is unfamiliar, and using terminology that students had not heard before, which may have made them 'switch off' (P2) at times. There is also the challenge of engaging in discussions that did not come naturally to students, typically those which were more philosophical in nature. Yet, this perceived barrier to the intervention and overall motivation level of participants also identified an opportunity to better equip police science students with the language and comprehension of constructs, namely *phronesis*, to discuss ethical dilemmas, and remind them of policing frameworks such as the principles in the Code, and the NDM, that complement *phronesis* in policing. This highlights a strength of the intervention, that it can be utilised by tutors to better equip police science students with the foundations of virtue literacy and increased familiarity with philosophical concepts, such as *phronesis*, and thus support their self-confidence to engage in challenging ethical discussions. While this intervention was essential in this pilot study in helping participants to unpack the ethical dilemmas that they discussed, there is also an important and unmeasured variable of participants feeling comfortable enough with one another, in a classroom setting, to debate such issues, in order for them to have fully engaged in group discussions. This is detailed further in the following theme 4.4.3.

#### 4.4.3 Theme 3: Confidence-building

This third theme explores the value of the intervention in supporting the development of participant confidence to be able to openly interact with one another in class and engage in discussion and debate, guided by the structure of the seminars. Importantly, this theme is rooted in capacity-building, and equipping students with the tools to engage in structured ethical debates, with the requisite language, literacy, and comprehension. It was observed by tutors delivering the intervention, as well as lecturers who had convened them, that some participants presented as too shy, or introverted and unwilling to participate in the intervention and related activities. As one lecturer indicates in the quote below, participants may have been particularly impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, as much of their education over the previous two years (2020-2022) had been delivered online and in physical isolation from their peers:

*I can just imagine how much [Covid] affected them, because they don't really interact with each other, they're all very separate. As you saw when you came in, you like made them sit all together, they did not like it at all... They like to be separate and so yes, I think that [Covid has had] a detrimental effect, and I think that probably did have an effect on the way that they interacted with your sessions. Because I just don't think that they... felt confident enough to say things or get involved... (P2)*

The importance of building confidence as a theme of the lecturer interviews also lies in the practical realities of the role of a police officer, which requires the ability of officers to confidently interact with members of the public, and to be able to partake in decision-making in challenging circumstances that arise with little or no prior warning. The centrality of confidence in policing is captured in the following quotes:

*...It's not about sort of overconfidence or hubris, it's about having confidence in decision-making and judgments that they're taking, and also having confidence to express themselves appropriately to victims, witnesses, suspects, members of the public... because one of the curious things about policing is that all of a sudden, out of a state of equilibrium, you're parachuted into chaos at a moment's notice. And you have to then demonstrate leadership, you have to demonstrate compassion, authority, you have to generate trust and confidence in terms of dealing with an incident, perhaps that you've had no notice, no preparation for... And I think in terms of some of the skills that we need in policing particularly, as we talked about,*

*phronesis and we talked about decision-making, practical wisdom. You know... the ethical framework gives you the confidence to think 'right, okay... I don't know if I'm absolutely going to get this decision right, but the process by which I'm going to take the decision I know is sound, I know it's ethical'. So I think that that's really important, so that was why I was really pleased to see that kind of confidence growing amongst the cohort because... policing is complex, it's messy, it's dangerous and it can be very challenging if you can't make ethical decisions when demanded by the public, by people who are in trouble, who need your help. (P5)*

*I think that's something that they are lacking, and that's something I always say to them, I always say 'you know you can't not be confident enough to speak in a room full of 30 people when, if you are planning on going and being a police officer, that's something you're going to have to deal with! ... (P2)*

There is, therefore, a valuable opportunity for the intervention to contribute to the education of pre-service police officers, both in theory and in practice, by better preparing them for the requirements of their professional roles. In reflecting on a previous activity that involved students presenting on a topic in front of the class, participant 2 shared that 'some of them looked really uncomfortable and really anxious', which resulted in the activity being changed. Thus, there is value in that the intervention requires the students to engage with one another in open ways, and to seek the opportunity to share thoughts and opinions, so as to facilitate group learning and build individuals' confidence in their ability to interact with others, and to flesh out ethical considerations related to police action:

*...what was really pleasing... was some of the contribution from some of the students in terms of how they've developed themselves professionally and how they're thinking differently about the world, and for me it feeds into the professionalisation of policing agenda. So, for example, some of the students who... were not the most confident of students, particularly... not confident in relation to expressing their views in class. Perhaps for a variety of reasons, perhaps for reasons of natural introversion I guess... Their contribution in the phronesis seminars, I thought, was absolutely outstanding. Some of those students that [were]... particularly engaging... have developed superb confidence... You know that bodes well for the future ... (P5)*

Lecturers, therefore, play a fundamentally important role in helping to build the confidence of their students, as did the tutors responsible for delivering the intervention; both in terms of how they engage with the participants and encourage their participation, and in terms of creating an environment in which participants feel they can openly share with one another. As two lecturers suggested:

