Section IV

The perceptions and expectations of stakeholders

Chapter 9.

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The core mission and the operational context of policing is substantially defined, controlled and manipulated by the perception, expectations and actions of various stakeholders. Three important external stakeholders are the community, the media and political parties, the police culture and the police organisation are two important internal stakeholders and these stakeholders have been identified as exerting a strong influence upon each other and the role police perform in society (Bradley, 1996b; Carter and Radelet, 199; Goldstein, 1990; Lea & Young, 1993; Zaho, 1996). Law-enforcement ideologies dominate the perceptions and expectations of these important stakeholders towards crime control, the role of police in society and police practice (Bradley, 1996b; Carter and Radelet, 199; Goldstein, 1990; Lea & Young, 1993; Zaho, 1996).

9.1 The Community

A sociological definition of a community is a "human population living within a geographical area and carrying on a common, interdependent life" (Coffey, Eldefonso & Hartinger, 1976, p. 267). In the context of this work a less precise but perhaps more meaningful definition is that a community is a loose assembly of groups "that differ according to size, socio-economic status, racial and ethnic composition" (Zaho, 1996, p. 11). A group's characteristics determine the nature of the relationship between itself and the larger community, and the police (Carter & Radelet, 1999). The relationship between some groups, for example ethnic minority groups, and the larger community and the police is at best problematic (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Lea & Young, 1993; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985).

Laws define crime and these are made by dominant groups seeking to protect their interests (Radelet, 1980). Maximum protection is derived by these groups dictating the nature and

extent of the response, law-enforcement, to criminal behaviour (Jefferson & Grimshaw, 1984; Manning, 1997). 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. However, a police force is a social construct that is supported by political processes that function to conserve the interests of the political and economic elite (Manning, 1977; Finnane, 1994). Therefore, the ability of the police to operate as neutral instruments of social control are impeded. The prejudicial nature of law enforcement is illustrated by the frequency and nature of police contact with sections of the community (Finnane, 1994; Skolnick 1972, p. 41 as cited in Manning, 1977).

"The nature of the relationship between the police and the public is fundamentally different for different population groups." (Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 583). That different social groups have distinctive relationships with the police is apparent from the attitudes of community groups towards police (Yarmey, 1990). On community attitudes towards the police White and Menek (1982, as cited in Yarmey, 1990, p. 108) found three distinct groupings:

1.  positive - the majority of the public supported the police.
2.  negative - primarily held by the young, the lower-class, black males and those from poor socio-economic areas,
3.  ambivalent, sceptical and distrustful - this group still acknowledged the need for police.

From a synthesis of the literature, Reiner (1985) also derived three similar groupings. Both studies suggest that the lower the standing of an individual within the community the greater the negative attitude exhibited towards the police (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; Yarmey, 1990).

The nature of this relationship appears to be primarily determined by the character and frequency of contact between police and groups within the community. With the possible exception of traffic stops, police contact with large sections of the community is limited and when it occurs is usually non-confrontational (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985). These studies suggest that large sections of the community are

supportive of the police (Smith & Gray, 1985; Reiner, 1985) and of policing or they are unconcerned with policing and aspects of police practice because they are not personally affected (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 290).

This contrasts strongly with police contact with minority segments of the community which are often characterised by distrust and hostility (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Lea & Young, 1993; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 290). These adversarial relationships appear to be directly attributable to the nature and frequency of police contact with these groups. With the exception of 'traffic stops', the bulk of police-initiated contact with members of the community derived from 'stopping people'- what Skogan (1990, p. 33) has referred to as the low level and low visibility policing of the public. Those individuals frequently stopped by police have been found to be members of that segment of the community commonly referred to in the literature as 'police property' (Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985). According to Reiner (1985, p. 95) 'police property' are low-status, disempowered groups that include vagrants, the unemployed, youth living deviant life-styles and ethnic minorities. The basis for police contact with individuals of these groups is a perception among the police that they are inextricably associated with criminal behaviour (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Lea & Young, 1993; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985; Reiner, 1985). It has been suggested that this prejudicial stereotyping has contributed to police practices that are perceived as discriminatory by the recipients. This aspect of policing is a source of resentment and hostility for those individuals and groups subjected to it (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985).

However, even these groups were found to require and to utilise police services but differed from the 'majority' by being more critical of some aspects of policing, particularly discriminatory practices associated with the enforcement of the law (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Reiner, 1985: Smith & Gray, 1985). Criticism of and disagreement with the manner in which the law is enforced has been seen to contribute to community conflict and to a resentment of the police (Bayley, 1977; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Goldstein; 1990; Scheingold, 1984). Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 286) have suggested that "much of the criticism directed against the police by minorities is really intended for the larger white power structure, but is

displaced to a more readily available, identifiable mark."

The regular and often discriminatory intervention of the police in the lives of the `poor and dispossessed', are either ignored or trivialised by the majority because their "voice is either not heard or does not count on the forum of public opinion" (Bittner, 1990, pp. 159-160). It appears that large sections of the community support selective discriminatory police action against these groups (Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; Reiner, 1985, p. 81; Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 290). As a consequence, the police and government can justify their actions and policies on the basis of majority community support even though their actions and policies are ultimately discriminatory and may themselves contribute to community disorder (Reiner, 1985; Scarman, 1981; Smith & Gray, 1985). Electoral support appears assured when law enforcement ideologies, such as `zero tolerance' and the `war against crime', resonate with majority perspectives of both policing and those groups often associated with crime. Bittner (1990, p. 160) suggests that ignoring or condoning the impact of the police and policing upon the socially and economically marginalised "is clearly inconsistent with the ethos of a civil polity."

### 9.1.1 The community and crime

The literature strongly supports the view that there exists a heightened perception of a risk of victimisation which has been distorted and perpetuated through the politicisation and the dramatisation of crime and law enforcement (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Clark & Hough, 1980; Lea & Young, 1993; Reiner, 1985; Young, 1991). This has led to the phenomenon of a `fear of crime' within the community which is reportedly greatest amongst the elderly and women (Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985; Reiner, 1985; Yarmey, 1990). The extent of community `fear of crime' is contested. McConville and Shepherd (1991) have suggested that, in the absence of economic or political instability or a `moral panic', for a significant number of people crime is not a serious concern. However, Carter and Radelet (1999) and Lea and Young (1993) suggest that crime is a serious concern for a significant proportion of the community and this is exacerbated by instability and anxiety within the community.

From a synthesis of the literature, Lea and Young (1993, p. 28) have concluded that "people in general fear crime far out of proportion to the likelihood of being victimised and that people fear most those crimes which are least likely to occur to them." Other studies have also concluded that the fear of crime is disproportionately greater than the actual risk of victimisation and that anxiety about violent crime is not justified by the nature of the vast bulk of crime (Clark & Hough, 1980; Reiner, 1985; Yarmey, 1990). Lea and Young (1993, pp. 11-75) have suggested that while the risk of victimisation is low for the majority of the community there are groups for whom the risk of victimisation is high and that variations to susceptibility is evident within social categories.

While the risk may be small for some, a perception of a high risk of victimisation can have a significant and detrimental impact on the quality of life within a community (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Lea & Young, 1993; Whelan, 1988). As observed by Lea and Young (1993, p. 30), "an irrational fear of crime" can have real consequences. This includes the deterioration of a community's infra-structure - what Carter and Radelet (1999) refer to as urban decay and a break down of informal social control mechanisms. A fear of crime also contributes to a deterioration in the quality of life for the inhabitants of the community and to an "over enthusiastic reaction from authorities" (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Cox, 1996; Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993, p. 41; Reiner, 1985). As a consequence, those who are afraid of being victimised by crime are, because of this fear, in fact themselves victims of crime (Alderson, 1979, p. 201).

As previously stated, crime, for economic and social reasons, is concentrated not only in certain areas but also within certain groups (Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996; Radelet, 1980; Reiner, 1985). Statistically, the unemployed, young males, the poor, blacks and members of minority groups are not only more likely to be involved in crime but they are also over-represented in victimisation statistics (Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996; Radelet, 1980; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985). The similarity in characteristics between likely offenders and victims is apparent from United States Department of Justice (1988, as cited by Bryett & Harrison, 1993) data on victim categories:

-	men are more often victims than women

- young people are more likely to be victims than elderly

- blacks are more likely to be victims than whites or other racial groups

- the divorced, separated or never married are more likely to be victims than the married or widowed

- unemployed are more likely to be victims of violent crime than those who are employed

- people who live in cites are more likely to be victims of theft and violence than those who live in suburbs and rural areas

- young males are more likely to be victims of violent crime; elderly females less likely.

Examples of this disparity in victimisation rates within the community are provided by Lea and Young (1993). They noted that a young black male is 22 times more likely to have a serious crime committed against him than a white elderly female and that a young black poor female has a significantly greater risk of rape (seven times greater) than the general incidence of rape within the community.

These same groups within the community are also disproportionately targeted by police activity both routine and operationally specified (Bittner, 1990; Crowther, 1998; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985; Radelet, 1980; Reiner, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991). Furthermore, the victims of police violence and misconduct are often members of socially and economically deprived groups, such as the unemployed, young males, the poor, blacks and members of minority groups (Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998; Radelet, 1980; Reiner, 1985; Scheingold, 1984; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991). As many studies argue, the main occasion when the rules of criminal procedure are dangerously stretched is in relation to "the lesser offender, who is often intellectually and economically impoverished" (Lidstone, 1981, p. 465) or drawn from a vulnerable and powerless social group (Reiner, 1985, p. 176).

This suggests to Cox (1996, p. 171) that most of these people are in reality victims, not criminals. Certainly, the literature strongly suggests that these groups suffer disproportionately at the hands of each other, the police, the majority of the community and

the government (Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Cox, 1996; Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996b; Radelet, 1980; Reiner 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991).

## 9.1.2 Community and police prejudices

It has been suggested by several authors (for example, McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985) that police officers have pre-existing attitudes that predispose them to discriminatory behaviour and racial prejudice prior to employment as police officers. For as Reiner (1985, p. 103) has observed:

> The crucial source of police prejudice is societal racism which places ethnic minorities disproportionately in those strata and situations from which the police derive their `property'. This structural feature of police-ethnic minority relations bolsters any prior prejudice police officers have.

Several studies (for example, Lea & Young, 1993; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985, p. 100; Smith & Gray, 1985) have suggested that in relation to minorities, the police are representative of and exhibit the attitudes of the majority of the community. Carter & Radelet (1999) agree and suggest that societal racism or prejudice is encouraged by ten sociological conditions. These conditions were derived from the work of Allport (1958, p. 233 as cited in Carter & Radelet, 1999).

1.    Heterogeneity in the population

2.    Ease of vertical mobility, erratically distributed

3.    Rapid social change with attendant anomie

4.    Ignorance and barriers to communication

5.    The relative density of minority group population

6.    The existence of realistic rivalries and conflict

7.    Exploitation sustaining important interests in the community

8.    Sanctions given to aggressive scapegoating

9.    Legend and tradition that sustains hostility

10.    Unfavourable attitudes toward both assimilation and cultural pluralism.

A fear of crime and of victimisation, stereotypical associations between minority group status and criminality, have combined with entrenched and equivocal anxieties so that the larger community perceives minorities as a threat (Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985).

Community prejudices regarding minority groups are reflected in the distribution of police work (Bittner, 1983). Police work is concentrated in those lower socio-economic status and high crime areas where a significant number of minorities live (Bittner, 1983; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998; Reiner, 1985). Subsequently, minorities have more contact with the police through victimisation, calls for service and criminal arrests than others within the larger community (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 251; Loveday, 1996b; Reiner, 1985).

> Since this increased contact is with people who have `police problems' the officer tends to lose the perspective that many of the people are victims in need of general police service; they are not all criminals. Thus, the officer's decision making process in dealing with diverse people is based on a fallacious, stereotypical correlation between race, ethnicity, or lifestyle and criminality." (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 251).

It is apparent that police do not act in ways which are socially neutral. As Finnane notes:

> The social impact of policing falls unevenly on particular populations. Some of this lies in the way crime and offending are defined. Others in the way in which police and criminal justice decision making is constructed. It is well known that policing outcomes, whether measured by those apprehended or not or those protected or not, are socially skewed. (Finnane, 1994, p. 71)

The discriminatory impact of police practice and the reactive nature of much of policing reflects the distribution of power within a society (Bayley, 1977; Crowther, 1998; Price, 1977; Reiner, 1985). What Bittner (1983) has termed the `ecological distribution of police work' reflects a range of community attitudes and perceptions not only of minority groups but of the role of police in a democratic society (Bittner, 1983; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985).

The literature consistently indicates that `crime-fighting' dominates community expectations and perceptions of the role of police in a democratic society (Hooper, 1989; Loveday, 1996b; Reiner, 1978). This view prevails to the detriment of the wider range of functions, often of a complex and sophisticated nature, that police routinely perform (Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Manning, 1980; Weber & Milte, 1977).

Public knowledge and understanding of policing in a democratic society appears limited (Bradley, 1996; Hoover, 1975). A knowledge and understanding of police and the role of police in society is derived from the nature and frequency of contact with the police and from the media (Carter & Radelet, 1999). For the larger community, contact with police is limited

and generally non-confrontational (Smith & Gray, 1985). This conforms with the police and the community's expectations given compliance with the law and community values. For minority groups, contact with police is more frequent and adversarial in nature (Crowther, 1998; Lea & Young, 1993; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985). This also conforms with the police and the community's expectations regarding non-compliance with the law and societal values, which is often associated with minority group membership (Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985). These community expectations and perceptions are sustained and augmented by the dramatisation of policing and the portrayal of a stereotypical association between minority group membership and crime by the media and through the politicisation of policing via the media (Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, Lea & Young, 1993; 1999; Reiner, 1985; Young, 1991). The nature and frequency of police contact with the community and the information provided by the media authenticates for the community 'crime-fighting' as the legitimate role of police in society (Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Lea & Young, 1993; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; Weber & Milte, 1977; Young, 1991).

Because of inherent prejudice towards minority groups and the community's reliance upon the media for information, which is frequently neither accurate nor objective (Carter & Radelet, 1999), several authors have questioned the ability and the resolution of the community to make an impartial and informed determination of the role of police in a democratic society (Alderson, 1979; Cox, 1996; Bradley, 1993; Reiner, 1978; Reiner, 1985; Sherman, 1978). This suggests that the reformation of policing, which is contingent upon establishing greater democratic accountability to the community, is uncertain. Lea and Young (1993, p. 270) have admitted that:

> One of our constant nightmares is that if there was a completely democratic control of police in areas such as Hackney, the resulting police force would look exactly the same as the present.

Reiner (1985, pp. 171-182) refers to the 'tyranny of the majority' as posing a major obstacle to the reform of policing as 'majoritarian forms of democracy' are often ambivalent towards the needs of minority groups. This suggests that the regulation of policing be invested in an authority that is capable of maintaining neutrality in opposition to pressure that would

sanction the differential application or enforcement of the law (Alderson, 1979). To this end Reiner has proposed a 'softly, softly' approach, a form of lower-level accountability, a combination of professional independence, constrained by accountability to the law and to community representatives.

## 9.1.3  Conclusion

Law enforcement ideologies dominate community perceptions of the role of police in society (for example, Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Hooper, 1989; Manning, 1980; Reiner, 1977; Weber & Milte, 1977). The enforcement of the law is not a socially neutral process and as a consequence some groups are disproportionately represented in criminal statistics (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Finnane, 1994). An unreasonable fear of crime and of victimisation combined with stereotypical associations between minority group status and criminality have contributed to a broad acceptance of or disregard for the discriminatory nature of law enforcement (Bittner, 1983; Reiner, 1985). Inherent prejudices and a lack of objective information on crime and policing are considered major impediments to community participation in determining the role of police in a democratic society (Cox, 1996; Kleinig, 1996; Lea & Young, 1993). This suggests that the reformation of policing which is considered contingent upon establishing greater democratic accountability to the community is uncertain.

## 9.2  The Media

The communications industry (the media) has been identified as an important source and provider of information to the community (Alderson, 1979, Carter & Radelet, 1999). The media largely determines what and how information is presented to the community and in doing so can actively shape the community's perceptions and expectations of the police and the role they perform in society (Scheingold, 1984; Reiner, 1978; Reiner, 1985). This ability has been recognised by political parties, the police and other various institutions who have sought to manipulate community perceptions and expectations and so further their own ends. In pursuing economic and political advantage, information is distorted and so the credibility and 'worth' of the media as an impartial educative communication tool is diminished (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1991).

The media has been recognised as the primary communication tool between the police and the public (Alderson, 1979; Carter & Radelet, 1999). For Alderson (1979, p. 100), the need for effective communication with the community is based on the principle that policing in a modern democratic society is a collaborative effort involving the police and the community. Furthermore, effective policing has been demonstrated to rely upon the flow of information between the police and the community and the media is an important provider of information.

Carter and Radelet (1999) have defined the media as sources of information that include both electronic (radio and television) and print (newspapers and magazines) media. According to Reiner (1985) and Fielding (1991,) a substantial proportion, approximately 28% according to Graber (1980, cited by Reiner, 1985), of routine media content is related to crime, policing or police. For, as observed by Fielding and Schiengold (1984), crime and the police are news and sensational news has a high commercial value. As a consequence, the `news' is highly commercial, competitive and political (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1991). Scheingold (1984,p.82) has suggested that these characteristics of the `news' have the media preoccupied with market share, ratings, advertising revenue and therefore with entertainment value. Crime and law enforcement provides entertainment and the media panders to the public's fascination with `serious crime' and police indiscretions (Reiner, 1985, Fielding, 1991). The entertainment value of crime and law enforcement has ensured that they have become a staple part of the mass entertainment industry (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Reiner, 1985). Given the import of `entertainment value', the media often provides information in a format that Carter and Radelet have described as `info-tainment'. This, they contend, has led to a blurring of the factual and fictional concerning the role of the police and the nature and extent of crime in the community.

The focus on info-tainment, particularly in regard to the reporting of crime and the police, has seen the media focus on the topical and the dramatic for which it has been extensively criticised (Fielding, 1991, pp. 17-22; Schiengold, 1984). Fielding argues that the media's simplistic and often embellished treatment of events, and its use of sloganistic and sensationalist language, simultaneously understates and devalues the incident. Given the economic and political considerations, there exist enormous pressures on journalists and

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editorial management to exaggerate events (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Reiner, 1985). Distortion of the news also occurs through journalistic and editorial bias. Reiner (1985, p. 138) has described this as a predominantly conservative political ideology that results in the media reflecting and reinforcing the views and interests of the majority rather than representing matters objectively. The factual depiction of crime and policing is further eroded by its clearly defined good versus evil portrayal, which does little to portray the complexities that underscore human interactions and events (Fielding, 1991).

Several authors, including Hoover (1975), Klockars (1985) and Goldstein (1990), have noted that public knowledge about crime and law enforcement is largely limited to that provided by the communications industry, particularly television. Mass public ignorance of issues related to crime and policing has ensured that the images portrayed by the media acquire prime importance. This has, according to Lea and Young (1993), substantially increased the manipulative potential of the media. Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 470) have identified the media as a major socialising influence in our society. They argue that the perceptions and expectations of much of the public are actively shaped by an assortment of factual and fictional portrayals of police and crime.

Although the media reflect public perceptions of crime and crime control, it nonetheless is directly responsible for contributing to public and police perceptions, which are neither accurate nor beneficial (Bittner, 1990; Reiner, 1978; Scarman, 1981; Scheingold, 1984). Scarman (1981, p. 121), discussing the role of police, noted "the degree of public knowledge about the problems which face police officers is generally limited to the image seen on the television screen". With few exceptions "the media depicts the police exclusively as crime fighters" with those commonly portrayed at either of the two extremes - the `clumsy bumbler' or `Sherlock Holmes' (Hoover, 1975, p. 7). As Scarman (1981) and Bittner (1990) have observed, the crime-fighting role portrayed, while glamorous, is wholly deficient in the broader context of policing. With reference to the provision of social services, several authors have argued that the media have limited both the public expectations of the services that police could be supplying them and police perceptions regarding their responsibilities to supply those services (Bayley, 1977; Bittner,1990; Scarman 1981).

The communications industry consistently legitimises a law enforcement role by focusing on law enforcement related police and community interactions (Caton, 1993). Reiner (1985, p. 142) found that "the news media present a picture of the police which is misleading in its focus on the serious and violent." A range of police documentaries (fictional and non-fictional), serials and movies portray a crime-fighting role to the detriment of an order maintenance function. Reviewing university students' knowledge of policing, Caton (1993) observed that all students had common images of police practice. These were media provided and inspired, and were all law enforcement orientated. Although the media may reflect public perceptions it is directly responsible for sustaining and exaggerating public and police perceptions which are neither accurate nor beneficial (Bayley, 1977; Reiner, 1978; Scarman, 1978; Young, 1991). These authors argue that the media has limited public expectations and police perceptions of the police function in providing a holistic service to the community. It is difficult for the police to adopt a new role when the focus of attention is dominated by portrayals of law enforcement by the media (Reiner, 1986).

Several authors including Hoover (1975), Klockars (1985) and Goldstein (1990), found that the media characterise the police by focusing on negative aspects, such as corruption, by legitimising a law enforcement function and by influencing police practice. Sparrow *et al.* (1990), commenting on the role of the media as role definers, found that allegations of police corruption and misconduct received wide media coverage. It has been suggested that this influences community perceptions and expectations with a stereotypical characterisation of police as possessing a propensity for corruption and misconduct (Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). Fitzgerald (1986) also found that although the media were partially responsible for exposing corruption, it also played a part in contributing to a climate in which corrupt practices had prospered in Queensland. From a review of the media, Carter and Radelet (1999) have drawn a list of possible erroneous conclusions that include an acceptance of violence, futuristic technological expertise, a disregard for due process, dominance of detectives in criminal investigation, dominance of 'crime fighting' in routine daily activities and an exaggerated element of 'danger'. Combined with a focus upon isolated and sensational events, this provides an unbalanced view of all policing activities and generates unrealistic expectations (Carter & Radelet, 1999).

Jefferson and Grimshaw (1984, p. 89) found the media's treatment of crime "solidifies the relationship between police and judicial option and introduces voices of the public into the chorus of concern", resulting in what they described as a frenzied alert to a threatening social phenomenon, 'a moral panic'. Bayley and Skolnick (1986) argue that the media's ability to sift and select information can sensationalise crime, producing a media inspired or fabricated 'crime wave' which on closer scrutiny may bear little resemblance to reality.

Allison and Morris (1994) have complained that, in the absence of appropriate evidence the media can create the public perception that crime is rampant and can greatly exaggerate the risks of violent crime. Fielding (1991, p. 20) has expressed concern that:

> There is an interaction between media and policy makers' perceptions which makes all this more dangerous than ironic. There is the danger of self-fulfilling prophecy when those in power are themselves guided by simplistic interpretations, the crisis version of events enjoys primacy with the media and restirs with politicians both because this may be the policy maker's chief source of information too and because politicians are aware that the media are definitely the only source of information their constituents have.

