

# Chapter 1

## Introduction: Police education and police practice

### 1.1 Background

A perception of escalating social disorder and allegations of police corruption and ineptitude have led to a social and political imperative to reform policing in Australia. A variety of inquiries into policing both nationally and internationally have clearly established that fundamental to this reform is the modification of the operational practices of the uniformed constable. This basic concept has led to broad policy initiatives aimed at improving the quality of the police service to the community by reconstructing the nature and scope of police practice. The modification of police practice has involved redefining the role of police in a democratic society. This has led to the adoption of alternative models of policing that in turn have stipulated alternative models of education and training and other associated organisational reforms. Evidence exists to suggest that despite the imperative, alternative models of police education have had limited impact upon the practices of the uniformed constable (Chan, 1997; Fitzgerald, 1989; Wood, 1997). Research has clearly demonstrated that the reform of operational police practice by way of educational reform is frustrated by existing policies and practices within the operational context.

The principal recommendation for the reform of policing has been the comprehensive adoption of alternative policies governing police interaction with the community. These policies often articulated as alternative 'models of policing' provide the operational strategy or principal instructions governing police practice. The reform of police practice centres around two conflicting models of policing: 'crime fighting' and 'community policing'. A 'crime fighting' model of policing predominantly involves the detection and apprehension of criminals. In this model police practice is strictly regulated by clearly defined rules, procedures and practices. A 'crime-fighting' model has been severely criticised for stifling the police response to the contemporary needs of society (Goldstein, 1990; Scarman, 1981). Following the demonstrated failures of the 'crime-fighting' model, a model of 'community policing' has been adopted by several law enforcement organisations including the New South

Wales Police Service. A 'community-policing' model predominantly involves the maintenance of public order through community involvement in policing and a reduction in the incidence of formal police intervention. A great emphasis is placed upon a Constable's independence characterised by operational autonomy and the judicious use of discretion within a framework of social accountability (Broden, 1991; Jefferson & Grimshaw, 1984). The reform of police practice commensurate with this policy has not occurred (Fitzgerald, 1989; Wood, 1997). Existing policies and practices of crime control are diametrically opposed to the policies and practices of 'community' policing. What has resulted is the hybridisation of policy and practice with 'crime control' dominating the partnership.

International attempts to reform police practice through education and training largely appear to have failed (Smith & Gray, 1985). It has been found that there are irresistible pressures in the policing environment that adulterate educational reform. Vested interests, and cultural and organisational responses have been found to block, dilute or redirect educational outcomes. In practice there is little resemblance between desired outcomes and intentions (McConville & Shepherd, 1991). The apparent inability to bridge the gap between theory and practice has been attributed to a conflict in ideology between existing policies and practices and new policies of practice. The operational context of policing, the environment of operational reform, is defined by social, political and organisational structures. These structures have been found to frustrate the implementation of new policies, particularly those endeavouring to alter police practice. This brings into question the ability of police education and training to engender change in police practice whilst police operate within an environment that is not conducive to change.

Policies governing police practice shape policies, and hence, models of police education and training. Policies of police education and training, preservice and inservice, articulated as models of education and training, provide the theoretical and practical basis for police practice. Traditional models of police training, commonly referred to as the 'expert or craft' model, have been severely criticised for their narrow vocational orientation on legal and procedural requirements for a law-enforcement function (Lusher, 1981). They have also been found to have failed to provide police with the knowledge, skills and attitudinal

characteristics for policing contemporary society (Goldstein, 1990; McDonald, 1987).

Redefining the operational strategy or principal instructions of police practice has demanded a similar revision of policies and models of police education and training. This revision has resulted in a number of police agencies adopting a 'professional' model of police education and training, a generic term for an educational model intended to provide the knowledge, skills and attitudes commensurate with the development of police practice as specified by a policy of 'community policing'. In New South Wales the *Lusher Inquiry* (1981) led to the formation of the *Interim Police Education and Training Advisory Council* (IPETAC) in 1985. This council, in a specific review of police education and training, formulated educational policy. This policy outlined the rationale, aims, objectives, content, assessment methodology and structure of police education and training. The *New South Wales Police Recruit Education Program*, known as PREP, was the professional model of education adopted.

## 1.2 The Literature

This study relies upon the literature, predominantly from the United States of America and the United Kingdom, that was published concerning the Police, policing, police practice and police education during the 1970's and 1980's. There exist a large number (although relatively small compared to some other fields of study, such as teaching) of authoritative works on police and policing. However, there appear to be relatively few authoritative and substantive works on police education. With few exceptions, little research of any substantial nature appears to have been conducted or 'new works' published pertaining to police practice and police education in the last ten years. In conducting this study, several unsuccessful attempts were made to access unpublished works, particularly those undertaken by or on behalf of various police agencies, both nationally and internationally. These requests both written and oral were largely ignored, required some form of substantial statutory undertaking to the agency involved or, if such information existed, then its access was restricted. There appeared to exist a great reluctance to provide information, which a number of police service employees attributed to organisational and political paranoia concerning recent adverse judicial comment. As a consequence, this study can only provide an analysis of the literature reviewed and in the absence of unavailable material its coverage of the issues raised or current status of contemporary policing and police education in some areas may be

incomplete.

### 1.3 The Study

This study is a comparative analysis of models of Police education and training with specific reference to their relative abilities to provide for the reform of police practice commensurate with 'community policing'. Alternative models of police education and training are intended to improve the nature and quality of the service provided to the community by providing police with the knowledge, skills and attitudes deemed necessary for the modification of police practice. The study also intends to analyse the policing environment, its structures and existing policies and practices, specifically its role as a determinant of educational outcomes.

This study draws primarily upon literature on policing from the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Substantial research on police education and practice has been undertaken in both these locations over a considerable period of time. It is only relatively recently that research in Australia on policing has reached a similar level of treatment (Bradley, 1993a). Given similarities in the 'operational context' and development of policing in these countries, a strong argument can be made to justify the development from and application of theoretical models pertaining to their police education and practices.

To make its analyses, this study will examine the literature on the nature and extent of the reform of policing, specifically operational police practices. From this examination, a model of police practice commensurate with 'community policing' will be derived. Having determined the characteristics required of police and police organisations, an analysis of the literature in respect to models of police education as contributors to the reform of policing will be conducted. From this analysis a model of police education commensurate with 'community policing' will be proposed. This model will then be examined in reference to its ability to circumvent impediments to and provide the basis for the reform of police practice. Throughout this study the nature and influence of the policing environment, both organisational and operational, as a determinant of police practice will be derived from an examination of the literature.

This study is significant as it has the potential to contribute to the body of knowledge on models of police practice and models of police education in the context of police reform. It may also assist in the implementation of policy by identifying the nature and impact of environmental determinants on the reform process and educational outcomes. The study may also identify and provide the basis for the critical analysis of operational police practice. In achieving these goals the study may assist the reform of police practice which is considered a social, economic and political imperative.

#### 1.4 Conceptual framework

Organisational reform can occur in response to minor changes in the environment. The social and political imperative to reform policing is such that wide ranging and substantial reforms have been initiated, such as the development of PREP and the adoption of 'community based policing' by the NSW Police Service. Change of this magnitude is characterised by significant levels of resistance. Resistance occurs as a result of the presence of contradictory goals, values and incompatibility between established values and norms and those of the reform (Alaba, 1994; Sykes, 1990). The context of the reform thus becomes an important determinant of the success of the implementation process and the nature of policy outcomes. In the context of policing, the research of Jones (1982), Jefferson and Grimshaw (1984), McConville and Shepherd (1991) and McDonald (1993) have all firmly established that police practice is a direct consequence of the interaction between educational policy (models of education) and multiple environmental variables representing both alternative and complementary outcomes. The most successful models of education are those that best fit their context.

#### 1.5 Clarification of terms

The police mandate is to maintain community order (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Scarman, 1981). Police practice is defined as those actions that police take in the performance of this task. According to Jefferson and Grimshaw (1984), the overriding imperative in maintaining community order is the notion of a Constable's independence. Central to this notion is the concept of autonomy of action, which is underpinned by the use of discretionary powers. Discretion is defined as the power of decision making 'framed' by

external factors. Autonomy of action and the utilisation of discretion is based within a framework of accountability. This framework provides the operational context within which operational policy, those policies that govern police practice and shape policing outcomes, are implemented and defined by social, political and organisational structures. Social structures are defined as including the police culture and the community context produced by variations in socio-economic, ethnographic and other demographic characteristics. Political and organisational structures include economic, legalistic or mechanistic policies or practices that regulate police practice.

## 1.6 Literature review

Education policy, articulated as models of police education and training, have had relatively little impact in moulding police practice. Police practice is substantially determined by the operational context within which policing occurs. The operational context of policing is shaped by social, political and organisational structures that regulate police practice through established policies and practices. Educational outcomes are the direct result of the interaction of the environment with the implementation process and policy intentions.

Education policies, preservice and inservice, exist on a continuum from limited vocational training through to mandatory tertiary education. Educational policies are articulated as models of education and training. Models of education are further categorised as either 'expert or craft' models or as 'professional' models of education and training. The 'expert or craft' model that tended to dominate police education and training in England, America and Australia until recent times has had little impact upon police practice. In a review of policing in England and Wales, the *Policy Studies Institute Report* (1985) concluded that police training as it existed was highly unlikely to have a substantial impact upon police practice. In a later review, Poole (1988, p. 76) concluded "that police training at all levels has had little impact upon street level policing and the police organisation". In one of the first substantial evaluations of police education and training in America, Sherman (1978) reached a similar conclusion. In a later review, Carter, Sapp and Stephens (1989) noted that little had changed since Sherman's (1978) evaluation; police education and training remained unable to substantially influence police practice. In Australia, the *Lusher Report* (1981), and more

recently the *Fitzgerald Report*, (1989) concluded that inservice training was wholly inefficient and inadequate in preparing police for community service.

Following continued criticism of police practice, several reviews of police education and training have been conducted and in many instances a 'professional' model of education and training adopted. The *Stage II Review of Police Probationer Training in England and Wales* (1987) was critical of the 'expert or craft' model of police education and training. A 'professional' model of police education and training was proposed, piloted in 1987/8 and substantially introduced in 1989. Similarly in America a variety of 'professional' models of education and training were implemented in the late 1980's. However, the ability of a 'professional' model of police education and training to engender change in police practice is yet to be substantially determined. Indeed, behavioural studies conducted in England by Young (1991) and McConville and Shepherd (1991) have both observed that education and training have been ineffectual in promoting or sustaining a reform of police practice. In a study of the extent of cultural change within the New South Wales Police Service, Chan (1997) also concluded that educational reforms had been relatively ineffective at reforming the police culture and modifying operational practices. Reviewing American Police organisations, Goldstein (1990), Ellis (1991) and Ness (1991) have all observed that training and education has had little impact upon operational policing especially 'community service' initiatives. From behavioural studies and judicial inquiries it is generally concluded that education and training has had little impact upon operational policing. As several authors have concluded, police practice is largely determined by the operational context within which policing occurs (Bayley & Bittner, 1984; McConville & Shepherd, 1991).

The apparent ineffectiveness of education as an agent of change and the continued criticism of police practice and conduct have in many instances led to a substantial review by some police agencies of their respective models of education and training; for example, that currently being undertaken by the New South Wales Police Service following the *Wood Royal Commission*. In some instances this appears to have led to the adoption of 'professional' models of education that have a very high vocational content and structure. Others, such as the *Minnesota Professional Peace Officer Education System* (1991) have adopted a model of

education with strengthened tertiary requirements. For example, the Minnesota model initially required a mandatory two year degree program and now requires the completion of a four year baccalaureate degree. These two approaches to police education suggest a fundamental change in ethos, the former treating education as a means of keeping pace with the demands of a changing environment, the latter using education as a means to establish policing as a professional discipline that helps shape the environment. Current research and the findings of judicial inquiries still strongly suggest that the key to the successful alteration of police practice is dependent upon the adoption of models of education that are capable of countering the contradictory influences of the organisational and operational context in which policing occurs (Carter & Sapp, 1992; Brei, 1994; Wood, 1997).

The 'real policing environment' is largely responsible for determining the likely impact of formal education and training policies on police practice (Smith & Gray, 1985). As several American authors have observed, police practice and training values, practices and priorities did not always correspond to those practised and advocated in real life policing (Goldstein, 1990). Both Jones (1980) and McConville and Shepherd (1991) observed that this caused confusion for recruits who were instructed in one thing, only to find that in the 'real world' other priorities or practices existed. In several reviews, the degradation of educational theory was found to occur on, if not before, exposure to the operational context of policing. Ellis (1991) in a review of Canadian police recruits, McConville and Shepherd (1991), in a review of Police practice in England, and Wortley (1993) in a review of the *Queensland Police Recruit Education Program*, all concluded that the theoretical practices consistent with a policy of community policing were quickly eroded on exposure to the operational context.

The 'operational context', the environment of policy implementation, is shaped by the interaction of social, political and organisational structures. Social structures are composed of the community context and the dominant police culture. In the community context differences in demographic characteristics within a community contribute to a diversity in expectations and perceptions of the police role (Bayley, 1977). Social inequity within the community contributes to narrow definitions of social accountability and indifference to egalitarian notions of social accountability to all (Brogden, 1991). Reinforcing existing



formal and informal policies and practices, these factors increase community tension and in doing so impede a constable's independence by reducing operational autonomy and the latitude for the judicious use of discretion (Bayley, 1977; Bayley, 1984; Scarman, 1981).

The dominant police culture plays a major part in determining police practice (Jones, 1980; Young, 1990). Several studies have found that the dominant police culture is unsupportive of a policy of community policing (Chan, 1997; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Young, 1991). Cultural animosity towards a policy of community policing coupled with an aversion to non-traditional policies of education and training have frustrated attempts to modify police practice through educational reform. Culturally acceptable police practice results from peer group pressure for individual police to conform with established norms. This often impedes individuality and hence a Constable's independence. This is apparent in the various studies by Reiner (1982), Jefferson and Grimshaw (1984), Fielding (1989), Goldstein (1990), Young (1991), McConville and Shepherd (1991).

In addition to cultural influences, Bull and Horncastle (1988) also found that local and organisational practices and policies regularly conflicted with formal educational policies and desired outcomes. This is a conclusion also reached in behavioural studies conducted by Jones (1980) and McConville and Shepherd (1991). Organisational structures have been found to regulate police practice through established frameworks that predispose it towards the satisfaction of narrowly defined organisational goals (McDonald, 1993; Young, 1991). Fielding and Grimshaw (1984) present a persuasive argument that such frameworks are antithetical to educational outcomes as they unnecessarily and unjustifiably restrict a Constable's independence by prescribing and prioritising police practice. Several studies have noted the contradiction between organisational rhetoric of educational reform and the maintenance and strengthening of conflicting policies or practices (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985). Such policies and practices include the use of arrest statistics as measures of efficiency and effectiveness, determining such things as funding, promotional and deployment opportunities. The organisational regulation of police practice appears to largely occur in response to political intervention (Fielding & Grimshaw, 1984; McDonald, 1993; Young, 1991).

Political intervention in policing eventuates through a political necessity to assist the maintenance or acquisition of political power (Weatheritt, 1986; Young, 1991). Political mastery of policing policy and practice is attempted through the intervention of government policies. Foremost amongst these is the ability to control public expenditure. Restricting public expenditure on policing has achieved intervention in determining operational priorities and the nature of the policing response to community disorder (Loveday, 1996; Weatheritt, 1986). Government efforts to encourage greater performance and accountability of policing has resulted in a requirement for tangible measures of efficiency and effectiveness (Loveday, 1996b). This has led to the modification of policing policies and practices of assessment and clearly defined policing priorities (McDonald, 1993). Such policies and practices, McDonald (1993) contends, conflicts with educational policy, corrupts and distorts the educational process and impedes the reform of police practices. Government intervention in policing has led to unintelligent police behaviour and a disregard for community policing practices for less efficient but more expedient law-enforcement practices (McDonald, 1993; Young, 1991).

### 1.7 Conclusion

The substantive reform of police practice by means of alternative models of police education and training has not occurred. Ample studies have found that police practice is substantially determined by the operational context within which policing occurs (McConville & Shepherd, 1991). The operational context of policing is shaped by social, political and organisational structures. Occupational studies have found that these structures promote policies and practices that are often inconsistent with alternative policies and practices. In reality there is little resemblance between educational outcomes and intentions. As Smith and Gray (1985, p. 518) concluded, police behaviour was more a function of the "structure of opportunities, risks, rewards and punishments within which they work from day to day than by the models of good policing offered to them at training schools, however attractively they may be packaged and however persuasively advertised."

### 1.8 Outline of the study

This thesis is divided into 5 sections; the police, the development of contemporary policing, crime and the police, the perceptions and expectations of stakeholders, and police education

and training.

## Section I.

Within Section I the emergence of the police as an institution tasked with maintaining community order and the role dilemma of policing a democratic society, seen as a function of the conflicting role perceptions and expectation within the community, will be examined. Finally, this section will examine the convergence of ideas within policing in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This convergence has resulted in similar ideologies, organisational strategies and operational practices being adopted in response to similar political, organisational and social dilemmas that are manifested in the operational practices of the uniformed constable.

## Section II.

Section II will examine the historical development of policing in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This will provide evidence of the common origins of policing in these three democracies and of the similarities in the social and political context that have shaped the police role and contemporary policing. In all three democracies the core mission of policing has become crime control and despite the imperative to reform police behaviour and practice it remains crime control.

## Section III.

Chapter 7 will examine the nature of crime and it will attempt to provide an explanation for crime. The characteristics of a democratic society, the socio-economic conditions and other demographic characteristics of a community will be examined as determinants of crime. It will be argued that crime is a social construct and its politicisation hampers an objective evaluation of the nature and extent of crime. Chapter 8 will analyse the organisational response to crime and the operational strategies adopted by the police to control crime. It will be argued that traditional strategies adopted by the police to control crime have been ineffective and that law-enforcement as the conceptual framework for conventional policing strategies has had a marginal long-term impact upon crime. It will be suggested that community policing may provide an alternative framework upon which to build effective

crime control strategies, it may assist in the transformation of the operational practices of the uniformed Constable and has important implications for the reform of police education and training.

#### Section IV.

In this section it will be argued that the core mission and the operational context of policing is substantially defined, controlled and manipulated by the perception, expectations and actions of important stakeholders. These include the media, the community and politics, important external stakeholders, and the police organisation and police culture as important internal stakeholders. The more powerful the stakeholder the greater the likelihood that police policy and practice will reflect their underlying philosophy of the police function which from an examination of the literature in all cases is crime-control achieved through law-enforcement strategies.

The reform of policing is considered contingent upon the reform of the operational practices of the uniform constable. It will be shown that police behaviour and practices are shaped by a rank-and-file commitment to a law-enforcement ideology. Such practices and behaviours are maintained because they are congruent with the values and goals of important stakeholders which actively shape the operational context of policing. Consequently, while crime-control remains the core-mission of policing for important stakeholders then substantive reforms in policing are unlikely to occur.