*...the tutor was excellent, he was very engaging, interested in student views and interacted with them throughout the sessions. (P1)*

*To give credit to the students what I did notice is that as we went from session to session, there was more engagement, because they became more comfortable both with the process, what's going to happen, what we are doing, but also with other people in the room. (P3)*

The confidence-building dimension of the intervention thus has a three-fold impact on the professional preparation of participants. Firstly, in equipping students with the language, literacy and an understanding of concepts related to *phronesis* and the practical application of ethical frameworks in policing. Secondly, it enabled them to engage with one another more confidently in classroom discussion and debate regarding ethical dilemmas, which, thirdly, in turn supports the development of the confidence that is required in performing the role of a police officer – in terms of confidently interacting with members of the public, and having confidence in their ability to exercise the professional judgement and *phronesis*-informed decision-making.

#### 4.4.4 Theme 4: Practical Relevance of the Intervention

The final theme considers the practical relevance of the intervention, enabling students to establish links between what they were learning in the classroom and what will be required of them when they are out on the streets, working as police officers or special constables:

*I think referring to the NDM and the principles were beneficial and were very important to the students in terms of making those links, because they always want to know that what they're studying is relevant to policing. And they can become dissatisfied if they feel that you're kind of going off topic, and when you're introducing a new subject like phronesis, so... applying it through the NDM is... crucial. (P1)*

From the reflections of the lecturers, it appears that students seemed to engage more and enjoy the seminars more when they could clearly see the relevance of what they were doing and learning in relation to professional policing. However, it is important to bear in mind, as illustrated by the second theme above, that participants needed help with the language to be able to fully engage:

*I think starting off with the dilemma, and then encouraging students to use a process like the NDM, and then showing them that, you know, this process feeds into... the concept of phronesis is very instructive, and I think doing it in that order is beneficial to students... I think the NDM in general is quite abstract, and the*

*College of Policing could do a lot...you know do a lot better in helping practitioners to understand how the model should be applied. (P1)*

*...I just don't think that they like, they know what the NDM is, they know it, they get it, they just can't seem to work out how to apply it in a situation. (P2)*

*...it was really good to be able to focus on that values based decision-making element, and... use that as a segue into the discussion across the rest of the module.... And so I may kind of repeat those sessions, just as an opportunity to get the students talking around those kinds of scenarios and what kind of decisions they will make... [and] actually give them a copy of the [NDM] and... and get them to consider decision-making... (P3)*

Thus, while focussing on the practical relevance of the intervention, and the appreciation of lecturers and (anecdotally) participants in providing opportunities for students to practically apply an abstract model like the NDM, it also highlights the need for more structured guidance from authorities like the College of Policing in terms of how to educate pre-service police officers about the practical application of the NDM and the principles in the *Code*. To that extent, one participant felt that there was scope for this intervention, with appropriate tweaking, to be applied to programmes for actively serving police officers so that police ethics and decision-making could be discussed in relation to ethical dilemmas, the NDM and the principles of the *Code*:

*...I felt that the material, perhaps with some tweaking, would be equally as appropriate and applicable to serving offices. (P5)*

*I think police officers enjoy talking about dilemmas and discussing dilemmas. I think there are some areas where officers may be reluctant to talk about some issues, particularly around race, perhaps in the current climate, and perhaps gender issues, but I think the dilemmas that [were used] were entirely appropriate, were real-life dilemmas, I think that... there's a huge case for taking this work out into policing, and I think that's one of the areas that needs to be addressed. (P5)*

#### 4.4.5 Summary of Interview Themes

All in all, the interviews with lecturers revealed overall satisfaction with the general suitability of the intervention and its relevance. However, the language in which the intervention was couched was deemed too academic for a considerable portion of the participants and a need was identified to build the confidence levels of participants to discuss complex police dilemmas in a reflective and deliberative way. It also became clear that rather than beginning with an overview of *phronesis* and then relating it to the *Code*, it might be better to begin with what the participants had already learned (namely the *Code* and the NDM), and then gradually introducing *phronesis* to flesh out the theoretical and practical implications of this prior learning.



# 5 Discussion

As detailed in Section 3.2, the following hypotheses guided this pilot study:

- running this intervention in five different police science departments would give insights into what works and does not work in those classrooms;
- a four-week intervention, made up of one 45 minute seminar per week, would not suffice to yield statistically significant differences at pre- and post-intervention surveys. However, the administration of the measure could be expected to yield some important information about the students, especially their motivational levels;
- interviews with the lecturers would provide insights into some of the pros and cons of running an intervention of this kind and what would need to be improved for possible subsequent repetitions of the intervention.

All these hypotheses were confirmed, although some not fully in the ways expected.