Reiner (1985, p. 138) has observed that the image provided by the media is influenced by organisational imperatives, ideological frames of creative personnel and audiences, and the changing balance of political and economic forces. The media provides an effective mechanism for those seeking to direct public debate and influence public opinion and in so doing exerts pressure on institutions and individuals and their response to issues of crime control and policing (Fitzgerald, 1989, p. 141).

In response to this 'community' concern, the police, political parties and an assortment of other institutions have tapped into the media inspired 'crime wave and associated hysteria' to promote their own particular brand of criminal justice or cause (Bottomley & Coleman, 1981; Jefferson & Grimshaw, 1984). Young (1991) and Loveday (1996) have found that the police have been very good at manipulating perceptions of crime depending on their needs. Police unions have also become proficient at conducting well orchestrated media campaigns in exaggerating crime victimisation so as to promote an increase in police numbers and budget (Weatherburn, 1994, as cited in Allison & Morris, 1994; Young, 1991). The major political parties have also been observed to seek political advantage by manipulating community

concern on crime by introducing 'law and order' campaigns and promoting 'getting tough on criminals' policies (Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996; White, 1997).

A shift to the right in the area of law and order policy, accompanied by media propaganda and political rhetoric, has led to a stereotypical association to be made between certain segments of the community and crime (Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996; White 1997, p. 167). Cultural and ethnic minorities, the 'marginalised' and 'youth', are deemed to be especially susceptible to adverse media comment or portrayal (Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996; Radelet, 1980; Reiner, 1986; White, 1997, p. 167). According to Reiner (1986), discrimination (statistical and institutional) and stereotypical associations are both transmitted and reinforced through and by the media. By stigmatising a class or group within a community the media's treatment of events may aggravate social tensions, prejudice police actions and in doing so contribute to social tension (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996; Reiner, 1986).

9.2.1   Conclusion

There are financial and political incentives that predispose the media to sensationalise and distort crime and policing related events (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding & Scheingold, 1984). The content and message are shaped both by the media and by other groups who have a vested interest in a particular style of policing, police practice or other value system associated with crime control. As the primary source of information for the community (Alderson, 1979; Carter & Radelet, 1999), this makes the control of the media a major priority for those seeking to direct public debate and influence public opinion. The media has been extensively criticised for its often prejudicial and inflammatory treatment of events, particularly its reinforcement of a stereotypical association between criminal activity and membership of minority and marginalised groups (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998). The predisposition of the media for the inaccurate, subjective and prejudicial treatment of events is considered an impediment to the objective and rational re-examination of the role of the police in a democratic society (for example, Crowther, 1998; Radelet, 1980).

## 9.3    The politics of crime, policing and reform

As Reiner (1978, p. 85) has observed, "the police are inherently and inescapably political". The inherent characteristics of crime, the conflicting demands of social control and democratic freedoms, and the 'power conflicts' inherent in a democratic society ensure that policing is political. The role of police in society is a political construct and so the reform of police practice, itself a political construct and an exercise of political power, is a question of political reform. A redistribution of power within the local political context is considered paramount to the reform of police practice (Lea & Young, 1993).

### 9.3.1    Why is crime political?

Crime appears to have become central to any discussion on the politics of policing (Loveday, 1996b; Radelet, 1980). In ascertaining the reasons for this, Radelet (1980, p. 489) has determined that crime is of political interest because:

> Criteria set in law, along with theological-psychological aspects of human nature, guaranteed that crime will always exist as a behavioural phenomenon, regardless of the programs formulated to combat it. Any problem that cannot, by its nature, be entirely solved, no matter what is done, makes a good political issue in a democratic society.
>
> Any problem that has been insufficiently researched to establish any professional or public consensus about its causes lends itself to freewheeling political manipulation. Any approach may have merit, yours as well as mine, because no one is sure.
>
> Under circumstances created and cultivated by the two preceding considerations, the politics of crime becomes a game of avoiding the changes and reforms that might conceivably make the greatest difference. By focusing on peripheral issues, those who have a stake in the current system divert attention from the relatively drastic changes that would get at the heart of the matter.

Nineteen years later, a slightly differing perspective on the politics of crime is provided by Carter and Radelet (1999, pp. 433-434). They determined that crime is a political factor because it is an emotional issue that conjures up feelings of fear and the need for safety and security for oneself and family. Most people, either directly or indirectly, at some point in their lifetime will be affected by crime. It is an issue on which nearly all people can agree to some extent, regardless of political position, race, age, ethnicity, gender or lifestyle - most people do not want crime. Most people appear willing to make some sacrifices for protection against criminals. Crime is visible and arouses a morbid curiosity among people. Public attitudes and perceptions about crime are an important political reality (Radelet, 1980).

Community concern regarding crime and the fear of victimisation ensures that the prevention and control of crime continues to captivate political interest (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Loveday, 1996; Radelet, 1980).

## 9.3.2 Law and Crime and the Police

Crimes are a set of behaviours that are prohibited by laws so as to maintain social order (Albanese, 1998, p. 24). Crime and laws are a reflection of society's values and so law making, law enforcement and hence policing are fundamentally political processes (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 421). The political relationship between the law, government and police is summarised by Fielding (1991, p. 115):

> Law is a political entity, and the administration of criminal law unavoidably encompasses political values and political ends. The police are tied to a political system that develops and defines the law, itself a product of politically powerful segments within the community.

Law enforcement is considered a public acknowledgment of a government's commitment to providing a stable society through the maintenance of social order (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Avery, 1981). So, law enforcement and fear of crime provide a mechanism through which political power can be contested in the public arena (Young, 1991; Reiner, 1986). Crime rates provide a simplistic and emotive descriptor of crime that readily lends itself to public discourse and political manipulation (Loveday, 1996b; Young, 1991). The use of crime rates also provides a means of validating vigorous 'law and order' campaigns and other 'get tough' issues related to law enforcement and crime control (Loveday, 1996b; Young, 1991). An attack on crime is in keeping with community expectations, the dominant police ideology and a punitive political climate (Albanese, 1998; Reiner, 1986; Scheingold, 1984; Young, 1991). The law and order political climate with its punitive bias legitimatizes the 'crime-fighting' orientation of traditional policing (Scheingold, 1984; Young, 1991) - what Scarman (1981) referred to as 'hard policing' and Lea and Young (1993) refer to as 'militaristic policing'. Despite the terminology, the political preference for an uncompromising and punitive response to issues of social control and crime is evident in the political discourse of recent times (Grant, 1987; Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996b; Young 1991).

The laws which are enforced reflect the political preference of those who decide the policies

of enforcement (Parker-Jones, 1986, as cited in Pitman, 1987). Furthermore, successive 'political campaigns' ensure that the policies of enforcement and punishment become increasingly crude and draconian as the contestants in the debate vie for supremacy in the law and order contest (note: for example the Thatcher era of conservative politics in the United Kingdom (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b; Young, 1991).

The political response to crime control, what Loveday (1996b, p. 84) has identified as "the tendency to apply blanket solutions to complex problems", ignores the intricate and delicate realities of crime and crime control (Loveday, 1996b; Radelet, 1980). In the 'war against crime', getting tough on crime invokes a shift in government policy from rehabilitation to harsher penalties and mandatory incarceration (Crowther, 1998). An example of this shift can be seen in British Prime Minister Major's 'Criminal Justice Bill' (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b). Simplistic determinations of the underlying causes of crime are also endorsed. Instead of acknowledging a possible link between economic and social policies and crime, governments offered highly deterministic explanations for crime such as individual pathology, state dependence and television violence. These responses typify government assertion of individual culpability rather than social or economic policies or global forces as the principal cause of crime and community disorder (Beck and Whitehouse, 1979; Federal Issues Paper, 1993; Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996b; Crowther, 1998; Wilson & Ashton, 1998).

From a review of successive British government reports and statements, Loveday (1996b) found that successive governments had refused to acknowledge any link and also categorically denied that a link could be established between crime and socio-economic conditions in the United Kingdom. On an examination of the relationship between economic and social policy and crime, Wilson and Ashton (1998) found that recorded crime usually rose during periods of economic recession and stabilised or fell slightly during periods of prosperity. A link between government economic policy and crime has been demonstrated by Reiner (1994, as cited in Wilson & Ashton, 1998). Reiner observed that the rise in the crime rate during the 1980's in the United Kingdom was closely linked to the adoption of free market economic policies and a reduction in welfare assistance. Whereas, Reiner has

attributed a reduction in crime rates in Germany and France for the same period to the adoption of alternative economic and social policies of wealth redistribution and welfare assistance. Economic rationalist social and economic policies have contributed to inequality, long term unemployment and political polarisation (Reiner, 1978; Reiner, 1985). In following such political philosophies, Reiner asserts that governments have exacerbated socio-economic inequality and in so doing contributed to social unrest. The intentional emphasis upon law enforcement alienated sections of the community and exacerbated social unrest. Loveday (1996b) and Crowther (1998) reached a similar conclusion regarding the contribution of British governments to social conflict. Each has observed the deliberate manipulation of community concerns regarding `crime,' the pursuit of economic rationalistic policies and the intentional emphasis upon law enforcement. British governments appear to have rejected notions that solutions to crime and disorder are beyond the police (Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b).

### 9.3.3   The police and politics

In all three democracies (the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States of America) there exist clear links between government and policing (Bryett & Harrison, 1997; Finnane, 1994; Loveday, 1996; Reiner, 1992). In the United Kingdom the control of the police is the subject of a power struggle between locally based councils, the police and central government (Loveday, 1996a; Reiner, 1992). Reviewing Reiner (1992, p. 267), Loveday concluded that despite the purported independence of the Chief Constable, the Home Office was seen as a powerful, increasingly interventionist body. In the United States of America, Palumbo (1988, pp. 62-63, as cited in Reiner, 1992) found that the state and local governments still retained significant powers in areas such as law enforcement. A tendency to devolve responsibility for the control of law enforcement to the lowest level of government is reflected in the statistics. Of the 14,707 public law enforcement agencies 13,692 of these are at State and Municipal level. This devolution of control clearly illustrates how a close symbiotic relationship between the police and government can evolve where police ultimately become extensions of the political process (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Reiner 1992). Finnane (1994, p. 126) has determined that Australia lies somewhere between the two, having "more formal links set down in legislation than in Britain but less actual police / government interaction than that

which exists in the United States."

The police are an indication of a community's opposition to crime and an expression of a society's commitment to opposing crime (Radelet, 1980). They are the product of legislatures and were intended to be apolitical given the need for impartiality and autonomy in operation and structure (Avery, 1982; Manning, 1977; Reiner, 1992). However, the political context in which modern policing operates has ensured a shift in the underlying philosophy of policing. For as Fielding (1991, p. 115) has observed:

> They (Police) were to enforce the law, a political instrumentality, while avoiding personal and organisational political interest. Their own political values and political aims are supposed to be secondary to the institutional objective of just and fair law enforcement. In practice, however, police organisations function in a public political arena, and their mandate is politically defined.

The police, as an executive branch of government, is responsible for enforcing the legislative and judicial decisions of law and so enforce dominant conceptions of social order (Alpert & Dunham, 1988). Ensuring compliance with the law achieves governability - what Bowden (1978, as cited in Bryett & Harrison 1997, p. 136) describes as "the maintenance of political control and the preservation of a regime's claim to compliance with its laws and allegiance to its authority." This strongly suggests a political imperative to supervise policing beyond that required to ensure that the state's mandate to maintain social order is achieved and that the interests of the wider community are served (Bryett & Harrison, 1997; Fielding, 1991). Given this, there exists a potential for policing policy and practice to become exceedingly coercive and ubiquitous (Bryett & Harrison, 1997; Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b), particularly where the nature and extent of political influence exceeds that required to ensure that the basic requirement of safeguarding social order is met.

To avoid the political susceptibility associated with issues of crime and law enforcement Weatheritt (1986) has suggested that political parties have sought the political mastery of policing. To influence policing policy and practice, a combination of government policies and strategies have been used (Loveday, 1996b; Weatheritt, 1986; Young, 1991). Restricting public expenditure on policing has achieved government intervention in determining 'operational priorities' and the nature of the policing response to community disorder

(Weatheritt, 1986; Young, 1991). As several authors have noted, financial accountability and central government efforts to encourage greater performance and accountability of policing have resulted in a requirement for tangible measures of efficiency and effectiveness (Crowther, 1998; Goldstein, 1990; Loveday, 1996b). This commonly has been achieved through the use of economic rationalism or 'management by objectives' policies. These policies have been found to encourage a law enforcement function by utilising arrest and crime rates as the primary measures of efficiency and effectiveness (Weatheritt, 1986; Young, 1991). For example the *Sheey Report* (1993) and the White Paper on Police Reform (1993) were British Government initiatives to direct police policy and practice through managerial and economic accountability with a clear emphasis on the setting of objectives and performance measures (Loveday, 1996b). In so doing, governments focus police policies and practice on fulfilling organisational and hence political objectives (Loveday, 1996b; Weatheritt, 1986; Young, 1991). Thus, policing becomes what is politically sanctioned, desirable or expedient (Weatheritt, 1989; Young, 1991).

The 'professionalisation' of policing during the early 1900's in the United States of America originated from concerns over the domination and corruption of policing through political intervention. Political intervention in policing continues and is of concern when the impartiality and autonomy of policing is overridden by political imperatives, for example the *Fitzgerald Inquiry* (1989) into the Queensland Police Service. Fitzgerald (1989, p. 42) determined that, in Queensland, powerful ministerial direction of policing had taken place. He also found that where direction had been lacking, the corruption of police administration had fed on the failure of ministerial responsibility and accountability. Fitzgerald also concluded that the Queensland Police had been effectively converted into a political machine. Coaldrake (1989, p. 81, as cited in Bryett & Harrison, 1997) found that "Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen had throughout his term of office used the Queensland police force as an active political agent to enforce government policy". Bryett and Harrison (1997) have also suggested that the extent of political intervention in policing is partially determined by what the government believes the community is prepared to tolerate. For example, Prime Minister John Majors' 'Criminal Justice Bill', considered repressive towards minority groups within the community, sought to reassure and gain the support of middle class England (Ellingsen,

1994).

## 9.3.4 Political and police conflict

The politicisation of policing and its reform is evident in government attempts to exercise authority over the police and in so doing strengthen its own position. This can lead to government and organisational conflict regarding organisational autonomy especially in the area of policy formulation and implementation (Alaba, 1994). Both Finnane (1994) and Bryett and Harrison (1997) have commented upon the enormous potential for administrative and political conflict between the police and government when differing perspectives and interests in the policies and outcomes of policing policy and practice are held. Finnane provides several examples of such conflict in the Australian context. These include the sacking of the South Australian Police Commissioner, Salisbury, over a refusal to disclose Special Branch Records to Premier Dunstan, and the highly personal and public conflict between the New South Wales Police Minister Pickering and Police Commissioner Lauer in 1992 that led to the resignation of the Minister. More recently, there was the quite public participation of Police Commissioner Ryan in the debate on police and crime in the lead up to the 1999 New South Wales State election.

## 9.3.5 Politics and police unions and the police

The politicisation of the police becomes more apparent at times of major political change (Alaba 1994, p. 37). In the political environment, public support for popular programming will frequently translate into more funding and growth (Loveday, 1996b). Crime and issues of law enforcement provide a mechanism for police unions to pressure governments and to court opposition parties for an increase in budget and allocation of resources. An example of this is the campaign conducted by the Police Association of New South Wales in 1997. The association sought to equate political commitment and additional police resources with lower crime rates and safer streets (N.S.W Police Association, 1999, pp. 18-33).

The effect of such political machinations on political decision making, political campaigning and the balance of power is demonstrated by Farley (1994) and Ruchelman (1974). Ruchelman's study of the role of the police bureaucracy in community affairs found that

police associations and unions had not only exerted pressure for improved pay and conditions but had strongly lobbied for autonomy of direction as well. In striving to defend their 'professional status' from political interference, Ruchelman concluded that the police had become active participants in the politics of many American cities. He observed that "police bureaucracies have come to assume special significance in their new role of providing support to law-enforcer candidates and law-enforcement issues" (Ruchelman, 1974, p. 97). That police bureaucracies are still active in the political arena is demonstrated by Farley (1994, p. 32). In a review of crime, police unions and politics in the United States of America, Farley found that:

> Even though the rate of crime in the United States has fallen to levels not seen since the early 1970's public fear has reached an apex. Television transmits vivid pictures of actual violence into the nation's living rooms on a daily basis in more and more graphic detail. Politicians respond to the mounting public fear with declarations of war on drugs and crime that resonate with voters, from presidential to local elections. They also play to the police culture. As a result, powerful police unions endorsed Mayors Rudolph Giuliani in New York and Richard Riordan in Los Angeles. The largest national police group supported President Clinton for re-election after he promised federal funding for more cops and a blazing war against drugs. In such an atmosphere it is easy to accept the notion that tough cops prevent crime (1997, p. 47).

The previous examples indicate a commensal relationship between political parties and police unions with each sustaining support for their own agendas by promoting community fear of crime.


9.3.6    The politics of police work

Modern police are deployed and governed by policies and regulations that are the product of government and organisational policy. Individual police are subject to lawful direction in exercising their 'original powers' (Finnane, 1994). Police work is further shaped by the political context of their communities. The work of Wilson (1968, as cited in Zaho 1996, p. 25) established a direct link between the local political culture and the policy orientation of the local police department. On this relationship, Wilson (1968, p. 233 as cited in Carter & Radelet 1999) was to conclude that:

> Police work is carried out under the influence of a political culture, though not necessarily under the day to day political direction... with respect to police work - or at least its patrol functions - the prevailing political culture creates a 'zone of indifference' within which the police are free to act as they see fit.

From the work of Wilson (1968), it has been suggested by Reiner (1985), Zaho (1996) and

Carter and Radelet (1999) that police work, the daily actions of operational police, is broadly determined by the local political culture. Carter and Radelet consider that the influence is mainly indirect and indecisive. However, Lea and Young (1993) have indicated that the degree of influence is dependent upon the political strengths of the local community. They consider that dysfunctional or broken communities, predominantly those that are socially and economically disadvantaged, are more likely to be incapable of presenting a coherent political ideology in respect to policing. Consequently, the nature of policing and the parameters within which police elect to operate in these communities are more likely to be determined by the political culture of the dominant community.

Police work involves coercion and the exercise of discretion. Discretion is defined as the power of decision making `framed' by external factors. Both the coercive nature of police work and the routine exercise of discretion by frontline police establishes the political nature of police work (Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Reiner, 1985). The discretionary prerogative invested in the office of constable is an investation of power. As Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 424) observed, "to exercise discretion is to exercise power and in policing the power is extraordinary". Front-line police effectively `make policy on the street' and the discretionary decisions of police can have serious political implications "especially when those decisions are made injudiciously" (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 418; Reiner, 1985). Given the nature of policing in a democratic society, Jefferson and Grimshaw (1984, p. 58) consider it essential that the constable retains independence and discretion in the performance of their duties. Political intervention in policing is considered contrary to the notion of a constable's independence and restrictive of the legitimate use of discretionary powers (Manning, 1977).

The use of coercion and the exercise of discretion is to a point determined by the political context. According to Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 419):

> Police officers size up their reference groups and reach decisions on how to act depending upon how they weigh factors of influence and power in the community.

In the absence of an authoritative or dominant local political culture police, action or inaction may be guided by police perceptions of wider community, cultural or political values. In

essence police may respond to the political rhetoric of a 'war against crime' and community fear of crime in a manner where discretion becomes discrimination and coercion entails abuse, violence and occasionally deadly force. The results can be confusion for the police when they are vilified and criminally investigated; and for the recipients, indignation and enmity of the police and political system. Reforming police practice so that it becomes representative of the whole community entails a shift in the balance of political power (Lea & Young, 1993).

### 9.3.7 Reform of policing

The political setting is, according to Wilson (1968, p. 227), the key to the reform of policing. Wilson has suggested that the reform of policing requires the insulation of police from politics. Bryett and Harrison (1997, p. 133) disagree, concluding that:

> Policing and politics have been demonstrated as having a symbiotic relationship in all of the liberal democracies. It has been argued here that those who are elected to represent the people must be capable of exercising appropriate control over all public bodies. In the case of the police, this does not mean to usurp their authority and, thereby, their role but to see that the interests of society at large are served.

Carter and Radelet (1999) infer that proposals for the reform of policing that entail the separation of politics from policing are either too simplistic or naive in their understanding of the complexities of this relationship. For as Bittner (1990), Reiner (1985) and Manning (1997) have observed, policing is inescapably political and properly so given the requirement for direct overseeing of policing in a democratic community.

Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 417) suggest that policing in a democratic society is a public and political function with the police ostensibly responsible for the enforcement of the law and hence social control. As an instrument of social control, Alderson (1979, pp. 57-64) suggests a need for a 'superior democratic police force', one that would strive to serve all segments of the community, not just the majority. To impartially and effectively serve a community requires an understanding of and a commitment to resolving the issues and problems that are of concern to that community. Just as importantly it requires that policing becomes politically accountable to that community (Lea & Young, 1993). An emphasis upon community empowerment and participation in policing is termed 'consensus policing' by Lea

and Young (1993), 'community alliance' by Carter and Radelet (1999) and 'community orientated policing' by Zaho (1996). Each emphasises a co-operative approach to policing, with the police and the community working together to identify and solve issues that are of concern to the community.

### 9.3.8 Community orientated policing: a shift in political power

Community orientated policing necessitates a change in the political role of the police. Community orientated policing stresses a shift in emphasis from imposed conditions to a community involvement in the selection of priorities (Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996b; Zaho, 1996). The shift in emphasis is described by Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 422):

> Community policing focuses on substantive issues of crime, community problems and quality of life in neighbourhoods - factors which affect residents on a daily basis.

For Goldstein (1990, p. 127) the most important thing about community policing relates to the formulation of policy on policing.

> When the police ask the community about their concerns, when they ask the community to participate in problem solving, and when they substantively act on this input then the community is being brought in to the policy making process of the police department.

Community involvement in the formulation of policy changes the balance of power and brings to the forefront of political debate issues of public accountability and power redistribution. For Lea and Young (1993), 'community policing' equates with the democratic accountability of policing to the community. They suggest that democratic accountability provides a mechanism whereby those segments of the community previously marginalised from society and often driven to conflict and dissent are included in political discourse on issues that are of concern to them.

Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 422) suggest that "if the police are successful in resolving the problems that are of primary concern to the community, then a different political dynamic will emerge." They envisage that the police will become politically empowered by their communities. This empowerment, they suggest, will result in a shift in the allocation of political power and in the political relationships between government, the police and the community. Perhaps for the police the most dramatic alteration to how police organisations

function will derive from the shift in decision making to, and the establishment of priorities by, front-line officers. As a consequence, front-line officers may acquire considerable political power in the determination of policy and practice (Carter & Radelet, 1999). The role of police in providing solutions to community concerns and improvements in the quality of life of a community may necessitate the need for an 'interdisciplinary' approach to community policing or what Reiner (1985) refers to as a 'multi-agency' approach to social control, and with it a commensurate shift in political empowerment (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Reiner, 1986). The rather dramatic shift in the balance of political power required by community-orientated policing suggests a potential for considerable conflict between vested interest groups, particularly those already in possession of political power (Lea & Young, 1993). Scheingold (1984, p. 119) has suggested that:

> A movement towards a community service approach to policing tends to be precluded by the political climate, by traditional police values, and by an organisational reluctance to grant the decentralisation required for a community service strategy to work properly.

Lea and Young (1993) also suggest that a resistance to change, social and economic inequality and marginalisation, an emphasis on 'crime' and a lack of community accountability over policing impair the shift towards consensus policing.

## 9.3.9    Conclusion

The role of a government in a democratic society is to create and sustain social cohesion through policies that foster an egalitarian society. Social and economic policies that promote inequality, long-term unemployment and political polarisation contribute to social disorder and in doing so impede the implementation of 'community orientated policing' and the restoration of police legitimacy (Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b; Reiner, 1978; Reiner, 1985). It has been observed that decisions on how to deal with crime reflect the perspectives and beliefs of the political party of the day (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Parker-Jones, 1986; Young, 1991). Highly deterministic explanations of crime, although apparently popular with some governments, do not provide an adequate basis upon which to formulate policies of social control (Loveday, 1996b). The role of police in a democratic society is a political issue and the nature of policing what is politically sanctioned, desirable and expedient (Weatheritt, 1989; Young, 1991). The reform of the police is considered dependent upon the political

process, or more specifically, a shift in the balance of political power that incorporates community decision making and the accountability of policing to the community (Lea & Young, 1993; Carter & Radelet, 1999).

# Chapter 10

# The Police Culture

Considered crucial to an analysis of what police do and their broad political function in a community is an understanding of `cop-culture' (Reiner, 1985, p. 85). An extensive array of literature on police practice clearly indicates that the primary determinant of operational police practice is the rank-and-file police officer (Bayley, 1994; Brogden, 1991; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; Young, 1991). Brogden (1990) has described police-work as rule-work, that is police behaviour is largely determined by the rules either `working rules', `inhibitory rules' or `presentational rules' (Smith and Gray, 1985) and it has been observed there is considerable latitude within the framework of `the rules' for the culture to shape police practice (Brogden, 1991; Reiner, 1985). The police sub-culture characterised by such things as aggression, solidarity and racism is antithetical to policing ideologies that involve community participation (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991). Constructing what Brogden terms `social accountability' within police work is considered contingent upon altering the police culture (Brogden, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Young, 1991).

## 10.1 Research on the Police Culture

According to Young (1991), research has had difficulty gaining anything but the most cursory insight into the police culture. Much of the information provided has been culturally sifted by police who are only too aware of the legal and social ramifications of exposure of police practice, behaviour and attitudes. Consequently much of the research often fails to provide a detailed account of the culture and the manner in which it has sustained itself.

Generally, police are intensely critical and suspicious of researchers and resent academic intrusion into their world (Bittner, 1990; Reiner, 1978). For example, Young (1991, p. 76), commenting on the Policy Study Institute report into policing in London (1983), found that the reception of it by police resulted in total furore.

> It managed to get beneath the surface of police culture and to explore the deep
> structures of belief and to comment adversely about their influence on police

activities.

Other authors have found that police have even less regard for their own who critically report on their activities (Reiner, 1978; Jones, 1980), finding that they are harassed, ridiculed and ostracised by the culture and police organisation for their impertinence.

This response has been found to contribute to an inability or reluctance of police researchers or academic staff to promote alternative models or to conduct research other than that which is sanctioned by the institution or culture (Fielding, 1988 and 1989; McConville & Shepherd, 1991). This situation is apparent in the Third Report - Higher Police Training and the Police Staff College - of the Home Affairs Committee (1989). As Young (1991, p. 46) concludes, it is conspicuous from the report that "even the civilian academics at the college seem to be nullified by the overriding police desire for the circumspection in the written account and the preference for academic silence."

In light of the cultural response and a resentment of academics and research, it is not surprising that research into or critical analysis of policing has had little apparent impact upon police practice (Spike, 1985; Weatheritt, 1989; Fielding, 1989; McConville & Shepherd, 1991).

10.2    The Police Culture

For Barker and Carter (1994, pp. 49-50), police organisations conform with commonly held notions of `culture':

> A typical police organisation represents a form of social organisation in which a continuing collectivity of individuals shares a significant activity (police duties); the individuals have a history of continuing interaction based on that activity (clannishness); they acquire a major portion of their identity from the closeness of this interaction (police solidarity); and they share special norms and values with a particular argot. In short, most police organisations possess the qualities of a subculture.

The police subculture shares many of the attributes of other cultures including internal solidarity and a resistance to change. What differentiates the police subculture from other cultures is the extreme to which these shared characteristics are carried (Grant, 1987; Scheingold, 1984; Young, 1991). The police culture is also a political identity. The police

culture reflects the distribution of power within the community it polices (Brogden, 1991; Zaho, 1996). Power is derived from the culture's ability to influence police policy and practice, and it exists so long as it can justify to others the need for continued resources and authority.

A 'culture' is a representation of a traditional way of solving problems or a learned solution to problems (Norris, 1989). "Subcultures emerge as adaptations to problems faced by individuals or groups, but such adaptations do not necessarily bring a solution to the problem which is either tenable or in the interests of the groups as a whole." (Lea & Young, 1993, p. 126).

A culture's characteristics are a consequence of its adaptation to the distinctive problems that it encounters (Norris, 1989, p. 90). For Reiner (1985, p. 87), the "'cop culture' has developed as a patterned set of understandings which help to cope with and adjust to the pressures and tensions which confront the police." The literature suggests that these pressures and tensions result from a combination of factors: the basic dilemma inherent in policing a democratic society, the unpredictable and heterogeneous nature of police work and the 'permissive' character of the rules governing police practice that permit broad scope for police discretion (Brogden, 1991; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; Yarmey, 1990; Young, 1991).

The culture of police is neither uniform nor universal (Reiner, 1985). Variations in 'cop culture' have been attributed to individual pathology, structural variations and organisational styles (Reiner, 1985; Reuss-Ianni, 1984; Smith & Gray, 1985; Zaho, 1996). Within policing there exist cultural diversity - for example 'cop culture' and 'boss culture' (Reuss-Ianni, 1984). As well, there are variations within 'cop culture'. Smith and Gray observed that there were 'many groupings' among Police Constables and admission to these was usually dependent upon gaining experience. From a synthesis of the literature and empirical research Reiner (1985) has identified four basic types of police orientation or perspective that co-exist within or around the core culture. These are the 'bobby', the 'new centurion', the 'uniform carrier' and the 'professional'. Police officers may move from one typology to another and

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each type is reflected in differing styles of policing adopted.

Variation in `cop culture' has also been attributed to differences in the styles of policing adopted by `whole' police organisations. The work of Wilson (1968, as cited in Reiner, (1985); Zaho, 1996, p. 25) noted a direct link between the local political culture and the policy orientation of a police department. Three distinctive styles of policing were identified; the watchman, the legalistic, and the service-oriented types. The style adopted was found to be closely related to the `local political culture' as comprising the views of the political elite, the police `chief' and the dominant segments of the community (Zaho, 1996).

Despite these variations, commonalities have been identified as occurring `across continents and across time' (Bradley, 1996b), which Reiner has attributed to the universality of the problems experienced by police in liberal democratic societies.

## 10.3    Working personality

Check and Klein (1977, as cited in Yarmey, 1990, p. 42) found that there was no evidence that supported a `typical police personality', one showing an assembly of characteristics that were consistent across `time and space'. Balch (1972, as cited in Yarmey, 1990, p. 42) found that the evidence was unsupportive of a single dominant personality type. More recent research indicates that there may exist a `personality type' that appears to be consistent across jurisdictions and, in retrospect, time, if a broad definition of `working personality' is applied (Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; Young, 1991).

The front-line constable epitomises the `working personality' of police. McConville and Shepherd (1991, pp. 41-42) observed two conflicting views concerning the development of this working personality. One sees it as deriving from the organisational-socialisation systems present within policing; the other suggests that `personality factors and social backgrounds are more important than occupational socialisation'. From an analysis of the literature and from their own studies, McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 42) have concluded that the `working personality' of police is determined by a combination of six factors.

      1.      the structures and demands of the police role,

2. occupational socialisation,

3. selective attrition of incompatible-personality types,

4. recruitment from the working or lower-middle class,

5. self-selection from the working-class men and women who have an interest in police work, and

6. self-selection of men and women with predisposed personality characteristics.

There exists a considerable quantity of literature that is very persuasive in its arguments for recognising that the socialisation process by the occupational culture is the primary determinant of the 'working personality' of rank-and-file police constables (Jones, 1980; Reiner, 1985; Skolnick, 1994; Young, 1991).

Skolnick (1966, as cited in Reiner, 1985, pp. 87-88) has determined that the 'working personality' of police has developed in response to three interdependent variables - danger, authority and efficiency. Police work contains an element of danger highlighted by the unpredictable nature of human interactions, a view supported by several authors (for example, Bittner, 1990; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991; Young, 1991). The authority to use coercion in the exercise of their lawful duties contributes to the potential for conflict when that authority is contested (Yarmey, 1990; Cain, 1973). To Skolnick's discussion Reiner has emphasised that the constant pressure to be efficient and to 'produce' increases the potential for and the frequency of adversarial encounters with members of the community, a view consistent with the findings of several studies (for example, Crowther, 1998; Smith & Gray, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991; Young, 1991).

10.4 Core characteristics of the police culture

Understanding the nature of policing in a democratic society and the reform of police practice is dependent upon an understanding of the police culture. Fitzgerald (1989, p. 200) has observed that:

> institutional culture of a police force is of vital importance to a community. A police force is numerically strong, politically influential, physically powerfully, and armed. It stands at the threshold of the criminal justice system and is in effective control of the enforcement of the criminal law. Each police officer has extensive authority over all other citizens, however powerful, coupled with wide discretions concerning its

exercise. Subsequent states in the criminal justice process, including courts and prison, are largely dependent on the activities of the Police force, and will inevitably be affected by its deficiencies, especially any which are cultural and therefore widespread.

A number of cross jurisdictional studies on policing have identified several core characteristics of the police culture. The following has been paraphrased from (Reiner, 1985, pp. 90-110) and interspersed with the conclusions of other authors as appropriate.

The culture contains a sense of 'mission' - described as the preservation of a particular model of society or a valued way of life which is often encapsulated in a common police motto 'to protect and to serve'. As 'guardians of society' police are able to adopt the moral high ground and establish themselves as the solitary custodians of the knowledge and expertise required to protect society (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Yarmey, 1990; Young, 1991). Despite the mundane reality of police work (Bittner, 1990; Finnane, 1994; Holdaway, 1983) the culture is action-centred and hedonistic in nature (Jones, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985, Young, 1991). McConville and Shepherd (1991) refer to this as 'the blue light syndrome' as characterised by speed, excitement, variety and uncertainty. The predisposition of police to be suspicious, defensive, isolated and secretive has been labelled by Niederhoffer (1967, as cited in Yarmey, 1994, p. 41) as 'cynicism' syndrome - that is, behaviour characterised as "loss of faith in people, of enthusiasm for the higher ideals of police work and of pride and integrity." Cynicism fosters distrust of the police organisation in the wider community and thus impedes efforts at co-operative policing (Kleinig, 1996, p. 76; Yarmey, 1990). Reiner has described the erosion of the values or ideologies which police espouse as leading to 'pessimistic cynicism': pessimism when their sense of mission is eroded or devalued and cynicism when the act of 'thief taking' is ritualised as a game where personal satisfaction overrides a sense of public service (Reiner, 1985; Young, 1991). These three characteristics interact to "lead to pressure to produce results which may strain against legalistic principles of due process" (Reiner, 1985, p. 91); a view that is consistently reported by several other studies (for example, Brogden, 1991; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991; Young, 1991).

As an outcome of the culture's development and in response to its mission, police are

distrustful (Bittner (1990) and Brogden (1991) make reference to police paranoia) and suspicious. The police are encouraged to intuitively note behaviour that is different, peculiar or threatening (Brogden, 1991). For Yarmey (1990), the police are `trained' formally and informally to be suspicious and distrustful. The element of danger inherent in policing has predisposed police to be especially attentive to signs indicating a potential for violence and criminal activity (Manning, 1977; Yarmey, 1990). To this end, the police have categorised the community into a number of types that allow them to identify potentially dangerous individuals or groups (Alpert & Dunham, 1988). This allows the police to refine operational strategies and target them against `appropriate' individuals and groups (McConville & Shepherd 1991, p. 161). Reiner (1985), from a synthesis of the literature, has identified seven subdivisions. These are `good class villains', `police property' `rubbish', `challengers', `disarmers', `do-gooders' and `politicians'. These subdivisions are formed on the basis of "their power to cause problems, and their congruency to the police value-system" (Reiner, 1985, p. 94). Unless these types are `reality based and helpful' they become discriminatory in nature and this may form the basis for claims of prejudice (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Reiner, 1985). Police perceptions and behaviour reflect the social context; itself a reflection of the distribution of power in a society. Through a pattern of implicit discrimination, Reiner (1985, p. 92) suggests that police behaviour sustains the social and political context of a community (Lea & Young, 1993; Reiner, 1985).

Police are socially isolated, forming a community within a community, and social interaction with other segments of the community is limited (Yarmey, 1991). Scheingold (1984, pp. 99-100) perceives this isolation as a product of the function of the formal institutional structure within which police work and the personal distance they maintain in dealing with the public. Their isolation reinforces solidarity and this has become the principal line of defence against internal and external threats (Brogden, 1991; Jones, 1980; Reiner, 1985; Reuss-Ianni, 1984; Young, 1991). According to Yarmey (1994), isolation and restricted socialisation may lead to a greater tolerance for and a covering up of illegal misbehaviour by police officers. As observed by Smith and Gray (1983, p. 354), the solidarity within the police culture is very strong.

This shows in the very high priority given to going to the aid of any police officer who

is under (physical) attack or in danger; in the lengths to which officers will go to defend a member of the group who is threatened in some other way (for example, by the allegations of misconduct made against him); and in the `rituals' and `initiation ceremonies' imposed on any outsider who wishes to join the group.

The work of McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 160) has found that solidarity is also perceived by the culture as a valuable commodity, as it "enables officers to engage in impositional styles of control free from the contradictions that might flow from close knowledge of those policed." In the police culture, solidarity also engenders high expectations of loyalty amongst fellow officers. Loyalty provides support and bolsters an officers' self-esteem and confidence in an environment that is perceived as hostile towards and critical of police (Alpert & Dunham, 1988). Solidarity and loyalty, when combined with the need to conform to cultural expectations, contribute to `secrecy' and to the practice of `covering up' (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Yarmey, 1990). "Unfortunately, the mildly mischievous practice of misleading a supervising officer can lead to the far more serious one of misleading a court" (Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 345). Loyalty of the magnitude evident within the police culture may put police officers into conflict with the law and organisational directives (Yarmey, 1990).

The police tend to be conservative both politically and morally, a consequence of the nature of police work and the social strata from which police are drawn (Reiner, 1985). This social conservatism ensures that attempts to change traditional police practices, behaviours and values may be perceived as a threat to the established order (Young, 1991). Police officers are very pragmatic, what Reiner (1985) describes as a form of `conceptual conservatism'. According to Brogden (1991), this has manifested itself as an avoidance of long term goals in preference for immediate results. This is commensurate with organisational and cultural goals that emphasise a `good arrest' or a high arrest rate (Young, 1991).

A masculine ethos pervades the culture (Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; McConville & Shepherd, 1991). Alcoholic and sexual indulgence are common-place and "force is perceived as the critical police problem-solving device" (Brogden, 1991, p. 39; Scheingold, 1984). Smith and Gray have observed that drinking seems to play a major role in the lives of police officers. Their observations have led them to believe that alcoholism is a serious

occupational hazard for police. 'Hard drinking' was taken as a proof of masculinity, provided a mechanism for establishing their dominance and success and was an important part of 'socialising' with known criminal elements (Smith & Gray, 1985). Hard drinking also helped to reinforce group cohesion and provided a means of dealing with stress and boredom. Smith and Gray (1985, p. 369) noted that fighting and violence were not regular occurrences in the working lives of most police officers. For many these were rare events with less than 1% of encounters involving the use of force (Fielding, 1995). From their observational studies Smith and Gray (1985, p. 369) were to conclude that:

> In contrast to these realities, we find that the idea of violence is often central to the conceptions that police officers have of their work. This is partly because the exercise of authority and force (rather than knowledge or understanding) is for them the main symbol of authority and power, even if they actually impose their authority in other ways. Also, it is because many police officers see violence as a source of excitement and glamour.

Smith and Gray (1985, p. 378) found that police were dismissive of matters with an absence of violence or the threat of violence and tended to regard such a matters as 'not proper police work'. Again Smith and Gray observed the contradiction that despite the glamour attached to violence most police avoided the use of excessive force most of the time. Scheingold (1984, p. 125) has suggested that, for police in the United States, force was 'an integral part of their repertoire' and that a predisposition for the excessive use of force may lead to brutality and unwarranted police homicide.

The cult of masculinity has a strong influence on how police view and behave towards women (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985). Smith and Gray found that police generally were critical of the ability of women to adequately perform the work of police. They noted that "ideas about the limitations of women specifically as police officers merge imperceptibly into general views about the inferiority of women which again merge into sexual boasting and horse-play" (Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 378). Kleinig (1996, p. 271) also found that unless police women 'masculinized' their behaviour they were unlikely to gain acceptance or respect. The *Policy Studies Institute Report* (1983, as cited in Reiner 1985, p. 217) found unequivocal evidence of both informal and formal discrimination against women police. Smith and Gray documented that female police officers were regularly subjected to sexual ridicule, that there was a reluctance of male police to work with female officers, and

an informal policy of transfer existed. McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 157), from the work of Jones (1986) and the *Policy Studies Institute* (1983), concluded that "the denigration of women which infuses police-talk is also a devaluing of qualities associated with women that are actually required for much police work". Brogden and Shearing (1993, as cited by Chan 1997, p. 61) suggested that the style of policing was unlikely to change through the recruitment of women because:

> ..women recruited into male-dominated police forces adapted either by embracing the male police culture, and thus becoming `defeminised' into *police*-women; or by taking on a more traditional, service-oriented role, and thus becoming `deprofessionalised' into police-*women*.

Accommodating behaviour was also noted by Bates (1991, p. 108) who observed police women modify their values and behaviours so as to conform with the male-dominated police subculture. A report Gender and Ethics in Policing (The Queensland Criminal Justice Commission, as cited in Wood, 1996, p. 43) found that female police officers were as susceptible to the influence of the police culture as male officers and were as reluctant to report misconduct as men were. With reference to `community policing' or `soft styles of policing', Smith and Gray noted that police avoided actions that were deemed weak or `feminine' and pursued aggressive behaviour and law enforcement. Parkinson (1980, as cited in Yarmey, 1990) has also suggested that police officers perceived social work as `feminine' and that this has led police to ignore and devalue a social service role.

Smith and Gray (1985) found that black police officers in the United Kingdom were generally accepted but were still subject to `moderated' racial comments that commenced during training and persisted throughout their service. Holdaway (1991;1995, as cited in Chan, 1997, p. 61) also reported that racist banter was a part of the occupational environment. Cashmore (1991, as cited in Chan, 1997, p. 61) reported that black police officers in the United States of America adopted the `working personality' of white officers and became committed to the *status quo*. However, in an earlier study, Bent (1974, p. 34) observed that `blue solidarity' within American police organisations was waning with black police officers aligning themselves with black citizen groups, forming independent police associations and publicly criticising police practices with respect to blacks. The development of defensive organisations, such as the National Society of Afro-American Policemen, by minority-group

police officers has also been observed by Carter and Radelet (1999). They have also suggested that negative attitudes towards minority-group colleagues adversely affected the retention rates of such personnel. One possible explanation provided by Carter and Radelet (1999, p. 299) for this negativism was a concern that police work would eventually become regarded as 'nigger work'. These authors also concluded that community attitudes that 'a black cop was not a real cop' also appeared to reinforce negative attitudes towards minority-group police officers.

For Brogden (1991, p. 39), the "police culture is quintessentially racist." Scarman (1980, as cited by Reiner, 1985) concluded that 'institutionalised racism' was not present within the British police but that police practice and organisational policies unwittingly had a discriminatory impact upon some segments of the community. The nature of police work and the subdivision of communities along socio-economic lines has been found to contribute towards police racism (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998). Cross jurisdictional studies have clearly established differential police treatment of young, economically-marginal lower-class males, especially black males (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998; McConville & Shepherd, 1991, Reiner, 1985; Radelet, 1980). Certain aspects of police behaviour appear to be correlated with 'colour' though not necessarily with racial prejudice (Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 389). For example, the practice of 'frequent stops' clearly targeted black individuals, particularly black youth (Scarman, 1981). "This stopping policy is inseparable from a tendency to assume that black people have committed crimes and that whoever has committed a crime must be black" (Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 406). Wilson (1975, as cited in Scheingold, 1984, p. 126) also concluded that race was a factor that determined who police stopped:

> (A) dark skin is to police a statistically significant cue to social status, and thus to potential criminality.. (A) dark skin is taken as grounds for police suspicion and therefore for questioning and frisking.

McConville and Shepherd (1991, pp. 184-185) concluded that the differential treatment and enforcement of the law was directly attributable to discriminatory policing.

> Police do not simply respond to hostile or uncooperative behaviour from ethnic minorities - although they may receive plenty of this; instead, prejudicial attitudes, strongly reinforced by occupational culture, inform the way in which the police respond to incidents involving black people.

They infer that police officers have pre-existing attitudes that predispose them to discriminatory behaviour and racial prejudice prior to employment as police officers. For as Reiner (1985, p. 103) has observed:

> The crucial source of police prejudice is societal racism which places ethnic minorities disproportionately in those strata and situations from which the police derive their `property'. This structural feature of police-ethnic minority relations bolsters any prior prejudice police officers have.

Summarising the literature on police racism, Reiner (1985, p. 100) has concluded that "the police reflect the dominant attitudes of the majority of people towards minorities." Exposure to the occupational culture has been shown to reinforce pre-existing prejudicial attitudes and beliefs. However, several studies (for example, Smith & Gray, 1985) have shown that exposure to the occupational culture and police work established prejudicial attitudes and beliefs where none were present prior to organisational and cultural socialisation.