#### Section V.

Section V will examine the reform of police education and training that has occurred in response to the social and political imperative to reform policing. Chapter 12 will examine a 'systems approach' to curricula development and two models of police education and training, the 'expert or craft' model and the 'professional/academic' model. It will be argued that only a professional model of police education and training can successfully integrate theory and practice and promote critical reflection and the judicious use of discretion which complex social interactions and the diversity of the police function require. Chapter 13 will evaluate police academies and tertiary institutions as providers of police education and training. From

this evaluation it will be concluded that police academies may not be effective providers of police education and training as they lack the necessary resources and academic independence necessary to reform police education and thereby promote the reform of police behaviour and practice. The limitations of police provided education and training will be further examined in chapter 14 and 15 where the impact of the 'expert or craft' model of police education and training and the professional model of police education and training with reference to police practice will be evaluated. Again a lack of police resources committed to education and training, organisational and political intervention in policing and police education and training were seen to undermine educational outcomes.

The academic model of police education and training will be examined in chapter 16 with particular reference to the relationship between tertiary or higher education and the reform of police practice. The research in this area is contradictory, inconsistent and inconclusive leading to the conclusion that the value of tertiary education for police is a matter of conjecture. Chapter 17 will focus upon the role of experience in defining and controlling police practice and the difficulties encountered in attempting to integrate 'experience' into the formal curriculum. Finally, chapter 18 will summarise the previous chapters, important findings and conclusions, and make appropriate recommendations.

## Section I.

### The Police

#### Chapter 2.

##### 'Police': a definition.

As noted by Manning (1977), 'police' is derived from the Greek word *polis*, or city, and has been applied historically to the exercise of civic or collective authority. Mawby (1990, p. 3) in a comparative analysis of policing issues, defines the police as "an agency which can be distinguished in terms of its legitimacy, its structure and its function." A review of the literature on policing confirms this. Police are a structured and organised force, with a degree of specialisation and a code of practice. The police are legitimised and granted some degree of monopoly within a society by community and government.

It would appear that 'police' developed as a rational form of social control replacing the normative and informal controls exerted by family and a close knit community. On the historical development of policing, Manning (1977, p. 50) provides three very general perspectives: a teleological, incrementalist and conflict view. These are paraphrased as follows. A teleological view perceives the development of the police as one aspect of 'the natural progression of a society towards a more civilised and less violent existence.' An incrementalist view sees the development of policing characterised as a full time professional force with crime prevention its mandate and operating with constraint, as a section of a series of elements that are required to improve the human condition. A conflict view, as provided by Skolnick (1972, cited in Manning, 1977, p. 112), recognises the police as a "social organisation created and sustained by political processes to enforce dominant conceptions of public order." Police forces are not neutral instruments of social control but operate to maintain the interests of the political and economic elite (Finnane, 1994). The works of Durkheim (1964) and Banton (1966) (as cited in Avery, 1982) saw police as developing as a specialist agency tasked by society with the prevention or management of social disorder and its consequences. Specifically, police in a democratic society developed as a mechanism through which a community and ultimately a government sought to protect life and property,

and maintain order. Finnane (1994) suggests that police forces represent the successful achievement by the modern state of a means of social control in the absence of the norms and social bonds of traditional community life. Alpert and Dunham (1988) agree, defining police as an executive branch of government, which is responsible for enforcing the legislative and judicial decisions of law.

Referring to the work of Banton (1964), Radelet (1980) concluded that in the absence of effective informal control mechanisms there is a greater reliance upon formal control mechanisms such as law. Progressing from a simple to a more complex society, social controls are more likely to be imposed by formal mechanisms. Analysing the role of law and law enforcement, Becker and Whitehouse (1979) conclude that law is necessary in a democratic society as it institutionalises the working relationships of people and government. Lea and Young (1993) perceive law as principally concerned with preventing the exploitation and victimisation of members of the community by others within the community. Laws also define the nature and type of behaviour that a society and government deem to be aberrant. A consensual approach sees law as providing an index of the range of behaviour that the people in a democratic society will tolerate (Radelet, 1980). A conflict approach, as interpreted by McKenzie (1965) (cited in Radelet (1980)), perceives law as providing an index of the range of behaviour that the dominant groups in a society are prepared to accept. Laws are intended to provide maximum protection for those who make them and this is achieved by ensuring compliance with the law (Lea & Young, 1993; Manning, 1977; Radelet, 1980).

Laws are meaningless unless there exists a system of ensuring compliance. Radelet (1980) refers to this as the 'sanctionary element', a process for rewarding conformity and penalising deviance. This process may necessitate the implied or actual use of force or coercion. Becker and Whitehouse (1979) perceive force as a basic element of law enforcement and law enforcement as the social control factor that preserves the standards and responsibilities prescribed by law. They define law enforcement as the investigation, arrest, bringing to trial and punishment as regulated of those who commit a breach of the law.

Alpert and Dunham (1988, p. 57) have observed that the need for law enforcement has

compelled police, organisationally and administratively, to focus upon control and the standardisation of the use of force. Alpert and Dunham (1988, p. 88) conclude that as "a result there is an organisation of institutionalised violence which has the capacity to use force to conduct its business." Both Manning (1977) and Bittner (1990) have focused upon this aspect of 'institutionalised violence' which they describe as the legally sanctioned use of force by a government agency upon the citizens of a community where and when specific criteria are met. They perceive this as an enigma in that a "society committed to the achievement of peace by pacific means has created an institution with the monopoly to employ non-negotiable coercive force in situations where its use is unavoidably necessary." (Bittner, 1990, p. 207). Bittner appears to soften this point by arguing that although police may resort to the use of coercion or physical force to provide an immediate solution to a situation they do so with the knowledge that within the law there exist contingencies that will deal with the underlying cause. Defining policing predominantly in terms of law enforcement and focusing upon their capacity to use coercive force risks, as Weber and Milte (1977) observe, the sanctioning of conflict and violence and the creation of a 'police state'.

There clearly exists an inherent potential for conflict between effective policing (law enforcement) and the maintenance of democratic freedoms (Bittner, 1990; Goldstein, 1990; Radelet, 1980; Weber & Milte, 1977). Alpert and Dunham (1988, p. 17) recognise this basic dilemma noting that police exist to protect our civil liberties but often perform this task through the use of coercion and physical force as a function of law enforcement. The police have an explicit obligation and authority to use force to maintain order but it must be done in ways that do not weaken but preserve confidence in the democratic process (Weber & Milte, 1977). Law enforcement should be tempered with considerations of the purposes of the law and ethical notions of fairness (Weber & Milte, 1977, p. 45). Manning (1977) reached a similar conclusion noting that police were required to provide a neutral and humane application of the law, balancing law enforcement with the need to protect civil rights.

Law enforcement is difficult, unpleasant and corruptible in areas of the law where there is low social consensus such as gambling and prostitution (Radelet, 1980; Weber & Milte, 1977). Law enforcement is deemed to be considerably easier when there is community



consensus as to the desirability and appropriateness of particular laws (Lea & Young, 1993; Manning, 1977; Weber & Milte, 1977). Modifying or repealing particular laws is one way of increasing community consensus and hence reducing the formal imposition of law enforcement (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Lea & Young, 1993; Weber & Milte, 1977). Another is to promote a recourse to action that precludes the use of force and diminishes the necessity to initiate formal legal processes, what Klockars (1985) describes as the true 'skill of policing'. At the front line this would necessitate police being able to act within what Weber and Milte (1977, p. 45) describe as 'proper guidelines' with the "discretion to dispose of a wide variety of offences through counselling or referral to other services without initiating formal legal processes."

Conceptually, any definition of police in democratic society would necessitate an emphasis upon promoting a consensual approach to law enforcement and order-maintenance. The focus would be on promoting and empowering a cooperative or collective community effort and establishing what Carter and Radelet (1999) term a 'community alliance'. Through such concepts of 'community alliance' there is the prospect of re-establishing and strengthening the informal and normative controls within a community. In a complex and heterogeneous population, laws would provide continuity between communities. In achieving this it might be possible for the incidence of formal intervention through law enforcement to be reduced.

## 2.1 Conclusion

An organised police service has emerged as the primary means by which a society deals with threatening social disorder. Police are a social organisation that has evolved as a mechanism by which dominant conceptions of public order as prescribed by law are enforced. Laws are social and political constructs that define the range of behaviours that a society is prepared to accept. Compliance with the law can be secured through the implied or actual use of force or coercion by police for which they have been granted a lawful monopoly. The use of force or coercion is considered inevitable in complex pluralistic societies where normative constraints are absent or diminished (Manning, 1977). In such societies there are many competing and often conflicting demands made of the police and these ensure that law enforcement is

difficult, unpleasant and corruptible (Cox, 1996). The difficulties inherent in law enforcement may be reduced by focusing upon re-establishing and strengthening a community's normative control mechanism, a strategy promoted by a consensual cooperative approach to policing (Carter & Radelet, 1999).

## Chapter 3.

### Policing a democratic society: the role dilemma.

'The Police' is an agency designated by an executive authority, the Government, with the task of maintaining social order (Bent, 1974; Kleinig, 1996). A police officer is granted powers and authority as an agent of that society's system of social control (Carter & Radelet, 1999). The nature of this system is seen as a function of the social relationships that exist between elements within that society. In a democratic society the maintenance of social control is complicated by the need to reconcile the preservation of order with the democratic privileges afforded its citizens (Bent, 1974; Kleinig, 1996). Although primarily a political consideration, the resolution of this basic dilemma is ultimately left to the individual police officer ((Bent, 1974; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1991; Lea & Young, 1993; Radelet, 1980; Scheingold, 1984).

The enforcement of the law, as a means of ensuring the maintenance of order, is considered essential to the preservation of the State and of political authority (Bent, 1974; Manning, 1997). The police, as agents of law enforcement, have derived considerable political import from and have been criticised for their perceived role in 'maintaining the status quo' (Bittner, 1983; Scheingold, 1984). The 'de-politicisation of policing' has seen, as noted by Fielding (1991, p. 68), the police distance themselves from the State and the machinations of party politics while still seeking to maintain an influence upon matters pertaining to policing (Scheingold, 1984). In seeking to be apolitical, the police have claimed as the basis for their authority the rule of law, deeming it to be representative of the values of the community that it serves (Fielding, 1991). However, law has been criticised as an ineffective means of social control (Scheingold, 1984). Carter and Radelet (1999) suggest that it has been overused, being adopted as an all purpose, but inappropriate response to a range of social problems.

At 'street level' the police enforce the laws of the State as dictated by legally defined norms and the cultural norms of which the law is a product and within which the police work (Bent, 1974). The framework of law and the nature of police work provide the police officer with

"the discretion to interpret behaviour according to a personal set of definitions, with the prerogative to initiate the criminal justice process if the behaviour, in his opinion, is illegal or immoral." (Bent, 1974, p. 2; Brogden, 1991). Fielding (1991, p. 128) suggests that given the nature of police discretion:

it is meaningless to say that the constable must 'uphold the law'. The 'law' is supplanted by considerations of the worthiness of those involved, public feeling, seriousness, or the costs and benefits of various sanctions.

Fielding's position is supported by several authors (for example, Brogden, 1991; Kleinig 1996; Radelet, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985) who have observed that police work involves discretionary judgements and that law is but one consideration, perhaps a relatively minor one, on which those judgements are based.

For Fielding (1991, p. 77), discretion "is the enduring problem" for it presumes a "broad social consensus" for much of police activity. According to Jefferson and Grimshaw (1984, as cited in Fielding, 1991, p. 78), this notion of 'social consensus' sustains the belief that "law is a 'consensual' product of the public that the police exist to serve." It follows, then, that serving the public requires the impartial application of the law through processes that are congruous with democratic values. Yet some authors have concluded that 'impartiality' is conspicuously absent from much of police activity of which a significant proportion involves those elements of the community that are not seen as comprising or contributing to the 'broad consensus'. It has been suggested that for these individuals or groups the law, or more specifically its application, is discriminatory. Fielding (1991, p. 229) is in agreement, concluding that "the more law is sectional, the less its legitimacy." This raises questions regarding the compatibility of law and law enforcement with the democratic process and its suitability as the basis for the authority of the police within a democratic community (Bent, 1974; Kleinig, 1996).

Alternatively, it has been suggested that the basis for the authority of the police more appropriately resides with the community (for example, Bent, 1974; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Kleinig, 1996; Radelet, 1980). However, Cohen (1985, as cited by Kleinig, 1996) has argued that 'the community' not only has too limited knowledge of police activities to have a voice in

such affairs but that it does not speak with one voice on matters pertaining to policing. Kleinig (1996, p. 93) suggests that this supports the notion that police authority is "sometimes tenuously sustained." In support of this view Kleinig (1996, p. 18) suggests that police authority "is centrally and essentially a *normative social relation*, an accorded status." The status conferred on police parallels the level of consensus within the community, particularly in reference to those issues of law-and-order and specifically the degree to which police activity conforms with the perceptions and expectations of that community (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Kleinig 1996, pp. 17-20). It has been observed that what "the police do and how they do it are vitally important considerations in the status of the relationship" (Radelet, 1980, pp. 31-32).

A society's system of social control is considered a function of the condition of the social relations that exist between various elements in a society and at the moment of police intervention. Its character is "determined by the kinds of social relationships that exist among individuals and groups who make up a society" (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 274). In this manner the nature of the social relations that exist within a society help determine the role of the police and both actively shape patterns of police conduct within a community (Kleinig, 1996). Radelet (1980, p. 33) suggests that the role concept of a police agency:

has a direct, practical application in the manner in which police agencies have been organised, the standards regarded as germane in recruiting, the kind of training that a police officer receives, and in beliefs and values considered important in the craft. Every police recruit inherits the ambiguities pertaining to role - what he or she is expected to do and what the priorities are.

The role of the police is primarily concerned with the rule of law, a view sustained by police mythology, popular and political support. Yet evidence clearly demonstrates that there is a large social service component to police work, such that the police perform both a social service and law enforcement function. Kleinig (1996, pp. 23-24) has suggested that this dualism has made it difficult to determine the limits of police authority, the manner in which it may be expressed and how best to use the police. An inability to empirically determine a solution to these problems coupled with disagreement as to the exact nature of the police role has contributed to an acceptance of law-enforcement as the principal function of the police (Loveday, 1996). Nonetheless, in view of the range of evidence and opinion that exists,

traditional role concepts do not adequately delineate the function of police in a contemporary democratic society. This is clearly evident in the urban environment where social conditions and needs may require the provision of a variety of services and an approach to policing beyond that traditionally conceived (Bent, 1974; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Radelet, 1980).

A significant proportion of scholarly debate on the dilemma of policing focuses upon policing in the urban environment (McConville & Shepherd, 1991). It is within this environment that the multiplicity of conflicting demands, divergent perceptions and attitudes place the greatest strain on community and police relations (Carter & Radelet, 1999). It is also within this arena that the extent of police authority is questioned and periodically challenged. The problem of community-police relations particularly in urban environments appears to be essentially a matter of conflicting role perceptions and expectations (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Radelet, 1980). Radelet (1980, p. 33) has suggested that widespread confusion and a lack of consistency or consensus on the role of police ensures that:

the police agency is in the position of attempting to accomplish the impossible—that is, to discern some consensus among the many disparate points of view and to develop an operating mode that is acceptable to most of the people most of the time.

However, the operational articulation of policy and hence the resolution of the police dilemma is considered dependent upon individual police officers (Bent, 1974; Kleinig, 1996; Carter & Radelet, 1999). Again, that police officers' discretionary power to employ force and the authority to initiate legal process invested in the office of Constable is a source of concern and conflict in a divided community (Radelet, 1980, p. 32).

The source of conflict has historically been seen as a choice between order maintenance or law enforcement, 'Law officer versus Peace officer' or 'Force versus Service' (Avery, 1982). As police work involves both functions, Radelet (1980) suggests that the debate has more to do with emphasis. Determining the correct balance requires consultation with the community for it is from the community that the police derive their mandate and authority (Radelet, 1980). Several authors have concluded that the role dilemma is essentially a matter for the community to resolve (for example, Carter & Radelet, 1999; Radelet, 1980, p. 35). They go on to suggest that a police organisation's role concept should conform with the perceptions

and expectations of the community. However, Lea and Young (1993) have raised the concern that dysfunctional communities, considered most in need of such an approach, may be incapable of contributing to the debate or of reaching consensus. It is equally apparent that such a system may lead to a variety of policing styles and that this variation might be construed as inequitable or discriminatory. Nonetheless, maximising community participation in the decision making process is seen as a method of assisting voluntary compliance with the law. It has been argued that:

Minimum law enforcement in a democracy is only obtainable with a high degree of public support. This requires the police to become sensitised to conditions that are conducive to voluntary citizen compliance and minimal enforcement. Improvements in the development of an understanding of public service needs and in the building of public confidence in the police contribute to voluntary compliance with the law. (Bent, 1974, p. 41).

This strongly suggests a need to review traditional concepts of policing, notions of public accountability and community empowerment, and the extent and direction of police reform (Lea & Young, 1993; Radelet, 1980). It is apparent that a much greater degree of sophistication, commitment, resources, knowledge and expertise are required of the police if they are to mediate a politically acceptable response to the needs of all those concerned. The difficulty of this is illustrated in the comments of a Texas police chief:

I have to understand what the mayor wants, what the city manager wants, what the council members want, what each segment and interest group of the community wants, and what I feel we should do given the research and changes which are occurring in policing. Then I mix these different 'wants' together to get an optimum work [role] which addresses most needs in light of what we can afford. Then I try to get the officers to do it. That's why I look older than I am. (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 419)

### 3.1 Conclusion

The authority to police a community is seen by some as deriving from the community to be policed. The status of police authority is considered a function of the level of social support for the police and the degree of consensus regarding the role of the police within that community. The role dilemma of the police is essentially a matter of conflicting role perceptions and expectations which can generate relationship problems. This ensures that achieving a consensus on the minimum requirements for policing is difficult especially given the multiplicity of demands and needs of a heterogeneous community. Policing a democratic community is further complicated by the need to reconcile the preservation of order with

democratic process. This consideration necessitates that the powers and authority granted to the police, especially the discretion that characterises day-to-day police work, are conceived within a framework of social accountability (Brogden, 1991; Carter & Radelet, 1999). The two main functions of the police, 'law-enforcement' and 'order-maintenance', although interrelated require conflicting responses from the police. Resolving the police role dilemma is considered dependent upon reaching an agreement, between the police and socially heterogeneous communities on what should be emphasised and how it should be carried out (Radelet, 1980, p. 92).