## 5.1 THE NARROW ZONE OF PROXIMAL DEVELOPMENT

In Section 2, drawing upon an Aristotelian model of *phronesis*, the research team described some of the assumptions behind an attempt to prepare young police science students for the vagaries of police work through a short course on *phronetic* decision-making: a course attempting to hit a Vygotskian ZPD, paving the ground for the experiences that the students are likely to encounter as police officers. The research team have dampened from the outset the enthusiasm about the effectiveness of any such intervention by explaining how tantalisingly small any growth zone would likely be. That should not surprise those who have studied the more general development of mature thinking in the professional realm, of which *phronesis* development is simply the morally informed incarnation. Those studies tend to revolve around constructs such as 'metacognition', 'identity formation', 'professional reflection', 'skill acquisition', 'expertise' and 'tacit knowledge' (see for example Kallio, 2020), and the growth of all of these is considered to be fundamentally experiential and sluggishly cumulative. It would be a miracle if *phronesis* development presented any radically different features.

As expected – and positive evaluations by the lecturers who acted as gatekeepers to the students notwithstanding – the data collected did not suffice to pass any judgements on improvement in *phronesis* development over this relatively short period of time. What transpired, however, was a significant difference not only in ethos and motivation levels, but also the personality profiles of students at the different universities to which the present research was afforded access. Some of the cohorts were markedly different, with different entry routes, different levels of comprehension and understanding of ethical terms and theories, and different interests. Second, the motivation to persevere with the intervention until the end was predicted by some of the very components of *phronesis* that the intervention was meant to stimulate. Third, although the theoretical foundations of the intervention were pitched at what was considered to be a very basic level of conceptual understanding, some of the students were confused by the abstractness of the conceptual repertoire and did not succeed in relating it to the concreteness of the *Code*. These factors made the ZPD, which was argued in Section 2.5 to be heavily circumscribed in the case of all taught *phronesis* interventions for professionals, even narrower still in the case of *phronesis* interventions for U.K. police science students.

These findings carry implications that go beyond educational theories of *phronesis* cultivation. What the two mutual historic nemeses of all moral education, Kohlberg and Aristotle, seem to agree about is the reduced role of the environment or ethos for development as the moral learner matures, and an increased role for (what Vygotskyans would call) scaffolded teaching and for autonomous decision-making.<sup>18</sup> In simple terms, *caught* elements of moral development are meant to be replaced with *taught* and, in particular, personally *sought* ones, as the student leaves behind the 'courtyard' of childhood moral development and enters the 'palace' of young adulthood development.

In contrast, the research team hazard to conjecture that, at least in the area of police education, such education continues to rely heavily on situational cues and other uncodifiable lessons picked up in the cauldron of professional work: an essentially unsystematic moral environment. Some of the dilemmas presented to students did not seem to resonate with those who had not had first-hand experience of them. Hence, it is pertinent to conclude that however well students are prepared through taught lessons – and however well motivated they are to seek the good of their own accord through varied work experiences – norms and values caught on the job will remain a powerful source of moral motivation. Rather than either ignoring the caught elements, or completely giving in to passive 'moral situationism' about them, *phronesis* education needs to prepare students for critically evaluating those influences. In the context of police ethics education, that means teaching students to be alert to norms issuing from the so-called 'blue code' (Westmarland and Rowe, 2018) and to learn to subject those to scrutiny before they become an integral part of their moral identity.

**'EVERYONE IN POLICING HAS TO MAKE DIFFICULT DECISIONS AND COMPLEX CHOICES EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK. THESE RANGE FROM HOW TO TALK TO A DISTRESSED MEMBER OF THE PUBLIC THROUGH TO HOW TO ALLOCATE SCARCE RESOURCES.'**

**College of Policing, 2014**

<sup>18</sup> This is not to underplay the vast differences between Kohlberg and Aristotle. Kohlberg does not understand this developmental process to be towards virtue, but rather towards higher stages of moral reasoning *per se*, and he does not believe in the need for early-years habituation either, except insofar as it can be described as the internalisation of habits of rational (Kantian or quasi-Kantian) thinking.

## 5.2 LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE LECTURERS: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

Aware of the possibility of social desirability bias colouring the interview data, as all the five lecturers interviewed had been motivated enough, and had sufficient prior belief in the intervention, to provide access to their students, one needs to take some of their more positive evaluations with a pinch of salt. Nevertheless, it is reassuring to know that they deemed this intervention as having been worthwhile, and even more so to take in some of their advice about how it can be improved if replicated elsewhere, either for pre-service or in-service police officers.

First, it is clear from our own perceptions of the teaching and the interviews that no uniform intervention will work across all the different U.K. contexts/universities. The next time an intervention of this kind is designed, it needs to be geared towards the needs, capacities and expectations of students in the relevant university and accommodated within the existing aims and ethos of their study. In other words, a discrete intervention needs to be co-created with a lecturer who is already teaching the students and, ideally, delivered by that teacher as part of a larger relevant module rather than by an external researcher.