Smith and Gray (1985, pp. 388-389) and McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 169) were to conclude that the rhetoric of discrimination did not translate into prejudicial behaviour under normal circumstances, the exceptions being large scale disturbance such as riots. Police officers who expressed racist ideologies or who initiated racialist talk tended to be a minority (Smith & Gray, 1985). However, their views tended to shape the norms of the group because they were rarely contradicted or opposed either by fellow constables or by supervisors or senior management (Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 393). Smith and Gray (1985, p. 420) observed that:

> racialist talk is itself a pattern of behaviour that satisfies certain individual psychological needs and serves the needs of the group - it helps to reinforce the identity, security and solidarity of the group against a clearly perceived external threat.

It would appear that colour or race do not necessarily predispose police towards aggressive or prejudicial behaviour. "Police rarely act in a way that makes it obvious that an individual's `colour or race' is itself the cause of their misbehaviour" (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 586). However, Smith and Gray have acknowledged that the worst instances of police misbehaviour were towards members of the black community. Police behaviour that can be interpreted by the community as racist contributes to community dissatisfaction with police and this in turn may increase animosity between police and

minority communities.

## 10.5    Transmission of the police culture

The police culture is transmitted through the force over successive generations and intra-generationally via the police canteen or work-group (Brogden, 1991, p. 13). In this manner recruits learn the cultural realities of police work and are redefined as police (Jones, 1980). For as Jones (1980, p. 69) found:

> A study of the demand made upon probationers shows that they are subjected to a socialisation process supporting the notion that law-enforcement is in reality the primary concern of modern police organisations.

This conception is reinforced by a system of rewards and an informal and formal assessment system that focuses upon tangible measures of success and commitment. This sees a preoccupation with `figures', arrests and summonses, to the detriment of community service (Jones, 1980; McConville & Shepherd, 1991).

McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 192) found that the socialisation of newcomers into existing group norms has its origins in police training school and continues into the `formal' component of `on-the-job-training' as a feature of probationary training.

> The collective effect on new members who survive induction, is to equip them with `a set of rules, perspectives, prescriptions, techniques, and/or tools necessary' for them to continue as participants in the organization. (van Maanen 1974, as cited in McConville & Shepherd, 1991, p. 198).

The degree to which `on-the-job-training' contributes to occupational socialisation is illustrated by Leonard and Moore (1974, as cited in Barker & Carter, 1994, p. 50). Leonard and Moore concluded that 85% of police officers in the United States received the major portion of their occupational training from `on-the-job' training. Fielding (1989) also determined that the occupational culture had a significant influence on recruits but he established that its significance diminished as the officer gained experience.

The occupational culture requires conformity with established norms of behaviour and the elimination or management of incompatible ideologies (Carter & Radelet, 1998; Jones, 1980; Fielding, 1988; McConville & Shepherd, 1991, p. 188). Fielding has suggested that an

inability to conform to cultural requirements is in part responsible for the resignation rate of recruits. The socialisation process also extends to `new police' who seek to gain acceptance into the `relief', a term used to denote membership of a particular work rostered shift. Both Jones and McConville and Shepherd observed that there existed considerable pressure to conform and considerable apprehension on the part of those seeking acceptance. Those who failed to be accepted were often ostracised and ridiculed (Carter & Radelet, 1998). Jones noted that police who accepted a community service ideology were especially prone to this. McConville and Shepherd (1991) noted that experienced police had better coping mechanisms and those who wished to were capable of isolating themselves from the culture both physically and psychologically (Jones, 1980).

10.6    Rules

Police behaviour is determined by `rules'. Smith and Gray (1985, pp. 440-504) have identified three types of rules that impact upon police behaviour:

> Working rules which are internalised by police officers to become guiding principles of their conduct.
>
> Inhibitory rules which are not internalised, but which police officers take into account when deciding how to act and which tend to discourage them from behaving in certain ways in case they should be caught and the rule invoked against them.
>
> Presentational rules which exist to give an acceptable appearance to the way that police work is carried out.

Reiner (1985), and Smith and Gray have noted that the impact that rules have upon police behaviour varies being dependent upon the nature of the rule, its interpretation, integration and compatibility with existing concepts of police behaviour held by supervisors and the rank-and-file.

For Reiner (1985, p. 203), "the crucial issue in police reform is how to make an impact on the working rules of rank-and-file culture." An interactionist view of police conduct perceives formal rules as largely presentational with the police sub-culture the key to understanding police practice (Brogden, 1991; Reiner, 1985). The reform of police practice has largely been centred on altering the police sub-culture (Brogden, 1991; Reiner, 1985). But Brogden, Bradley (1996b) and Reiner suggest that more recent research, representing a structuralist

view, indicates that police practice is as it is because the 'formal rules' and the implicit goals of police work encourage it to be so. On controlling police behaviou,r Brogden (1991, p. 10) has observed that:

> Relating the problem of controlling the police to one of controlling police culture is not the same as reducing the problem to one of cultural impediment. An approach which simply aims to alter the culture of the rank-and-file to make it 'fit' with the taken-for-granted approved goals makes the major mistake of assuming that the goals themselves are not a problem.

There may exist explicit rules forbidding certain forms of conduct or practice but the low level visibility of much of policing makes them difficult to enforce (Reiner, 1985; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). Furthermore, Brogden (1991, p. 28) has argued that "the vagueness of much criminal law allows cultural determinants to operate within the law. Police need not break the law when the law itself is adequately permissive for cultural practices to be the guide." This reference to culturally sanctioned practices is commonly referred to as the 'Ways and Means Act' (Brogden, 1991; Reiner, 1985). Formal rules are either ignored or stretched to incorporate police behaviour or are replaced by 'working rules' (Smith & Gray, 1985). Formal rules were also observed to be an impediment to effective policing (Bradley, 1992) and were not seen as providing a sufficient guide to police actions (Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). Smith and Gray (1985, p. 493) also concluded that it was "extremely important to recognise that a lack of skills may be the main reason for breaking the rules." They suggest that improving the level of skills may be a more effective way of improving police behaviour rather than resorting to punitive actions. Conflict between the various 'rules' may give rise to a variety of police misbehaviour (Smith & Gray) or police deviance (Barker & Carter, 1994).

## 10.7 Police misbehaviour

Reiss (1966, as cited in Scheingold, 1984) in an observational study of police in the United States found three types of police misbehaviour. These were violations of departmental regulations, violations of the law and unnecessarily harsh treatment of citizens (particularly those from less influential backgrounds). From a synthesis of the literature, Scheingold (1984, p. 124) concluded that:

> the extensive body of literature on the police does indicate that all forms of misbehaviour uncovered by Reiss are woven into the fabric of American policing, albeit with substantial variation from time to time and place to place.

The Policy Institute Studies Report (1983), an observational study of police practice in the United Kingdom, has indicated a similar pattern of misbehaviour and it can be inferred from the study and the comments of Smith and Gray (1985), that they also appeared to be integral to policing. Scheingold suggested that as police misbehaviour occurred while observers were present (Reiss 1992; Smith & Gray, 1985) such behaviour was either considered justified by legitimate law enforcement techniques, viewed as `normal' by the police or sanctioned through managerial indifference. Bouza (1994, as cited in Bradley, 1996) has observed that police managers are more concerned with a strict adherence to uniform regulations than they were to police misbehaviour. This phenomenon was confirmed during the filming of Sydney police on night shift:

> ..in my experience, police officers feel peculiarly betrayed by the very people who claim to support them, their own superiors... as we were filming `Cop It Sweet', I wondered why some police seemed more worried about whether or not they were wearing their hats when the cameras were rolling, than about the way they spoke to Aborigines? There was a message here, a significant pointer to the priorities communicated to police by their own bureaucracy. A primary emphasis on discipline, formality, procedure: being seen to be `proper' in the most limited sense, even if it meant losing sight of the big picture. (Brockie, 1994, as cited in Bradley, 1996, p. 47)

As other studies have suggested (for example, Crowther, 1998), "certain segments of the community are much more likely to be victimised by police misbehaviour than others" (Scheingold, 1984, p. 125).

Police misbehaviour, abuse or deviance occurs as a cultural response to unachievable goals due to the inadequacies of traditional practices or to the nature of the goals themselves (Brogden, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985). Police, as a consequence of the `occupational context', have ample opportunity to engage in a wide range of deviant behaviour (Barker & Carter, 1994; Smith & Gray, 1985), a phenomenon that is facilitated by the high level of discretion inherent in the nature of police work (Fitzgerald, 1989). This behaviour, what Cain (1979) refers to as `primary deviance' or `acts of illegality', may include acceptance of bribes, participation in theft, perjury, the use of excessive force and the fabrication of evidence. Goldstein (1990, p. 9) has defined police corruption as "the use of authority by a police officer in a manner designed to produce personal gain for the officer or for others." Corruption violates the ethical norms governing police work and impairs the ability of the police to successfully perform their duties (Fitzgerald, 1989; Scheingold, 1984). Scheingold

has suggested that the extent of corruption in policing may mirror that present in society.

Once deviant behaviour is institutionalised it is extremely difficult to eradicate. A simplistic approach to its eradication involves the imposition of more formal rules. However, both Brogden(1991) and Smith and Gray (1985, p. 442) have concluded that the imposition of formal rules risks worsening the situation `by increasing the defensiveness and self-protective activity of the police without any concomitant gain'. This suggests that a more realistic approach may require a re-examination of the desirability and achieveability of the `goals' and those methods used to achieve them (Scheingold, 1984).

10.8    The police culture and `law-enforcement'
Front-line police officers have been identified as the most important role definers within policing. They have considerable operational autonomy and `discretion' is greatest at this level of operational policing (Bailey, 1977; Bittner, 1990; Cain, 1973; Fielding, 1988; Holdaway, 1983; Manning, 1977; Reiner, 1978; Reiner, 1985). The rank-and-file's perception of their role in society has been clearly documented as one of `crime-fighting'. (Jones, 1980; Scheingold, 1984; Smith & Gray, 1991; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991; Young, 1991). This understanding of their role provides a worthy `mission' and is commensurate with cultural requirements of danger, authority and efficiency.

Law enforcement involves coercion and coercion involves an element of danger and the exercise of authority. The element of danger satisfies what Holdaway (1983) has described as an insatiable need for action amongst the rank-and-file and acts to increase solidarity. Much of police work is boring because it is often uneventful and aimless (Smith & Gray,1985). "A considerable amount of police behaviour can be understood as a search for some interest, excitement or sensation." (Smith & Gray, 1983, p. 338). The police fixation with `danger' is represented in `canteen talk' where conversation concentrates on the `interesting bits', violence and gore.

The exercise of authority relates both to the enforcement of the `rule of law' from a practical point of view, and to the exercise of `dominance', that is the need to exercise control over any

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encounter (Smith & Gray, 1985; Norris, 1989). McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 203) also recognised that for the police, policing was predominantly about the 'affirmation of authority' and an absence of deference was interpreted by police as a challenge to their authority. The group most likely to challenge police authority were young, socio-economically-marginalised males, especially those of minority ethnic background and particularly blacks (Smith & Gray, 1985). When challenged, police often resorted to aggressive tactics that appeared to be racially motivated (Scarman, 1981; Smith & Gray, 1985). The exercise of authority provides both a statement of power and a means of exercising control over 'police property' (Reiner, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991). Police property is defined by Reiner (1985, p. 95) as the low-status powerless groups that include vagrants, unemployed, ethnic minorities and youth adopting a deviant cultural style. Efficiency and productivity are an outcome of the successful enforcement of the law and so performance is measured in terms of arrest rates and clearance rates.

The arrest for a criminal offence is the central act of 'good policing' (Holdaway, 1983; Smith & Gray, 1983). A good arrest or a high arrest rate was considered an important criterion for promotion and a source of status amongst peers (Jones, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991). On the preventive and social welfare aspects of police, Jones (1980, p. 68) has found that "those which are not statistically based are neglected in the distribution of rewards unless they are converted into law enforcement activity." Given the status attributed to law enforcement, there is a strong incentive to convert all police activity whenever possible into law enforcement (Jones, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991; Young, 1991).

Predicably, effective policing is judged in terms of the ability to conduct successful criminal investigations (Jones, 1982; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991; Young, 1991). To this end, crime rates and arrest rates assume importance as indicators of individual and organisational success. These are used to justify a patrol constable's expenditure of time and effort, and the 'billions' spent on the criminal justice system (Loveday, 1996b; Manning, 1997; Young, 1991). The emphasis upon arrests and crime rates have, through necessity, given rise to a variety of culturally sanctioned practices that permit manipulation of the 'event' either to

ensure an arrest or to avoid potential 'grief' (Norris, 1989; Weatheritt, 1989; Young, 1991).

Smith & Gray (1985) consider that the reliance on figures as a criterion of assessing performance has led to unnecessary or unjustified arrests and frequent stops and to ways that permit the distortion of the figures. Fitzgerald (1989) uncovered the widespread practice of police interference in or fabrication of evidence to secure a successful prosecution.

> Police saw successful prosecutions as one of the few positive aspects of their work. This work is however, faced with continual frustrations in the shape of due process requirements that police are often ill prepared to address. Hence steps to redress what is perceived to be an unequal contest are readily open to police officers. Evidence of guilt is manufactured or falsified or improperly obtained. (Fitzgerald, 1989, as cited in Finnane, 1994, p. 91).

Justification of police action may involve fabricating evidence as a response to situational or legal uncertainty and may be associated with managerial practices or requirements rather than any desire to increase the chance of conviction (Smith & Gray, 1985).

The rule of law is often viewed as an impediment to effective policing and police abuse of powers to achieve successful criminal investigation is well documented (for example, Bittner, 1991; Brogden, 1991; Fitzgerald, 1989; Smith & Gray, 1985; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991; Young, 1991). For example, Smith and Gray (1985, p. 568) observed several instances where senior management expected police to break formal rules while taking steps to ensure that management did not know about it. For if they did, management would either "have to back them up and be implicated, or would have to punish them" for doing something that is expected of them. Smith and Gray have suggested that such attitudes within policing impede attempts to improve the quality of policing. The abuse of police powers may also relate to the excessive use of force which may be 'unofficially' condoned in the pursuit of effective policing. For there appears to be an understanding that 'a violent cop is an active cop' and that this is condoned because an active cop is a successful cop (Fielding, 1991; Holdaway, 1983; Manning, 1997; Norris, 1989; Scheingold, 1984). So, inevitably, "for the police, the world of crime becomes the primary symbol and statement about form and formality" (Young, 1991, p. 256).

There exists an obvious propensity for conflict within a law enforcement role (Alderson, 1979). Norris (1989) has concluded that informational uncertainty leads to a perceptual

heightening of the risk of danger and violence in policing. Manning (1997) suggests that this feature of policing has led to the classification of some groups and classes as more dangerous than others and to a cultural adaptation of police practices. According to McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 159) a view prevalent within policing is that:

> Authentic policing involves doing things to the community, not doing things for the community: real policing is concerned centrally with the imposition of control and the affirmation of police authority.

Law enforcement consistently involves adversarial interactions with members of the community and with particular segments of the community. Suspicion and distrust give rise to stereotypical associations to be made between criminal behaviour and various segments within the community, which are considered to be in need of control (Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991). As a consequence, some segments of the community, notably ethnic and racial minorities, the poor and the young, receive closer scrutiny and their lives are subject to greater police intervention than others (Bittner, 1990: Crowther, 1998). Police practices that target specific groups exacerbate community hostility towards police and contribute to social disorder and conflict (Scheingold, 1984). For example, the *Scarman Report* (1981) into the Brixton Riots of 1981 found that the deliberate targeting of black youth had been the catalyst for the riots. This suggests that an over-enforcement of the law through aggressive patrol tactics may accentuate social divisions, undermine efforts to maintain social order and the role of police in promoting it (Scheingold, 1984).

The laws and departmental regulations governing police practice are permissive enough to give officers a wide range of discretion (Brogden, 1991; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985, p. 85). Kleinig (1996, p.83) defines discretion "as a permission, privilege or prerogative to use one's own judgement about how to make a practical determination." On discretionary authority, Kleinig (1996, p. 84) found that:

> Discretionary authority may be granted in advance, within limitations mandated by laws, regulations, and supervisory determinations.. the exercise of which may be opened to public review and discussion.

Police patrol work is, according to Manning (1997, p. 294), characterised by the exercise of discretion. Norris (1989, p. 91) has determined that police work is "always situationally contingent" and that "the practice of policing develops as each particular interaction unfolds".

These attributes of police work themselves suggest the need for wide ranging discretionary powers. Given the vagaries of the law, there exists considerable latitude for the police culture to shape police practice in accordance with situational exigencies (Reiner, 1985, p. 86). As Norris (1989, p. 90) has observed:

> The decisions taken by a patrol office when dealing with the people involved in an incident are not based on a neutral reading of the classical sociological variable of ages, sex, race and class, or indeed more relevant variables such as a suspect's demeanour or the legal seriousness of the offence. Instead they are filtered through an occupational lens, which refocusses the patrol officer's perception on more immediately relevant and practical concerns.

As observed by McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 213), legal uncertainty also contributes to a reliance upon cultural norms:

> Legal doctrine is also ambiguous and often increases the uncertainty of officers about how their actions will be officially viewed, an uncertainty which throws them back on to the group and its protective canopy.

Sherman (1984, as cited in Yarmey, 1994, pp. 243-244) found that for the police their main resource or data for making decisions was their collective experiences. Yarmey (1994, p. 244) has defined decision-making as a process of choosing between alternatives and selecting and rejecting courses of action under conditions of uncertainty. Both the process of decision-making and the options available for consideration are culturally derived, instructed and sanctioned (Yarmey, 1994; Young, 1991).

The propensity for autonomous decision making within police practice imparts considerable importance to the need to supervise patrol officers (Brogden, 1991). However, effective supervision is hampered by the legal and operational context and the relationship between supervisors and patrol constables. On this, McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 214) established:

> The legal context which provides the freedom to work, and a work context which emphasises the importance of `subversive' situated behaviour combine against managerial influence. That influence is further reduced by rank and file distinctions between `governors' and `bosses', and by their general conceptions of management.

Reuss-Ianni (1984, as cited in Bittner, 1990) has found that 'boss culture' has become separated from `cop culture' and that changes to management have left street police feeling unsupported and resentful. The rank-and-file conceptions of supervisors and senior

management, 'management cops', are that they are divorced from reality, are out of touch and lack street credibility (Bittner, 1990; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Reuss-Ianni, 1984). Furthermore they apparently have little understanding of the demands of street-level policing and this view has led to an adoption of practices to 'cover-up' misdemeanours and indiscretions committed by patrol constables (Norris, 1989; Young, 1991). This view of rank-and-file police is illustrated by Sherman (1981, as cited in McConville & Shepherd, 1991, p. 218)

> Management cops are not only differentiated from street cops by background and training but also by function. In the eyes of the rank and file, management are there to deal with the public, to project an image of policing in conformity with liberal democratic ideals of egalitarian justice. ... this entails the systematic denial of the 'reality' of police work as understood by the rank and file.

This has contributed to a 'two-tiered police force' and the separation of management from the rank-and-file has impeded managements ability to exercise effective supervision (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Reuss-Ianni, 1984). This is indicated in an excerpt from a record of interview with a police constable conducted by McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 220):

> ...senior management have no, or very little, control or effect on what's happening, certainly from a relief PC's point of view. His line of management structure is his sergeant and his inspector, and rarely will you see anybody above that situation. But as I said it hasn't altered what's done at ground level and really that should be the purpose of any management. If it is trying to change it's not getting to change it, so that it appears to be a cosmetic exercise for outside. It really ought to have an effect on the lower level, that's just where it's failed.

This suggests that top-down policies or directives may constrain but not construct police practice which appears largely determined by the police culture.

The nature of police work ensures that supervision of uniformed constables' activities is difficult and retrospective analysis of their actions awkward (Brogden, 1991; Jones, 1980). In the absence of effective supervision, informal work practices are established, reinforced and passed on by the peer group (Fielding, 1989; Norris, 1989; Smith & Gray, 1985). The dominance of the "occupational culture over other forms of influence arises from the paradox that, in police work, discretion tends to increase towards the bottom of the hierarchy." (Norris, 1989, p. 90). Scheingold (1983, p. 109) has noted that discretionary practices can run at cross purposes to managerial efforts to control police practice.

The difficulty with operational discretion lies with ensuring that it conforms with organisational and political notions of accountability, is seen to be consistent and fair, and is in keeping with communal values (Kleinig, 1996; Reiner, 1985). This has led some authors to suggest that in addition to providing more adequate supervision there is a need "to ensure that those who exercise it are competent to exercise it" (Kleinig, 1996, p. 85) and to restructure the basis upon which discretionary decisions are made and to restrict the use of police discretion (Brogden, 1991; Sherman, 1983). This would suggest a more comprehensive approach that would also incorporate an emphasis upon social accountability and crime control effectiveness (Sherman, 1983, p. 183). As observed by Kleinig (1996, p. 92) "the extent of police discretion, like the extent of police authority, is ultimately a matter of public determination." In a democratic society a degree of discretion is a mandatory requirement for successful policing (Lea & Young, 1993). Several authors (for example, Kleinig, 1996; Lea & Young, 1993) have suggested that wider communal values and traditions need to be considered when shaping the nature and extent of police discretion.

10.9   The `war against crime'

Twenty years before the current emphasis upon a `war against crime', Cain (1979, as cited in McConville & Shepherd, 1991, pp. 213-214) deduced that:

> If a `war on crime' is demanded, and bureaucratic evidence of success in the form of arrest or clear up rates, then infringement of the rules in order to achieve these objectives becomes an occupational necessity. Not only is illegality (police primary deviance) engendered, but also secondary deviance in terms of secretiveness, and the formation of close-knit, self-protective colleague organisation which makes secrecy possible. Such an organisation renders the police as impervious to exhortation from the top of their own hierarchy as to the requirements of courts, lawyers, and concerned members of the public.

The war against crime and the use of sensationalist rhetoric such as a `getting tough on crime' and a `war against crime' continues (Bittner, 1990; Crowther, 1998; Loveday, 1996b). For Bittner (1990, p. 134):

> The rhetoric involves exaggeration, projects unrealistic hopes, implies the stamp of legitimacy to methods that would not be acceptable on moral and legal grounds, but it also encompasses the impossible.

For Bittner (1990, pp. 133-134), the shift from law enforcement to a `war against crime' signals a transition from a "routine concern to a state of emergency. Uildriks and Mastrigt (1991, p. 201) note that "the more the police `war against crime ideology' is emphasised the

more this will contribute to a police attitude of a war against groups of the population."
Drawing an analogy between warfare and law-enforcement glorifies the mission, militarises
police work, justifies violence and the abuse of legal procedure, condones police
indiscretions, legitimises culturally generated stereotypes and reaffirms the `mastery' of law-
enforcement by the police (Brogden, 1991; Scheingold, 1984; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991;
Young, 1991). To emphasise the impossible, the elimination of crime, establishes unrealistic
expectations that contribute to police pessimism and cynicism, and community dissatisfaction
with policing (Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991).