## Chapter 4.

### Contemporary policing: a convergence of ideas.

It is the opinion of this study that 'policing' in the three democracies examined (Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom) is sufficiently similar to permit accurate generalisations to be made regarding the reform of police practice and the role of police education and training in this process. Even the most cursory examination of the literature clearly demonstrates that 'policing' in these three democracies has evolved along similar lines and in response to 'the same broad set of problems' (for example, Bayley, 1990; Bradley, 1996b, p. 13; Fielding, 1991; Finnane, 1994; Kleinig, 1996; Manning, 1997; Scheingold, 1984).

An historical interpretation of the development of modern policing in America is provided by Kelling and Moore (1988, as cited in Zaho, 1996, p. 3). In this study they identified three distinct phases of development in policing. These are:

- the Political era from the 1840's to the 1900's
- the Reform era from the 1930's to the 1970's
- the Community era beginning in the mid 1980's.

Kelling and Moore's notion of distinctive policing eras is explained as follows:

There is a certain professional ethos that defines standards of competence, professionalism, and excellence in policing.. at any time one set of concepts is more powerful, more widely shared, and better understood than others; this ethos changes over time. (Kelling & Moore, 1988, as cited in Bradley, 1996b, p. 13)

The accuracy of Kelling and Moore's model has been questioned (Bradley, 1996b). Several studies (for example, Bayley, 1994; Bittner, 1990; Clark & Hough, 1984; Jones, 1980; Klockars & Mastrofski, 1991; Loveday, 1996b; Young, 1991; Zaho, 1996) have consistently demonstrated that the community era of policing never occurred. Community policing did not replace crime control as the dominant police ethos. It became either a minor attachment to crime control, dominated notions of law enforcement, or acquired 'specialist credentials' that removed it from day-to-day police work.

It is apparent that there are difficulties in applying Kelling and Moore's model to the development of policing in Australia and the United Kingdom (Bradley, 1996b; Finnane, 1994). However, in a broader context the model provides a unifying concept when reviewing the historical developments of policing in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Policing in these three countries has developed in response to similar but not identical pressures (Bayley, 1994; Finnane, 1994; Manning, 1997). Bradley (1996b, p. 13) has proposed that "this has led to a convergence of policing systems, and to a common contemporary condition." Bradley suggests that this has occurred because:

- police agencies within democracies have responded to similar issues of public accountability and operational autonomy,
- policing has become subjected to the principles, methods and practices of public administration, and
- there are similarities in their criminal justice systems.

From several studies (Bayley, 1994; Finnane, 1994; Manning, 1997; Radelet, 1980) it is apparent that Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America have similar social problems, although varying in magnitude. Influenced by a common set of ideas and practices these countries have adopted similar law enforcement mandates that emphasise crime control (Bayley, 1990; Bittner, 1990; Bradley, 1996b; Bryett & Harrison, 1997; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Cox, 1996).

Despite organisational, constitutional and judicial differences it is evident from the literature that the physical act of policing, that is the day to day actions of police, vary little between these countries (Bayley, 1994; Bittner, 1990; Fielding, 1991; Finnane, 1994; Manning, 1997).

This is particularly the case, and predicably so, at the most public face of policing, on the street. It is where discretion is highest and where the actions of police and the police are organised by factors which have less to do with local political or organisational constraints and most to do with some fundamental features of policing as work. (Finnane, 1994, p. 3).

Police organisations are called upon by members of the community to provide a range of services analogous with the provision of social order. The 'coal face' is one term used to describe both the plane of interaction between the police and the community, and that section

of the organisation which regularly and routinely interacts with the community (Bittner, 1990). Numerous studies across jurisdictions have clearly demonstrated that the bulk of police work falls upon the uniformed branch (Bayley, 1994; Bittner, 1990; Clark & Hough, 1980; Greenwood *et al*, 1977; Smith & Gray, 1985). Uniformed patrol is the most conspicuous activity of the police service and uniformed police are generally the first to respond to community calls for assistance (Jones, 1980). The quality of police and community relations is largely determined by the quality of the relationship between the uniformed constable and the community (Bayley, 1994; Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999).

In all three democracies the nature of uniformed police work allows for a considerable degree of latitude in the application of the law (Holdaway, 1983; Jones, 1980; Young, 1991). Generally, uniformed police work is a mandatory assignment for probationary constables. Here they learn the realities of, and are exposed to, the conflicting interests of police work (Jones, 1980; Radelet, 1980). Several studies (for example, Jones, 1980; Norris, 1989; Young, 1991) have determined that it is during this exposure to uniformed police work that probationary constables are redefined as police and are significantly exposed to the police culture. A significant proportion of uniformed police work occurs in the absence of direct supervision and considerable discretionary powers are invested in the office of constable (Brogden, 1991; Fielding, 1991; Norris, 1989). The uniformed constable is largely responsible for determining the physical act of policing and as such provides a reference point for the definition of the police role (Cain, 1973; Holdaway, 1989; Norris, 1989; Young, 1991). There appears to be universal acceptance that the reform of policing is contingent upon the reform of the practices of the uniformed constable.

There is considerable agreement within the literature that what police do and how they do it has a tremendous bearing on the status of community-police relations (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Finnane, 1994; Kleinig, 1996; Radelet, 1980). Police education and training has featured prominently as an agent for assisting role modification and cultural change, and as a panacea for police corruption and misconduct (for example, Fitzgerald, 1989; Lusher, 1981, Mollen, 1993; Scarman, 1981; Sherman, 1978; Vollmer, 1969; Woods 1997). A series of

judicial inquiries (for example, Fitzgerald, 1989; Lusher, 1981; Mollen, 1994; Wood, 1997) and several reviews of police education (for example, Sherman, 1978; Carter *et al.*, 1989) have all recommended increased participation in tertiary education. Recurrent issues within the debate on police practice and tertiary education include the benefits of tertiary education, its impact on policing, curriculum development and the integration of universities and police academies (Bradley, 1993; Carter *et al.*, 1989; Longbottom & Kernbeek, 1999). It is equally apparent that although jurisdictions have in essence a common goal, their organisational differences have resulted in varying approaches to educational reform.

#### 4.1 Conclusion

Policing in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America would appear to have reached a consensus on an approach for responding to a range of similar political, organisational and social dilemmas (Bradley, 1996b). A law enforcement mandate emphasising crime control dominates the philosophy of policing in these countries. Similarities in the operational context of policing have reproduced police work and uniformed police practices that are fundamentally the same in all three countries. The activities of the uniformed constable are the most conspicuous aspects of policing and have the greatest potential for reform (for example, Brogden, 1991; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1995; Jones, 1980; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985). Uniformed police practice also provides a common reference point for the reform of police education and training.

## Section II.

### The development of contemporary Policing

#### Chapter 5.

##### Role conception: the United Kingdom.

It would appear that the concept of policing, its form and function, has developed gradually. During the time of the Saxons an obligation developed wherein community members were responsible for the maintenance of community order and were under obligation to participate in the 'hue and cry' which had developed as part of the process of capture of law breakers and of law enforcement. This was developed further by the Normans who instigated the position of the 'constable' and 'the watch' with the Constable responsible for the maintenance of order within a community. Critchley (1967, as cited in Manning, 1977) found that local systems of justice and law enforcement have existed in England from the time of the 'Justice of the Peace Act of 1327'.

In a concise review of the historical context of the development of policing in the United Kingdom, Manning (1977) summarises the features that characterised the period. Manning (1977), Tobias (1979) and Weber and Milte (1977) have provided a brief account of the circumstances existing during the period 1750 to 1829, that were to provide the context of policing reform. As noted by Manning (1977), a complex set of circumstances and ideas that had accumulated over a period of time provided the context of reform and the development of what is termed the 'new police'.

The period 1750 to 1829 saw the advent of industrialisation and the large scale migration of rural inhabitants to urban centres seeking employment. This migration led to a rapid rate of population growth in London and other industrial centres. The rapid growth rate in population contributed markedly towards fluctuating high levels of unemployment and coincided with a rapidly rising crime rate, the extent of which varies or is disputed by several authors Tobias (1967) and McIntosh (1971), as cited in Manning (1977).

The urban centres became areas of social disorder and became synonymous with the unruly, criminal and dangerous classes (Tobias, 1967; Tobias, 1979). A rapid expansion in urban growth and large scale urban unrest as highlighted by the food riots of 1800, the Luddite disturbances of 1811-1816, and the riots at Spafield 1816, Manchester 1817, and Peterloo 1819, contributed to a perception of declining social order (Manning, 1977). Oppressive taxes, economic hardship associated with the Napoleonic wars and high levels of unemployment exacerbated by the demobilisation of large numbers of military personnel contributed towards urban unrest.

Current policing practices had manifestedly failed to protect citizens and their property (Bittner, 1983; Manning, 1977). What Bittner (1983) has described as an antiquated and corrupt system of law enforcement was unable to cope with the increasing complexities and changes to the social condition imposed by urban growth and the depressive economic context. Police effectiveness was also impaired due to the dangers inherent in law enforcement. At the time, as suggested by Manning (1977) and Tobias (1979), it was unwise if not undesirable to pursue criminals into their environs. Community indifference and acrimonious, if not openly hostile relations towards police and law, contributed to the inability of police to control social disorder.

Political turmoil was evident with the control of social reform and political power being openly contested by the aristocracy, a weakened decentralised government, the urban masses and the rising commercial, professional and middle classes. These latter classes comprised what Manning (1977) describes as the new capitalistic order, a genre that perceived the maintenance of social control as an imperative for providing a stable environment that would be conducive to the provision of economic reform and prosperity.

Although economic reform and prosperity featured highly in political debate there emerged a growing consensus of the role of government in providing social reform and social prosperity (Manning, 1977). This debate was fuelled by rising crime rates, urban unrest and a growing social consciousness. A maturing of attitudes saw government acceptance of its obligation to provide for the security of, and contribute towards the improvement in the quality of life, of

all members of the community. This was seen as necessitating government intervention in altering or modifying the life situation of the majority of the citizens. It soon became apparent that such intervention could be construed as government oppression and a mechanism was required that would be acceptable to the government and the community (Manning, 1977).

The form and function of policing developed gradually over a period of time and in response to a variety of stimuli. Significant contributions to its development were made through the writings and activities of the Fieldings, Colquhoun and Peel (Finnane, 1994; Manning, 1977; Tobias, 1979).

The prototype of modern police organisations, the Metropolitan Police of London, was established in 1829. A complex series of historical events and developments, vested interests, and social, political and ideological conflicts gave rise to the Metropolitan Police (Manning, 1977). Its development has been described as a culmination of ideas and actions based upon the works of the reformers the Fieldings, Colquhoun and Peel. The 'New Police' as they were to be termed, were to provide the framework upon which developed the role of the police in a democratic society (Manning, 1977; Finnane, 1994). At the time of their conception, conscious decisions were made to secure the police within a framework of community consent. They were seen to be an extension of the rights and obligations of the community (Manning, 1977).

The demand for the reform of the police arose in the major urban centres of the British Isles. In the 1700s, London Magistrates H. and J. Fielding proposed an organised, preventive and legalistically orientated paid and permanent police force. According to Manning (1977) the Fieldings saw people as in need of control, as corrupt and corruptible, and requiring more rational forms of policing to achieve a civilised existence. Organised by H. Fielding, the Bow Street Amateur Volunteer Force (the 'Bow Street Runners') actively patrolled the streets. On the death of Fielding, the quality and character of the group declined with corruption, brutality and mob-like activities occurring. The Fieldings also produced several publications (*Covent Garden Journal* and *The Weekly Pursuit*) to educate the public on issues related to

crime and the apprehension of criminals. They also initiated what is now known as 'Community Watch' or 'Neighbourhood Watch' (Manning 1977).

The modern conception of policing as practised in England was formalised by Patrick Colquhoun, a stipendiary magistrate (Manning, 1977). He argued that the primary intent of policing should be based upon the restrained and civil preventive actions of the police: "mild operations - effective in its results; having justice and humanity for its basis, and the general security of the state and individuals for its ultimate object " (Colquhoun, 1800, as cited in Manning, 1977, p. 38). He extended the ideas of the Fieldings by proposing a state-paid full-time preventive force composed of specialists within an organisational structure. Colquhoun proposed a 'scientific', rational and prevention-oriented police - one he thought would best serve the English tradition of non-intervention. He established the Thames Police in 1798. He further advocated, in 1803, a police for London which would encompass a wide range of duties. He envisaged an organisation which would bring about community order not just through increasing the certainty of apprehension, but by extending the regulation of social life for the well being of the whole population. The organisation provided the government with an instrument for exerting control over, or of increasing the possibility of government intervention in, individual and community affairs. This view of policing was well established in the United Kingdom by 1800.

Expanding on the work of the Fieldings and Colquhoun was R. Peel, the British Home Secretary, later Sir Robert Peel the British Prime Minister. Social protest and dissent in the early 1800s prompted numerous proposals for a permanent police force to maintain the peace. Peel proposed a civilian force with minimal distinguishing uniforms, no arms and with limited arrest powers. They were to have no power to bring charges nor to provide the potentiality of bringing the case for trial. They were to be a restrained, available extension of both the rights and obligations of the citizen under English common law (Manning, 1977, p. 49). The 'Metropolitan Police Act of 1829' embodied these proposals. The Act led to the formation of the 'New Police' in London, a three thousand man force commanded by 12 magistrates. Later two Commissioners of Police were appointed and a set of General Instructions prepared. These instructions outlined the duties of the police, their legal powers



and obligations, organisational objectives and the organisation of the force itself. The 'New Police' had a military- like organisation, were centrally administrated and were publicly represented by uniformed constables (Manning, 1977; Tobias, 1979).

As previously noted, the reforms to policing occurred during a period of significant civil unrest, amidst severe socio-economic inequality and political turmoil (Manning, 1977; Tobias, 1979). Despite this, the Government went to great efforts not to establish a repressive force (Weber & Milte, 1977). The instructions clearly outlined the two principal objectives of policing. These were: "that crime prevention rather than detection should be the principal object of the police, and second, police should behave in a civil manner and exercise great tact and discretion when dealing with the public." (Weber & Milte, 1977, p. 26).

According to Manning (1977) and Bittner (1990) the British parliament and community feared an overtly repressive police force like the French model. Given this fear the reformers sought to produce a government institution whose neutrality would prevent its utilisation in internal power politics (Bittner, 1990, p. 30). Reiner (1978b) and White (1983) disagree, contending that Peel's model of policing was a product of a political need to contain the potential of the urban working class for mob disorder and for contesting the power of the state and those in control. The police provided a tool by which political power could be contested (Reiner, 1978) and was primarily concerned with protecting the life and property of the ruling classes (Reiner, 1985).

The main function of police was seen as securing an environment which was favourable to commerce, industry and urban civil life (Bittner 1990). Peel's primary concern was to provide for the security of the state and the community. As noted by Finnane (1994), the police provided a mechanism for maintaining order not only by increasing the chances of apprehension but also by extending the regulation of social life. The reforms were designed to improve both the quality of the police service and relationships between the police and the community (Reiner, 1978b). Peel sought the community's cooperation and trust through a philosophy of policing with the consent of the community. Policing in this form was then an acknowledgment of the growing importance of providing for the needs of the majority of the

community. This was emphasised in the instructions, which outlined the dual functions of crime-fighting and peace-keeping (defined as involving procedures not involving the formal legal remedy of arrest) with the latter being seen as particularly significant (Bittner, 1990, p. 32).

Adding to the work of Peel was Chadwick (1830's), a social reformer and bureaucratic architect. With others he advocated furthering the involvement of police within the community. He suggested a broad-ranging concept of police stressing the contributions that a well-administered constabulary would make to the general welfare of society. This idea recognised the importance of the many non-law enforcement aspects of police and community interactions (Finnane, 1994).

So successful was this force that by 1856 every parish in England was required to form its own police force based on the model developed for London by Peel. An Act in 1839 encouraged the provinces to establish police forces, and an Act in 1855 made them mandatory (Tobias, 1979).

Despite its success, the 'new police' were in competition with the military, the private police established by Colquhoun, the dock police and private police attached to magistrates and justices (Manning, 1977). The 'new police' quickly established an organisational niche and through necessity competed for legitimacy with others providing similar services (Manning, 1977; Tobias, 1979). In an effort to improve their competitiveness, Manning (1977) notes that even at this early stage there appeared to be a discernible move towards redefining their role and an acceptance of a narrower range of crime specific objectives.

## 5.1 Conclusion

As noted by (Bittner, 1983; Manning, 1977; Reiner, 1978) a complex set of circumstances and ideas that had accumulated over a period of time provided the context of reform and the development of what is termed the modern police in the United Kingdom. The 'modern' or 'new' police evolved from the ideas and actions of such reformers as the Fieldings, Colquhoun and Peel. Of these, Peel is seen as being pivotal to their development. The

political strategies and tactics of Peel provided the means by which ideas, developed within a social, economic and legal context, became crystallised in law and implemented and administrated by the central state (Manning, 1977). They were presented as a benign force having the dual functions of crime-fighting and peace-keeping with the latter being seen as particularly significant. They were to be an extension of the community's obligation to maintain social order and this led to the dictum that 'the police were the public and the public were the police'.

## Chapter 6.

### Development of policing: Australia and the United States of America.

Policing in Australia and the United States of America developed within environments that were to initially endow policing in these countries with their own unique characteristics. The apparent success of the 'new police' in the United Kingdom and an imperative to reform policing saw each country adopt the model of policing proposed by the *Metropolitan Police Act* of 1829. The historical precedents already established during the development of policing and the unique context of reform in these countries were to subsequently alter the fundamentals and philosophy contained within the *Metropolitan Police Act* of 1829.

Further significant contributions to the development of modern policing in the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States of America were to originate from the work of American reformers and reforms in American policing (Weber & Milte, 1977). Despite this, the 'new police' model was to make a significant contribution to the development of policing and even today provides the basis for discussion pertaining to the continued reform of policing in these countries.

#### 6.1 Development of policing: Australia.

Much of the following discussion draws heavily from the reviews of the development of policing in Australia conducted by Chappel and Wilson (1969), Weber and Milte (1977) and Finnane (1987;1994). Collectively these works provide a clear and concise account of the relatively complex development of policing in Australia. Policing in Australia developed in an environment that was to endow policing in this country with its own unique characteristics.

##### 6.1.1 The emergence of Australian police forces.

When Australia was first colonised in 1788, security of the settlement, the maintenance of law and order, was primarily the responsibility of the military. In 1789, as a consequence of inappropriate behaviour, the policing duties of the military were handed over to a newly-

formed group of 'constables and watchmen'. These were selected from the best behaved of the convicts. Shortly after, with lawlessness rampant in the colony, the constables and watchmen were replaced by elected 'decent and respectable citizens'- three for each town area. They performed the dual role of prison guard and 'crime-fighter'. Additional improvements were not made until 1810 when Governor Macquarie established a new police force, composed of both freemen and convicts, under the direction of a military officer. A review of police effectiveness and rising crime rates was conducted and in 1825 a series of further reforms was initiated. These, King observed (1967, as cited in Weber & Milte 1977, p. 23), were primarily concerned with the imposition of the rule of law upon a large section of the community. A proposal for similar reforms in England and Wales had previously been rejected because of their military and repressive nature.