Second, before a *phronesis* intervention is carried out again, an effort must be made to improve the confidence levels of the participants in discussing complicated dilemmas; and a sufficient motivation level must be secured by relating the content even closer to existing teachings on the *Code* and related topics. This may mean that the students need a short course/introduction to critical thinking and reflective learning before a specific *phronesis* intervention is embarked upon.

Third, a revised intervention must be couched in language that is completely free of philosophical jargon and does not presuppose competence in the use of abstract academic concepts (even ones that may have been introduced in other modules). As the present research team have experience of similar programmes of teaching, delivered to medical, nursing, education and business students, this study concludes that, for

some reason, the Aristotelian conceptualisation of *phronesis*, as excellence in moral decision-making towards the 'Golden Mean', is not as readily accessible to policing students. That may seem surprising, given that the *Code* and the NDM are more virtue ethically oriented than most other professional codes, including codes for medical doctors and nurses. However, the reason may be that aspiring police officers are more practically oriented and less inclined to academic abstractions; hence needing a different entry point to connect with and develop motivation to understand and internalise a *phronetic* mindset.

## 5.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This pilot intervention, which took place soon after in-person teaching recommenced at most universities in the wake of COVID-19, constituted a steep learning curve not only for the students involved but also the research team who designed and taught the intervention. Although the research team share the view of the lecturers interviewed that a *phronesis* intervention is, in principle, called for and feasible for the student cohorts in question, the study concludes that lessons from similar programmes in other disciplines carry limited weight. A successful effective *phronesis* intervention for policing students needs to be tailor-made for specific student cohorts taking account of the uniqueness of the existing programme of study at each university. This is especially important given the great variance in student profiles and cultures of education at different U.K. police science departments.

**'THE REASONS FOR YOUR ACTIONS MAY NOT ALWAYS BE UNDERSTOOD BY OTHERS, INCLUDING THE PUBLIC. YOU MUST, THEREFORE, BE PREPARED TO EXPLAIN THEM AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE.'**