The pressure to perform both individually and organisationally has led to an increasing need
to adopt operational and organisational practices that fabricate `efficiency' and productivity
(Weatheritt, 1986; Young, 1991). In view of intense criticism and a political resolve to
ensure that policing is both effective and efficient, the entire `crime drama' is now as much
about sustaining the police culture as it is about actually attempting to solve community
disorder (Young, 1991, p. 258). The implications for the reform of police practice are
significant. For as Young (1991, p. 260) has observed:

> While the policing world is dominated by the need for `clear-ups' and a good detection
> rate, any public demand for an enhanced `community policing' models contains few of
> the symbols of status which would allow this to take up a central place in police
> thinking, for power and position still rests firmly with those who are best able to
> dramatically manipulate the rituals surrounding the idea of crime and what has been
> described as `the ancient regime of crime fighting' remains inviolate.

The reform of police practice commensurate with community orientated policing will be
impeded where social and structural primacy are determined by statistical measures of
success that rely upon `detection and clearance rates' (Jones, 1980; Uildriks & Mastrigt, 1991;
Young, 1991). However, community orientated policing is even more difficult to assess
given its range and diversity and "because it is intended to achieve results at a number of
different levels" (Horton & Smith, 1988).

For Brogden (1991), the concept of social accountability is directly related to day-to-day
interaction between police and the community. In a hostile environment, notions of social
accountability are a difficult concept to grasp and implement. Alderson (1979, p. 65) has
observed that "police cultures are most discernible where police feel most threatened. The

greater the feeling of threat from a hostile environment the greater the cultural cohesion and group solidarity." Olins (1988, as cited in Young, 1991, p. 174) agrees, noting that rapid organisational change, new legislation and changing social values have all contributed to a perception of being besieged. For Reiner (1985) this justifies a 'softly softly approach' and the need for an incrementalist approach to the reform of police practice. In support of his view, Reiner (1985, p. 205) refers to Scarman's recommendations for the reform of British Police. He noted that Scarman was concerned that the reform of the police would not occur if they were to close ranks in the face of intense criticism.

10.10  Conclusion

The police culture is contingent upon elements within police work (Reiner, 1985, p. 106; Chan, 1997). The culture is represented in the behaviour and work practices of the rank-and-file police officer. Police behaviour and practice are shaped by a rank-and-file commitment to a law-enforcement ideology. The permissive nature of the rules and the discretionary authority invested in the office of constable, permit ample latitude for the culture to shape police practice so that it becomes compatible with the goals of law-enforcement (Brogden, 1991; Reiner, 1985). Police practice and behaviour that is consistent with law-enforcement, particularly an aggressive approach, may accentuate social divisions, undermine efforts to maintain social order and the role of police in promoting it (Crowther, 1998; Scheingold, 1984). Such practices are maintained because they are congruent with the values and goals of the police culture which conform with those held by the dominant community and the local political context (Bradley, 1996b; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Scheingold, 1984). The reform of police practice is dependent upon the modification of the police culture. This is itself contingent upon an acceptance of values and goals that are compatible with a community consensual approach to policing (Brogden, 1991; Lea & Young, 1993). A shift in the ideology of policing in a democratic society is dependent upon the alteration of the social and political context in which the policing is embedded (Brogden, 1991; Lea & Young, 1993; Reiner, 1985, p. 106) For as observed by Brogden (1991, p. 15)

> Without altering the social and political relations of policing, there can be no long-
> term successful attack on the police cultures. The latter exists not in a vacuum but
> also because it eases the life of working police officers. It also dovetails with the
> social reality of law-and-order policy in a divided society.

As Chan (1997) has suggested, the reform of police practice may rely more upon altering the nature of police work than attempting to alter the nature of police culture.

# Chapter 11.

## The Police Organisation

Research across jurisdictions has demonstrated that police organisations in the democracies studied have adopted a similar form of police system (Bayley, 1994; Bradley, 1996b; Finnane, 1994; Zaho, 1996).

> A drive towards efficiency, standardisation, specialisation and technical professionalism, based upon the legal-occupational doctrine of operational independence, has led to the dominance of what is referred to here as a military-bureaucratic model of policing. (Bradley, 1996, p. 9)

The nature of the police organisation has a profound effect upon the role that police perform, the practical implementation of the theory of policing and the development and implementation of policy and procedures that support this role (Bayley, 1994; Bradley, 1996b; Goldstein, 1990; Jefferson & Grimshaw, 1984; Wilson, 1963; Zaho, 1996). Contemporary police organisations appear to be the product of a continuous process of adaptation in response to demands for improvements in service delivery and for organisational maintenance (Bradley, 1996b; Zaho, 1996, p. 2-3).

According to Bradley (1996b, pp. 24-25) the organisational design of the police is important for several reasons. It links operational police to the socio-political environment and provides a medium through which the political mandate of policing is interpreted and operationalised (Bradley, 1996b, p. 25). The organisational structure determines the division of labour and this configuration represents the dominant ideology in respect to the core mission of policing. Organisational policies and practices provide information on such things as organisational aims and objectives, performance and evaluation criteria, and the system of reward and punishment. These characteristics shape the organisational context of policing and strongly influence the value orientation of police and operational practice (Bradley, 1996b; Zaho, 1996).

The organisational model adopted by the Metropolitan Police in 1829 was noticeably quasi-military emphasising discipline and hierarchical control (Auten, 1991, p. 67-68; Young, 1991,

p. 2). A military model of organisation provided an established system for institutionalising discipline, and for reducing corruption and operational inefficiency (Auten, 1991; Bradley, 1996b). The military context of penal settlement and its close links with the United Kingdom facilitated the introduction and continuance of a military organisational system for police in Australia (Finnane, 1994). According to Auten (1991) the organisational model initially present in the United States of America was similarly structured but less militarised than the organisational model adopted by the Metropolitan Police in the United Kingdom.

Perhaps the most significant organisational reform to precede the introduction of the Metropolitan Police commenced in the 1930s in the United States of America (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Zaho, 1996). According to Zaho (1996, pp. 5-6), two related social reforms, the Progressive movement and Scientific Management movement in the United States of America, gave rise to the paramilitary-bureaucratic model of policing. Typically, the paramilitary-bureaucratic model of police organisation is characterised as having a centralised command structure that is reinforced by a bureaucratic hierarchy which promotes position-oriented behaviour and the specialisation of tasks (Kuykendall & Roberg, 1982, as cited in Zaho, 1996, p. 6). It is a closed system, and as Zaho (1996, p. 6) observes, this implies that the environment does not have a substantial impact upon the organisation's key elements. Within the organisation there are clearly delineated and vertical (top to bottom) lines of communication and authority (Auten, 1991; Jones, 1980). An authoritarian leadership style, characterised by impersonal management practices, enforces a strict adherence to organisational guidelines, procedures and regulations. This results in a high degree of rule-oriented operation and work practices, and acts to secure discipline (Auten, 1991, pp. 68-69; Bradley, 1996b; Pitman, 1987, p. 95; Jones, 1980; Young, 1991).

The Progressive movement sought to bring about substantial social change and to eliminate political patronage (Price, 1977; Zaho, 1996). The second change agent, what has been referred to as Taylor's 'scientific management movement', sought to increase organisational efficiency and productivity by emphasising managerial efficiency and the standardisation of workplace practices (Bradley, 1996b; Carte and Carte, 1975; Vollmer, 1969; Zaho, 1996). The reforms induced by these movements saw the 'law' replace political patronage as the

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primary source of police legitimacy and authority. This provided the foundation for the

enforcement of the law through legally defined powers and in accordance with standardised

operating procedures (Bradley, 1996b, p. 27). The reforms promoted professionalism and its

attendant values of neutrality, conformity and impartiality and this served to distance the

police from the community (Bradley, 1996b; Price, 1977; Zaho, 1996, p. 5-6). The reforms

facilitated the endorsement of crime-control as the core mission of policing. The change in

the core mission from order-maintenance to crime control was to have a profound impact

upon the relationship between the police and the community, and the operational activities of

the police (Bradley, 1996b, pp. 16-17; Kelling & Moore, 1988, p. 5; Radelet, 1980; Zaho,

1996).

> Operationally, preventive patrol and criminal investigation became the back bone of
> the police operation. It was assumed that the application of advanced technology to
> mobility, communications and weaponry would place the police in an optimal
> position to control crime in society. (Zaho, 1996, p. 6).

Criminal statistics were adopted as a means of measuring and supporting claims of police

efficiency and effectiveness, and these same measures provided a mechanism for securing

economic and political accountability (Bradley, 1996b; Zaho, 1996). By the 1930s, the

paramilitary-bureaucratic model had become pivotal to the organisational reform of policing.

By the 1950s this model was widely adopted by police organisations in the United States of

America, the United Kingdom and Australia (Auten, 1991; Bradley, 1996b; Zaho, 1996).

The military-bureaucratic organisational approach to police management has, according to

Skolnick and Bayley (1988, as cited in Zaho, 1996), reached a dead end. Bradley (1996b, p.

35) suggests that "a crisis exists" within policing and that a new system of organisation is

urgently required. From a review of the literature on policing, Bradley (1996b) derived two

broad categories of problems that he considered endemic to the military-bureaucratic

organisation of policing, these were *systemic problems* and *ineffective and unacceptable*

*outcomes* (Bradley, 1996b, pp. 35-57).

According to Bradley (1996b, pp. 35-50), systemic problems derive from the way policing is

organised and its services delivered. The existence of systemic problems within policing is

evidenced from an array of critiques of policing and police practice. The findings of some of

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these critiques have already been examined in detail in previous chapters but will be mentioned briefly here. The military-bureaucratic model of organisation has been criticised for failing to engage the community in a cooperative approach to policing, what Zaho (1996) has referred to as coproduction. Bradley reports a general consensus in the literature that the police do not hold themselves accountable to the local community. The absence of adequate measures to ensure that the police are accountable to the local community has also been noted by several other authors (for example, Carter & Radelet, 1999; Cox, 1996; Reiner, 1985). Ongoing concern regarding the incidence of police corruption and malpractice, as demonstrated by the seemingly endless procession of judicial inquiries into Australian police services, has highlighted the need for the external review and the regulation of policing and police practice. Policing has been criticised for a lack of social responsiveness as demonstrated by an inability to respond impartially to changing community needs and values, and constructively to public criticism (Bradley, 1996b; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Cox, 1996). Police interactions with members of minority groups have been characterised by allegations of police brutality, incivility, the abuse of police powers and discriminatory police practices (Crowther, 1998; Finnane, 1994; Jefferson and Grimshaw, 1984). The differential treatment of and the provision of services to racial minorities by the police appears to indicate that racism has become institutionalised within policing (Bradley, 1996b, pp. 38-39, Carter & Radelet, 1999; Holdaway, 1983; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985).

Police racism has also been identified as a critical element of police culture (Bradley, 1996b). Bradley (1996b, p. 40-41) has suggested that the values and orientation of police culture are a function of the way modern policing is organised and managed. That is, the critical elements of police culture (for example, solidarity, cynicism, racism and role orientation) are a direct consequence of the organisation's core mission, the spatial and occupational differentiation of labour, the centralisation of command and control, and an authoritative and impersonal management style. The managerial ideology of the military-bureaucratic model of organisation, reflected in its hierarchical structure and rank system, is in Bradley's terms, the "antithesis of professional work" (1996b, p. 42).

A rank structure has been criticised for maintaining 'the lowly and disempowered status' of

the uniformed constable, (Hirst, 1989, as cited by Bradley, 1996b) and for its demoralising impact upon those who are not promoted (Bradley, 1996b; Cox, 1996; Jones, 1980). The rank system has also been criticised for bolstering solidarity, alienating the rank-and-file and police managers, fuelling dissension, encouraging an underachieving or minimal work ethic amongst constables and for inhibiting innovation (Bradley, 1996b; Smith & Gray, 1985). A rank structure and a centralised system of command and control have a negative impact upon innovation because they emphasise conformity and impede communication within the organisation (Bradley, 1996b; Zaho, 1996). An authoritarian system emphasises instructions which leads to a reliance upon procedures and this inhibits a consultative approach to decision making and impedes the use of discretion (Jones, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985). This is a process that Smith and Gray (1985) and Jones (1980) have argued contributes to the disempowerment of the uniformed constable and has undermined the status of uniformed police work. The repercussions of this process are considered to be an increase in police cynicism, an exacerbation of the conflict between cultural and organisational goals and objectives, and a refusal by operational police to accept any responsibility for the way the job is done or its outcome (Bradley, 1996b; Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 556).

According to Bradley (1996b) the military-bureaucratic system of policing has had some ineffective and unacceptable outcomes which appear to derive directly from the organisation's core mission. As indicated earlier in previous sections of this study, an emphasis upon crime control has alienated large segments of the community through discriminatory policing practices that fuel allegations of racial and class-based bias (Reiner, 1985; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Smith & Gray, 1985). Technical innovation and legal expertise has not seen crime rates fall as promised and the fear of crime has risen disproportionately to the risk of victimisation (Lea & Young, 1993; Loveday, 1996b). As a consequence community dissatisfaction with policing has risen (Bradley, 1996b) and this has stimulated political intervention in policing and prompted demands for more resources and greater powers by the police (Loveday, 1996b). Loveday has argued that this 'more of the same' approach to policing and crime control has exacerbated community and police relations and impeded the ability of the police to actually control crime (Crowther, 1998). Moreover, an emphasis upon crime control has frustrated the implementation of crime prevention strategies and practices

and has led to what Bradley (1996b) has termed 'noble cause' corruption.

These ineffective and unacceptable outcomes have led to widespread criticism, which began

during the late 1960's and early 1970's, of the core mission of the police and of the military-

bureaucratic organisational model. Zaho (1996, p. 79) has argued that these outcomes

created uncertainty in the external environment and threatened the technical core and the

domain of police organisations in America. Zaho (1996) suggests that early critiques of the

military-bureaucratic model gave rise to alternative organisational designs such as the

democratic model of policing proposed by Angell (1971). This model proposed:

> a flexible, participatory, science-based structure that will accommodate change. It is
> designed for effectiveness in serving the needs of citizens rather than autocratic
> rationality of operation. It is democratic in that it requires and facilitates the
> involvement of citizens and employees in its processes. (Angell, 1971, as cited in
> Zaho, 1996, p. 6).

During this period a review of the role of the police in a democratic society gave rise to an

alternative theoretical framework of policing, community oriented policing. Community

oriented policing represents a system of enforcement that is grounded upon local standards

and values which are themselves derived through democratic processes (Fielding, 1995).

This model of law enforcement recognises the importance of the community and the concept

of coproduction or community alliance as it is termed by Carter and Radelet (1999). That is,

it recognises the need for a cooperative effort between the police and the community in

maintaining community order (Zaho, 1996). This view compels a paradigm shift in the

values underlying the police function, a transformation of the operational activities of the

police and organisational restructuring (Bradley, 1996b; Goldstein, 1990; Kelling & Moore,

1988).

There are significant differences between a military-bureaucratic organisational model and an

organisational model of policing based upon the theoretical framework of community

oriented policing.

> The principles of the COP [Community Oriented Policing] model include
> generalisation of skills and work assignments, decentralisation of organisational
> structures, encouragement of horizontal and vertical interactions, decentralisation of
> authority, goal-oriented work emphasising task achievement, and use of rewards that
> are distributed based on task accomplishment. (Zaho, 1996, p.7).

It has been suggested that the emergence of community oriented policing initiated major organisational change within policing and the beginning of what has been referred to as the 'community era' of policing (Bradley, 1996b; Kelling & Moore, 1988; Zaho, 1996, p. 8).

According to Zaho (1996), there are two broad perspectives within the literature regarding the extent of or commitment to organisational change in American policing. Each perspective assumes a close link between value orientation, operational practices and organisational structure. The change perspective suggests that organisational change in the direction of community oriented policing is slowly occurring, as indicated by the implementation of community oriented policing initiatives. The continuity perspective suggests that little or no substantive change has occurred, as indicated by the continuation of a range of police behaviours that are representative of a crime-control orientation. A study of the current core mission, as mandated by state legal code, of police departments in America by Burton *et al.* (1994, as cited in Zaho 1996, p. 75) determined that law enforcement remained the dominant core mission. From this study Zaho, concluded that the core mission of policing in America had remained fundamentally unchanged during the last fifty or so years and that the 'community era' as proposed by Kelling and Moore (1988) had not occurred (1996, p. 75).

Zaho (1996) examined organisational change as indicated by the incorporation of community oriented policing (COP) innovations within American police organisations. To determine an explanation for organisational change towards a COP model Zaho, (1996) investigated three change dimensions and their interactions - the organisation, the external environment and the coproduction of order. From this study, Zaho concluded that organisational change as represented by the adoption of COP innovations was more likely to be forced, a response to pressure from the external environment, rather than a conscious effort at philosophical reform (1996, pp. 69-71). The pressure to reform was found to derive from such things as the imposition of formal affirmative action programs and the level of social disorganisation within a community (Zaho, 1996, p. 69). The research also concluded that "organisational change in American policing tended to be marginal or incremental" (Zaho, 1996, p. 69).

To determine the nature of contemporary organisational change in American policing, Zaho

utilised Thompson's (1967) theoretical framework of organisational change. The study examined four major components of organisational change and their interactions - the organisational domain, the use of technology, task environment and the technical core. From this examination, Zaho concluded that crime control remained central to the organisational domain and that the technical core retained the dominant features of the military-bureaucratic organisational model. Zaho found that the domain and the technical core of the organisation was threatened by pressure from the external environment. At first, police responded with an emphasis upon technological innovation and upgrading traditional crime-control strategies. When this failed they expanded the task environment by implementing a range of COP innovations that were intended to stabilise the external environment and so protect the organisational domain and technical core (Zaho, 1996). The findings suggested that the police were using COP innovations "in a trial-and-error strategy to stabilise the external environment (rather) than as part of a well-planned effort to control the enlarged task environment" (1996, p. 81). It appeared that COP innovations had not been incorporated into the technical core of policing. Zaho concluded that "little substantial organisational structural change has taken place in American policing in recent years, despite all of the discussion about COP" (1996, p. 82).

## 11.1    Conclusion

The nature of the police organisation has a profound effect upon the role that police perform, the practical implementation of the theory of policing and the development and implementation of policy and procedures that support this role (Bayley, 1994; Bradley, 1996b; Goldstein, 1990; Jefferson & Grimshaw, 1984; Wilson, 1963; Zaho, 1996). Crime control remains the core mission of policing (Zaho, 1996). Efforts to bring about change in the direction of community oriented policing have been frustrated by entrenched values and beliefs that reflect the military-bureaucratic organisational model of policing (Auten, 1991; Ellis, 1991; Goldstein, 1990). The research of Bradley (1996b) and Zaho (1996) strongly suggest that organisational change commensurate with the ideology of community oriented policing has not occurred. Contemporary police organisations retain the basic structures of the military-bureaucratic model of organisation (Bradley, 1996b; Zaho, 1996). According to Reiss:

(t)he dilemma of modern policing seems to lie in determining whether to continue opting for rational bureaucratic administration centering on crime events and their control or, rather, to transform policing into a community and social problem-centered bureaucracy that is accountable to local groups. (1992, as cited in Zaho, 1996, p. 82).

The clear consensus within the literature reviewed is that to continue with the former course of action will prevent organisational, cultural and operational reform; a reform process is considered essential if significant improvements are going to be made in service delivery and to community/police relations (for example, Bradley, 1996b; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Goldstein, 1990; Loveday, 1996; McDonald, 1993). If the latter course of action is chosen then substantial organisational restructuring will need to occur, preferably prior to an attempt to implement reforms centered upon community oriented policing (Braiden, 1992, as cited by Bradley, 1996b). If not, the literature strongly suggests that the process of reform will be impeded by prevailing ideologies and the organisational context.

# Section V

## Police education and training

Throughout this section reference to the terms `police education' and `training' will be made. For the purposes of this study `police training' refers to the learning of specific knowledge, skills, techniques and behaviours of that occupation. These may be taught to police recruits by experienced police officers or other experts and this usually occurs within a specialist setting, for example a police academy or other training institution. `Education' refers to acquiring generalised knowledge and the development of analytical, critical thinking and conceptualisation skills. This learning usually takes place in a university or tertiary college. However, this distinction has become increasingly blurred with some police training institutions seeking a collaborative approach to curriculum development and course delivery with tertiary institutions. For example, the New South Wales Police Service and Charles Sturt University have collaborated in the development and application of the Constable Education Program. Moreover, some police organisations have sought accreditation for police training staff, operational experience and various inservice courses from tertiary institutions (Carter *et al.*, 1989).

A review of the literature on the evaluation of police education and training is complicated by the variation in providers and models of education utilised. Police education and training, preservice and inservice, is provided by either Police Academies or tertiary institutions or a combination of both. Generally, Police Academies have been and remain the dominant provider of preservice and inservice education and training. There is, however, concern regarding the ability and appropriateness of police academies as providers of education and training. Increasingly tertiary institutions are viewed as a viable alternative provider of police education and training, although not necessarily by police organisations.

The education and training model adopted by Police organisations in the three democracies examined are is somewhere on a continuum between a systems approach or expert model and the McDonald or American styled `professional/academic' model. Much of the literature

evaluates the relative merits of training and higher education for police. Evaluative studies, particularly American ones, have tended to focus exclusively on the relative advantages or disadvantages of higher education for policing. Evaluative studies in Australia and England tend to compare models of education and training, specifically the `expert or craft' and `professional' models. The `expert or craft' model appears to be synonymous with traditional concepts of `vocational training'. The literature concerning the `professional model' is more complex. The `professional model' in America focuses almost exclusively upon higher education. The British and Australian derived McDonald `professional' model involves training and a growing proportion of higher education. Training models, a systems approach or `expert or craft' model, tend to dominate with the `professional model' and higher education gaining in popularity. However, both forms can exist within the one police organisation.

Both the provider, and the model of education and training utilised, are important factors that can facilitate or impede role modification consistent with a philosophy of community policing.

# Chapter 12.

## Police education and training - models of learning.

The history of police education in Australia cannot be considered in isolation from similar developments in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Developments in these countries not only contributed to an analysis of the reform of police practice but also provided the foundation for educational reform in Australia. Features common to police education and training in these jurisdictions include a `systems approach' to curricula development and what has been termed the `craft or expert' model of training (Bradley, 1993). A systems approach to learning, with its emphasis on quantifiable objectives has remained popular with bureaucratic, paramilitary models of policing. This approach has recently gained a resurgence in popularity following the adoption of organisational models that incorporate management by objectives (Bradley, 1993; Jones & Joss, 1988; McDonald, 1993). The `expert or craft' model with its focus upon the acquisition of legal and procedural knowledge, that may incorporate an apprenticeship or probationary period, has been the mainstay of police education and training for a considerable period of time (Bradley, 1992).