The dominance of colonial culture by the United Kingdom meant that colonial ideas about police and criminal justice emulated those being considered in the United Kingdom (Finnane, 1994). Colonial notions of police and the criminal justice system were initially dominated by convention and developments in the United Kingdom.

Accordingly, the passing of the *Metropolitan Police Act of 1829* was a "most significant development which inspired the passing of the *Sydney Police Act of 1833*" (Weber & Milte, 1977, p. 23). The Act of 1833 provided for the appointment of Justices of the Peace who acted as police magistrates in particular districts. Their duties included the appointment of uniformed police officers and the drafting of police regulations and orders. The police were uniformed and armed with cutlasses and equipped with staves (Weber & Milte, 1977). The network of police magistrates was extended into rural areas with the passing of an additional Act in 1838. A review conducted in 1839 of the conditions and management of police in New South Wales, as reported by Weber and Milte (1977, p. 40), found that the various police agencies were, in the absence of central administration and adequate coordination and cooperation, ill-equipped to suppress crime and to preserve law and order. Following continued failures at stemming the crime rate and further incidences of mismanagement two more Acts were passed. One '*An Act for the Regulation of the Police Force of New South Wales*', passed in 1850, achieved very little. The other, passed after several civil disturbances

in 1862, was '*An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws Relating to the Police Force*'. It raised standards and completely reorganised and unified the New South Wales Police Force along present day lines.

A similar evolution of the administration of policing is reported by Weber and Milte (1977) and Finnane (1994) as occurring in the other colonial states and territories. Paraphrasing the work of Finnane (1994) the following characteristics can be applied to the development of policing in the colonial states and territories. The police were to be a single uniformed body operating under the direction of a governing authority. Following a period of experimentation with local political control of policing the mid to late 1800's saw the centralisation of policing in the majority of colonies; for example 1862 in New South Wales, 1867 in Victoria and 1899 in Tasmania. Policing was to be a function of the state, not local communities, with control of the police vested in the governor and in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland in the government. The magistracy and judiciary, and local political representatives were excluded from the direction or review of police practice. The control of all police by a single officer and or department made for hierarchical and an increasingly bureaucratic and paramilitary like-organisations. The police statutes reflected political choices perhaps appropriate for an early colonial society but not necessarily afterwards.

In their analysis Weber and Milte (1977) and Finnane (1994) concluded that several distinctive features of the Australian context had a significant impact upon the development of the police mandate. These distinctive features had established a historical precedent that was to assist in the suppression of the fundamentals and philosophy of the 'new police' as proposed in the *Metropolitan Police Act of 1829*.

Convictism played its role in the early development of police forces in Australia particularly in New South Wales, Tasmania and Western Australia. At this time colonial police were to a large degree "disciplinarians in a penal colony and enforcers of law in a society where a large proportion of the community were of convict descent" (Weber & Milte, 1977, p. 26). The latter was significant in that it contributed to the formation of a society divided by class. Class conflict and the apparent differential enforcement of the law produced a belief that

police were a government instrument of suppression with a mandate to use repressive force (Finnane, 1994).

From an early stage in colonial development, police were not only involved in the detection and apprehension of criminals but also in the official administration of punishment (Weber & Milte, 1977). Police involvement in this practice was to continue for some time. Weber and Milte (1977), citing Victorian Parliamentary Debates of 1889, noted that there was still an expectation for police to administer floggings to juvenile offenders as late as 1889. The mandate for police violence also extended to the suppression of dissidents and the subjugation of aboriginal inhabitants.

The gold rushes brought about political and social change of enormous importance to later colonial development. Significant conflict arose where police were involved in the collection of licence fees in Victoria during the gold-rush era. The Victorian goldfield riots of 1854 at Eureka and in 1861 in New South Wales were quelled by the military who were assisted by their respective police forces. Heydon (1911, as cited in Weber & Milte, 1977, p. 24) found that the goldfield riots stimulated police reform and consolidation, and reinforced the notion that a police force should be capable of responding successfully to all contingencies.

Associated with the gold rushes was the social phenomenon of bush ranging. The disastrous performance of the police in apprehending the bushrangers contributed to their poor reputation and reflected badly upon their efficiency and effectiveness (Chappel & Wilson, 1969; Finnane, 1994; Weber & Milte, 1977). The 'bushrangers' were a further catalyst for the reorganisation of the New South Wales and Victorian Police. In Victoria, a Commission established in 1881 to investigate the police recommended their immediate re-equipment, an increase in strength and the provision of better weapons (Weber & Milte, 1977, p. 31).

Aboriginal resistance to white settlement and expansion was in several areas significant. In response to local demands for increased security, police often responded with the use of arms and assisted with the conduct of the forcible removal of indigenous inhabitants from their lands. In the view of Finnane (1994), these actions were to establish the antagonistic if not

racist relationships between Australian police, the various judicial systems, and Aboriginals.

As colonial governments evolved, the police assumed an enormous variety of administrative functions, some of which were to contribute to poor community police relations. Unlike the *Metropolitan Police Act of 1829*, the Act of 1833 included in it many aspects associated with the enforcement of public health and hygiene regulations. These, according to Weber & Milte, (1977), provided a source of conflict between police and the community.

The conduct of several major inquiries in Australia between 1883 and 1906 saw the continued reorganisation of policing at the end of the colonial period. According to Finnane (1994) such an incidence of public inquiries was not to be repeated until the 1980's with such inquiries as the *Lusher Report* (1981) in N.S.W, the *Neesham Report* (1986) in Victoria, the *Fitzgerald Report* (1989) in Queensland, and the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991). These reports were to provide the basis for further substantial reforms into policing and police organisations.

#### 6.1.2 Conclusion

Policing in Australia developed in an environment that was to endow it with its own unique characteristics. The penal origins of settlement were to provide the historical precedents for an antagonistic relationship between the colonial police and a significant proportion of the community. Colonial notions of police and the criminal justice system were initially dominated by convention and developments in the United Kingdom. This relationship and an imperative to reform policing saw the model of policing proposed by the '*Metropolitan Police Act of 1829*' adopted in Australia during the 1850s and 1860s. The historical precedents already established during the development of policing and the unique context of reform in this country were to alter the fundamentals and philosophy contained within the Act of 1829. Policing's military origins and the original role of prison guard and enforcer of unpopular laws predisposed Australian Police towards law enforcement. Social and political conflict originating from convictism, the gold-rushes, bush ranging, and indigenous resistance to European settlement reinforced this predisposition. The various colonial police forces had already been given various powers pertaining to law enforcement. Following several



commissions of inquiry into the various colonial police forces these powers were increased. Organisational reform of policing occurred over a period of time and culminated in a centralised administrative structure that was subordinate to a single commissioner who in turn was subject to Ministerial direction. These organisational reforms entrenched the paramilitary model of policing in Australia and strengthened the mandate of law enforcement (Weber & Milte, 1977; Finnane, 1994).

## 6.2 Development of policing: United States of America.

The earliest attempts at social control in the United States of America through voluntary citizen participation in law enforcement were not particularly effective (Cox, 1996). Following Philadelphia in 1749, most States legislated formal systems of law enforcement. In many instances these systems were an adaptation of the English constable/sheriff and 'night watchman' systems (Cox, 1996; Manning, 1977). Richardson (1970, as cited in Manning, 1977) explained that these systems were themselves a product of preurban England and that their continued effectiveness depended upon these conditions remaining present.

As in England, increased urban growth and differentiation altered these conditions and resulted in these policing systems becoming ineffectual as a basis of social control. Richardson (1970, as cited in Manning, 1977) summarised these circumstances as including a rapid population growth (particularly during the 1830s and 40s), a sharp increase in immigration, a rapidly fluctuating economy and heightened distinctions between class, ethnic and religious groups as being common features of American cities. The city was no longer a homogeneous community with a common culture and a shared system of values and moral standards (Richardson 1970, as cited in Manning, 1977, p.94). It became obvious that in this large heterogeneous society there were competing and conflicting demands not all of which could be satisfied at the same time.

Political and ethnic pluralism in the United States of America was significantly greater than that in the United Kingdom. Manning (1977) has suggested that this resulted in a greater level of conflict as groups competed for political power. Several authors have observed (for example, Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Carter, Sapp & Stevens, 1989; Cox, 1996) that an

affirmation of political power was seen to involve the control of matters pertaining to law enforcement and social order. Richardson (1970, as cited in Manning, 1977) found that various interest groups and political parties exerted whatever political influence they could to determine the nature of policing. This extended to personnel selection, enforcement strategies and discretion, policing reform and the involvement of these groups in the corruption of police (Alpert & Dunham, 1988). The repercussions of this were a differential enforcement of the law, the prevention of a coordinated response to social disorder and crime, and a decline in community support. The association of political power with the monopolisation of policing resulted in a significant level of local political manipulation of the police and contributed markedly towards police corruption.

An alternative model of policing was sought to contend with rising crime rates, escalating social disorder and community dissatisfaction with law enforcement. This and the apparent success of the British model increased the demand for change. Richardson (1970, as cited in Manning, 1977) found that although the demand for change grew the adoption of an alternative model was frustrated by political parties and other interest groups. Despite resistance the 'New Police Model' was adopted in 1838 in Boston, 1844 in New York and all other major cities by 1870 (Cox, 1996).

#### 6.2.1 Early reforms

The historical precedents already established during the development of policing and the unique context of reform in America were to alter the fundamentals and philosophy contained within the 'Metropolitan Police Act of 1829'. These precedents and the context of reform included such features as political and ethnic pluralism, and the unique nature of violence.

As an agency of the national government, the London Metropolitan Police were highly centralised, a feature that permitted continuity and reinforced the legitimacy of their mandate (Alpert & Dunham, 1988). Political pressure, a consequence of the decentralised nature of policing, guaranteed that policing in America would develop differently. Institutionalised pluralism in the American constitution constructed a decentralised government (Manning, 1977). Fearing that the police would become instruments of government repression a

centralised police force was opposed (Cox, 1966).

The various American police agencies were decentralised and administered at a local government level, demand for political control of the police became a local one not a national one. As a consequence national accountability and political neutrality was replaced by a preoccupation with the degree and type of local control that could be maintained by political parties and other vested interest groups (Richardson 1970, as cited in Manning, 1977). The police were required to operate within the local political context with local issues dominating the control and behaviour of police. The effects of this included the differential enforcement of the law, inconsistencies in practice and application of the law, and political ownership of policing inspiring the use of police for political purposes (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Cox, 1996; Manning, 1977).

As noted by Manning (1977) ethnic pluralism, especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and in recent years, made law enforcement a nexus for group conflict. "This conflict involved two areas: control of recruitment, command and the patronage associated with the political control of the police; and control over the operating policies, conduct and strategies of the police" (Manning, 1977, p. 90) Seizure of the law became a means of establishing and symbolising the dominance of a group or a particular set of moral codes or of political power itself (Gusfield, 1963, as cited in Manning, 1977). Manning (1977) theorised that ethnic pluralism combined with the political manipulations of policing contributed to the creation of the foundations for institutionalised racism in policing.

Conflict and violence had been a part of the American culture since early settler encounters with native Americans. Richardson (1970, as cited in Manning, 1977) asserted that the American popular culture identified with an ethos consistent with that of a 'frontier society', in which individualism and the right of self-protection was emphasised and the use of violence including weaponry for self-protection was permitted. On the issue of violence Bopp and Schults (1977) expressed the belief that in the west murder became a form of social expression and criminal acts attracted violent and often unlawful responses from law enforcement officers.

The 'new police' in the United Kingdom were conceived as a benign force, restrained in its enforcement of the law and with crime-prevention its principal objective. They were to behave in a civil manner and exercise great tact and discretion when dealing with the public. The General Instructions provided to police directed that they should always be unarmed. "In isolated areas they could only obtain sabres if their lives would be in danger, or if the local inhabitants petitioned for the use of such equipment, otherwise the constable only had a staff, truncheon and a rattle" (Weber & Milte, 1977).

In America police officers were encouraged to be resourceful, eager and somewhat aggressive. As a consequence policing, became action orientated, carried an expectation of violence and involved weaponry. Violence became a traditional means of problem solving, it was associated with class conflict and was utilised in the control of civil dissent (Skolnick, 1969; Graham & Gurr, 1969, as cited in Manning, 1977). In 1857, police in metropolitan areas were encouraged to carry revolvers for protection and the enforcement of the law. Concern regarding the use of coercive force in law enforcement was rapidly replaced by concerns regarding the use of 'deadly force'. As noted by Alpert & Dunham (1988, p. 24) as "soon as police armed themselves complaints surfaced against the unnecessary use of deadly force and the availability of a policeman not only to be arresting officer, but also judge, jury and executioner."

The unique nature of politics, ethnic pluralism and a preoccupation with violence in America had a significant impact upon the development and reform of policing. Rather than transforming policing in America, the fundamentals and philosophy of the 'new police' model were themselves suppressed. The manipulation of policing by political and cultural groups contributed to political and police corruption, a differential enforcement of the law, and an absence of consensus regarding the police mandate. The police were to become political instruments of oppression with a law enforcement mandate that sanctioned violent and, if necessary, deadly force. They had become "both instrumentalities and objects of control in the struggle for control" (Cox, 1996, p. 7).

### 6.2.2 The 'professionalization' of policing in America

During the latter 1800's and early 1900's, law enforcement in America entered a period of chaos and confusion, high crime, social crises and militancy. The early 1900's were characterised by gang warfare, rising crime rates, a high rate of police and political corruption, and crime became organised. Efforts to reform policing centred around its depoliticization. Most notable of the American reformers were Vollmer, Wilson and Parker who during the 1930's were considered architects of the new 'professional police' (Auten, 1991).

August Vollmer (1902) is commonly cited as the initiator of what came to be known as the 'professionalization' of the police and the 'father of modern policing' (Bittner, 1983). The term 'professionalization' became synonymous with the rejection of policing policies and practices that were dictated by local party politics, which were now condemned as corrupt and inefficient (Bittner, 1967; Auten, 1991). "Political influence of any kind in a police department came to be seen as not merely failure of police leadership but as corruption in policing" (Kelling & Moore, 1988, as cited in Bittner, 1990, p. 230). According to Carte and Carte (1975) and Zaho (1996), Vollmer insisted that political interference in policing was directly responsible for inefficient police practices and that the role of police in America was principally crime control. The reformers saw police as:

a politically neutral governmental function devoted to criminal law enforcement and crime prevention and concerned with some other conditions that, albeit not formally criminal, required similar coercive control (Bittner, 1983, p. 5).

It was felt that "professionalization could produce the kind of police restraint and prudence that political control had so manifestly failed to secure." (Sparrow, Moore & Kennedy, 1990, p. 38). The 'professional' or 'reform' model was principally designed to increase the effectiveness of police in combating crime and to establish an *esprit de corps* for contesting police corruption. This was achieved by centralising the control of police within police organisations thereby limiting political interference. It also involved an improvement in the education and training of police, particularly in the skills and tools of law enforcement, the formulating of stringent objectives and procedures, and by an increased use of technology (Carte & Carte, 1975; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). It would appear that although Vollmer

recognised the importance of crime prevention and community participation in policing, his recommendations for the centralisation of policing and his support for technological innovation has dominated discussion on the reform of policing (Carte & Carte, 1975; Bradley, 1996; Vollmer, 1969).

In America, three changes in the 1930's were fundamental to the alteration of the police role. These, paraphrased from Manning (1977), are:

1. linking criminal statistics with professionalism.
2. the police began to tie their own fate to changes in the crime rates as measured by official statistics. The crime rate became the responsibility of the police both in the sense of measuring, explaining and accounting for it and for substantially reducing it.
3. technology was adopted to accomplish the above. Technologies became public symbols of police commitment and they acted in ways that were in the best interests of the community.

After this was achieved the reformers turned their attention to turning policing into a goal oriented and rationalised system. Goal orientated policing favoured law-enforcement and systems were sought to expand their effectiveness and efficiency. The reformers equated technological advances with professionalism and this doctrine was to provide the basis for police legitimacy in America and eventually in the United Kingdom and Australia (Auten, 1991; Bittner, 1983; Cox, 1996; Manning, 1977; Weber & Milte, 1977). The automobile and radio were quickly assimilated by police, offering rapid mobility, pervasive coverage and continuous communication (Bittner, 1990, p. 6). They rapidly became status symbols and an affirmation of police commitment to 'professionalism' and law enforcement. Law enforcement became synonymous with crime control and dominated the theoretical considerations and practical applications of policing. The domination of law enforcement / crime control was to be reflected in the internal organisation of police agencies, the division of labour and the systems of rewards (Bopp & Schultz, 1977; Carte & Carte, 1975).

Ultimately police could not present themselves as responsible or professional unless their actions were based upon applied scientific knowledge and technology, the public record of their accomplishments and failures being expressed in crime statistics.

### 6.2.3 Conclusion

Manning (1977) attributes the transformation of the police mandate to the more diverse and adversarial social relationships in America, the political system that had evolved in response to that and the spirited acceptance of a technologically based, scientifically rationalised crime control mandate by police. "Within a hundred years of Peel a new version of policing with a new character had emerged" (Manning, 1977, p. 92).

### 6.3 Ongoing reform: 'contemporary policing' an overview.

Since the 1950's community concern regarding the police, crime and social disorder have dominated discussion of policing in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Brewer, *et al.*, 1996; Carter & Radelet, 1999). In all three democracies, features common to the debate on policing include: the role of police in society, rising crime rates, perceived police inefficiencies and ineffectiveness. Issues of police accountability, corruption and abuse of powers, social disorder and community resentment of the police are also prevalent (Finnane, 1994; Radelet, 1980; Weber & Milte, 1977). The United States of America appears to have differed only in the extreme degree to which these features were present (Weber & Milte, 1977). The sheer volume and intensity of the problems facing policing in the United States of America provided an urgency to social, political and economic imperatives to reform policing. According to Weber and Milte (1977), it was to the United States of America that Australia and the United Kingdom looked to for inspiration and guidance in the reform of policing.

As elsewhere, the post war years saw a rapid increase in population growth in the United States of America (Carter & Radelet, 1999). Growth occurred both in the number of urban centres in America and in their populations, through a combination of natural population growth, migration and immigration to urban centres. The rapid growth in population placed enormous strain on housing, education, employment and the provision of a range of government services, for example policing and social welfare (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Carter & Radelet, 1999). Accompanying the deterioration in government services and employment, inner city decay became a prominent feature of urban growth along with a significant increase in crime and social disorder (Radelet, 1980).