**College of Policing, 2014**

# References

- Ardelt, M. (2020) 'Can Wisdom and Psychosocial Growth Be Learned in University Courses?', *Journal of Moral Education*, vol. 49, pp. 30–45.
- Aristotle (1985) *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. T. Irwin, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing.
- Arthur, J., Earl, S. R., Thompson, A. P. and Ward, J. W. (2021) 'The Value of Character-Based Judgement in the Professional Domain', *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 169, pp. 293–308.
- Beetham, D. (2013) 'Revisiting Legitimacy, Twenty Years On, in Tankebe, J. and Liebling A. (eds.) *Legitimacy and Criminal Justice: An International Exploration*, London: Routledge, pp. 19–36.
- Bolton, A. H. (2005) 'Recruitment, Training and Motivation of the Police', in Lawlor, S. (ed.) *Policing Matters: Recruitment, Training and Motivation. The Report of the Politeia Police Commission*, London: Politeia, pp. 7–91.
- Brienza, J. P., Kung, F. Y. H., Santos, H. C., Bobocel, D. R. and Grossmann, I. (2018) 'Wisdom, Bias and Balance: Toward a Process-Sensitive Measurement of Wisdom-Related Cognition', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 115, no. 6, pp. 1093–1126.
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 77–101.
- Brown, J. (2018) 'Do Graduate Police Officers Make a Difference to Policing? Results of an Integrative Literature Review', *Policing I*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 9–30.
- Brown, J., McDowall, A., Gamblin, D. and Fenn, L. (2018) 'Assessing Transmission and Translation of Learning about Evidence-Based Policing by Graduate Trainee Police Officers', *Policing*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 119–134.
- Cheek, J. M., Smith, S. M. and Tropp, L. R. (2002) *Relational Identity Orientation: A Fourth Scale for the AIO. Presented paper at the meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology*, Savannah, GA.
- College of Policing (2014) *Code of Ethics*. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/ethics/code-of-ethics> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- College of Policing (2016) *Police Education Qualifications Framework Consultation*. Available at: <http://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Learning/Policing-Education-Qualifications-Framework/Pages/PEQF-archive.aspx> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- College of Policing (2018) *Police Education Qualifications Framework: Police Constable Entry Programmes*. Available at: <http://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Learning/Policing-Education-Qualifications-Framework/Pages/Policing-Education-Qualifications-Framework.aspx> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- College of Policing (2019) *Legal Challenge Around Training for New Officers Rejected*. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/News/College-news/Pages/PEQF-Judicial-Review-Outcome-December-2019.aspx> no. 1, [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- College of Policing (2020) *Entry Routes Available for Police Constables*. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Learning/Policing-Education-Qualifications-Framework/Entry-routes-for-police-constables/Pages/Entry-routes-for-policeconstables.aspx> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Committee on Standards in Public Life, UK (1995) *Standards in Public Life: First report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life*. Available at: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/336919/1stInquiryReport.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/336919/1stInquiryReport.pdf) [Accessed: 15 July 2022].
- Constable, J. and Smith, J. (2015) 'Initial Police Training and the Development of Police Occupational Culture', in Wankhade, P. and Weir, D. (eds.) *Police Service*, Cham: Springer, pp. 45–60.
- Crocker, J., Luhtanen, R. K., Cooper, M. L. and Bouwrette, A. (2003) 'Contingencies of Self-Worth in College Students: Theory and Measurement', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 85, no. 5, pp. 894–908.
- Darnell, C., Gulliford, L., Kristjánsson, K. and Paris, P. (2019) 'Phronesis and the Knowledge-Action Gap in Moral Psychology and Moral Education: A New Synthesis?', *Human Development*, vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 101–129.
- Darnell, C., Fowers, B. and Kristjánsson, K. (2022) 'A Multifunction Approach to Assessing Aristotelian Phronesis (Practical Wisdom)', *Personality and Individual Differences*. Available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S019188692200188X> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Davis, M. H. (1983) 'Measuring Individual Differences in Empathy: Evidence for a Multidimensional Approach' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 113–126.
- Ferrari, M. and Potworowski, G. (eds.) (2010) *Teaching for Wisdom: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Fostering Wisdom*, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Flanagan, R. (2008) *The Review of Policing: Final Report*. Available at: <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/media/flanagan-review-of-policing-20080201.pdf> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Fowers, B. J., Carroll, J. S., Leonhardt, N. D. and Cokelet, B. (2021) 'The Emerging Science of Virtue', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 118–147.
- Glover, D., Law, S. and Youngman, A. (2002) 'Graduateness and Employability: Student Perceptions of the Personal Outcomes of University Education', *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 293–306.
- Goode, J. and Lumsden, K. (2018) 'The McDonaldisation of Police-Academic Partnerships: Organisational and Cultural Barriers Encountered in Moving from Research on Police to Research with Police', *Policing and Society*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 75–89.
- Green, Y. and Lindsell, G. (2010) 'Higher Education in Policing', in Bammer, G. (ed.) *Dealing with Uncertainties in Policing Serious Crime*, Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 153–168.
- Grossmann, I. (2017) 'Wisdom and How to Cultivate It', *European Psychologist*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 233–246.
- Grossmann, I., Weststrate, N. M., Ardel, M., Brienza, J. P., Dong, M., Ferrari, M., Fournier, M. A., Hu, C. S., Nusbaum, H. C. and Vervaeke, J. (2020) 'The Science of Wisdom in a Polarized World: Knowns and Unknowns', *Psychological Inquiry*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 103–133.
- Hallenberg, K.M. and Cockcroft, T. (2017) 'From Indifference to Hostility: Police Officers, Organizational Responses and the Symbolic Value of In-Service Higher Education in Policing', *Policing*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 273–288.
- Harrison, T. and Khatoon, B. (2017) *Virtue, Practical Wisdom and Professional Education: Research Report*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham. Available at: <https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/Interventions.pdf> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Hinsch, W. (2010) 'Justice, Legitimacy, and Constitutional Rights', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 39–54.