That the `expert or craft' model of police education and training has remained employed for so long has been attributed in part to the division of labour within police organisations, especially the creation of specialist positions and a focus upon the development of upper level management (Bradley, 1992, p. 138). Reiner (1985, as cited in Bradley, 1992, p. 139) has suggested that the more difficult and complex policing tasks became the property of specialist units who, along with management, received additional and more intensive training. This has had a number of undesirable effects. Talented and experienced police officers were syphoned off to specialist and managerial positions leaving the less experienced and less talented in operational duties and contributed to the degradation of uniformed patrol work (Jones, 1980). An investment in managerial and specialist education and training became synonymous with organisational concepts of professionalisation which in turn was linked to higher education (Bradley, 1996b). Despite criticism, (Sherman, 1978) demands for higher education for the police were misinterpreted with specialist and management personnel receiving preferential

treatment, specifically improved education with an emphasis upon tertiary education. This exclusivity, combined with budgetary constraints and a belief that tertiary education was neither required nor desirable for uniformed patrol duties (Rawson, 1986), restricted investment in education and training for uniformed police officers (Bradley, 1996b).

Convention reinforced by political, cultural and organisational rhetoric has established that policing, with an emphasis upon uniformed patrol duties, is a complex job that only the police can perform (for example, Manning, 1997; Smith & Gray, 1985; Young, 1991). Whilst establishing ownership and asserting the complexities inherent in policing, convention paradoxically maintains that any man of common sense, good demeanour and with general ability could be a police officer. This belief and the mistaken perception of policing as an often violent and hazardous occupation have combined to ensure that minimum educational levels and key physical attributes have become acceptable criteria for recruitment (Lusher, 1981).

Recruitment practices, convention and the degradation of uniformed police work and personnel have combined to ensure a minimalist approach to police education and training; an approach that both supports and is supported by reducing police work to its lowest common denominator (law enforcement) and by linking education and training to police work through specified performance criteria (Bradley, 1992). This practice has encouraged management by objectives policing and promoted a systems approach to curricula development (McDonald, 1993). A minimalist approach to education and training has also been accompanied by a reliance upon formal rules and procedures, and has reinforced perceptions of the police culture as a reliable source of information and effective instruction thereby supporting the apprenticeship or craft model of training. Across jurisdictions, this minimalist approach to police education and training has been extensively criticised for failing to provide the knowledge and skills required for policing a contemporary democratic society (Lusher, 1981; Fitzgerald, 1989; McDonald, 1987; Rowe, 1985; Sherman, 1978). The two most widely criticised aspects of police education and training have been the systems approach to curriculum development and the `expert or craft' model.

## 12.1 Systems approach

The systems approach to curriculum development enhances the centralised control of police practice and maximises the potential for gearing practice to the attainment of organisational goals and objectives (Rowe, 1985; McDonald, 1993). Such a model sustains and is sustained by a paramilitary model of organisation and a managerial philosophy of management by objectives or economic rationalism (McDonald, 1993). The systems approach is also closely affiliated with a law-enforcement role and remains the principal curriculum model in America, Australia and Britain (Bradley, 1993).

A detailed critique of the systems approach to police education and training has been produced by Rowe (1985). In this critique three basic principles have been identified as underlying the systems approach: relevance, objective driven and quality control. The curricula must be vocationally relevant and the degree to which terminal performance objectives, the measurement of overt behaviours, are achieved is a measure of the effectiveness of police education and training. Quality control is sought by linking police practice and the attainment of objectives by maintaining vocationally relevant curriculum and instruction.

The method of instruction and curriculum content are determined by a vocational analysis of organisational needs. From this analysis, terminal performance objectives, desired police practice and behaviours, are then specified. These behaviours or objectives are predominantly quantifiable and subsequently have tended to be law-enforcement specific, for example arrest rates (Rowe, 1985; McDonald, 1993). This process provides a systematic framework that determines police education and training for ensuring satisfactory job performance and the attainment of organisational goals and objectives. A parity between practice and instruction is maintained by varying curriculum content and methods of instruction, the aim being to ensure that police practice and behaviours are indistinguishable from those instructed (McDonald, 1993).

The systems approach to police education and training favours a simple mechanistic lock step approach to learning that has been criticised for inhibiting the acquisition of complex

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conceptual skills and for disregarding the individual learning abilities of trainees (Rowe, 1985). As a consequence Rowe (1985, p. 679) argues that "there is no guarantee trainees have retained sufficient knowledge or developed adequate skills to meet the demands of even minimum police operational requirements". Associated with this approach is a preference for didactic methods of instruction. Inherent in both the systems approach and the method of instruction is a preference to emphasise absolute solutions to issues and problems encountered within policing. As noted by Roberg (1979) these solutions are based upon memorised material rather than an analysis of the many dimensions and alternate decisions which characterise the bulk of police decision making. The ability of police to respond to a community's request for service is further eroded by learning outcomes that are behaviourally specifiable, preferring propositional knowledge to tacit knowledge and context bound skills rather than attitudes (McDonald, 1986, p. 6).

Reviewing the effects of police training in Community Race Relations, Jones & Joss (1988) concluded that a systems approach to the development of law-enforcement curricula other than for mechanical behavioural skills, is inappropriate. Given the complexity, diversity and non-law enforcement specific nature of much of policing, its application as a total policing philosophy has been found to be inappropriate (Dowd, 1982; Jones & Joss, 1988; Rowe, 1985). This is a view supported by several inquiries on policing including the *Sherman Report* (1978), the *Lusher Report* (1981), the *Scarman Report* (1981) and the *Fitzgerald Report* (1989). Rowe (1985, p. 676) has argued that the systems approach is incompatible with a broader police function for several reasons.

First, with a systems approach the police function and organisational goals and objectives are predominantly determined by police and government. The wider community and other stakeholders rarely have a substantive impact upon determining police practice, organisational goals and objectives. Consequently, a law-enforcement function and associated attitudes and values are emphasised, reinforced and legitimised (Rowe, 1985). As Jones (1980), Young (1991), and McConville and Shepherd (1991) conclude, police culture, organisational and managerial philosophies and practices are sustained through their designation of what constitutes police practice. Conversely, the order-maintenance and

service functions of policing are likely to be either ignored or subordinated (Jones, 1980; Rowe, 1985). Curricula developed upon these perceptions and expectations of the police role are unlikely to facilitate and sustain role modification and the reform of police practice (McDonald, 1993).

The systems approach, as stated, is primarily concerned with determining organisational goals and objectives upon which police curriculum and practice are developed. The model requires that all goals and all outputs be specified. McDonald (1993) has argued that this is a practical impossibility given the diversity and complexity of police work, as illustrated by studies conducted by Jones (1980) and Bittner (1990). Outcomes focus upon mechanical behavioural orientated skills, procedures, practices, learning outcomes and objectives that are readily specifiable and quantifiable and tend to be predominantly law-enforcement orientated. The systems approach is generally incapable of dealing with tacit knowledge (human awareness) and interactive skills (evaluative, negotiating, judgement decisions) that are situationally dependent (Jones & Joss, 1988; McDonald, 1993). Nor can it adequately provide for attitudinal and value changes that are considered essential for behaviour modification (Bittner, 1990; Reiner, 1985). Consequently, a systems approach is largely incapable of developing and sustaining community policing (Bradley, 1993; Jones & Joss, 1988; McDonald, 1993; Rowe, 1985).

Thirdly, the model requires that education and training be vocationally relevant and objective orientated. This results in a curriculum that is vocationally narrow and reduces it to the instruction of simple mechanical and procedural tasks. This focus on the `how to' of police education and training has been criticised for emphasising law enforcement and control roles and for being conceptually narrow (Sherman, 1978; Goldstein, 1990). The `how to' is routinely reinforced by rules and standardised operation procedures that regulate and constrict the police response. The model fails to adequately provide the `why' component of policing knowledge. This component incorporates a focus on the acquisition of analytical skills, psycho-social and politico-legal perspective, affective sensitivity and ethical systems (Rowe, 1985). It shows how information can be used to understand social and psychological processes involved in interactions that are an essential component of a service role (Jones &

Joss, 1988, p. 217). Without the 'why' component, police practice is reduced to following preordained procedures that eliminate discretion and reduce human interactions, major components of policing, to the achievement of narrow organisational objectives. Rowe (1985, p. 682) concluded that a systems approach ultimately failed to meet the needs of the trainee, the police profession as a whole and the community.

## 12.2   The 'expert or craft' model

The 'expert or craft' model has dominated police training for a considerable period of time (McDonald, 1987). Generally, training focuses upon the technical aspects of police practice and the rules and regulations of the organisation. The acquisition of legal and procedural knowledge is normally followed by an apprenticeship or probationary period. Typically training utilises didactic methods of instruction and learning (Jones & Joss, 1985). There is a deliberate focus on the development of legal and procedural skills rather than on a more reflective evaluation process.

The 'expert or craft' model of police training has permitted police organisations to define, sustain and control police practice (Jones & Joss, 1985). In this manner, police organisations can more readily align training with organisational and hence political goals and objectives (McDonald, 1988; Jones & Joss, 1985). This process has been assisted by the close relationship between a systems approach to curricula development, the expert model and policing by objectives. These curriculum, training and organisational models have combined to sustain and encourage traditional law-enforcement practices (Jones, 1980; McDonald, 1988; Jones & Joss, 1985; Goldstein, 1990).

Many of the criticisms made of the expert model of police training are similar to those made of the systems approach to curricula development. For example, training emphasises absolute solutions to predefined occurrences, thereby restricting the judgemental use of police powers, encourages rather than discourages convergent thinking and initiates cultural conformity and solidarity. By emphasising law-enforcement, training has been criticised for failing to meet the demands of operational reality and for sustaining the tension within the police mandate between law-enforcement and service roles (Bittner, 1990; Goldstein, 1990). In this manner,

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Jones and Joss (1985) argue that the expert model is antithetical to the maintenance of harmonious community relations. The focus upon law-enforcement, the pursuit of the knowledge and skills of law to eliminate crime fails to acknowledge the ineffectiveness of police as crime-fighters. This concept of police practice and training has been criticised for being conceptually narrow and inhibitive for learning the concepts and competencies associated with police practice (Jones, 1980, McDonald, 1987; Bittner, 1990; Goldstein, 1990).

12.3    Professional model of police education and training

The `professional' model is a relatively recent alternative to the `expert or craft' model of police education and training. It is a broad and loosely applied term and this contributes to an inability to provide a concise definition for this model. Professional models of police education and training vary on a continuum from the cosmetic, to the incorporation of basic Human Awareness Training in the curriculum and the dubious tertiary accreditation of inservice components of the standard training curriculum and police training institutions (Carter, *et. al.*, 1989). It has also been applied to those models that have established credible and collaborative efforts with tertiary institutions. It can apply to models that have incorporated tertiary education either as a prerequisite to recruitment or as a substantial component of police education and training programs.

A process model of learning is an example of a professional model that has been adopted by some police organisations as a means of enhancing education and training and for assisting role modification and the reform of police practice. The model, in its various forms, is based upon Schon's (1982) "The Reflective Practitioner", a review of the development and evolution of the professions. McDonald (1987), following a review of *Probationer Training in England,* proposed a model that sought to incorporate aspects of law enforcement and service and support roles in police education and training. The model attempts to cater for the diverse and complex police function in contemporary society by facilitating the acquisition of a variety of complex personal, interpersonal, social and technical skills. It combines the technical expert with the `reflective practitioner' and attempts to provide for role modification and organisational change (Bradley, 1992; McDonald 1987; Schon, 1982).

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The professional model focuses upon developing attitudinal change towards the nature of policing in the community. It provides knowledge through which an understanding and appreciation of human interactions, culture, social complexities and the nature of the policing function, law enforcement and service role, can be obtained. It also seeks to place policing within the wider context of the criminal justice system, the community and other social and welfare services (Pitman, 1987).

The model is a process model rather than being outcome-defined as the systems approach is (McDonald, 1993). The model seeks to integrate theory and practice by combining alternate experiences in-residence and in-service. Generic subjects and skills are taught in relation to substantive problems, thereby making education and training more relevant, credible and effective (Goldstein, 1990). Furthermore, it provides the opportunity to reflect on experience and for conceptual and personal development (Police Board of New South Wales, 1986). The process model makes substantial use of case studies of situations that are regularly experienced in policing. Schon (1982), McDonald (1993, p. 4) and Scholnick and Baley (1986) have recognised that competent practitioners draw upon a body of knowledge of previously experienced cases, whether their own or those of others, rather than abstract principles. McDonald has argued that this allows the contextualisation and integration of knowledge in a practical and useful form. It permits the integration of theory and practice into a coherent whole of legal/procedural theory, cultural awareness, situational understanding and skills development (McDonald, 1993).

The integration of theory and practice endeavours to simulate the complexity and diversity of policing by exposing police to a range of conflicting expectations and perceptions on the nature of policing. In doing so it promotes the predominantly discretionary nature of policing and the desirability of a flexible response to the diversity of the police function, the complexity of human interactions under frequently adverse conditions and the limits of police authority (Goldstein, 1990).

The professional model of police education and training is intended to initiate role modification and organisational change (Goldstein, 1990; Jones & Joss, 1988; McDonald,

1987). Generally, however, it appears to have been developed and implemented in isolation from other substantive organisational changes (CARE, 1990). In the absence of these changes, the model to date appears to have had little impact upon police practice (Chan, 1997; McConville & Shepherd, 1991). Goldstein (1990), Bedian (1984) and Burke (1984) contend that education and training has little long term impact upon an organisation if it is not integrated within the context of an overall organisation change strategy. The absence of other substantive changes in policing, directed at changing the organisation as a total system, has been identified as a major impediment to the effectiveness of education and training models (Goldstein, 1990; Bittner, 1990; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990; Young, 1991), particularly where its ethos is contradictory or antithetical to the perceptions and expectations of conventional policing.

## 12.4   Conclusion

A systems approach to training has focused upon the accomplishment of organisational and political goals and objectives. Objective driven police practice has been found to be largely focused on law enforcement to the detriment of the service role that police routinely provide (Goldstein, 1990). Although appropriate for the instruction of simple mechanical and technical requirements of contemporary law enforcement, the `expert' model cannot cope with the complexities and variety of situations to which police routinely respond (McDonald, 1987). The major defect with both these methods is that they "tend to emphasise absolute solutions to issues and problems based on the memorised materials rather than on careful analysis of the many dimensions and alternate decisions which are characteristic of police work" (Roberg, 1979, as cited in Pitman, 1992, p. 91). There is a recognised need to integrate theory and practice to provide for the complexity and variety of police encounters and the latitude to exercise discretion (Bradley, 1987; McDonald, 1987; Bittner, 1990; Goldstein, 1990). A professional model of police education and training integrates theory and practice by teaching generic subjects and skills in relation to the operational context. It promotes the essential discretionary nature of policing and this enables a flexibility of response to the diversity of the police function, the complexity of human interactions and the limits of police authority (Goldstein, 1990). However, the ability of this model to facilitate an order maintenance role is dependent upon being incorporated into a wider context of organisational

change involving organisational structure and philosophy, and management theory.

# Chapter 13

## Police education and training - providers

Police Academies appear to be the primary providers of preservice and inservice police education and training, although there is an increasing trend for this to be conducted by or in cooperation with tertiary institutions. This trend is evident in New South Wales with the Constables Education Program and in America with such initiatives as the Minnessota Professional Peace Officer Education System. This trend appears to be in response to adverse comment on the adequacy and appropriateness of Police Academies as providers of education and training. Furthermore, affiliation with tertiary institutions is commonly perceived to be a means of facilitating role modification, organisational change and professionalisation (Bittner, 1990; Carter *et al.*, 1989).

13.1     Police academies.

As providers, Police Academies have been evaluated from judicial, economic, cultural and educational perspectives. Many of these evaluations have occurred as a result of a recognised dissimilarity between policing practice and theory or investigations into police corruption, for example the *Scarman Report* (1981), the *Fitzgerald Report* (1989), the *Mollen Report*, 1994 and the *Wood Inquiry* (1997). They have generally reviewed police education and training as part of a wider mandate while others, for example Sherman (1978) and Carter *et al.* (1989), have concentrated specifically upon police education and training. The findings and recommendations of these evaluations appear to be fairly generic to police organisations in America, Australia and the United Kingdom. Many of the evaluations have focused upon characteristics that include management, staffing, police culture, economic considerations and research activities.

The literature reviewed strongly suggests that many police academies' organisational structures are inappropriate or deficient at providing police education and training. Furthermore organisational characteristics impede role modification, professionalisation and organisational change (CARE, 1990). One comprehensive evaluation of police education and

training is the Stage II Review of Police Probationer Training in England and Wales, *the McDonald Report* (1987). This review noted that police training lacked effective management and coordination, was poorly developed and integrated with the field. This was broadly attributed to an inadequate or inappropriate organisational structure, inefficient or indifferent management and in the field poorly developed education skills and a lack of knowledge. The lack of effective management and coordination of education and training is evident in other evaluations of police education and training, including the Review of the Organisation and Operations of the Australian Police Staff College (1988), the *Audit Commission England and Wales* (1989), the *New South Wales Interim Police Education and Training Council Report* (1986) and CARE (1990). The Stage II Review (1987) recommended the establishment of the position of National Director of Training. The other inquiries have all recommended the establishment of the position of a `Dean of Studies' or similar. The Stage II Review also recommended the establishment of various units and staff positions to facilitate the effective management, coordination and development of police education and training. This included the formation of a Curriculum and Staff Development Unit, an Evaluation and Examinations Unit and the National Directorate. Again other evaluations have recognised deficiencies in management and the development of police education and training. These include the *Lusher Report* (1981), the *Review of the Police Staff College Manly* (1988) and the *Independent Evaluation of Police Recruit Education Program, New South Wales* (1990). The recommendations of these reports and others include the establishment of Academic Advisory Committees, Program Director and Curriculum Development Management positions or similar. To improve the integration and coordination of academy and field training, the Stage II Review redefined the structure, responsibilities and functions of the various regional District Training Centres and augmented the position of `Tutor Constable'. Amongst others, the *Lusher Report* (1981) and the CARE report (1990) made similar recommendations to enhance the integration and coordination between academy and field education and training.

The quality of police academy staff and police education and training, and hence the effectiveness of role modification and organisational change, are intrinsically related (Bull, 1988; Carter *et al.*, 1989; Goldstein, 1990; McDonald, 1987). Without exception, the

literature reviewed is critical of the quality of Police Academy staff. Those critical of academy staff include Sherman (1978), McDonald (1987), Carter *et al.* (1989) and the *Fitzgerald Report* (1989). Generally, police academy staff have been found to have poorly developed or no teaching skills, lacked teaching and occasionally operational experience and lacked curriculum design and development skills. Two main factors appear to contribute to the inadequacies of academy staff: organisational recognition of the position and lack of appropriate staff development. The *Review of the Australian Federal Police* (1984, p. 32) illustrates the former. It found that the "classification of positions of police instructors does not recognise the experience, skills and responsibilities required to perform the function." Sherman (1978), reviewing American police education and training, arrived at a similar conclusion and, according to a review conducted by Carter *et al.* (1989), circumstances have not altered significantly. The quality and availability of staff development has been criticised for failing to provide the skills and knowledge required of academy staff (Sherman, 1978; Carter *et al.*, 1989; *Public Service Management Commission Review of Queensland Police Service* (PSMC), 1993). Several reviews have recommended a reappraisal of the position and criteria for selection of staff positions and the development of staff training programs (PSMC, 1993).

The development and training of police academy staff may address matters of expertise. However, cultural considerations have been argued to have as much if not a greater impact upon the effectiveness of Police Academies to facilitate organisational change and role modification. Police Academies have been criticised for providing both the venue and role models for the induction of police recruits into the police culture. These role models, academy staff, can have, as Bull (1988) and Ellis (1991) found, a detrimental and substantial influence on the assimilation of alternative models of policing. The influence of academy staff on facilitating role modification has been argued to be inversely proportional to their commitment to the police culture. Some, including Bull (1988) and Ellis (1991), have argued for the need to monitor this aspect of police academia. Others, including Mathias (1988), have inferred that police education and training needs to be removed from the auspices of police academies or alternatively academy staff need to be selected from an elite of 'culture proofed' police. Generally, at this point in time neither option appears to be feasible.

Several evaluations have commented upon the economic effectiveness and research ability of several Police Academies. A number of reviews commented upon the financial resourcefulness of Police Academies. These were predominantly government sponsored reviews and include the Home Office Circular 114/1983, the Audit of England and Wales (1989) and the *Public Service Management Commission Review of the Queensland Police Service* (1993). The comments of these reviews ranged from a need to rationalise resource allocations, control or restriction of recruit intakes, mechanisms for achieving objectives in line with limited resources and the development of budgetary performance indicators. They also included the cost effective utilisation of facilities including renting of academy facilities to other organisations, the `civilianisation' of academy positions and the transfer of some programs to other providers.

The literature reviewed has observed that Police Academies were both ineffective and apparently reluctant to participate in research (Young, 1991). The 1988 review of Bramshill (Police Staff College England and Wales) typifies much of the literature. It concluded that the college lacked the capacity and willingness to conduct research. This was compounded by a cultural and organisational hostility to research and organisational policies and guidelines that inhibited research. An inability or reluctance to participate in research has inhibited the contribution that police organisations have been able to make to policing (Bittner, 1990; Fielding, 1990; Goldstein, 1990). Police organisations have generally failed to contribute to their own professional body of knowledge (Bittner, 1990; Bradley, 1996), to provide an internal response to community concerns and to facilitate and evaluate critical issues in policing, such as organisational change and role modification (Fielding, 1990; Goldstein, 1990). A lack of involvement in research has reduced the academy response to operational requirements, thereby alienating operational police who in turn reject both education and training as irrelevant (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Nijkerk, 1986). It has also limited academy exposure to current education, management and organisational theories and practices (Bittner, 1990; Fielding, 1990).

13.2 Tertiary institutions

Many inquiries and reviews of policing have recommended the involvement of tertiary

institutions as providers of police education and training (Bittner, 1990; Fitzgerald, 1989; Lusher, 1981; Sherman, 1978). Their involvement is perceived as mandatory for role modification, organisational change and professionalisation. The involvement of tertiary institutions as formal providers of police education and training is relatively new in Australia. No formal evaluations of tertiary institutions appear to have been conducted in Australia although some information is available from America and Canada. Generally, however, many of the reported comments pertaining to tertiary institutions as providers appear to be biased and largely unsubstantiated police criticisms. Many of the reviews of tertiary institutions were critical of the quality of programs, staffing and their integration with police organisations.