The mid 1900's saw a rapid increase in the crime rate, a 148% increase according to Bopp and Schultz (1977). There was an increase in narcotic addiction, several political assassinations (for example, Martin Luther King), the rise of extreme militant groups (for example, the Black Panthers) and mass murders (for example, Boston Strangler, Charles Manson Family). The growth of urban centres and their increasingly heterogeneous nature, and the separation of communities on racial and cultural lines contributed to interpersonal and intergroup conflict (Carter and Radelet, 1999). In the presence of other stressors, such as high unemployment and poverty, racial and cultural tensions precipitated social disorder and conflict (Coffey *et al.*, 1976; Radelet, 1980). The post war years, primarily from the 1950's, saw a deterioration in social order in America to an extent significantly greater than that in the United Kingdom and Australia. The following decades were characterised by demonstrations and riots associated with the Black civil rights movement, the Vietnam war and conscription, student unrest associated with a variety of social and political issues, and particularly in the United Kingdom, labour disputes (Brewer *et al.*, 1996). The profound social unrest and community divisiveness being experienced brought into question the established and dominant conceptions of the role of police in the community and the community's acceptance and support of law enforcement and its agents (Carter & Radelet, 1999).

Throughout this period the police were consistently criticised for an apparent failure to stem rising crime rates (Albanese, 1998; Radelet, 1980). Not only were police failing to reduce crime, in some instances police were active participants in criminal activity and at times provided protection that saw organised crime, gambling and prostitution flourish (Albanese, 1998; Radelet, 1980). Police participation in these areas saw an increase in allegations of police corruption and nepotism. Police brutality and the abuse of police powers, often associated with police interactions with members of minority groups, further contributed to community resentment and the withdrawal of community support of police (Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999).

In failing to maintain order, the police were consistently accused of personnel and organisational inefficiency and incompetence (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Radelet, 1980). In



response to this criticism the police demanded and received increased funding and resources, pursued a technological advantage over crime, became increasingly militaristic and advocated a more stringent application of law enforcement ideology to police practice (Becker & Whitehouse, 1977; Radelet, 1980). A differential enforcement of the law led to a substantial increase in allegations of institutionalised racism and political bias (Radelet, 1980). For many, especially ethnic and cultural minority groups, the police were viewed as the repressive instrument of political and social elites (Cox, 1996; Finnane, 1994). The police response to this criticism included an increase in police militancy, the formation of police unions and the undertaking of industrial action (Albanese, 1998). Police became increasingly isolated from the community and other public institutions. Interactions with these groups were increasingly adversarial and suspicious in nature (Albanese, 1998; Auten, 1991). According to Weber and Milte (1977) the next significant review and attempted reform of policing, to which the United Kingdom and Australia looked, was the President's *Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice Report* (1965). Following several congressional investigations there emerged considerable external and internal pressure to further reform the police. In 1965 President Johnson established the President's *Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*. Some key findings and recommendations were:-

1. the police were isolated from the community and other components of the criminal justice system.
2. police chiefs lack administrative skills.
3. minimum training and educational requirements should be established for all officers.

Emerging from this report came a number of reforms centred on improving the police. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) provided funds for improvements by police agencies. These improvements centred around the provision of advanced technologies such as computer-based information systems, the personal issue of mobile communication devices and the use of aircraft (Carter, Sapp & Stevens, 1988). To a much more limited extent, LEAA also provided for such things as community relations programs and minority recruitment programs. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was also responsible for the guidance and administration of research, training and program funds directed towards the overall improvement of justice. It was also intended that LEAA integrate research

findings into policy recommendations and guidelines (Albanese, 1998; Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Radelet, 1980). The *Law Enforcement Education Program* provided loans to police to undertake further tertiary studies and funded an increase in police education and training programs. Alpert and Dunham (1988) reported a lack of participation in individual study which was attributed to economic factors and a lack of departmental support. Basic law enforcement training improved, on average from ten hours to 200 hours, but was deemed inadequate for the preparation of police for the increasing complexity of their tasks. In one unnamed study cited by Alpert and Dunham (1988) comprehensive police training was found to be still "more a wish than a reality". Several studies (Goldstein, 1990; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990) have concluded that the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration program ultimately failed in its mission to control crime or even to bring the fragments of the American criminal justice system together.

Following what some authors have described as a lull in hostilities in the 1970's, the 1980's and early 1990's saw a renewed increase in civil unrest, race riots, minority and police conflict and criticism of police effectiveness and efficiency (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Horton & Smith, 1988). It is the early to mid 1980's that Kelling and Moore (1988) describe as the 'community strategy era', a period representing a focus upon community oriented strategies of policing. Brewer *et al.* (1996) disagrees, considering that this era of policing marked a shift in emphasis from issues pertaining to policing with the consent of the people to an emphasis upon economic considerations of police practice, effectiveness and accountability. Certainly Loveday (1996) and Crowther (1998) agree, seeing a renewed interest in 'value for money policing' and a resultant emphasis upon 'law enforcement', what Loveday refers to as 'more of the same' as a response to criticism of policing and a perception of spiralling crime rates. Occurring in a climate of economic decline, large sections of the community had been adversely affected by a reduction in public expenditure (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Loveday, 1996; Crowther, 1998). Continued economic decline had created not only mass unemployment, but forms of social discipline in the shape of new police powers and draconian public order laws (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Loveday, 1996).

According to Horton and Smith (1988), the renewal of interest in the effectiveness of the

police was associated with the desire to make police more financially accountable, increased doubt about the fundamental purposes of the police and a challenge from some quarters to their legitimacy. According to Radelet (1980), a series of reviews undertaken in America and in the United Kingdom (*the Scarman Inquiry* 1981) and in Australia (*the Lusher Report* 1981) highlighted the need to reform policing. Consistently, the reviews concluded a need to establish closer ties with the community, seek community cooperation and involvement in policing, reform police education and training and adopt organisational practices consistent with concepts of community orientated policing (Radelet, 1980; Lusher, 1981; Scarman, 1981).

### 6.3.1 Conclusion

It would appear that despite apparent concerted efforts to address the problems affecting policing in the preceding decades, many of these issues remain and provide further incentives for police reform. In an evaluation of the role of police in America, Zaho (1996, p. 79) concluded that the core mission had changed little in the preceding 50 years.

### 6.4 Conclusion

Both the United States of America and Australia followed the reformist lead of the United Kingdom in adopting the model of policing proposed by the *Metropolitan Police Act* of 1829 which although modified by the unique context of reform in these countries the fundamentals remained essentially the same (Bradley, 1996b, Loveday, 1996). Ongoing efforts to reform policing saw the introduction of the 'professional' model of policing into the United Kingdom and Australia from the United States of America (Weber & Milte, 1977). It is important to note that although the underlying fundamentals of policing altered with the adoption of the professional model of policing the research clearly shows that they remained essentially the same in all three countries (Bradley, 1996b; Radelet, 1980). As noted in chapter 4 policing in the three democracies studied evolved along similar lines and in response to the same broad set of problems. Which Bradley (1996b, p. 13) has argued has resulted in a "convergence of policing systems, and to a common contemporary condition". Despite differences in national characteristics and development evident in chapter 6, the research clearly supports the view that similarities in the operational context of policing has reproduced police work and uniformed police practices that are fundamentally the same in all three countries.

### Section III.

## Crime and the Police

### Chapter 7.

#### The nature of crime

For many, the core function of the police is perceived to be 'crime fighting', and significant police resources are directed towards this. For the police service, government, media and the community, performance is gauged through tangible measurements such as clearance rates and crime statistics (Bayley, 1994; Klockars & Mastrofski, 1991; Loveday, 1996). A reduction in the crime rate is considered achievable through a combination of strategies including managerial reform, political resolve, the introduction of sophisticated technologies and prioritising police activity (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Loveday, 1996b). There are also those who have queried the relationship between police activity and crime, and the effectiveness of police as 'crime fighters' (for example, Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1991; Klockars & Mastrofski, 1991; Loveday, 1996b; Scheingold, 1984).

#### 7.1 Towards an explanation for crime

Crime has been defined as human behaviour that is considered deviant by established standards or norms of authority within a society (Radelet, 1980; Yarmey, 1990). The explanations for crime are many and varied. Crime is commonly explained in terms of cause and effect relationships between various factors that define human behaviour. The causes of crime have been categorised as being physiological, psychological, medical-psychiatric, political, economic, sociological, familial and educational (Albanese, 1998; Radelet, 1980; Wilson & Ashton, 1998; Yarmey, 1990). According to Moore (1991, p. 208) the relative importance of a range of criminological theories continues to be debated and it appears from comparative criminological studies that none of these theories are universally applicable (see appendix A).

#### 7.2 Democratic societies and crime

In large complex and heterogeneous societies normative or informal control mechanisms

have been substantially replaced by formal mechanisms of social control such as law (Carter & Radelet, 1999). "The prohibitions of law are an index of the range of behaviour that the people of a democratic society will tolerate" (Radelet, 1980, p. 24). All societies have some level of deviant behaviour that is disruptive to the social order (Albanese, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; Manning, 1977; Radelet, 1980). Laws that prohibit certain forms of conduct so as to maintain social order identify a set of behaviours termed 'crimes' (Albanese, 1998, p. 24). Radelet and Albanese assert that governments have the ability to create crime turning lawful acts into unlawful acts and vice versa. Changes to criminal law, as indicated by Lea and Young (1998) and Radelet (1980) reflect shifting patterns of tolerance within a community. In a democratic society the existence, nature and magnitude of crime is largely determined by the community (Carter & Radelet, 1999).

Several authors, including Albanese (1998) have examined whether or not crime in a democratic society is normal. The French sociologist, Emile Durkheim (1895, cited in Becker & Whitehouse 1979, and as cited in Albanese, 1998, p. 67), makes the point "that crime is normal in that every society has it, in some form or another as defined by local authority, and it would be abnormal to expect otherwise." To be without crime, a society would require social control mechanisms that would significantly reduce or eliminate individual freedoms. Because of the emphasis upon safeguarding individual freedoms, Becker and Whitehouse (1979) suggest that a democratic society exempt from crime is impossible.

Avery (1982) and Albanese (1989) note that a central theme of Durkheim's work is that the deterioration of social cohesion is associated with an increase in deviant behaviour. Several other studies (Bayley, 1994; Lea & Young, 1993; Manning, 1977) have also noted the correlation between social cohesion, social disorder and criminal behaviour. Several of the definitive characteristics of modern democratic societies are associated with a decline in social cohesion and an increased incidence of criminal behaviour. Urbanisation, industrialisation and specialisation are aspects of democratic society that several studies have shown (for example, Albanese, 1998; Avery, 1982; Manning, 1977; Radelet, 1980) to be closely associated with increased levels of criminal behaviour. Another is capitalism, the

economic core of modern democratic societies. Lea and Young (1993) perceive crime as a direct result of the core dynamics of capitalism. They suggest that capitalism leads to growing social division and inequality. This in turn contributes to the deterioration of social norms and relations and thus promotes criminal behaviour.

A community's unique socio-economic structure either weakens or reinforces normative control mechanisms that induce conformity thereby promoting social cohesion (Reiss, 1986, as cited in Zaho, 1996). Shaw and MacKay (1972, as cited in Zaho, 1996) established a direct relationship between an absence of conformity and criminal activity within a community. Two characteristics identified by Shaw and Mackay (1972, as cited in Zaho, 1996, p. 28) as reducing conformity within a community were population mobility and the degree of heterogeneity. Other studies cited by Zaho (1996, p. 28-30), (for example, Smith & Jarjoura, 1988; Gibbs & Erickson, 1976; Carroll & Jackson, 1983; Crank, 1990), established that:

heterogeneous communities are characterised by weak or ineffective normative control mechanisms, a causal relationship existed between the degree of heterogeneity and the level of crime, and arrest rates were higher in heterogeneous communities.

Several studies cited in Zaho (1996), (for example, Angel, 1974; Kornhauser, 1978; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Clarke, 1992), established that community mobility impeded social integration within a community, impeded community crime prevention programs, and was associated with increased rates of crime and victimisation.

Examining issues, of law Carter and Radelet (1999) concluded that in a democratic society the existence, nature and magnitude of crime is largely determined by the community. Because of the emphasis upon safeguarding individual freedoms, a democratic society exempt from crime is impossible (Becker & Whitehouse, 1979). Several of the definitive characteristics of modern democratic societies; capitalism, urbanisation, industrialisation, heterogeneity and mobility, are associated with a decline in social cohesion and an increased incidence of criminal behaviour. Because of these relationships criminal behaviour could be seen to be a characteristic of modern democratic societies.

### 7.3 Human behaviour and crime

Reviewing the association between human behaviour and crime, Albanese (1998, pp. 80-93) conveniently divides the explanations into four approaches. These are paraphrased as follows:-

classical: crime is the product of the rational exercise of free will guided by the pursuit of pleasure and the minimisation of pain.

positivism: crime is determined by internal and external influences on a person for example biological, psychological and sociological.

structural or conflict: there is a lack of consensus on basic values, so that crime is defined in such a way as to protect the interests of the powerful. The focus is on economic and political inequality.

ethical: crime results when criminal acts bring pleasure, rather than guilt, owing to a failure to learn how to prioritise values in difficult situations. The focus is on individual responsibility.

The positivist and structural approaches emphasise the role of various social factors on influencing human behaviour. The classical and ethical approaches emphasise the responsibility of the individual decision.

### 7.4 The human condition and crime

Several studies (for example Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; Yarmey, 1990) have noted the tendency for a stereotypical association to be made between race, class, poverty, unemployment, marginalisation and crime.

As noted by Radelet (1980), racially delineated crime statistics perpetuate the myth that there exists a causal relationship between race and crime. Specifically, what Radelet refers to as 'Negro Crime'. Albanese (1998), in a review of '*Uniform Crime Reports*' and '*Highlights from 20 years of Surveying Crime Victims*' in America, found that 54% of offenders arrested for violent crime were white as opposed to 45% black and 66% of offenders arrested for property crime were white while 32% were black. This apparent contradiction for the association between race and crime is offset by statistics from Bureau of Justice crime report

summaries that found 63% of prison inmates belonged to ethnic or racial minority groups. The report's summary also shows that on current rates of incarceration for first time offenders 28% of black males, 16% of hispanic males and 4.4% of white males will enter prison during their life times. Braithwaite (1997) refers to these statistics, the overrepresentation of ethnic minorities, as the controversial aspect of crime - one that in his opinion has not adequately been explained and should not be ignored.

What statistical studies do support is the notion that criminal acts are predominantly intragroup and intraracial (President Johnson, 1966: Crime Commission; the Kerner Commission; Remington, 1968; as cited in Radelet 1980). Albanese, citing *Uniform Crime Report and Highlights from 20 years of Surveying Crime Victims in America* noted that 80% of all victimisation were intraracial. Radelet and others have consistently argued that this predominance of over representation in crime statistics should not be interpreted as causal. Citing several studies (for example, Kepharts, 1952; Mills, 1964; Wolfgang & Cohen, 1970) Radelet (1980, pp. 229-231) noted that there is overwhelming evidence that race is not in itself a cause of crime. As noted by Albanese, race itself does not predispose a person to crime but that race is clearly related to age, income and residence in cities.

Several studies (for example, Braithwaite, 1997; Crowther, 1998; Radelet, 1980; Lea & Young, 1993) have noted the tendency to insist upon a causal association between class and crime. The over-representation of members of socio-economically deprived classes, commonly referred to as 'lower class' and the 'underclass', in criminal statistics has perpetuated a largely unsubstantiated view that a causal relationship exists between class and crime. Radelet has noted that crime statistics tend to focus on easy-to-measure crimes committed by individuals such as crimes involving violence and property offences. This has fostered the stereotype of the criminal as young, male, black, urban and poor. Crime statistics tend to ignore or under-represent the increasing incidence of white collar crime much of which goes unreported, such as fraud, extortion, forgery, embezzlement, bribery, crimes against public administration and regulatory offences (Albanese, 1998; Braithwaite, 1997; Crowther, 1998; Radelet, 1980). As a consequence, there is an under representation of those over 25 years of age and members of the socio-economically privileged class in criminal



statistics (Braithwaite, 1997).

Several studies have consistently argued that there exists a strong correlation between crime and socio-economic deprivation within a community (Albanese, 1998; Braithwaite, 1997; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Goldstein, 1990). This notion is supported in several studies (for example, Wilson & Kelling, 1982; Smith & Jarjoura, 1988; Goldstein, 1990) as cited in Zaho (1996). The studies of Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990) and Gibbs and Erickson (1976) as cited in Zaho (1996), clearly established a causal relationship between low income, the percentage of a population living below the poverty level and crime rates. A study by Wilson and Ashton (1998) found that recorded crime usually rose during periods of economic recession and stabilised or fell during periods of prosperity. Radelet (1980) perceived poverty as more of a culture or subculture than a social class. He found that poverty was endemic to minority group status and that this was well documented. McKenzie (1965, as cited in Radelet, 1980, p. 210) states that where there is an apparent coincidence of crime and poverty it is necessary to examine the characteristics associated with poverty as causal determinants of criminal behaviour. These characteristics include low levels of education, disintegration of the family unit, ethnicity and unemployment.

Brenner (1976, as cited in Zaho, 1996) observed a positive correlation between unemployment and crime rates. Loveday (1996b), citing several studies, argues that a significant relationship exists between unemployment and rates of crime. For example Foster and Hope (1993, as cited in Loveday, 1996b) demonstrated that a significant relationship existed between local unemployment and rates of victimisation. From a review of successive *British Crime Survey Reports* Loveday also demonstrated that repeat victimisation was a significant factor of areas of high unemployment. Wells (1995, as cited in Loveday, 1996b) determined that a strong association existed between property crime and unemployment. He found that areas of high unemployment coincided with areas that had a high crime rate, these tended to coexist in the economically depressed urban areas. Also Field (1990, as cited in Loveday, 1996b, p. 85) found that "potential offenders are likely to be concentrated in particular social groups whose position in the labour market is liable to be weak or marginal." From these and other studies Loveday (1996b, p. 87) concluded that areas that are

characterised by low income and high levels of unemployment experience higher levels of victimisation and criminal activity. On the association between unemployment and crime, Bureau of Justice Statistics found a strong correlation with 36% of prison inmates in America being unemployed at the time of their arrest. Bryett and Harrison (1997) established that a similar correlation existed between unemployment and criminality in Australia. They concluded that the level of criminality reflected the economic and social divide that existed within the Australian community.

Lea and Young (1993) do not agree with the notion that poverty or unemployment on their own cause crime, citing that women and the elderly have the highest level of unemployment but the lowest participation rate in criminal acts. Instead they have placed great emphasis on the role of relative deprivation. Lea and Young argue that crime is not caused by poverty or unemployment but by a perception of economic or political inequality and an absence of economic and political opportunity to redress the balance (Lea & Young, 1993, p. ix). Adapting the work of McKenzie (1965), Radelet (1980, p. 211) has determined that "poverty means institutional non-participation" and that this has a greater influence upon levels of criminal behaviour than unemployment or poverty themselves. Crowther (1998) reached a similar conclusion finding that the marginalisation of members of deprived socio-economic classes was associated with an increasing incidence of crime.