- HMIC. (1999) *Managing Learning: A Study of Police Training*, London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary.
- HMIC. (2002) *Training Matters*, London: HMSO.
- HMICFRS (2022) *Inspection of Metropolitan Police Services*. Available at: <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/inspection-mps-counter-corruption-matters-related-to-dmip.pdf> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Hough, M. and Stanko, E.A. (2019) 'Designing Degree-Level Courses for Police Recruits in England and Wales: Some Issues and Challenges', *Policing*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 31–42.
- Hunter, G. and May, T. (2019) 'Views from the Frontline: Graduate Police Recruits on the Status of Evidence-based Practice', *Policing*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 91–103.
- Huynh, A. C. and Grossmann, I. (2020) 'A Pathway for Wisdom-Focused Education', *Journal of Moral Education*, vol. 49, pp. 9–29.
- Jameel, S. Y. (2022) *Enacted Phronesis in General Practitioners*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham. Available at: <https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/12197/> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues (2016) *Statement on Character, Virtue and Practical Wisdom in Professional Practice*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham. Available at: [https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Statement\\_Character\\_Virtue\\_Practical\\_Wisdom\\_Professional\\_Practice.pdf](https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Statement_Character_Virtue_Practical_Wisdom_Professional_Practice.pdf) [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues (2022) *The Jubilee Centre Framework for Character Education in Schools*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham. Available at: <https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/framework> [Accessed: 15 August 2022].
- Kallio, E. K. (2020) 'From Multiperspective to Contextual Integrative Thinking in Adulthood', in Kallio E. K. (ed.) *Development of Adult Thinking: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Cognitive Development and Adult Thinking*, London: Routledge, pp. 9–32.
- Kristjánsson, K. (2022) 'Teaching Phronesis to Aspiring Police Officers: Some Preliminary Philosophical, Developmental and Pedagogical Reflections', *International Journal of Ethics Education*. Available at: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s40889-022-00145-7> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Kristjánsson, K., Darnell, C., Fowers, B., Moller, F., Pollard, D. and Thoma, S. (2020) *Phronesis: Developing a Conception and an Instrument: Research Report*, Birmingham: Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. Available at: [https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/Phronesis\\_Report.pdf](https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/Phronesis_Report.pdf) [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Kristjánsson, K., Pollard, D., Darnell, C. and Thoma, S. (2021) *Phronesis: Using an Aristotelian Model as a Research Tool: Research Report*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham. Available at: <https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/Phronesis%20Report.pdf> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Kristjánsson, K., Thompson, A. and Maile, A. (2021) *Character Virtues in Policing: Research Report*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham. Available at: [https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/CharacterVirtuesinPolicing\\_ResearchReport.pdf](https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/CharacterVirtuesinPolicing_ResearchReport.pdf) [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Kristjánsson, K., Fowers, B., Darnell, C. and Pollard, D. (2021) 'Phronesis (Practical Wisdom) as a Type of Contextual Integrative Thinking', *Review of General Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 239–257.
- MacIntyre, A. (1981) *After Virtue*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Manning, M. L. (2019) *Policing as a Virtue: Moral Alignment and Legitimacy*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Essex.
- McGrath, R. E. (2015) 'Character Strengths in 75 Nations: An Update', *Journal of Positive Psychology*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 41–52.
- McLoughlin, S., Tyndall, I., Pereira, A. and Mulhern, T. (2021) 'Non-Verbal IQ Gains from Relational Operant Training Explain Variance in Educational Attainment: An Active-Controlled Feasibility Study', *Journal of Cognitive Enhancement*, vol. 5, pp. 35–50.
- McLoughlin, S., Tyndall, I. and Pereira, A. (2022) 'Relational Operant Skills Training Increases Standardized Matrices Scores in Adolescents: A Stratified Active-Controlled Trial', *Journal of Behavioral Education*, vol. 31, pp. 298–325.
- Millie, A. and Blackler, J. (2017) 'Policing and Ethics', in Newburn, T. (ed.) *Handbook of Policing*, Cullompton: Willan, pp. 578–602.
- Millie, A. and Herrington, V. (2006) 'Applying Reassurance Policing: Is it Business as Usual?', *Policing and Society*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 146–163.
- Morrell, K. and Bradford, B. (2019) *Policing and Public Management: Governance, Vices and Virtues*, London: Routledge.
- Nellis, M. (2001) 'The Diploma in Probation Studies in the Midland Region: Celebration and Critique after the First Two Years', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 377–401.
- Neyroud, P. W. (2006) 'Ethics in Policing: Performance and the Personalisation of Accountability in British Policing and Criminal Justice', *Legal Ethics*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 16–34.
- Neyroud, P. (2011) *Review of Police Leadership and Training*, London: Home Office.
- Neyroud, P. W. and Beckley, A. (2001) *Policing, Ethics and Human Rights*, Cullompton: Willan.
- Norman, J. and Williams, E. (2017) 'Putting Learning into Practice: Self-Reflections from Cops', *European Law Enforcement Research Bulletin – Special Conference Edition*, vol. 3, pp. 197–203.
- Paoline, E. A., Terrill, W. and Rossler, M. T. (2015) 'Higher Education, College Degree Major, and Police Occupational Attitudes', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 49–73.
- Paterson, C. (2011) 'Adding Value? A Review of the International Literature on the Role of Higher Education in Police Training and Education', *Police Practice and Research*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 286–297.
- Patrick, R. B. and Gibbs, J. C. (2012) 'Inductive Discipline, Parental Expression of Disappointed Expectations and Moral Identity in Adolescence', *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, vol. 41, no. 8, pp. 973–983.
- Police Foundation (2022) *A New Mode of Protection: Redesigning Policing and Public Safety for the 21st Century: Report*. Available at: [https://www.policingreview.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/srpew\\_final\\_report.pdf](https://www.policingreview.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/srpew_final_report.pdf) [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Ramshaw, P. and Sopit, S. (2018) 'Educating the Recruited and Recruiting the Educated: Can the New Police Education Qualifications Framework in England and Wales Succeed Where Others Have Faltered?', *Police Science and Management*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 243–250.
- Rogers, C. and Frevel, B. (2018) 'Introduction: Higher Police Education – An International Perspective', in Rogers, C. and Frevel, B. (eds.) *Higher Education and Police: An International View*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–14.