The quality and appropriateness of education programs provided by tertiary institutions has been questioned. According to Sherman (1978), Carter *et al.* (1989) and Goldstein (1990) many tertiary provided education programs are of poor quality. Both Goldstein (1990) and Carter *et al.* (1989) have commented that the relatively poor quality, superficial and transient nature of police education was partially attributed to economic opportunism on the part of tertiary institutions. Alternatively, Carter *et al.* (1989) have observed that a combination of dramatic growth in demand, a lack of planning and direction for program development has impaired the quality of tertiary programs. Bryett (1992), in a cursory evaluation of the Police Recruit Education Program in Queensland, inferred that similar problems existed. However, as Carter *et al.* (1989) noted, these problems were not unexpected in newly established programs. Hoover (1975), Sherman (1978) and Goldstein (1990) found that many programs offered courses that were too vocationally or training orientated. These programs were considered inappropriate for facilitating role modification, organisational change and professionalisation. Conversely, police and students have criticised education programs for failing to meet operational requirements by not being law enforcement or vocationally orientated (Bryett, 1992; Carter *et al.*, 1989). This disparity in opinion can be partially attributed to an inability to reach an accord between tertiary institutions and police organisations on their respective roles and organisational requirements (Carter *et al.*, 1989).

Ellis (1991), reviewing Canadian police recruit education and training, found that academic

staff, although having academic status, lacked the authority of rank and street credibility. An absence of rank and experience in operational policing was found to adversely impact upon the credibility of the instructor, the curriculum and finally the underlying theory (Bittner, 1990; Ellis, 1991). To supplement staff, tertiary institutions have taken to employing police as lecturers. However, Nijkerk (1986) found that the quality of police educators was quite low at tertiary institutions and this contributed to poor quality education programs.

With due regard to a probable adverse cultural and organisational response, the Stage II Review (1987) did not recommend the participation of tertiary institutions in police education and training. Subsequently, however, others, including Carter *et al.* (1989) and Dean and Thorne (1993) have recommended integration.

> Conceptually, the tertiary providers are to provide a broad knowledge base and backdrop to the policing task, the police academy is to educate and train the recruits to draw on the knowledge base and perform some basic tasks efficiently and effectively. (Dean & Thorne, 1993, p. 11)

In practice the affiliation of tertiary institutions and police academies does not appear to have been formally evaluated. However, it is apparent from the literature that tensions do exist between these two providers. Hyde (1993) observed that tensions arose from political struggles both within the service and between police and other stakeholders. This has been highlighted in dissension over the division of authority and labour between the Queensland Police Academy and associated tertiary institutions, as shown in the Transcript of Proceedings Combined University Colloquium on Police Education and Training (1992). In this it is evident that there exist two dissimilar views on the relationship between tertiary institutions and police organisations. Disagreements exist over a range of issues including: the emphasis placed upon law-enforcement, course duration, education content, the nature of the curriculum, staffing, control and the division of labour. Similar dissenting views concerning the affiliation of tertiary institutions and police education and training have been noted by Carter *et al.* (1989).

13.3    Conclusion

Police Academies are usually the dominant provider of police education and training. Their

effectiveness as providers has been found to be impaired by ineffective management, coordination and development of education and training programs. This has been attributed to a lack of managerial skills, educational expertise and structural deficiencies. Academy staff have been found to impair the effectiveness of programs, role modification and organisational change. This has occurred through an absence or deficiency in the knowledge and skills of teaching and curriculum development (Bull, 1988; McDonald, 1987; CARE 1990). Academy staff have also been observed to impede role modification and organisational change by perpetuating the police culture (Ellis, 1991). An inability or reluctance to participate in research has also impeded the ability of Police Academies to respond to organisational, operational and community requirements (Fielding, 1990). The appropriateness of police academies as providers of education and training has been seriously questioned given their apparent and often inherent characteristics that impede organisational change and role modification (Bittner, 1990).

Tertiary institutions are increasingly seen as either an adjunct or substitute provider of police education and training. Their effectiveness has been impaired by a lack of `credible' or qualified tertiary staff and programs due to a combination of dramatic growth in demand, and a lack of planning and direction for program development (Carter *et al.*, 1989). The effectiveness of tertiary institutions has also been impeded by an inability to reach an accord between themselves and police organisations on their respective roles and organisational requirements (Carter *et al.*, 1989). Despite these criticisms, it is generally argued in the literature reviewed that tertiary institutions have a role as a provider of police education and training, both preservice and inservice (Bittner, 1990; Carter *et al.*, 1989; Sherman, 1978).

# Chapter 14.

## Police education and training - Evaluation of 'training' models.

Much of police-provided education and training is based on the 'expert or craft' model and is ostensively objective driven (Bittner, 1990). This vocational training has, until very recently, been the primary form of police education and training; both preservice and inservice. Contemporary vocational training in policing ranges from basic vocational training, where technical, mechanical and procedural skills and knowledge are provided, to a more specialised vocational training that may include some form of 'social skills' orientated program, such as Community Race Relations Training or Human Awareness Training (HAT). This may or may not be provided in conjunction with tertiary institutions or be tertiary accredited. The primary goal of training is to improve police performance, achieve a given goal or perform a given task and to ensure that organisational objectives are attained (Bittner, 1990; Nijkerk, 1986). Training is intended to be a key element in shaping the quality and style and for improving the effectiveness of policing (Audit, 1993; Nijkerk, 1986). However, many evaluations have been severely critical of Police training, particularly its apparent failure to impact upon police practice, curriculum and educational content and cultural and organisational influences.

In reference to the evaluation of police training, a large amount of the literature reviewed focused primarily upon individual training programs such as weapons handling, officer safety, community awareness programs, driver training, domestic violence and the like. Many of these evaluations were at best superficial, often subjective in their examination and this has precluded their inclusion in this study. There appear to be very few published evaluations that have comprehensively analysed in their entirety the models of training or education adopted by various police organisations.

## 14.1    Impact upon police practice.

Police training ranges from introductory vocational training, ongoing vocational training through to specialised or specialist training. There are several evaluative studies of police

training many of which were conducted in the early 1970's. Sherman (1978) at that time conducted the most comprehensive review of police training in America. Typical of many, he criticised police training for the shortness of the training period, an imbalance of the curriculum, a lack of adequate instructors, facilities and controlled field training. Training programs were found to be poorly designed, hastily implemented and lacked evaluative strategies, a central theme and proper coordination. They relied upon didactic teaching methods and specialised in the one way transfer of knowledge. From a review of the literature, Ness (1991, p. 182) concluded that basic law enforcement training did not prepare recruits for police work and that evaluations of training curricula were based upon subjective opinion rather than methodical empirical studies. Furthermore, training emphasises absolute solutions to problems and occurs in a protected, controlled and established police environment (Jones & Joss, 1985, p. 210). Exposure to the operational context of policing introduces police recruits to the ambiguities of policing, and this culture shock helps to undermine the credibility of training and training establishments (Jones & Joss, 1985). Both Sherman (1978) and Jones (1980) who observed police practice in England, recognised a disparity between policing practice and theory. Recent behavioural and evaluative studies of police education, training and practice report almost identical observations and have reached similar conclusions (Bittner, 1990; Carter *et al.*, 1989; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985). As Fitzgerald (1989) found, the `expert or craft' model and many police practices were still retained in Queensland even though they were no longer appropriate for policing.

As Southgate (1988) observed, the true indication of the effectiveness of training is indicated by the impact that it has upon police practice as illustrated by `law and order' and relations with the community. In many instances, the impact of training upon policing is generally inferred from commissions of inquiry into policing and behavioural studies, such as the *Scarman Report* into the Brixton Disorders (1981) and behavioural studies such as those conducted by Jones (1980) and McConville and Shepherd (1991). Scarman (1981), inquiring into the Brixton Riots, was scathing of the training provided to British police. He found that training had contributed to limiting police interactions with the community to a range of procedural and legalistic responses that were centred around a law-enforcement function.

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Similar findings were made by Lusher (1981) when inquiring into the New South Wales Police Force, Costigan (1984) when inquiring into the Victorian Police Force, and Fitzgerald (1989) when inquiring into the Queensland Police Service. Furthermore, these inquiries determined that an inability to reduce crime by their respective police organisation was attributable to inadequacies of training.

In a later review of policing in England and Wales, the *Policy Studies Institute Report* (PSI Report), Smith and Gray (1985) concluded that police training as it existed was highly unlikely to have a substantial impact upon police practice. Young (1991) reports that the conclusions of the PSI Report were met with indignation and total furore by police. 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". Behavioural studies by Young (1991) and McConville and Shepherd (1991) have both observed that training had been ineffectual at promoting or sustaining a community policing function. This view is supported by Fitzgerald (1989) who concluded that inservice training was wholly inefficient and inadequate at preparing police for community service. Reviewing American police organisations, Goldstein (1990) and Ness (1991) both observed that training and education had little impact upon operational policing, especially `community service' initiatives. From behavioural studies and inquiries it is generally concluded that training has had little impact upon operational policing, specifically in attempting to promote or sustain community policing.

14.2    Curriculum and education content

The role of police training is intrinsically related to the role that police `perform' in society (Nijkerk, 1986). Several evaluations have found that the curricula and educational content of training programs is largely determined by culturally, organisationally and politically derived views of the police role which are predominantly law enforcement (Goldstein, 1990; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1978). Reviewing police education and training in America, Carter *et al.* (1989, p. 75) concluded that curriculum development appeared to be "focused on the accomplishment of narrowly defined personnel objectives with only secondary concern given to the substantive needs of the community". Ness (1991), reviewing police curricula, agreed, finding that the development of police curricula was dependent upon

subjective judgements of the minimum standards of basic law enforcement, instead, as Hoover (1975) and Bittner (1990) have argued, of being based upon a comprehensive evaluation of the substantive needs of the community and the educational requirements of the police for the diverse and complex role they actually perform.

A law-enforcement function is reflected in the curricula and educational content of many training programs. Training curricula, even those provided by colleges, are criticised for being too narrowly focused upon law enforcement, acquiring legal knowledge and procedural aspects of policing (Bittner, 1990; Carter et al., 1989; Nijkerk, 1986). Commensurate with its relative importance, the educational content of training programs has been found to be intellectually superficial, conceptually narrow and provided by a faculty that was far from scholarly (Fitzgerald, 1989; Ness, 1991; Poole, 1988). The proportional representation of law-enforcement and education in training programs has been seen to conflict with the realities of policing (Goldstein, 1990). Training has been found to reinforce a law enforcement function, limiting police interactions with the community to a legal and procedural response (Bittner, 1990; Talley, 1986), partially because of the emphasis upon law enforcement but primarily because of the absence of the knowledge, skills and attitudes required for making discretionary judgements. Klockars (1985) and Carter et al. (1989) have observed that attempts have been made to enhance vocational training curricula by adding socio-behavioural education programs, for example Community Race Relations Training. However, both have found that these have had little if any long term impact upon policing practice. As a result of a critical review of Canadian police education and training, Grant (1987, p. 52) doubted that vocational police training programs, no matter how sophisticated, could ever supply the educational content required for human resource development. As McDonald (1986, p. 112) observed, training altered to include social awareness skills or similar programs cannot be developed through a curriculum which is simply grafted onto a training program underpinned by the `expert or craft' model of policing.

McDonald (1987) argued that the `expert or craft' model of policing fails to recognise the `peace-maintenance' proportion of policing which, he concluded, was entirely discretional. Smith and Gray (1985), Talley (1986) and others agree, adding that training programs are also

antithetical to the development of desirable characteristics required for community policing. McDonald (1987) argued that training failed to link into a coherent whole the legal and procedural theory, cultural awareness, situation understanding and skills development required for an order-maintenance function. This has been attributed to the development of training curricula and the determination of educational content in isolation from the policing environment (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Smithers *et al.*, 1990), and without having first made a thorough analysis of training needs or having done so in the presence of longstanding prejudices about the nature of training and policing (Jones & Joss, 1985, p. 40).

Several reviews have expressed concern that training was developed without reference to operational policing and was failing to be reinforced by field practice and field training (for example, CARE, 1990). In the United Kingdom, the Stage II Review (1987, p. 117) observed that probationers tended to learn specific items of knowledge and skills in isolation from the context of policing. Consequently, there was less guarantee that what they learnt could be transferred into the operational context. Smith and Gray (1985, p. 518), reviewing British policing, were also "sceptical about the likely effect of formal initial training, away from the real policing environment." 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.

The Stage II Review (1987) found that the situation was aggravated by a lack of coordination between central training and field training. Smith and Gray (1985, p. 591), commenting on probationer training, were sceptical about the effect of central training without the reinforcement of the skills and attitudes in the field. They concluded that a much greater integration of training and actual police work was required, through field training. The Stage II Report (1987) and the PSMC report (1993) all observed that there was a necessity to integrate central and field training as a means of reinforcing the theory and practice of training. Jones (1980, p. 344) found that a mismatch between theory and practice resulted in a lack of credibility and recruits were more readily socialised into the norms and procedures

of their working group. As illustrated by the comments of 'Michelle', a New South Wales Police Probationary Constable of 2.5 months, "it's all bullshit what they teach you at the academy"('Cop it Sweet', an ABC Documentary, 1992).

## 14.3 Cultural and organisational influences.

Reviewing the effects of the Policing Skills Training (PST) Program in the Metropolitan Police, Bull and Horncastle (1988) concluded that the police culture had a powerful socialising effect. Several authors have noted the susceptibility of training to corruption by the police culture (for example, Fielding, 1990; Marion, 1998). McConville and Shepherd (1991) have concluded that the socialisation process commences at the police training school. The position of authority of police instructors, and what Jones and Joss (1985, p. 210) refer to as the distribution of power between student and instructor, "encourages passive acceptance of organisational norms as portrayed by the instructor", a phenomenon also observed by Marion (1998) during an evaluation of a 'University-Academy', a state-accredited police training academy within a University setting in the United States.

Fielding (1988, p. 72) concluded that the impact of training on police recruits declined as their exposure to policing and police increased. Its interaction with training outcomes were demonstrated in the dissipation of desirable achievements by post initial training experiences. Commenting on recruit training in Canada, Ellis (1991) found that a significant change in beliefs occurred among recruits as they moved from a training environment into an operational environment. There was a noticeable shift from a community service orientation, order-maintenance, to a law-enforcement orientation. Ellis (1991, p. 114) felt that "these shifts were not occurring as a function of street experience, but in fact seem to begin surfacing before the end of recruit training". Similar conclusions were also reached during the research of Marion (1998) and Christie et al. (1996).

It was apparent to Ellis (1991) that negative attitudes towards community policing were being instilled during training from a bias towards the alienation of police and community in the curriculum, instructor and administration attitudes. Reviewing HAT and PST programs in the United Kingdom, McConville and Shepherd (1991) found there was little evidence to suggest

that training schools were effective at instilling into recruits attitudes and perspectives associated with community policing ideals, finding that these were quickly countered by peer group influence and operational policing experience. This experience was also observed with the Queensland Police Recruit Education Program. In reviewing this program, Wortley (1993) found that it was successful in imparting non-racist, non-authoritarian attitudes to recruits while they remained at the academy but these gains were reversed when they were sent to police patrols. Marion (1998) found that instructors actively promoted an `us versus them' perspective on the relationship between police and the community. Training in ethics and cultural diversity was perceived as unimportant, a view reinforced by the attitudes of the instructors. Marion (1998, p. 74) concluded that the `University Academy' failed to transmit the proper attitudes to police recruits, sexist and elitist attitudes prevailed and in the case of the latter were actively encouraged by instructors. It was evident to Marion that the occupational socialisation process commenced at the academy with a `working personality' nominally associated with police clearly beginning to take shape.

In addition to cultural influences, Bull and Horncastle (1988) also found that local and organisational practices and policies were regularly at variance with what was taught as desirable practice by training establishments. Behavioural studies by Jones (1980) and McConville and Shepherd (1991) have also concluded that police practice was much more likely to be determined by local norms rather than training. Smith and Gray (1985, p. 518) concluded that 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.

They concluded, as have others, that training cannot facilitate change without being accompanied by organisational change (Bittner, 1990; Fielding, 1988). The Stage II Review (1986, p. 112) supports this view, finding that it was impossible to bring about curriculum change without bringing about corresponding changes in organisational structures. At the time the Review noted that the organisational structure was inconsistent with the development of skills and discretionary judgements required for policing uncertain and complex situations.

The police organisation and the field have been found to determine the status of training and training establishments. In an evaluation of *Community Race Relations* training in the United Kingdom, Oakley (1993) makes a general comment regarding the status of training. Oakley (1993, p. 48) concluded that "compared with operational work, training is seen as a relatively low status activity within the police service". Fielding (1988a, p. 58) also observed that the police culture did not value `book learning' or academic ability as an essential or desirable skill for police. This was seen as hindering the employment of competent police as instructors, reducing the effectiveness of training and training initiatives and allowing these to be overshadowed by `practical policing'. While police instructors promote law-enforcement as `real' police work and actively assist in the indoctrinating of recruits, rather paradoxically it would appear from the review that neither they nor their efforts are held in high regard by operational police.

The PSMC Review of Queensland Police (1993) found that training provided by the police academy lacked credibility with operational police. Coupled with other factors, such as physical isolation, this tended to result in police not undertaking or actually avoiding training programs. The Home Affairs Committee in the United Kingdom (1989, as cited in Fielding, 1990) reviewing police training, also found that police, particularly senior police officers, avoided training, even when it was a mandatory requirement of the positions they held or were promoted to. It was apparent that training lacked credibility and there was a concern that this sustained the negative concepts of training held by junior police. Training was also seen to interfere with operational requirements. Butler (1988, p. 83), reviewing police management, found that a common theme with operational commanders was that every day spent by staff in training was one day less in operational policing. Butler also found, as did the PSMC report (1993), that probationers were seen as a working resource, in many instances undertaking full operational responsibilities and work load. McDonald (1987) argued that this prevented probationers from `reflecting' upon their experiences and led them to disregard community policing strategies for less efficient but more expedient law-enforcement practices.

14.4    Conclusion

Training programs have been severely criticised by numerous authors for a variety of reasons. They have been criticised for being poorly designed, implemented and coordinated. The curricula and education content of training programs have been found to be inappropriately determined by cultural, organisational and political interpretation of the police role, as law-enforcement. Consequently, training programs generally ignored the predominant social service component of an order-maintenance function. They were viewed as being incomplete and inadequate for failing to provide and integrate the knowledge, skills and attitudinal characteristics required for community policing.

Typically, training programs are criticised for being developed in isolation from police practice and organisational requirements, and for failing to integrate field training and operational practice with theory. It has been found there are irresistible pressures in the policing environment that override training. Vested interests, and cultural and organisational responses, have been found to block, dilute or redirect training outcomes. In practice, there is little resemblance between training outcomes and training intentions. Powell (1993, p.1) has argued "that in recent police training there is an apparent inability to bridge the gap between theory and practice." This disparity is suggestive of a training model that is unable to influence police practice either through its own inadequacies or as a consequence of the ability of the operational context to shape police practice according to its own requirements. Furthermore, an analysis of the disparity between theory and practice and the identification of the characteristics of professional practice provide the foundation for the development of a new and more responsive model of police education and training (Jones & Joss, 1985).

# Chapter 15.

## Police education and training - evaluation of 'professional' model

In Australia a series of judicial inquiries into policing and police conduct (for example, Costigan, 1984; Fitzgerald, 1989; Lusher 1981, Neesham 1985; Woods, 1997) exposed a range of problems with police services (Mahony & Prenzler, 1996, p. 284). These included inappropriate police practices, corruption, the politicization of policing and the general ineffectiveness of police in preventing crime (Mahony & Prenzler, 1996, p. 284; Wood, 1997). To varying degrees, the various inquiries recommended upgrading police education and training, and the participation of police in tertiary education.

The benefits of tertiary education were seen to include the development of enhanced personal, interpersonal, social and technical skills (NSW Police, 1989). It was recognised that tertiary education had the capacity to reform police behaviour and practice (Fitzgerald, 1989; Lusher, 1981), and to assist occupational preparation and development. There was a general acceptance that tertiary education encouraged and facilitated the development of high level professional skills such as critical thinking and reflection, skills that are seen as constituting the core structure of judgement and hence police discretion (McDonald, 1993, p. 5). Furthermore, the acquisition of formal tertiary qualifications was seen as faciliting the development of the professional practitioner and accreditation as a profession (Mahony & Prenzler, 1996, p. 284; National Police Professionalism Implementation Advisory Committee [NPPIAC], 1990).

According to Mahony and Prenzler (1996), there are essentially three models of police education and training in Australia. A graduate entry scheme that has been adopted by the Australian Federal Police, an academy/university model that has been adopted by the New South Wales Police Service, and an integrated university/academy model which had been employed by the Queensland Police Service. This research will examine the literature on the models adopted by the New South Wales and Queensland Police Services.

## 15.1    The New South Wales Police Service

The Report of the Commission to Inquire into NSW Police Administration, the *Lusher Report*, (1981) initiated the reform of police education and training in New South Wales (Bradley, 1992; Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999; Woods, 1997). For a comprehensive review of the development of Police education in New South Wales, see Mansfield and Burnard, (1995) A Brief History of Police Education in New South Wales, 1981-1995 and Bradley (1992) Escaping Plato's Cave: The Possible Future of Police Education. The commission observed a reliance upon traditional educational methods, an emphasis upon vocational and technical procedures and skills, and no systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of training programs. Additionally, the Commission noted the Force's self-imposed isolation from external educational institutions and its failure to accept the value of formal tertiary education (1981, pp. 385-394). The inquiry also determined that an internal training program could not produce the level of skill and professionalism required of policing (1981, p. 394; Wood, 1997, p. 269). Furthermore, the inquiry criticised the stance of the Police Force that it alone was responsible for all training at all levels within the organisation (Lusher, 1981, p. 385, 396; Wood, 1997, p. 269).

Following the recommendations of the Commission (1981, pp. 406-407), the Police Board and the Interim Police Education and Advisory Council (IPETAC) were formed in 1984 and 1985 respectively (Bradley, 1992; Mansfield and Burnard, 1995). IPETAC was replaced in 1987 by the Police Education and Advisory Council (PEAC). These bodies were tasked with providing advice to the Service on police education and training policy (Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999, p. 273; Lusher, 1981; Wood, 1997, p. 270). The Police Recruit Education Program (PREP) commenced in 1988, having been developed from the recommendations of the *Lusher Report* (1981) and from subsequent recommendations by IPETAC (1986a, 1986b, 1987).

PREP was 'broadly comparable' to the changes that had occurred to recruit training initiated in England and Wales in 1989 following the Stage II Review (1987) of police probationer training (CARE, 1990, p. 3; McDonald, 1993). Both professional models of education and training derive from the work of Schon (1982) and to varying degrees were influenced by the

work of Professor McDonald, University of East Anglia. The professional model supports the rationale of community oriented policing and recognises the almost entirely discretionary nature of the police role. These views are supported with a shift in curricula from basic legal and procedural knowledge to content organised to develop the capacity to make reflective judgements and decisions in particular circumstances (PREP Course Documentation, 1987, pp. 47-48; Stage II Review, 1987, p. 114). The professional model placed a great emphasis upon the integration of theory and practice and the integration of academy and field based training.

