



Issue 2, Number 1
2014

Salus Journal

A peer-reviewed, open access e-journal for topics concerning
law enforcement, national security, and emergency services

Special Issue on Policing and Security in Practice

Published by

Charles Sturt University

ISSN 2202-5677

Issue 2, Number 1



Issue 2, Number 1, 2014

www.salusjournal.com

Published by

Charles Sturt University
Sydney, New South Wales, Australia

ISSN 2202-5677

Advisory Board

Associate Professor Nicholas O'Brien (Chair)
Professor Simon Bronitt
Professor Ross Chambers
Professor Mick Keelty AO, APM
Mr Warwick Jones, BA MDefStudies

Editor-in-Chief

Dr Hank Pruncun
Charles Sturt University, Sydney

Special Issue Editors

Dr Rosemary Woolston, Associate Professor
Nicholas O'Brien, and Dr Susan Robinson
Charles Sturt University

Assistant Editors

Ms Michelle O'Connor, BA
Ms Kellie Smyth, BA, MAPAnth

Web Editor

Mr Patrick McKenzie

Editorial Board—Associate Editors

Dr Jeremy G Carter
Indiana University-Purdue University

Dr Anna Corbo Crehan
Charles Sturt University, New South Wales

Dr Ruth Delaforce
Griffith University, Queensland

Dr Garth den Heyer
Charles Sturt University, Sydney

Associate Professor Michael Eburn
Australian National University, Canberra

Dr Victoria Herrington
Australian Institute of Police Management

Dr Valerie Ingham
Charles Sturt University, Canberra

Dr Stephen Loftus
Oakland University, Michigan

Dr Stephen Marrin
Brunel University, London

Dr David A McEntire
University of North Texas

Professor Alida Merlo
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Associate Professor Felix Patrikeeff
University of Adelaide, South Australia

Dr Tim Prenzler
Griffith University, Queensland

Dr Suzanna Ramirez
University of Queensland

Dr Susan Robinson
Charles Sturt University, New South Wales

Dr Rick Sarre
University of South Australia

Professor Emeritus Joseph Scanlon
Carleton University, Ottawa Canada

Dr Brian Sengstock
University of the Sunshine Coast, Queensland

Mr Jason-Leigh Striegher, MA
Charles Sturt University, Sydney

Dr Patrick F. Walsh
Charles Sturt University, Sydney

Associate Professor Grant Wardlaw
Australian National University, Canberra

Dr Troy Whitford
Charles Sturt University, New South Wales

Salus Journal

Issue 2, Number 1

2014

Special Issue: Policing and Security in Practice

Contents

Editorial

Policing and Security in Practice: Then, Now, and into The Future

Rosemary Woolston, Nicholas O'Brien, and Susan Robinson 1

Research Articles

The Police Executive and Governance: Adapting Police Leadership to an Increase in Oversight and Accountability in Police Operations

Gary Ellis 2

Managing the Risks of Public Discourse on the New South Wales Police Force Facebook Site

Andrew Kelly 19

Incorporation of Obedience to Authority into New South Wales Police Force Recruit Training

Ken Wooden and John Nixon 43

Examining Police Strategic Resource Allocation in a Time of Austerity

Garth den Heyer 63

Sage on the Stage or Guide by the Side?: A Proposed Developmental Pathway for Police Educators

Brett Shipton 80

Critical Essay

Police Instructor or Police Educator?

Brian R. Basham 99

Book Review

White Collar Crime: Accounts of Offending Behaviour

Douglas M.C. Allan 110

Licensing

All material published in *Salus Journal* is published under a Creative Commons License. Under this licence you are free to copy and distribute the essays, articles, and reviews under the following conditions: 1) you give attribution to the author(s); 2) the essays, articles, and reviews are not used for commercial purposes without written permission of the author(s); 3) that you do not alter, transform, or build upon the essays, articles, or reviews; and 4) further distribution is based on the “share-alike” principle.

Editorial

POLICING AND SECURITY IN PRACTICE: THEN, NOW, AND INTO THE FUTURE

Dr Rosemary Woolston, Associate Professor Nicholas O'Brien, and
Dr Susan Robinson

Special Edition Editors

It would be safe to say that research is the key distinguishing feature of successful universities. This is because research fuels knowledge and innovation. In this regard, we are proud to have been able to edit this special edition of *Salus Journal* because it showcases examples of research that came out of the International Policing and Security Conference that was held in Sydney, Australia between 14 and 15 November, 2013. The conference was organised with the aim to provide an opportunity for scholars and practitioners interested in issues impacting on policing and security to come together in order to discuss the critical issues facing the profession.

The two day conference became a forum for scholars and practitioners to engage in a variety of lectures, seminars, and work-based visits. Conference delegates discussed, engaged, and shared their thoughts on issues currently confronting practice as well as examining emerging issues. It was a rich environment for cultivating ideas.