- Schwartz, B. and Sharpe, K. E. (2010) *Practical Wisdom: The Right Way to do the Right Thing*, New York: Riverhead Books.
- Schwarz, E. and Lappalainen, J. H. (2020). 'Collective Phronesis? An Investigation of Collective Judgement and Professional Action', in Giovagnoli, R. and Lowe, R. (eds.) *The Logic of Social Practices*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 23–35.
- Shohel, M. M. C., Uddin, G., Parker-McLeod, J. and Silverstone, D. (2020) 'Police Education in the United Kingdom: Challenges and Future Directions', in Nugmanova, M. (ed.) *Education, Human Rights and Peace in Sustainable Development*, IntechOpen.
- Simmill-Binning, C. A. and Towers, J. S. (2017) *Education, Training and Learning in Policing in England and Wales: Policing Research Partnership*. Available at: [http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/88307/1/N8\\_PR\\_P\\_TL\\_Report\\_FINAL.pdf](http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/88307/1/N8_PR_P_TL_Report_FINAL.pdf) [Accessed: 14 July 2022].
- Stanko, E. A. (2020) 'Learning versus Training: Thoughts about the Origins of the Home Office Innovation Fund Project Developing an Evidence-Based Police Degree Holder Programme 2016-18', *Policing*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 43–51.
- Thoma, S., Derryberry, W. P. and Crowson, H. M. (2013) 'Describing and Testing an Intermediate Concept Measure of Adolescent Moral Thinking', *Journal of Educational and Developmental Psychology*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 239–252.
- Tyler, T. R. (2004) 'Enhancing Police Legitimacy', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 593, no. 1, pp. 84–99.
- Tong, S. and Hallenberg, K. M. (2018) 'Education and the Police Professionalisation Agenda: A Perspective from England and Wales', in Rogers, C. and Frevel, B. (eds.) *Higher Education and Police: An International View*, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17–34.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978) *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*, Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Wall, D. S. and Williams, M. L. (2013) 'Policing Cybercrime: Networked and Social Media Technologies and the Challenges for Policing', *Policing and Society*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 409–412.
- Westmarland, L. and Rowe, M. (2018) 'Police Ethics and Integrity: Can a New Code Overturn the Blue Code?', *Policing and Society*, vol. 28, no. 7, pp. 854–870.
- Williams, E., Norman, J. and Rowe, M. (2019) 'The Police Education Qualification Framework: A Professional Agenda or Building Professionals?', *Police Practice and Research*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 259–272.
- Wimshurst, K. and Ransley, J. (2007) 'Police Education and the University Sector: Contrasting Models from the Australian Experience', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 106-122.
- Wood, D. A. (2020). *Towards Ethical Policing*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Wright, J., Warren, M. and Snow, N. (2021) *Understanding Virtue: Theory and Measurement*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# Research Team

**KRISTJÁN KRISTJÁNSSON**  
PROFESSOR AND PRINCIPAL  
INVESTIGATOR, UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

---

Professor Kristján Kristjánsson is Professor of Character Education and Virtue Ethics, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham. He is also editor of the *Journal of Moral Education*.

**AIDAN THOMPSON**  
DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC INITIATIVES,  
JUBILEE CENTRE FOR CHARACTER AND  
VIRTUES, UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

---

Aidan Thompson is Director of Strategic Initiatives at the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. He is a PhD candidate in the School of Education, University of Birmingham. Aidan holds an MPhil in Literature and Modernity from the University of Birmingham (2015) and a BA in English from Loughborough University (2006). He was the Jubilee Centre's first Centre Manager (2012–2017) and has led strategic partnerships and directed its impact work with, amongst others, the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, UNICEF and the #iwill campaign.

**ANDREW MAILE**  
RESEARCH FELLOW, JUBILEE CENTRE FOR  
CHARACTER AND VIRTUES, UNIVERSITY  
OF BIRMINGHAM

---

Andrew Maile is a Research Fellow at the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. He is currently pursuing his PhD in the School of Education at the University of Birmingham. Andrew holds an MA in Character Education from the University of Birmingham and M.Sc. in Research Psychology from Stellenbosch University.

**SHANE MCLOUGHLIN**  
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, JUBILEE CENTRE  
FOR CHARACTER AND VIRTUES,  
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

---

Dr. Shane McLoughlin is an Assistant Professor for the MA in Character Education at the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, and a Chartered Psychologist. He specialises in psychometric measurement, assessment of intervention efficacy, meaning-focused behaviour therapies, and individual differences. He is a recipient of the Association for Contextual Behavioural Science Early Career Mentorship Award (2021) based on his contributions to behavioural science and its applications in meaning-focused psychotherapies.