Several studies (for example, Albanese 1998; Yarmey, 1990) have commented upon the role of the family in providing a stable environment that reinforces normative control mechanisms within the community. Yarmey (1990) observed that the family was the principal environmental factor influencing the socialisation of the child. He suggests that a 'healthy family' can counteract a movement towards delinquency although he recognised that not all authorities would agree. Sampson (1985, as cited in Zaho, 1996) found that areas with a pronounced family disorganisation, represented by a lack of parental care, formal education and standards of proper social norms, are less able to provide an effective network of social control. The disintegration of the family unit has been identified as a major factor contributing to the movement towards poverty (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Yarmey, 1990). Areas of pronounced family disorganisation were found to coincide with areas which had

high levels of unemployment, were economically depressed, had a large proportion of ethnic minorities and high rates of criminal behaviour and victimisation.

## 7.5 Summary

Knight (1973, as cited in Bryett & Harrison, 1997) concluded that crime to a large extent is inevitable, being an integral part of society. Several of the definitive characteristics of modern democratic societies- capitalism, urbanisation, industrialisation, heterogeneity and mobility- are closely associated with the incidence of criminal behaviour. Crime is an outcome of the combination of these characteristics within a democratic society. Lea and Young (1993, p. 66) see crime as inevitable being part and parcel of the human condition. Several studies (for example, Albanese, 1998; Avery, 1982; Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996b) have shown that socio-economic factors contribute to the incidence of crime and the predisposition of individuals or groups to commit crime. The complexities of modern democratic societies and social interaction appear to confound the formation of general laws of human behaviour and criminality (Young, 1991). There is an absence of consensus about what causes crime although, clearly, the causes of crime are both individual and social (Radelet, 1980). It is apparent that the origins and occurrence of crime and disorder, its prevalence and persistence is determined by social, economic and cultural factors that are largely removed from the police area (Becker & Whitehouse, 1979; Lusher, 1981). "Because the causes of crime spring from all of a community's social institutions, it follows that crime-coping activities should be just as comprehensive" (Radelet, 1980, p. 492).

## 7.6 Who commits crime?

Who commits crime is almost as contentious an issue as what causes crime, particularly where issues of race and minority group status are concerned (Braithwaite, 1997; Radelet, 1980). The following provides an overview of some of the strongest and consistently supported associations between crime and other variables such as: gender, age, residency and juvenile participation in crime (Braithwaite, 1997; Loveday, 1996b; Wilson & Ashton, 1998).

Becker and Whitehouse (1979, p. 116) have suggested that "all persons are capable of committing crime hence all persons are potential criminals either through deliberate acts or

through an ignorance of the law." A similar view of crime is held by Wilson and Ashton (1998) who consider that almost all adults have at some time committed a criminal act either intentionally or unintentionally. Yet crime, even in high crime rate areas, appears to be the activity of a minority of individuals (Lea & Young, 1993). On the incidence of crime Sherman (1992) has estimated that less than 3% of street addresses and 3% of the population in a city are responsible for over 50% of all crime and account for over half of all arrests. A further indication of the restricted association between criminality and specific individuals is illustrated by Radelet (1980) who determined that 70% of America's prison population were repeat offenders. A more recent review provided by the *Bureau of Justice Crime Statistics* (1998) also found that 70% of inmates in American correctional facilities were repeat offenders.

Citing numerous studies (for example, Simon & Sharma, 1979; Smith & Visher, 1980; Canter, 1982; Ramsay, 1984; Morash, 1986), Braithwaite (1997) concluded that crime is disproportionately committed by males. Braithwaite noted considerable gender differences were contained in rates of criminality, rates of arrest, adult prison populations and court data. He reported that similar findings were repeated in the United Kingdom, America and Australia. For example, Albanese (1998), from a compilation of data from 'Crime in the United States' (1996) Federal Bureau of Investigation, found that 88% of offenders arrested for violent crime were male and 74% arrested for property crimes were males. Across all crime categories 22% of people arrested were female, and females comprised 1% of the population in U.S correctional institutions in 1998 (U.S Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Summary 1999). Wilson and Ashton (1998) concluded from a review of the literature on crime statistics in the United Kingdom that criminal activity is predominantly committed by males, with one in three males having a criminal record. On juvenile crime, several studies by the New South Wales Crime Statistics Bureau (for example, *Juveniles in Crime*, 1996) have found that males have consistently higher rates of offending in all categories.

It would appear that crime is disproportionately committed by fifteen to twenty-five year olds, a finding consistent in Australia, the United Kingdom and America. Wilson and Ashton

(1998) found that the peak age of offending was eighteen for males and fifteen for females. In the United Kingdom, 46% of indictable crime were committed by persons under twenty one, and 26% by persons under eighteen (Wilson & Ashton, 1998). Albanese (1998), from 'Uniform Crime Reports arrests for index crimes' found that 45% of arrests involve offenders under twenty-five years of age, for violent crime 46% and for property crimes 58%. Braithwaite (1997, p. 46) qualifies the preceding assumption, suggesting "for those offences which do not require incumbency in high occupational roles, crime is committed disproportionately by 15-25 year olds."

As indicated, juvenile offenders are over-represented in criminal statistics (Braithwaite, 1997). Factors contributing to the rate of juvenile offending have been found to include: poor educational attainment, disruptive family patterns, family structure, poor levels of parental supervision, gender and the use of alcohol and drugs (Braithwaite, 1997; Juveniles in Crime, 1996; Wilson & Ashton, 1998; Yarmey, 1990).

Braithwaite (1997, p. 47), from a review of several studies (for example, Braithwaite & Biles, 1980; Archer & Garnet, 1984; McGarrell & Flanagan, 1985) concluded that "crime is committed disproportionately by people living in larger cities." Avery (1982) citing 'FBI Uniform Crime Reports' (1965) concluded that urban areas consistently had higher crime rates than rural areas and that the seriousness of the crime appeared to increase with the size of the community. A significant difference in crime rates between urban and rural communities in America was also reported by Radelet (1980) and Albanese (1998). This trend is evidenced by victimisation surveys in the United States where the geographical distribution of crime is 9:7:5, for urban:suburban:rural per 1000 victims (Bureau of Crime Statistics, 1999). Urban crime is not uniformly geographically distributed but concentrated within deprived socio-economic areas (Mays, 1968, as cited in Avery, 1982). In an evaluation of the incidence of crime, Tricket (1992, as cited by Loveday, 1996) found that there were considerable differences between inner city areas, urban and suburban areas. "The study found that offences against the person were 11 times greater in the worse inner city areas than in suburban areas while the prevalence of property offences was found to be four times greater" (Loveday, 1996b, p. 86). Tricket (1992) also established that the incidence of

victimisation was also considerably higher in inner city areas than in suburban areas. Several studies, including Albanese (1998), Loveday (1996b) and Radelet (1980), confirm that the incidence of crime and victimisation can be very localised.

### 7.7 Determining the extent of crime

The 'crime rate' and 'clear-up rates' are two commonly used indicators of the effectiveness of police as 'crime fighters' (Albanese, 1998; Manning, 1997). These statistics have a significant influence upon the level of government expenditure on the criminal justice system, the allocation of police resources and police practice, and the level of political and community support for policing (Loveday, 1996b; Manning, 1997; Young, 1991). The two main statistical measures of the crime rate are recorded crime statistics and victimisation surveys, but each in its own way may not accurately record the scale of crime nor provide an accurate picture of the extent of crime (Home Office Digest: Information on the Criminal Justice System in England and Wales 1995). Discrepancies between these two as to the extent of crime indicate that a substantial proportion of crime is not reported to or not recorded as such by police. Clearance rates are used as an indicator of police performance and are dependent upon variables that are not normally within the control of the police. The accuracy of crime statistics and their appropriateness as determinants of police effectiveness have been questioned (Lea & Young, 1993).

### 7.8 Measures of the extent of crime

The two most widely used statistical indicators of the extent of crime are recorded crime statistics and victim surveys. Examples of recorded crime statistics include the '*Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports*', '*Home Office Reports of Offences Recorded by Police*' and the '*New South Wales Recorded Crime Statistics Annual Report*'. Examples of victim surveys are '*British Crime Surveys*', '*Australian Bureau Statistics Crime Victim Surveys*' and '*Criminal Victimization* statistics published by Bureau of Justice Statistics'.

In an analysis of the relative advantages and disadvantages of these two methods of analysing crime statistics, Albanese (1998) concluded that each had its own inherent problems. That each method may not accurately record the true extent of crime was also noted by Wilson and

Ashton (1998). Several studies (for example, Grabosky, 1986; Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996b; Manning, 1997) have indicated that recorded crime statistics are unreliable as they are predominantly political, organisational, social and cultural constructs. They have been found to be particularly susceptible to changes in police procedures or recording systems, changes in community attitudes towards crime and to the reporting of crime, and administrative manipulation. Victim surveys are considered limited because they only extend to a sample which may not be representative of the population, may not include all crime and are not very good for comparing crime across geographical areas. Some reported advantages of victim crime surveys are that they include incidents not reported to police, reported to but not recorded or reclassified by police, are unaffected by changes in the way police record crimes and not subject to administrative manipulation (Loveday, 1996a). Because of this, victim surveys are considered more reliable indicators of the 'true' extent of crime (Albanese, 1998; Loveday, 1996b; Pease 1998; Wilson & Ashton, 1998).

## 7.9 Crime rates

A persistent theme in the literature, both authoritative and tabloid, is that crime rates have been rapidly increasing in America, Australia and the United Kingdom (Albanese, 1998; Avery, 1982; Bayley, 1990; Braithwaite, 1997, Loveday, 1996b; Radelet, 1980; Wilson & Ashton, 1998). A study by Biles (1979, as cited in Avery, 1982) concluded that despite fluctuations in the rate of incidence in some crimes the general trend is for an increase in crime rates. Acknowledging the difficulty in accurately comparing data from these countries, given the various collecting and recording mechanisms for example, Braithwaite (1997) also concluded that the only generalisation that could be made with confidence was a post-war increase.

In all three countries, with the exception of fluctuations in the incidence of some crime, there appears to be an overall increase in the crime rate. Victimization surveys consistently indicate that the extent of this increase may be significantly greater than that reported in recorded crime statistics (Albanese, 1998; Loveday, 1996b; Pease, 1998).

From Federal Bureau of Investigation crime reports, Radelet (1980) noted that in America

crime had increased 115 % between 1965 and 1975. Albanese (1998), using information compiled from *Uniform Crime Reports* for the period 1973 to 1996 observed a dramatic rise in the rate of most crimes reported to police with the rate of increase varying from 10% for robbery to 94% for aggravated assault. Becker and Whitehouse (1979) observed that not all crime was reported; they determined that the real volume of crime was two or three times the incidence of reported crime. In a comparison of *Uniform Crime Reports* and Victim Surveys, Albanese noted that victim crime surveys annually uncovered two to three times more crime than was reported in the *Uniform Crime Reports*.

The *Australian Bureau of Crime Statistics (1998)* indicates an upwards trend 1993 to 1997 in crimes recorded by police, with the exception of sexual assault and homicide which have remained relatively stable. The *Australian Bureau Statistics* publication '*Year Book Australia 1990*' reported that approximately 45% to 60% of victimisation were reported to police. It acknowledged that the extent of under-reporting varied between states and territories but concluded that there would always be some degree of under-reporting in criminal statistics.

Loveday (1996b) observed that the rate of growth in crime had been a feature of British society since 1950. Citing various Home Office figures Loveday noted that during 1973 and 1979 recorded offences had grown by nearly 50%. The rate of recorded crime had risen nearly 56% between 1979 and 1990, by 16% between 1990 and 1991, and by 7% increase between 1991 and 1993. Loveday (1996b) noted that successive British Crime Survey reports indicated that the real rate of increase was approximately 10% higher than that stated in recorded crime statistics. Loveday (1996a, citing Social Trends, 1995, p. 155) noted that successive British Crime Surveys demonstrated that the recorded figures hugely underestimated the real incidence of victimisation. Around 60% of burglaries could be expected to be recorded, while only around 12% of offences involving robbery or theft from the person could be expected to end up in official statistics. The 1994 British Crime Survey concluded that approximately 25% of all crime was recorded by police (Loveday, 1996a). Wilson and Ashton (1998) have noted that successive British Crime Surveys conducted since 1982 have suggested that at most only 50% of crime is reported, and they suggest that this



may now be as low as 25%.

### 7.10 Recording of crime

The obvious discrepancy between recorded crime and victimisation surveys requires an explanation. A study by Sparks (1977, as cited in Manning, 1977) reported that as much as two thirds of crime reported to the police in London was not recorded as such by the police. In America, Biderman (1967, as cited in Manning, 1977) found that less than half of all reported incidents were classified as crime by the police. Also, a study by Black (1970, as cited in Manning, 1977) found that approximately two thirds of incidents reported were not recorded as crime. Manning (1997, p. 280), citing dated studies by Reiss (1971) in Britain and Chatterton (1973) in America, found that:

it was abundantly clear that not all calls to the police department are recorded, that not all those recorded are acted upon and not all those acted upon generate further paper and that not all of that paper is 'official paper'.

In the studies reviewed it was found that less than 10% of crime that could have been recorded in police statistics was actually recorded. More recent studies have reached similar conclusions. Home Office research (1994, as cited in Loveday, 1996b) found that of the eighteen million crimes reported to the police, British Crime Surveys estimate approximately 25% were estimated to have been included in police records.

Amongst others, Loveday (1996b) and Manning (1997) provide a number of explanations for the apparent discrepancy between the incidence of reported and recorded crime. They note that the classification process is complex involving as it does a knowledge and evaluation of the circumstances of the alleged incident, the victim and the offender. The process is further influenced by the interactions between the victim, offender and the police, and the perspective of the recording police. The administrative manipulation of the classification and recording of crime may also result in variations in reported and recorded crime. Several studies (for example, Jones, 1980; Lea & Young, 1993; Young, 1991) have stressed the potential for the deliberate falsifying or distortion of data on crime through the administrative or political manipulation of crime statistics. For, as Jones (1980) and Young (1991) note, there exists an organisational and political imperative to maintain a low crime rate while

maintaining a high clearance rate. Additionally, these discrepancies may demonstrate the vetting process already instilled in individuals or within communities and reflect shifting patterns of willingness to report particular offences (Loveday, 1996b; Manning, 1997). Given these vagaries in the reporting and recording process, extreme caution needs to be exercised when attempting to interpret crime statistics.

#### 7.11 Clearance rates

Numerous studies (for example, Jones, 1980; Loveday, 1996b; Manning, 1997; Young, 1991) have observed that 'detection rates' or 'clear-up rates' have become important indicators of the relative success of police as 'crime-fighters'. Statistical information presented in this form is used to justify the government's expenditure on the criminal justice system (policing), to exemplify the government's and police commitment to the preservation of social order, to illustrate the efficiency of policing strategies and practice, and to justify the monopolisation of social control and law enforcement by police.

The *Australian Bureau of Crime Statistics* (1998) found that clear up rates in 1997 were as follows: approximately 69% for homicide, 43% for assault, sexual assault 33%, 8% for unlawful entry with intent, and robbery 14%. The Bureau noted that these figures tended to mirror the incidence of similar categories reported in other countries. A similar pattern of clearance rates and an overall clearance rate of 21% (for crime cleared by way of arrest) was reported by Albanese (1998) from FBI Uniform Crime Report for 1996. From a review of Home Office crime statistics, Wilson and Ashton (1998) noted a similar pattern of clearance rates approximately 68% for serious violent offences going down to 20% for property offences. They reported an overall clearance rate of 28% for 1997. If these particular clear-up rates were based upon primary detection, ie: those involving arrest, caution or other police activity, Loveday (1996b) concluded that they would be much lower; between 5 to 10%. From data obtained from the Central Statistical Office (1995), Loveday (1996b) found that clearance rates based upon primary detection were found to be under 15% for most police forces in England and Wales. It is apparent that clear-up rates vary between categories of crime but on the whole are consistently low.

Clear-up rates are affected by the social context in which different crimes are committed and of the personal relationships that exist between victim and offender (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998; Scheingold, 1984). For this reason several categories of offences, for example, violent crime and sexual assaults, tend to have significantly higher clear-up rates as the offender is often known to the victim. Some categories of crime such as those involving robbery and property offences have lower clear-up rates as these offences generally involve strangers. This relationship between victim and offender is consistently documented in the literature. Detection rates are significantly affected by the willingness or ability of members of the public to contribute information to the police (Bottomley & Coleman, 1980; Manning, 1997). On this issue, a study by Bottomley and Coleman (1981) concluded that a significant proportion of crime was not reported to the police by the public. They estimated that only approximately 15% of crime was either directly or indirectly discovered by the police. Other studies (for example, Bayley, 1994; Manning, 1997) noted the significant contribution that the public made to crime detection and clear-up rates.

The important point - for the present purposes is that cases with ready-made suspects contribute significantly to clear up rates and that these initial identifications are often due to characteristics of the crime and its context, and the action taken or information provided by members of the public, all of which is basically beyond the control of the police. (Greenwood, 1977, p. 141, as cited in Manning 1997, p. 88).

## 7.12 Conclusion

Braithwaite (1997) argued that the only generalisation that could be made concerning the crime rate was a general increase. The apparent rise in crime is for many authors indicative of the relative ineffectiveness of police as crime fighters (Bittner, 1990; Lea & Young, 1993; Radelet, 1980). Several studies (for example, Loveday 1996; Manning, 1997) have concluded that significant discrepancies exist between the two primary indicators of the extent of crime: recorded crime statistics and victim surveys. Other statistical indicators of police performance, for example 'clearance rates', indicate that police are relatively ineffective at resolving crime (Loveday, 1996b). The crime rate is influenced by many things not within the control of the police. Thus, the crime rate is not an accurate indicator of police effectiveness (Albanese, 1998; Jones, 1980). As Lea and Young (1993) have suggested, significant caution needs to be exercised in interpreting statistical data on crime and police effectiveness. Clearance rates indicate that police as crime fighters are relatively ineffective

at resolving crime. Several studies (for example, Manning, 1997) have observed that police are dependent upon the characteristics of the crime and public participation in resolving crime.

## Chapter 8.

### The Police response: effectiveness and outcomes.

The prevention, detection and apprehension of 'crime' remains at the core of the police mandate - law enforcement (Loveday, 1966). Crime reduction, police insist, is possible if they are given sufficient support, powers and resources to do the job (Loveday, 1996b; Young, 1991). The professional approach to law enforcement emphasises technical innovation and the development of expertise and knowledge to improve the capacity of the police to reduce crime (Goldstein, 1990). Crime reduction strategies include preventive patrols, selective policing and criminal investigation (Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b; Skogan, 1990). However, it would appear that the capacity of the police to prevent or control crime through traditional methods has been largely overestimated (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Homel, 1994; Rosenbaum, 1994). The wider literature on policing strongly suggests that community policing may provide the conceptual framework upon which successful crime-control strategies can be developed (Bradley, 1996b; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1995).