> PREP is based upon an integrated model of police practice which takes into account the complexity of the conceptual framework needed to produce effective operational decision-making and practice. (PREP Course Documentation, 1987, p. 48).

PREP sought to provide the foundational knowledge, skills and attitudes considered necessary of a professional patrol constable. These were an understanding of the social context within which policing occurs and the place of policing within the larger Criminal Justice system; procedural, interpersonal and communication skills; and attitudinal development consistent with a commitment to professional services (PREP Course Documentation, 1987, pp. 47-48; PREP Course Documentation, 1993, pp. 38-41). An evaluation of PREP was conducted by the Centre for Applied Research in Education at the University of East Anglia (CARE) in 1990, the CARE evaluation report became a foundation document along with IPETAC reports (Mansfield & Burnard, 1996).

The CARE Report (1990) acknowledged that the evaluation may have been premature with insufficient time elapsing for the program's effective development and implementation. The report found that the basis for the effective integration of theory and practice was firmly established through the case study approach and alternate off-site and on-site experiences. However, operational demands made upon recruits and a failure to adequately maintain the integrity of the field curriculum contributed to a disparity between theory and practice. Cultural and organisational elements within the operational context contrived to undermine the integrity and relevance of the curriculum, and the role and relevance of the academy. CARE observed that the organisational structure of the academy had an adverse impact upon the curriculum and teaching practices and possibly contributed to the early socialisation of

recruits into the police culture (1990, p. 141).

The CARE Report (1990) found that the program's implementation had been rushed by political demands which had impeded the development of some of the course content and the field training component (Bradley, 1992). The location of the Academy at Goulburn represented a political commitment to provide employment for the residents of that area and in doing so, the Government of the day gained a measure of security (Cioccarelli, personnel communication, 1989; Longbottom & Van Kembeek, 1999, p. 278). Wood (1997, p. 273) recommended an evaluation of the Academy and that consideration be given to its relocation in view of the serious concerns raised during the inquiry regarding its "physical and academic remoteness, and cost effectiveness". Political considerations drove recruit numbers, and the huge increase in recruits produced a `production line' effect on probationary training and also placed a strain upon the faculty, facilities and accommodation requirements (Bradley, 1992; CARE, 1990, p. 139). The Academy was also tasked with providing a variety of other in-service courses and provided a mechanism through which the Service could respond to Ministerial concerns via program development and modification. This drew resources away from PREP and caused some within the faculty to doubt the commitment of the Service and the Academy to PREP (CARE, 1990, p. 139).

The CARE report (1990) found that, in the field, operational demands overshadowed educational considerations. Probationers were "rapidly treated as fully operational units subject to the exigencies of policing and with little or no training support for this role" (CARE, 1990, p.145). The demand for operational competency produced a compelling need to rapidly acquire procedural knowledge and practical skills which occurred to the detriment of "idealistic notions of community service and critical reflection" (CARE, 1990, p. 70). This served to heighten the mismatch between theoretical and operational policing. The deployment of probationary constables as operational units in the field created what the report termed `culture shock' and this contributed to `training decay'. CARE noted that while still learning, probationary constables, "were acting as fully attested constables" (1990, p. 61). This pressure led to "the unlearning of previous knowledge and belief, and to the rapid absorption of more expedient and traditional ways of coping with the situation" (CARE,

1990, p. 61). The principles of "meaningful reflection" and "the development of critical understanding" were rapidly undermined by traditional attitudes and prejudices (CARE, 1990, p. 61). This served to undermine the formal curriculum and facilitated the rapid socialisation of probationers into the police culture (CARE, 1990; Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999; Woods, 1997).

During the field training portion of the program, probationary constables were assigned a Field Training Officer or `buddy'. The `buddy' system was a critical element within PREP and was intended to transmit the ideals and professional values of policing (CARE, 1990, p. 81). CARE (1990) found that `buddies' were often overworked, young and relatively inexperienced officers who were assigned when rostering permitted. These circumstances may have contributed to inadequate or inappropriate supervision which various inquiries have suggested provide the context for, and permit and sustain inappropriate or corrupt practice (Wood, 1997). This view underlies the importance of selecting experienced and what has been referred to as `culture proofed' police as Field Training Officers (Mathias, 1988). Field Training Officers were themselves inadequately trained and supported by the Academy. On the assessment process CARE observed that Field Training Officers and supervisors were reluctant to formalise any critical comment regarding their probationary constables and conspired to ensure their success (1990, p. 70). The report concluded that "as a result dishonesty is structured into the assessment and reporting system" (1990, p. 72). It became clear that "the informal and hidden assessment system firmly contradicted most of the objectives of the formal system and helped to confirm the students in a cultural version of their role that - to some extent- the reflective practitioner model had been designed to contradict" (CARE, 1990, p. 79). The operational culture conflicted with the conviction of the Academy, the Commissioner of Police and the Police Board and was forcibly described as `institutional deviance' and a matter of serious conern by the Dean of Studies (Minutes, 19/2/91 as cited by Mansfield & Burnard 1996).

The uncertainty and stress experienced by probationary constables during the field component of their training served to reinforce cultural and organisational attitudes towards General Duties as `shit work' and `the lowest form of life' (CARE, 1990, p. 59). The report also noted

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that the reactive nature of much of police work and the demands of operational duties served to restrict contact with the wider community. When combined with the negative attitudes towards General Duties these characteristics may serve to reinforce the gulf between the community and the police and in doing so undermined the community service ideology of PREP (CARE, 1990).

IPETAC (1986) initially envisaged an "educational college-type of organisation" which took into account Lusher's recommendations (CARE, 1990, p. 135). An integrated model of management was eventually chosen which meant "a police officer as the chief executive and Principal and a Dean of Studies responsible to the Principal for efficient and effective police education" (CARE, 1990, p. 135). However, in practice the distribution of power within the academy management structure was reflected in a rank structure that imposed line accountability, central control, via the Principal, of resources and administrative support, and this saw the Dean of Studies treated as "a consultant and head of an informal network" (CARE, 1990 ,p. 136). CARE described the management model adopted as "structured on traditional police practice, and struggling within its grasp, the embryo of an educational community" (CARE, 1990, p. 136; Woods, 1997, p. 275). This traditional style of police management saw a preoccupation with administrative and political concerns that overshadowed educational considerations, impeded lateral communication and collaboration, and reinforced a deference to hierarchy that led to a self imposed censorship. This style of management also impaired curriculum development and curriculum management, undermined academic credibility and possibly "accelerated the induction of recruits into the police culture and practice" (CARE, 1990, pp. 135-142; Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999, p. 275). The CARE report found that not only was the organisation not delivering the conditions under which the original concept of PREP could be realised but that PREP was "badly in need of protection against the organisation that created it" (1990, p. 141; Wood, 1997, p. 275).

The attitude of the Police Service towards police education and training and its relationship with various advisory bodies was examined by the Royal Commission into the New South Wales Police Service (1997). The Commission found that despite recommendations that the

Police Board be placed in control of education and training (Lusher, 1981), the Police Service had not relinquished that control and had exhibited a determination to retain control (1997, p. 269). In its submissions to the commission the Police Board drew attention to its inability to make any significant impact on police education and training. The commission was informed of several instances where the Police Service had ignored the recommendations of advisory bodies. Furthermore, the Police Service had contrived to maintain its dominance over the academy by failing to employ a proportion of non-sworn teaching staff as advised, resisting efforts for mandatory degree entry requirements and by the removal of the Dean of Studies "from the management line in the academy in 1990, and his effective marginalisation" (Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999; Mansfield & Burnard, 1996, p.56; Wood, 1997, p. 272). On these issues, the Commission considered:

> it essential that the Service monopoly on PREP be broken and that skilled civilian educators be given a prominent role in framing the curriculum and in delivering courses. The Commission would go so far as to suggest that the Principal of the Academy should be a civilian rather than a police officer. (Wood, 1997, p. 277).

This recommendation suggests that the Commission had serious reservations regarding both the capacity to implement and a commitment to organisational and educational reform in the Service.

A collaborative approach to the reform of police education by tertiary institutions and the Police Service would also appear to be hindered by reservations regarding the role of tertiary institutions, the distribution of power and the nature and relevancy of the academic curriculum. CARE expressed concern that traditional professional preparation was "locked into the discipline bias of academia" and that such an approach would prevent PREP from achieving "an integrated, trans-disciplinary competence" (1990, p. 168). In the absence of an equivalent tertiary concept, CARE proposed that PREP needed "to shape the tertiary sector in its own image rather than be shaped by it" (1990, p. 168). CARE sought to clarify its position by recommending that PREP first needed to reach a level of accomplishment and stability before it attempted to negotiate its accreditation as a whole police education program (1990, p. 168).

However, it would appear that the reservations of the CARE report regarding establishing

links with the tertiary sector was used by the Police Service to substantiate the maintenance of its control of education. For example, referring to the possible integration of police education and training with the tertiary sector, the Education Advisory Council (1991, p.4) recommended that "the (New South Wales) Police Service should remain in full control of the procedures involved". A further illustration is provided by correspondence from the Assistant Commissioner for Education and Training to the New South Wales Police Commissioner and Police Minister that:

> NSW firmly believes that it is we who should influence the tertiary sector, laying down our requirements for police education and training - not the reverse wherein we merely accept what is offered. (Ministerial briefing document, 29 May 1991, p. 2).

In view of educational reforms occurring within the Service and advances in the development of police studies at some tertiary institutions, the Police Board distributed a discussion paper "Police Professionalism and the role of Higher Education" to tertiary institutions and other interested parties. The discussion paper, prepared with the assistance of PEAC, sought "to draw implications for educational policy development from a discussion of the issues underlying professionalism in the modern policing context and the trends in higher education" (1991, p. 2). Although several responses were received, the lack of specific detail or commitment clearly surprised PEAC (1991, p. 9).

The lack of detail or commitment is suggestive of a strain in relationship and a difference of opinion between tertiary institutions and the Police Service. Mahony and Prenzler (1996), in A survey of police educators in Australian Universities, provide some indication of the divisions that exists between tertiary institutions and police services in Australia. Whereas the Service envisaged a strong professional education emphasising vocational preparation, the survey found strong support for a general education in the humanities and studies in psychology and sociology (1996, p. 290). While the relevance of professional studies was disputed by operational police and queried by the Service, survey respondents believed that contextual studies in universities make a strong contribution to operational policing (1996, p. 293). To the possible detriment of an academy seeking accreditation as an institution of professional development, the survey found strong agreement for the statement that "civilian tertiary institutions are much better places for the professional preparation of police than

police training colleges" (1996, p. 292). Furthermore, the survey found little support for the affiliation of police academies with tertiary institutions. These views appeared to be indicative of "a bifurcated perspective on police education" (1996, p. 290), a lack of confidence in the relationship between police unions and the police hierarchy (1996, p. 300-301), and a perception that university pre-service and in-service courses were poorly regarded by senior police (1996, p. 295). It was not surprising, then, that the survey reported a strong preference by police educators who wanted to distance university programs from academy courses (1996, p.299). As noted by Mahony and Prenzler, the strong dichotomy that exists between tertiary institutions, police services and police academies has stifled the professional preparation of police, "both in extent of higher education provision and in its integration with the pre-service education provided in the academy" (1996, p. 299). In Escaping Plato's Cave: The Possible Future of Police Education, Bradley, previously Dean of Studies of the New South Wales Police Academy, clearly acknowledges the need for strong representation of the tertiary education system in a education advisory council, tertiary representatives in external assessment committees and the integration of all major forms of police training with tertiary education programs (1992, p. 149). Bradley argues strongly that "professional police education will have to be integrated with the tertiary education system" (1992, p. 157), but concludes that "[s]uch an education will have to be forged on policing's terms in the sense that police practitioners will want to retain major responsibility and direction over their own profession" (1992, p. 158). As noted by Pitman and Barrow, there is a concern that police control of education and training supported by a closed model of police management may return to a variation of the limited expert model in the absence of a `reformist police manager' (1993, p. 16). Indeed, the view of the Principal of the New South Wales Academy in 1994 illustrates this concern.

> I take the view that the Police Academy is first and foremost a training establishment which exists to provide members of the Police Service with the necessary skills and knowledge to provide a quality service to the community of this state... (McNeil to Mansfield personnel correspondence, November 1994, as cited in Mansfield & Burnard, 1996, p. 57).

The implications are that as control of police education and training changes, then the direction of educational reform in the absence of an over riding imperative will deviate (Pitman & Barrow, 1993).

The Royal Commission observed that no external review had been conducted of PREP and its derivatives since 1990 and that it appeared that no attempt had been made since the demise of PEAC in 1995 to undertake an educational evaluation of course content (Mansfield & Burnard, 1996; Wood, 1997, p. 275). This author is aware that a review of education services was undertaken by the Principal of the Academy in 2000 and implementation commenced early in 2001, but this review is currently unavailable for examination (Faculty Staff, personnel communication, 17 July, 2001).

In May 1998, the Constables Education Program commenced at the Academy. The Constables Education Program in broad terms is an amalgamation of PREP, the Constables Development Program and the Police Service Investigators Course. The program is a two-year University Diploma in Policing Practice offered in collaboration with Charles Sturt University and the Police Academy. It would appear that alterations to delivery, course content, program structuring and the Field Training component are ongoing activities (Ward, personnel communication 25 November, 2001). As yet, no formal evaluation of CEP has been undertaken (Flemming, personnel communication 24 November, 2001).

15.2   The Queensland Police Service

The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct 1987-89 (Fitzgerald, 1989) established that there were serious deficiencies in police education. The Commission argued for graduate recruitment, encouraged police to undertake tertiary education and improved education for the police. Following the recommendations of the *Fitzgerald Report* (1989), the Queensland Police Service implemented a new police recruit education program, the Queensland Police Recruit Program (QPRP), in 1991. The program involved the Queensland Police Academy and the Queensland University of Technology and Griffith University.

The program consisted of one semester at a university and one semester at the Oxley Police Academy. A second year was spent as a probationer in field training. Upon completion, recruits are awarded an 'Advanced Certificate of Policing' (Bryett, 1992). According to Mahony and Prenzler (1996, p. 286), the program was abandoned in 1994 due to increased

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costs and negative feedback from recruits and operational police, and resistance from the police union. In an overview of the first offering of the program Bryett (1992, p. 51) found that police recruits rapidly formed a distinct group relationship and questioned the `necessity' of much of the content material. They were clearly anxious to "get into police things" (Bryett, 1992, p. 52). Perhaps this expectation or orientation contributed to the criticism of the program by students and operational police that it failed to address "immediate operational needs" (QLD Police Service, 1996, p. 2.2). Further criticism of the operational relevancy of the program is provided by the results of two surveys conducted by the Criminal Justice Commission.

The first, a survey of police recruits, was conducted by the Criminal Justice Commission in February 1992 as part of an evaluation of the new certificate course (Bond & Gow, 1992). Recruits criticised the relevancy of the university curriculum to the day-to-day demands of operational policing whereas the academy component, especially operational subjects, was well received (Bond & Gow, 1992, pp. 1-4). Furthermore, approximately one third of recruits considered themselves unprepared for the field training component of the program. The second, a survey of First Year Constables (1993, as cited by Brummel & O'Gorman, 1993, p. 7) found that of the 342 respondents surveyed: 90% Strongly agreed that they preferred the academy semester rather than the University semester; 43% agreed that the University semester should be abolished; 91% agreed that there should be more emphasis on law during the University semester; and 99% agreed that there should be more emphasis on police procedures and paperwork during the academy semester. Although Pitman and Barrow (1993) indicate some cultural and organisational animosity towards the new program, it has not been possible to ascertain the degree to which these criticisms of the program relate to legitimate content concerns or represent cultural and organisational belligerence towards the new program.

An evaluation of QPRP was suggested and a draft proposal submitted in 1992, but a formal evaluation appears not to have been undertaken. However, the program has been reviewed by the Public Services Management Commission (1993), (the PSMC Review), as part of a wider mandate to review the Queensland Police Service. The PSMC Review (1993) found that

QPRP had been rushed into existence, resulting in insufficient time to develop the curriculum, to select and develop field trainers and academy staff and to review program content and delivery. The review also reported claims of unnecessary duplication, inconsistencies in and questionable quality of the programs presented by the universities and the police academy. Furthermore, serious deficiencies were identified with the availability of resources at the Oxley Police Academy and the quality of police tutors. These deficiencies may have been related to considerable political pressure to process large numbers of recruits (Dean & Thorne, 1993). Dean and Thorne suggest that political involvement in establishing recruit numbers introduced instability into the administration of the academy and had a detrimental impact upon staffing and resourcing of the education and training facility (1993, p. 3). Similar issues were identified by the CARE evaluation of PREP (1990) in New South Wales.

The PSMC review concluded that QPRP was also found to lack credibility with operational police and that communications between the universities and the academy were flawed. Pitman and Barrow (1993) observed that the program had been externally imposed and that a clash of cultures had arisen between academic outsiders and police insiders. Furthermore, Pitman & Barrow (1993, p. 15) reported considerable disagreement between the Police Minister and Commissioner, and the rank and file about the quality of the preservice course and a lack of inservice programs. There were also union concerns that the emphasis upon the preservice course would lead to the deskilling of operational police, a view supported by McDonald (1993). The Review (1993) found that the program had failed to integrated theory and practice. The knowledge and skills of policing were not being integrated until the second year of the program, the field training component, when probationary police were effectively performing operational duties. Subsequently, recruits were provided with the theoretical knowledge of policing without the opportunity for applying that knowledge and for developing basic policing skills prior to the field training component.

With the demise of QPRP, the Queensland Police Service adopted a model of direct entry into academy training with an increased emphasis upon higher education qualifications for recruitment, although this was not mandatory. The Queensland Police Service, Police Recruit

Operational Vocational Education (P.R.O.V.E) Program (1996) commenced in 1994 and to date it appears that no formal evaluation has been conducted.

## 15.3    Conclusion

The reform of police education and training in New South Wales and Queensland was precipitated by two Commissions of Inquiry, Lusher (1981) and Fitzgerald (1989). Within the sphere of their own mandates each was critical of police behaviour and practice, and police education and training. Improvements in police behaviour were sought and recommendations included significant improvements in the quality and provision of police education and training, the integration of tertiary education and the involvement of external agencies in the development, provision and review of police education and training. Notwithstanding these recommendations and the processes and structures adopted for implementation, police behaviour and practice are significantly influenced by a range of factors within the context of policing and educational reform.

In the context of policing in Australia (Queensland and New South Wales), social and political expectations of educational reform and educational outcomes focused attention upon improvements in service delivery, a reduction in complaints against police and a decline in police corruption and malpractice (Pitman & Barrow, 1993). The socio-political context within each state precipitated political intervention in policing, and police education and training. Political considerations brought about the premature implementation of the police recruit education programs of each state and this created a significant strain on organisational and academy resources (CARE, 1990; Pitman & Barrow, 1993). More importantly perhaps, this rush to implement reform impeded the development and undermined the integrity of the field training component of the program, thereby increasing its susceptibility to being undermined by the police culture (CARE, 1990). The rhetoric of law enforcement (more police on the streets) and concerns regarding the status of General Duties were political considerations that motivated intervention in recruitment practices, specifically recruit numbers, which in both instances introduced instability into the reform process (CARE, 1990; Pitman & Barrow, 1993). This intervention contributed to the strain on academy resources and the faculty, and compromised program instruction both within the field and the academy

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(CARE, 1990). There is a concern that the fluidity of the socio-political environment may give rise to short term solutions via reactive policy development rather than focusing upon long-term strategic thinking (Pitman & Barrow, 1993, p. 18). Moreover, an apparent lack of understanding of the role of police in a democratic society (Wood, 1997) is reflected in policy development and political rhetoric. These two characteristics of the socio-political context operate to undermine educational outcomes.

It has been observed that traditional police management structures readily permit political intervention within policing and that this is antithetical to long-term and sustainable reform (Fitzgerald, 1989; Pitman & Barrow, 1993). There exists a concern that where police management has control of education and training, external agencies may not be able to achieve substantive educational or operational reform (Lusher, 1981; Wood, 1997). For Pitman and Barrow (1993, p. 17) the critical issue is that where police management has control of education and training, as in Queensland and New South Wales, "police colleges generally reflect the structures and strategies of the policing world." As the CARE evaluation noted, PREP urgently needed protection from the organisation that had created it (1990, p. 141; Wood, 1997, p. 275). CARE observed that the organisational structure of the academy had an adverse impact upon the curriculum, teaching practices and possibly contributed to the early socialisation of recruits into the police culture (1990, p. 141).

Although PREP was considered a substantial improvement upon pre-PREP (CARE, 1990, p. 160), as witnessed by the findings of the Wood Royal Commission, "ten years of PREP made little difference to the extent of unethical behaviour within the Service" (Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999, p. 274). Moreover, Chan (1997) observed that educational reform had been relatively ineffective in changing deviant cultural practices and in bringing about substantial alterations to police attitudes regarding minority groups within the community. An aim of the professional academic model of police education and training is to prevent the indoctrination of recruits into the police subculture during recruit training. However, as the evaluation of PREP suggests, it would appear that the program lacks the `techniques' to counter adverse aspects, such as misbehaviour and inappropriate practice, of the process of socialisation (CARE, 1990; Pitman & Barrow, 1993). The socialisation process, the appeal and resilience

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of the police subculture, are aided and abetted by operational requirements and aspects of police work. The demand for operational competency, in part produced by staff shortages in General Duties, produces a compelling need for recruits to rapidly acquire procedural knowledge and practical skills (CARE, 1990, p. 70). Staff shortages and a requirement for the equitable distribution of work reinforce calls, by police officers and line management, for operational competency and relevancy of the program (CARE, 1990).

The police subculture has developed as a means of coping with and adapting to the pressures and tensions of the police role (Reiner, 1992). In addition to providing comfort and security through group solidarity, the subculture offers `alternatives' that ease the working life of police officers (Reiner, 1985, p. 87). Hence, the stress and strain experienced by probationary constables during operational assignment may merely accentuate the process of socialisation as they seek reassurance, acceptance and an effective and efficient response to organisational demands (Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999). The observations of the CARE evaluation strongly suggest that the academy is unable to alter police practice and behaviour when it relies upon the `field' to monitor and assess the performance of probationary constables. As noted, this maybe due to a combination of a lack of perquisite skills and knowledge by Field Training Officers and to institutional deviance (CARE, 1990; Mansfield & Burnard 1996). It would appear that support for academy education and training, along with organisational and academy goals, is lacking. This may be due to "a degree of confusion and disagreement in relation to the core business of the Service" (Wood, 1997, p. 221) or to a perception that the reality of police work fails to support alternative views of policing and police work. This suggests that further consideration needs to be given to altering the nature of police work, its aims and objectives, and to an examination of the factors and conditions that determine the nature of police work itself (Chan, 1997). Moreover, further research is required on the links between education and training programs, behaviour modification and organisational reform (Pitman & Barrow, 1993).