# Acknowledgements

The authors of this report would like to extend generous thanks to the many individuals and organisations that supported this research project:

- Emma Brett, Senior Lecturer in Public Service and Policing, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Anglia Ruskin University;
- John Clay-Davies, Senior Lecturer in Policing, College of Natural and Social Sciences, University of Gloucestershire;
- Emily Dakin, Lecturer in Policing, College of Business, Law and Social Sciences, University of Derby;
- John McDaniel, Senior Lecturer in Policing and Criminal Justice, University of Wolverhampton;
- Robert McGowan, Lecturer in Policing, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Anglia Ruskin University;
- Ian Styles, Police Education Content Development Project Manager, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Anglia Ruskin University;
- Ronald Winch, Senior Teaching Fellow in Policing, School of Social Sciences, Birmingham City University

In addition, the research team would like to thank the many colleagues within the Jubilee Centre for their continued support throughout the project, from ethics applications and proof-reading, to transcribing and the arrangements that went into producing this finished report: specific thanks to Michael Fullard and Jacob Nash. Lastly, we extend our grateful thanks to all those who completed the surveys and participated in the interviews, as well as those who helped to spread the word about the project, in particular:

- Anglia Ruskin University;
- Birmingham City University;
- University of Derby;
- University of Gloucestershire;
- University of Wolverhampton.



# Appendices

## APPENDIX A

Police Forces Offering Entrance via PCDA<sup>19</sup>

Police Forces currently recruiting via the apprenticeship route	Police Forces that will soon be recruiting via the apprenticeship route
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Devon and Cornwall Police</li> <li>■ Dorset Police</li> <li>■ Hertfordshire Constabulary</li> <li>■ Suffolk Constabulary</li> <li>■ Norfolk Constabulary</li> <li>■ Dyfed-Powys Police</li> <li>■ West Midlands Police</li> <li>■ Staffordshire Police</li> <li>■ Cumbria Constabulary</li> <li>■ Metropolitan Police Service</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Gloucestershire Constabulary</li> <li>■ Wiltshire Police</li> <li>■ Avon and Somerset Constabulary</li> <li>■ Hampshire Constabulary</li> <li>■ Northamptonshire Police</li> <li>■ Nottinghamshire Police</li> <li>■ Derbyshire Constabulary</li> <li>■ Lincolnshire Police</li> <li>■ Sussex Police</li> <li>■ Surrey Police</li> <li>■ Kent Police</li> <li>■ Essex Police</li> <li>■ Thames Valley Police</li> <li>■ Northumbria Police</li> <li>■ Cleveland Police</li> <li>■ Durham Constabulary</li> <li>■ Gwent Police</li> <li>■ South Wales Police</li> <li>■ North Wales Police</li> <li>■ Warwickshire Police</li> <li>■ West Mercia Police</li> <li>■ Bedfordshire Police</li> <li>■ Cambridge Constabulary</li> <li>■ Cheshire Constabulary</li> <li>■ Merseyside Police</li> <li>■ Greater Manchester Police</li> <li>■ Lancashire Constabulary</li> <li>■ West Yorkshire Police</li> <li>■ North Yorkshire Police</li> <li>■ South Yorkshire Police</li> <li>■ Humberside Police</li> <li>■ City of London Police</li> </ul>

<sup>19</sup> Information drawn from 'Forces Recruiting Via Apprenticeship Route' [Online]. Available at: <https://www.joiningthepolice.co.uk/whos-recruiting/apprenticeship> [Accessed: 10 June 2022].

**APPENDIX B**List of College of Policing Accredited Pre-Join-Degree-in-Professional-Policing Providers<sup>20</sup>

- Anglia Ruskin University
- Bangor University
- Birmingham City University
- Canterbury Christ Church University
- Cardiff Metropolitan University
- Coventry University
- De Montford University
- Edge Hill University
- Lancaster University with Blackpool & the Fylde College
- Liverpool John Moores University
- Newcastle College University Centre
- Nottingham Trent University
- Sheffield Hallam University
- Staffordshire University
- Teesside University
- University College London
- University of Bedfordshire
- University of Central Lancashire
- University of Chester
- University of Cumbria
- University of Derby
- University of East London
- University of Gloucestershire
- University of Hull
- University of Law
- University of Northumbria at Newcastle
- University of South Wales
- University of Suffolk
- University of Sunderland
- University of Wales Trinity St David
- University of West London
- University of Winchester
- University of Wolverhampton
- Wrexham Glyndwr University
- York St. John University

<sup>20</sup> Information drawn from 'Universities offering a professional policing degree' [Online]. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/career-learning/joining-new-pc/universities-offering-professional-policing-degree> [Accessed: 10 June 2022].



JOHN TEMPLETON  
FOUNDATION

This project was made possible through the support of a grant from the John Templeton Foundation



For more information about the  
Virtues in Policing  
project and the Jubilee Centre for  
Character and Virtues please contact:  
tel: 0121 414 4875  
email: [jubileecentre@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:jubileecentre@contacts.bham.ac.uk)  
[www.jubileecentre.ac.uk](http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk)  
ISBN: 9780704429772



UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues  
12th Floor (West) Muirhead Tower  
Edgbaston, Birmingham  
B15 2TT, United Kingdom  
[www.birmingham.ac.uk](http://www.birmingham.ac.uk)

Designed and printed by

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM | **creativemedia**