#### 8.1 Police Resources

Several studies (for example Goldstein, 1990, Klockars & Mastrofski, 1991; Manning, 1997) have suggested that effective crime control is beyond the capacity of the police. Given the inherent features of crime, Reiner (1992) suggests that the presumption that if given sufficient resources and power police can control crime is 'untenable'. Several cross jurisdictional studies have suggested that there is no correlation between the crime rate and police resources. In the United Kingdom, total expenditure on policing from 1979 to 1986 grew by 6% as opposed to an overall total government expenditure of 2% (Horton and Smith, 1988). Despite the emphasis upon policing, two studies, Baker and the Audit Commission (1993, both cited in Loveday, 1996b) concluded that increases in resources for policing during this period had not resulted in a reduction in crime in the United Kingdom. Recent studies by Brewer *et al.* (1996, pp. 11-13), Loveday (1996b) and Wilson and Ashton (1998) found that despite significant increases in the police budget and an increase in police numbers, the crime

rate had continued to rise and clearance rates had steadily fallen in the United Kingdom since the 1980s. Finnane (1994) suggests that similar budgetary increases and an increase in police numbers in Australia have occurred simultaneously with an increase in the crime rate.

Several American studies (for example, Albanese, 1998; Becker & Whitehouse, 1979; Radelet, 1980) suggest that despite considerable financial support and increases in police numbers, crime rates have continued to increase. The apparent lack of any significant relationship between recorded crime and police expenditure is provided by a study by the American Police Foundation (1992, as cited in Loveday, 1996b, pp. 98-99). This study found:

no apparent relationship between the recorded property crime rate and the level of police expenditure per inhabitant; no clear relationship between the recorded property crime rate and the number of marked patrol cars per square mile; no clear relationship between the rate of recorded violent crime and police expenditure per officer and no strong relationship between the number of cars despatched per marked patrol unit and the number of violent crime arrest per sworn officer.

It has been suggested by Reiner (1985), (Weatherburn, 1997, as cited in Fife-Yeomans, 1997) and Carter and Radelet (1999) that what is more important than the quantity of resources allocated to the police is what police actually do.

## 8.2 Preventive Patrol

Initially, routine preventive patrol was conducted by a uniformed officer 'walking the beat'. Wilson (1963, p. 228) considered that the basic purpose of police patrol was to eliminate the opportunity or the belief in the opportunity for misconduct and for effecting the immediate apprehension of criminals. The adoption of the motor vehicle and communication technologies during the reform era (see chapter one) saw this practice expanded by car-based patrols. Uniformed preventive mobile patrols constitute the bulk of operational duties for many police organisations and have supplanted uniformed foot patrol as the dominate crime control strategy (Bradley, 1996).

The most commonly cited study pertaining to routine preventive police patrol and the incidence of crime is 'The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment' (Bradley, 1996b; Scheingold, 1984; Zaho, 1996). As reported in Kelling, Pate, Dieckman, and Brown (1974) the 1972 experiment undertaken by the Kansas City Missouri Police Department sought to analyse the effectiveness of routine preventive patrol. The fifteen city police beats were

divided into three groups. In one group police patrols were increased (between two to three times), in another preventive patrol was stopped (police only appeared in response to citizen calls) and in the third patrol practices remained as they were. The experiment found that decreasing or increasing preventive patrol within the ranges adopted by the experiment had no effect on crime, citizens' fear of crime, community attitudes towards police on the delivery of police services and police response times (Kelling *et al.*, 1974). There is little evidence to suggest that preventive mobile patrols are anything other than a momentary deterrent to crime (Berg, 1990; Meadows, 1987; Reiner, 1986). It would appear to be generally accepted that once a police presence is established in an area, altering the level of preventive mobile patrol will influence neither the crime rate nor the rate of detection or apprehension (Bradley, 1996b; Clarke & Hough, 1980; Loveday, 1996b; Manning, 1997; Zaho, 1996).

The detection and apprehension of offenders for criminal offences is contingent upon the participation of the community in the reporting of such offences (Reiner, 1986). Several aspects of this reporting process make it unlikely that decreasing response times will significantly alter the rates of detection or apprehension. Skogan (1990) reported that the majority of public initiated contact with the police did not directly concern crime. Other studies (for example, Clark & Hough, 1980; Jones, 1986) report that the majority of incidents attended to by uniformed patrols were not crime specific. The findings also found that only 10% to 18% of calls required an immediate police presence or involved specific crime incidents. As has been previously indicated, a significant proportion of crime is unreported to the police. A study by Zawitz (1988, as cited in Albanese, 1998) found that only about one third of serious crimes are reported to the police. Furthermore, a small percentage of callers, approximately 6%, reported crimes as they were occurring. Clarke and Hough (1984, as cited in Bradley 1996) observed that a significant proportion of crime remains 'undetected for some time'. These aspects of the reporting process - the majority of public-initiated contact with the police did not involve crime incidents and that this is beyond the immediate control of the police - significantly reduce the likelihood of detection and apprehension regardless of attempts to expedite the police response.

A number of studies (for example, Jones, 1980; Norris, 1989; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991)

have indicated that the 'rank and file' have a preference for routine preventive patrolling as a mechanism for establishing control of the patrol and for reducing crime. However, several studies suggest that the contribution to the detection and arrest of offenders by preventive mobile patrols is negligible (Bayley, 1994; Sparrow, Moore & Kennedy, 1990). Sparrow *et al.* (1990) have reported that less than 10% of arrests occur as a result of preventive mobile patrols. Bayley (1994, p. 57) observed that police might "once every 14 years be at the right place at the right time to respond to an offence occurring." Clarke and Hough (1980, pp. 6-7) suggest that the secretive nature of most crime ensures a minimal detection rate and coupled with various characteristics of policing they concluded that:

a patrolling policeman in London could expect to pass within 100 yards of a burglary in progress roughly once every eight years - but not necessarily to catch the burglar or even realise that the crime was taking place.

There is no evidence that the traditional police practice of establishing control of the streets with routine patrolling reduces crime or decreases response times (Clark & Hough, 1980; Scheingold, 1984; Reiner, 1986; Cox, 1996; Manning, 1997). On preventive patrol, Klockars and Mastrofski (1991, p. 131) suggest that "it makes as much sense to have police patrol routinely in cars as it would to have fire-fighters patrol in fire trucks."

### 8.3 Technology

The *Audit Commission Report* (1993, as cited by Loveday, 1996b) illustrates a commonly held belief that policing can be enhanced through the application of advanced technologies. The Audit Commission argued strongly for additional resources, including vehicles, radios, and specialist computer systems to enhance the capacity of police to fight crime and to contribute to the development of operational policing. There is an expectation in the literature that technology would permit a significant increase in pro-active policing, self-initiated police activity (Wilson, 1963). Cox (1996) suggests that the application of technology to policing has not had the anticipated significant impact on crime reduction and increased rates of detection and apprehension. Telecommunications and mobile patrol has resulted in policing becoming demand driven through 911, 000 and 999 emergency calls for police assistance (Goldstein, 1990). For example, in Australia Bayley (1990, pp. 28-29) found that calls for assistance in some states had tripled, (in South Australia there was an



increase from 60,181 to 231,426 for the period 1970-1987), and he estimated that this had doubled the work load of the police. This has meant that the police response has been narrowly channelled, often with police responding or waiting to respond to an emergency or crime related call for assistance (Smith & Gray, 1985). In the absence of a call to respond to, Smith and Gray (1985, p. 167) have observed that police officers "are not engaged in any purposeful activity". Reiss (1992) has noted that generally police have become locked into a reactive response to calls for service and crime investigation. There appears to be little time or inclination left to interact with the community or to respond to non-emergency situations and noncrime-fighting definable needs (Goldstein, 1990; Reiss, 1992). This is a situation that Scarman (1981), Bittner, (1990) and Goldstein (1990) argue has reduced the incidence when discretion can be practised and has contributed to the alienation of policing from the community.

#### 8.4 Selective policing

The selection process of policing reflects current political, organisational and cultural notions of law-enforcement that recognise 'crime-fighting' as the principal objective of the police (Loveday, 1996b; Young, 1991). Through necessity, police are incapable of enforcing 'all of the laws all of the time' and so law-enforcement and policing becomes a selective process (Cox, 1996, p. 47). The criteria used for selecting particular laws and hence particular crimes reflects political, organisational and individual notions of 'value for money'. Such notions encompass socio-economic, socio-political and cultural considerations of achievement and perceptions of 'worth'.

A common theme in the literature is that crimes appear to be ranked according to their relative seriousness or prevalence within a community (Manning, 1997). Manning is concerned that a focus upon serious crime could, in the absence of an effective police response, virtually legalise less serious or less prevalent offences. Manning suggests that a more useful criterion would need to incorporate notions of 'crime-control effectiveness' as well as seriousness. This would suggest a need to clearly define the parameters within which police may exercise their discretionary powers. As several studies on police practice have shown (for example, Jones, 1980; Norris, 1989; Skogan, 1990; Smith & Gray, 1985; Uildriks

& Mastrigt, 1991), police exercise a considerable degree of discretion in their 'routine' examination, assessment and response to incidents and members of the public. Real police work, as defined by the 'rank and file', has established an order of priorities that neglect the preventive role of policing and almost exclusively relate to crime control and law enforcement (Jones, 1980; Young, 1991). On preventive patrol, Scheingold (1984, p. 123) observed that the police:

bring to their patrols tactics, and priorities that may be different from those of the general public. Police tactics that may pose a threat to police and community relations, which may have additional crime control implications.

The import of Scheingold's observations are apparent when considering the likely recipients of much police scrutiny.

The relative importance of a category of crime may be influenced if it involves criminal activity committed by specific individuals or groups or that occurring within specified locations (Carter & Radelet, 1998; Manning, 1997; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). Selective policing involves strategies that target individuals or groups for it has been observed that "less than 3% of street addresses and 3% of the population in a city produce over half the crime and arrests" Sherman (1992, p. 64). As a general rule it has been observed that certain groups within a community are normally the focus of police attention in their day to day activities (Bittner, 1990). Intensive policing involving strategies such as frequent stops and saturation patrolling has been observed to intensify police scrutiny of and intervention in the activities of members of these same groups (Manning, 1997). Those groups targeted by police include youth, young males, members of ethnic and racial minorities, the poor living in urban slums, the unemployed or those in low-status occupations and the 'marginalised' (Bittner, 1990; Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b; Skogan, 1990). Other factors contributing to police scrutiny of these groups include a previous criminal conviction, night time activity and driving a motor vehicle (Skogan, 1990).

Selective policing strategies such as repeated stops, were found to constitute the majority of the day to day police initiated contacts with the public (Skogan, 1990, p. 33). Smith and Gray (1985) observed that public opinion regarding the police was influenced by the frequency and

level of satisfaction experienced in their encounters with the police. The level of frequency and nature of police contacts with members of minority groups has frequently been described as adversarial (Albanese, 1998; Radelet, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985). It has been noted that routine police practices bring police into frequent contact with members of specific groups but, as observed by Smith and Gray, rarely into contact with the majority who do not belong to these groups. This apparent discriminatory practice contributes to a difference in public opinion between the frequently and less frequently policed (Smith & Gray, 1985). Several studies (for example, Crowther, 1998; Manning, 1997; Skogan, 1990) suggest that selective policing is socially divisive and has additional crime control implications.

Recent notions of law enforcement involve a return to a 'traditional' emphasis on crime control and the application of 'Zero Tolerance' strategies towards crime and behaviour deemed to be criminal (Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996). The emphasis upon strengthening traditional patterns of policing and re-establishing the core function of policing as 'crime control', are driven by reforms that require police to demonstrate that they are efficient, effective and economical (Loveday, 1996b). The reforms are apparently directed at providing a 'clarity of purpose', that is, to refocus police attention on the core function of policing 'crime-fighting'. Loveday has argued that no clear relationship can be established between crime reduction and traditional strategies of 'crime-fighting'. Both Loveday and Crowther question the retrospective activities of government and policing in pursuing traditional strategies of 'crime-fighting' in the absence of supporting data. Each has noted the shift in emphasis for crime reduction back to selective policing strategies that target specific individuals and groups. Such strategies risk further alienation of the police from the community and have serious social control implications.

The debate concerning 'Zero Tolerance' illustrates this point and will be dealt with briefly. Burke (1998) has concluded that the public is no longer prepared to tolerate deviant behaviour. Burke suggests that contemporary policing has been unable to prevent crime because it has pursued activities or strategies that are inconsistent with orthodox views of law enforcement. Similarly held views, that policing has lost its way, are also reported by Loveday (1996b). Zero tolerance law enforcement provides, in Burke's view, a strategy for

reversing the drift towards deviance, reducing crime, increasing rates of detection and apprehension, and for increasing community support for policing. Crowther (1998) has observed that in the United Kingdom zero tolerance has won the support of the main political parties. Zero tolerance validates a statistically driven police response to crime within a community. This requires that police demonstrate their effectiveness "by processing as many people through the criminal justice system as possible" (Crowther, 1998, p. 69). As observed by Crowther (1998, p. 76):

The main concern is that insensitive policing of marginalised and excluded groups could lead to an escalation of conflict between the police and the policed, resulting in disorder on a much larger scale than has been seen for many years.

Further considerations for the discriminatory focus of zero tolerance are provided by Wadham (1998, as cited in Crowther, 1998)

There is a danger that zero tolerance can intensify the criminalisation of an entire class. The way things are going now, nearly 75 percent of African-Americans and millions of Hispanics will have criminal records - having been booked and charged - by the time they reach 35. We have cities where one young black male in three is either in prison, on probation or awaiting trial.

Routine policing, with its inherent biases, is already selective policing. Strategies that further focus police activity ultimately towards members of minority groups risk compromising community order.

### 8.5 Specialisation: Detectives

Specialisation was an innovative strategy adopted during the process of professionalisation that saw a large proportion of the responsibility for crime control delegated to specific units within the police. It has been noted by Jones (1980), Loveday (1996b) and Bayley (1990) that the expansion of detective units, evident since the early 1950s, has generated a decline in the status of uniformed patrol work. Bayley (1994, as cited in Bradley, 1996) has observed that approximately 15% of police are formally deployed as detectives although exact numbers may fluctuate given changing policing contingencies. Operationally, detectives working within specialist Criminal Investigation Departments (CID) were seen as providing 'the best chance' of increasing crime detection and improving arrest rates (Loveday, 1996b).

From a review of the literature, Loveday (1996b) has concluded that the effectiveness of

detectives at crime detection and increasing arrest rates has been grossly overstated. Early studies by Martin and Wilson (1969, as cited in Loveday, 1996b, p. 90) that assessed the impact of CID activity on crime in the United Kingdom and the Metropolitan Police, concluded that there was no significant difference between number of arrests as a factor of hours worked between detectives and uniformed police. In the Metropolitan police, CID averaged 1.1 arrest per member per week as opposed to 1 arrest per member per week for uniformed police. A 1990 review found a marginal increase, finding that CID rates had risen to 1.5 arrests per person per week. From this study Martin and Wilson were to conclude that the expansion of the CID on the basis of their effectiveness as crime-fighters was 'based on little more than myth'. Furthermore, a study by Burrows and Tarling (1982, as cited by Reiner, 1986) concluded that a 10% increase in the CID, in London and Wales, would result in an increase in the clearup rate of less than 1%.

Bradley (1996b, p. 31) cautions against the use of 'clearance rates' and other similar statistical data as indicators of the quality of criminal investigation. He has found that:

it is mostly the case that crimes are cleared through ordinary routine police work and the evidence provided by victims, witnesses and criminals rather than through the application of extraordinary detective skills. This is not a criticism of detectives but a reflection on the nature of crime and how it comes to the attention of the police.

A study by Greenwood, Chaiken and Petersilia (1977) illustrates the reporting process and the nature of crime. The study found community involvement in criminal investigation was as important as 'routine policing' in determining the success of criminal investigation. The majority of crimes were solved because of information provided by victims or witnesses, not because of any specific investigative activity. Greenwood found that special detective activity contributed to approximately 2.7% of clearance rates. A study by Clarke and Hough (1980) was to also conclude that only a small proportion of crimes were detected by procedures thought 'to comprise real detective work'.

Loveday (1996b) reports that over 50% of cases were solved because the identity of the offender was already known or was determined at the time of the offence and was reported to police. Greenwood *et al.* (1977) observed that the bulk of investigative arrests occurred at the scene and that follow-up investigations were relatively ineffective. Greenwood *et al.* (1977,

p. 42) concluded that the clearance rate for a range of offences was "insensitive to investigative response" and that crimes "tended to solve themselves if they were solved at all". Retrospective criminal investigations were found to rarely improve clearance rates regardless of the resources directed to their solution (Zaho, 1996). Detective numbers were considered largely irrelevant to overall arrest and clearance rates, and it was suggested that detective numbers could be halved with no appreciable effect on these rates (Greenwood *et al.*, 1977). Greenwood was to conclude that specialist detective units were no more successful than uniformed police at effecting an arrest and contributing to overall clearance rates within a department. Loveday (1996b, p. 94) found that:

Greenwood's study indicated that the majority of police clearances were produced either by the activities of patrol officers; by the availability of identification of the perpetrator at the scene of the crime; or by routine police procedures. As a result, it was argued that all future initial investigations should be assigned to patrol officers.

This strongly suggests a need to re-examine the role of uniformed police in the investigative process. Furthermore, given the additional education and training generally considered necessary for and provided to detectives, it suggests a need to re-evaluate the education and training of uniformed police commensurate with investigative duties.

## 8.6 Uniformed Foot Patrols

Several studies (for example, Jones, 1980; Loveday, 1996b; Reiner, 1992) have observed that 'specialisation' has occurred at the expense of uniformed policing. Several studies have suggested that the fixation on specialisation has reduced the status, the skills and knowledge base of uniformed police (Bradley, 1993; Jones, 1980; McDonald, 1993; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). To varying degrees it has been suggested that this has reduced their capacity and willingness to respond to community requests for assistance other than by referral to another police agency or through regulated law enforcement procedures (Bittner, 1990). McConville and Shepherd (1991) have observed that this has led to community and police scepticism regarding their relationship with the community. Uniformed service within policing has become a transient position en-route to a specialist unit and a dumping ground for the disenchanted and dispossessed (Jones, 1980; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Young, 1991). This effect is clearly evident in the relatively poor status attributed to uniformed policing, as represented by uniformed preventive mobile patrols, and especially the lowly status accorded

to uniformed foot patrol.

Two general perspectives emerge from successive cross-jurisdictional studies pertaining to uniformed policing. The first implies that uniformed foot patrol forms the basis for successful policing. The other suggests from both a historical and contemporary perspective that 'uniformed foot patrol' would have and has had little if any discernible impact on crime detection or prevention (Loveday, 1996b; Sherman, 1992).

Although uniformed foot patrol is considered fundamental to good policing, the organisation penalises and stigmatises those who remain there (Jones, 1980). Jones' study of police behaviour and role in the United Kingdom was to find that police avoided patrol work and that 'beat patrol' was used as a disciplinary measure for police with problems or for those lacking in aptitude for specialist assignment. Furthermore, Jones was established that only 6.4% of the total force strength was engaged on 'beat patrol' at any one time and of this 93.6% were considered inexperienced or relatively inexperienced. This apparent contradiction has also been observed by several other studies (for example, Bradley, 1996; Couper & Lobitz, 1991; Fielding, 1995; Young, 1991). It would appear that 'foot patrol', along with 'community policing', did not acquire the status that the rhetoric implied.

Yet several cross-jurisdictional studies have consistently demonstrated that 'foot patrol' was considered a fundamental and desirable police service. Couper & Lobitz (1991, p. 41) from an evaluation of the Madison Foot Patrol experiment determined that foot patrol was an important element in providing a flexible response to local community problems. Several other surveys have indicated that foot patrol was desirable not only for the reassurance it provided to the community by its presence, but also for its ability to strengthen police - community relations (Bayley, 1994; Curtis, 1970; Skogan, 1994). A uniformed foot patrol has been identified as an effective means of reducing a community's fear of crime. Several studies (for example, Avery, 1982; Clarke & Hough, 1980; Yarmey, 1990) have suggested that the 'fear of crime' is not proportionate to the risk of victimisation and is now more of a social problem than crime itself. The relative importance of foot patrol in reducing the level of a community's fear of crime is indicated by the following studies.

The Audit Commission (1993, as cited in Loveday, 1996b, p. 94), commenting upon foot patrol and crime, determined that:

whatever the impact they may have in reducing anti-social behaviour and increasing public reassurance, more bobbies on the beat have relatively little impact on crime detection.

A similar conclusion concerning the overall contribution of foot patrol to policing has been reached by Bradley (1996b, p. 52). He concluded:

Although not affecting crime levels, reported or otherwise, this form of patrol reduced levels of fear of crime, caused people to feel that neighbourhoods were safer, and induced more positive public attitudes towards police generally.

Although each considers foot patrol an effective mechanism for reducing a community's fear of crime, each suggests that foot patrol is ineffective at crime reduction.

Evidence to the contrary concerning the impact of foot patrol on crime is available from an evaluation of the 'Flint Experiment'. The 'Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program in Flint, Michigan' was conducted between 1979 and 1982. It involved 22 foot patrol officers being assigned to experimental areas that comprised 20% of the city population. In an evaluation of this experiment Trojanowicz (1982) observed that crime rates fell approximately 8.7% and there was a 42% reduction in calls for assistance. The latter suggested that members of the community were directing their inquiries to foot patrol officers who were acting as informal mediators (Fielding, 1995). The evaluation also reported that members of the community felt 'safer', that foot patrol was more effective than mobile patrols at encouraging community participation in policing and that it improved community - police relations. Other studies have added that foot patrol has led to an increase in the social status of policing, a greater appreciation of community requirements by police and to a lessening of social tensions between police and some sections of the community (Avery, 1982; Bryett & Harrison, 1997; Fielding, 1995).

Successive studies have shown that crime detection and the apprehension of offenders is almost exclusively dependent upon the provision of information to uniformed patrol police by victims or witnesses (Loveday, 1996b). By strengthening community and police relations through uniformed foot patrols it is anticipated that the quality and quantity of information provided to police by members of the community will increase. It follows, then, that foot



patrol activities in themselves will ultimately lead to a reduction in crime through increased rates of detection and prevention.

### 8.7 Community Policing.

A significant body of research indicates that successful crime prevention strategies are those that acquire community support and involvement, support or reinforce informal control processes and incorporate other government and community agencies (for example, Carter & Radelet, 1998; Cox, 1996; Fielding, 1995; Homel, 1994; Loveday, 1996b). The wider literature on policing strongly suggests that community policing may provide the conceptual framework upon which such strategies can be developed (for example, Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1995).

Community policing is a commonly accepted yet vaguely defined concept that has been operationalized through an assortment of programs and practices that appear to be supported by a common set of guiding principles and assumptions (Rosenbaum, 1994, pp. 6-7).

Rosenbaum has derived a list of some commonly cited elements that include:

(a) a broader definition of police work; (b) a re-ordering of police priorities, giving greater attention to 'soft' crime and disorder; (c) a focus on problem solving and prevention rather than incident-driven policing; (d) a recognition that the 'community' however defined, plays a critical role in solving neighborhood problems; (e) and a recognition that police organizations must be restructured and reorganized to be responsive to the demands of this new approach and to encourage a new set of police behaviours. (Rosenbaum, 1994, p. 7).

A similar inventory can be derived from the wider literature on policing (for example, Carter & Radelet, 1999; Bradley, 1996a; Fielding, 1995; Friedmann, 1992; Goldstein, 1990; Klockars & Mastrofski, 1991; Loveday, 1996, 1997; Moore, 1992; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990; Zaho, 1996). Considered essential for the successful implementation of community policing are: a decentralised organisational structure, greater accountability to the community and a comprehensively objective analysis of the roles of the police, the community and government in both crime and crime prevention (for example, Carter & Radelet, 1999; Friedmann, 1992). Community policing also has important implications for recruitment and training, performance evaluation and reward structures, the nature and

delivery of police services (for example, Goldstein, 1990; Manning, 1997; Morris, 1989; Reiss, 1985; Scheingold, 1984).

According to Rosenbaum (1994, pp. 8-9), the shift in emphasis to community policing from law-enforcement is justifiable for three main reasons. Firstly, traditional practices associated with law enforcement constitute only a small fraction of the police service provided and so should not form the core of policing. Secondly, conventional police practices have been ineffective at crime control. Finally, the priorities and concerns of law enforcement do not adequately represent or address those of the community. For Friedmann (1992, p. 187), community policing epitomises participatory democracy.

It is a way for the recipient of police services to determine not only how those services should be planned, delivered, evaluated and who should be accountable for them, but it is also an attempt to approach the problem of crime control through what generates crime to begin with and that is the community itself.

In summary, 'community policing' represents a system of enforcement that is grounded upon local standards and values which are themselves derived through democratic processes (Fielding, 1995). It may provide a mechanism through which formal control systems may generate and reinforce informal control systems and in so doing reduce the need for formal control systems (Hemel, 1994, pp. 24-25).

Although there are well documented cases of the successful implementation of community policing programs, there are also serious reservations regarding their validity (for review see Lurigio & Rosenbaum, 1997; Greene & Taylor, 1988; Rosenbaum, 1994). According to Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1997), those evaluations that have been conducted are characterised by weak designs, rely heavily upon qualitative research, are poorly conceptualised, lack valid and reliable measurements of program implementation and outcomes, and consistently fail to take into consideration competing explanations for observed effects. Rosenbaum concludes that, as a consequence, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions regarding the overall effectiveness and long-term consequences of community policing initiatives.

There are many reasons for this shortage of compelling, conclusive data, including the fact that previous programs have been poorly funded, poorly implemented, and/or poorly evaluated, which makes it difficult to learn very much. The main reason, however, is that politicians are unwilling to wait 5 to 10 years for the results. (Rosenbaum, 1994, p. 25).

However, an emphasis upon qualitative studies has established that a number of internal and external factors have significantly limited the successful implementation of community policing.

The evidence suggests that community policing has not yet become fully integrated into the police psyche (Skogan, 1994; Young, 1991). The persistence of the occupational culture and its deeply entrenched opposition to the community policing ideology is well documented (for example, Chan, 1997; Jones, 1980; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985). Resistance by patrol officers and a lack of commitment of supervisors has been attributed to the low status accorded such work and to those associated with it (Jones, 1980; Young, 1991). Brodeur (1994) has argued that street level police behaviour will remain unchanged unless performance evaluation systems identify and encourage community orientated problem solving behaviours and discourage traditional responses. The complexities and ambiguities inherent in the most common of police activities simultaneously reinforce outcome oriented assessment while frustrating attempts to evaluate problem solving and discretionary decision making; activities that characterise the bulk of police work (Bayley & Bittner, 1984; Fielding, 1991; Reiner, 1994; Rosenbaum, 1994). Indeed, Rosenbaum has suggested that the tools for devising appropriate performance indicators that accurately reflect the nature, status and effectiveness of police work are currently unavailable.

Institutional inertia and conservatism are significant barriers to change and development. The present day actions of large bureaucratic institutions such as police organisations are 'powerfully affected' by past actions and established convictions of policing and crime (Bayley, 1990, p. 2; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). The intractable nature of police organisations, even in the face of ongoing and sustained criticism, has been observed by several authors (for example, Bayley, 1990; Young, 1991; Zaho, 1996). Each has noted that the core mission and the structural organisation of policing have remained relatively unchanged. It would appear that community policing has not been institutionalised and, as an add-on crime-prevention, specialisation has had only minimal impact upon policy and operational practice (Bayley, 1990; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990; Zaho, 1996). The rigidity inherent in, and the hierarchical

structure of, military-bureaucratic police organisations directly act against the fundamental requirement of social accountability and the operational autonomy of uniformed police which are considered central to community policing.

The quasi-military bureaucratic structures of police organisations have also been identified as significant impediments to an inter- and/or multi-agency approach to community policing. As argued by Gilling (1999, p. 107), "how can the police take the lead role in crime prevention if they do not make it a major consideration in their own practice?". Some authors (for example, Gilling, 1999; Jones, 1980; Young, 1991) have viewed police involvement in crime prevention partnerships as being largely symbolic. Where police are involved, differences in the distribution of power and conflicting conceptions of role have been found to contribute to conflict between agencies and to a reluctance of some agencies to participate (Gilling, 1999; Hague & Malos, 1997). The police are generally the most powerful agency involved in cooperative efforts. Therefore, law enforcement as a core concept of crime control may override or hinder the adoption of alternative approaches to crime prevention. In this manner, the police may discourage the participation of other agencies in further cooperative efforts at crime prevention (for further review see, Gilling, 1999). This is of concern to many authors who judge that policing lacks the resources and expertise to single handedly manage crime (for example, Carter and Radelet, 1998). Comprehensive and profound organisational changes are required if community policing is to be adopted as an alternative approach to crime prevention (for example, Bradley, 1996b; Rosenbaum, 1994; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990; Zaho, 1996).

"Community and conventional policing share a blindness to the broad social forces that generate crime and a preference for traditional law enforcement strategies" (Fielding, 1991, p. 171). The research on community policing suggests that public involvement in community consultation and collaboration with the police in respect of crime prevention is limited (Fielding, 1991; Skogan, 1994, p. 121). Reasons commonly cited include a belief, encouraged by official agencies and through ignorance, that crime prevention is the sole responsibility of the police (Gilling, 1996), wider community indifference or a reluctance to accept a different style of policing (Bradley, 1996; Fielding, 1991) and reactionary public attitudes that see community policing as being 'soft' on crime (Rosenbaum, 1994). Further

explanations include a resentment and distrust arising from "campaigns of pacification" (Bradley, 1996), perceptions of discriminatory policing (Carter & Radelet, 1998; Oakley, 1993), dissatisfaction with ineffective policing and with systemic and/or entrenched police corruption (Bradley, 1996b, p. 55), and perhaps arising from these a suspicion concerning the motives of the police for wanting to intrude into the daily lives of the community (Gilling, 1996). Ideologies or practices that alienate the community from its obligations to crime control significantly impair the ability of the police to prevent crime (Fielding, 1991).

The crime problem is largely a product of the political economy (Fielding, 1991). Crime has become a political issue and police are inappropriately and disproportionately held responsible for something which many have argued that they simple cannot control. A useful analogy provided by Edwards (1999) illustrates this point. Edwards has argued that the medical profession has two primary responsibilities in relation to health, prevention and correction.

However, unlike the medical profession which is never considered to be responsible for health problems in the community, or for certain diseases still being incurable, the police service is frequently held blameworthy by the press, public and politicians for the perceived increase in crime, and their failure singlehandedly to prevent crime.. (1999, p. 44).

Policing is being pushed by a "political emphasis upon the detection, arrest and on certainty of conviction and severity of punishment rather than the prevention of crime" (Faulkner, 1994, as cited in Loveday, 1996, p. 99). 'Crime' provides a focal point for community attention. By linking crime to policing, a government institution, political interest groups derive a mechanism through which political power can be maintained or contested.

Intervention in policing can be achieved through legitimate legislative and fiscal policies and in this manner political parties can manipulate community support for their own particular brand of politics (Loveday, 1996b, 1997). This arrangement has manifested itself in a renewed interest in 'law and order' campaigns and 'value for money' policing (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Loveday, 1996b, 1997). The dilemma for community policing is that the statutory responsibilities of the police are subjugated to the political agenda of the day (Gilling, 1996). In the absence of any comprehensive and sustained political affirmation for 'community policing' the police will be unable to either commit themselves to or establish themselves as

central to crime prevention (Gilling, 1996).

Research would seem to suggest that current policing practice is ineffective, and a more community policing approach would have a greater impact on reducing crime levels. However, such a significant change would not be possible without a paradigm shift in emphasis within the police culture/service, the broad community and political institutions, along with a change in the education and training of police officers.

#### 8.9 The role of uniformed police

Uniformed general duty patrol officers provide the largest proportion of policing services to the community (Jones, 1980). The overall effectiveness of the police is contingent upon the activities of general duty patrol officers (Loveday, 1996b). Uniformed patrol officers come into contact with the community more frequently than any other section of the police service. They regularly mediate in the affairs of the community and generally are responsible for initiating formal legal intervention. These features of police work and what Sparrow *et al.* (1990, p. 147) refer to as "policing's unusual distribution of discretion" ensures the position of the uniformed constable as the primary service provider, while determining those attributes considered mandatory for police personnel.

Community policing adds another dimension to the responsibilities and activities of uniformed police (Friedmann, 1992). The following list of community policing duties of a uniformed police constable is provided by Rosenbaum, as adapted from the work of Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994):

*Law Enforcement* - Performs general duties common to all police patrol assignments.

*Community Involvement* - Encourages citizens and community leaders to form enduring relationship with the police and organizes them to combat crime, drugs, physical and social disorder, and neighborhood decay.

*Directed Patrol* - Leaves the patrol car to increase police visibility on the streets and to find opportunities to work behind the scenes, forming a bond with citizens and letting them know the police are available and caring.

*Problem Solving* - Takes the initiative in identifying, prioritizing and solving neighbourhood problems with citizens' assistance and creative remedies that go beyond arrests; decision making is adaptive and flexible, and involves officers at the scene, not directives from headquarters.

*Communication* - Communicates with other police officers, including those in special units (e.g., narcotics), and with citizens about neighborhood problems and efforts to solve those problems.

*Education* - Educates citizens about crime prevention and problem solving techniques.

*Conflict Resolution* - Acts as a mediator, negotiator, and resolver of neighbourhood problems, and challenges citizens to solve problems themselves, stressing the shared power between the police and local groups and individuals.

*Referrals* - Brokers neighbourhood services by making referrals to city agencies (e.g., towing abandoned cars, fitting street lights, enforcing building code violations).

*Proactive Projects* - Works with the community on short- and long-term efforts to enhance the quality of neighbourhood life and to prevent problems before they occur.

(Rosenbaum, 1994, pp. 205-206).

Community policing also necessitates a shift in the skills and knowledge base of police. As noted by Friedmann (1992, p. 65), these include a knowledge of departmental procedures and the law, highly developed interpersonal and social skills, a broader understanding of social problems and the ability to apply socially-relevant solutions.

Collectively, the theoretical and practical aspects of community policing have important implications for police education and training. A knowledge of the criminal justice system, an emphasis upon the value choices and ethical dilemmas in policing and the tasks performed by police are central to a determination of the composition and level of police education and training (Cox, 1996; Lusher, 1982; Sherman, 1978). A range of reviews and commissions of inquiries into policing have recommended tertiary education and the incorporation of a broadly based liberal arts education into the police curricula. Both, particularly the former, are seen as providing the intrinsic components of professionalisation, facilitating organisational and cultural change, essential to role modification and an important provider

of the knowledge and skills required for 'community policing' (for example, Bittner, 1990; Carter *et al.*, 1998; Fitzgerald, 1990; Friedmann, 1992; Mollen, 1993; Sherman, 1978). However, there still exists considerable disagreement as to the composition and level of education required, its provision and integration within policing (Carter *et al.*, 1998; Cox, 1996). Some of this disagreement has been attributed to an inability or reluctance to clarify the role of the police in a democratic society.

#### 8.10 Conclusion

Recent research has strongly suggested that no significant correlation can be established between the crime rate, clearance rates and the allocation of police resources. Once a police presence is established in an area, altering the level or intensity of preventive mobile patrols has not been found to influence the crime rate or increase the rate of detection or apprehension. "No evidence suggests that augmentation of police forces or equipment, differential patrol strategies, or differential intensities of surveillance have an effect on crime rates" (Bayley, 1996, p. 41). The ability of police to affect levels of crime through deterrent strategies appears to be severely limited. Selective policing strategies have been criticised for having unintended and unacceptable consequences particularly in regard to the policing of minority groups. The contribution of criminal investigation to the rate of detection and apprehension of crime by activities typically associated with detective work is minimal. Further, research suggests that uniformed foot patrol provides an effective mechanism for establishing and sustaining cooperative community - police relations. "Long term evidence suggests that effective policing will be dependent on how closely integrated with the community the police can become" (Loveday, 1996b, p. 98).

What has emerged from the review is an understanding that the effectiveness of the police can be greatly enhanced where their activities augment and/or sustain informal control processes (Moore, 1992). As crime derives from all of society's institutions, so successful crime prevention is seen as requiring a cooperative effort or partnership involving other organisations and the community (Friedmann, 1992; Radelet, 1980). Earlier reviews have suggested that the police are relatively unimportant to the enforcement of the law (Avery, 1982, p. 20). However, there is a growing realisation that the police have a responsibility to



organise and stimulate the community towards change (Carter & Radelet, 1998, p. 283; Sherman, 1992). Social, cultural and political structures mitigate against the endorsement of community policing as the core function of the police. The more frequently the police are involved with other agencies and the community in collaborative efforts the more these will be involved in shaping the role, responsibilities and the nature of police authority and accountability. As a consequence the role of the police will differ in 'time and space' (Cox, 1996). "The police will face more choices, have more autonomy and discretion, and correspondingly less guidance while being more open to community pressure and scrutiny" (Fielding, 1991, p. 171). There has been some suggestion that the enlargement of the police role is too great an undertaking for the police and perhaps too demanding of its present personnel (Friedmann, 1992; Lurigio & Rosenbaum, 1997, p. 211). The success or otherwise of the police response to the demands placed upon it by community policing are partially dependent upon a commitment to and investment in educational reform (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Sherman, 1978). There still exists some disagreement as to the composition and level of education required but parallels have been drawn between the 'new police' and the 'helping professions', for example nursing, that now require at least an undergraduate education (Friedman, 1992; Klockars, 1985).