That's why papers presented at the conference were considered for inclusion in this special issue of *Salus Journal*. So, we are pleased to be able to present five research articles and a critical essay that represent a sampling of the scholarly research that was presented. We commend these papers to you as examples of "policing and security in practice," and in doing so, we thank the members for the Editorial Board for generously donating their time to review them.

- o O o -

Research Article

THE POLICE EXECUTIVE AND GOVERNANCE: ADAPTING POLICE LEADERSHIP TO AN INCREASE IN OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN POLICE OPERATIONS

Gary Ellis^{*}

In a democracy, it is generally understood that the police serve at the will of the people and are accountable through police governance. This usually consists of elected and/or appointed officials whose primary legal authority is to set policy and appoint the police leaders whom they hold accountable for ensuring that effective policing operations are carried out. It is widely held in common law jurisdictions that the governing body is limited in their role and cannot get involved in “operational policing issues.” In June 2010, the G20 world leaders’ conference was held in Toronto, Canada. The events surrounding the police actions during this conference caused a great deal of concern and led the Toronto Police Services Board, who are the governing authority for the Toronto Police Service, to commission a review to look at their own role. The findings in relation to “board” involvement in the operational side of policing challenged a long held belief regarding the limited role of governance in police operations. These findings will be examined in relation to the lack of board expertise and the challenges faced by police leaders to adapt and develop their attitudes, skills and abilities to respond to any expansion of governance authority.

Keywords: police governance, police leadership, police executive, police operations

INTRODUCTION

This study will examine the role of the Toronto Police Services Board (‘the board’), the governing body of the Toronto Police Service, in relation to the findings of a report done by Justice John Morden (2012) who reviewed the actions of the police during the G20 world leaders’ meeting in Toronto in June,

^{*} Corresponding author: gary.ellis@guelphhumber.ca

2010. Though Morden's comprehensive report looks at many areas related to the police response, the focus of this paper is on the findings related to the role of the board in police 'operations'. If Morden's findings are accepted and adopted, this will alter the police chief/ board relationship and will create new challenges surrounding developing board competence as well as creating an increased responsibility for the chief police executive to inform the board on operational issues that have traditionally been understood as being the exclusive purview of the chief.

BACKGROUND

The Toronto Police Service is the largest municipal police force in Canada with about 5,600 police officers serving a population of 2.8 million people, and an annual operating budget approaching CAN\$1 billion dollars (Toronto Police, 2011, p. 5).

The police service is led by a chief of police who is appointed by the governing police services board that is comprised of seven members; four are appointed by the City of Toronto and the other three are appointed by the Province of Ontario. The legislation that enables this governance structure is the *Police Services Act* of Ontario (RSO, 1990).

In Canada, the constitutional responsibility for policing falls to the individual provinces. With the exception of the federal police known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and two provincial police services in Canada that report directly to government; the rest of the country has numerous local municipal police services that report directly to their police services boards that are created by provincial statute (Randal & Ramirez, 2011, p. 7). The traditional view in this governance model is that the police have autonomy over their operations and the board's role is to develop policy (Sossin, 2007, p. 48). This leads to the question: what is the municipal board's authority in police operations?

Between 25 and 27 June 2010, the G20 world leaders' conference was held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. This event required a large police presence. A major concern in the planning stages was the protection of the world leaders and the security of the downtown area of Toronto. An important consideration was the disruption caused at previous G20 conferences by a group known as the "Black Bloc." During the three days of the Toronto conference there was a great deal of violence and damage attributed to the Black Bloc. Police cars were

burned and property was damaged amounting to millions of dollars. The police response was to arrest over 1,000 people and, at one point, use a crowd control technique called *kettling* to confine the movement of several hundred people who were exposed in the rain for several hours. Many of these people had no involvement in the demonstrations at all. At the conclusion of the conference there was a media and public outcry as to the perceived human rights abuses and the apparent lack of accountability and control over the police (G20 Breach of Peace Report, 2011; Morden, 2012; G20 After Action Report, 2011; G20 Public Hearings Report, 2010).

The police services board was asked to explain what direction was given by the board, and what role did they play in the planning and oversight of the police actions. The chair of the board indicated that; despite requesting information from the chief prior to, and during, the G20 conference, the board had little information and no input into setting policy. The reason given was that it was understood that this was an operational matter and thus they had no authority to ask because they could not interfere in police operations (Poisson & Yang, 2012).

The Toronto Police Services Board subsequently commissioned a report by retired Justice John Morden to examine the role of boards in relation to this G20 event. The review, known as the 'Morden Report' (2012), suggested that the board had misunderstood their role and did have the authority to be involved in the planning of large scale police operations, and to ask questions of the chief, and also had a duty to be informed of such planning by the chief of police. This challenged the commonly held belief that the board is restricted to policy decisions and cannot get involved in police operations. Morden also questioned the competency of the board to properly carry out its responsibilities. He further suggests that, keeping their respective roles in mind, a collaborative approach between the chief of police and the board is necessary for the board to carry out its responsibilities (Morden, 2012).

POLICE GOVERNANCE AND OPERATIONS

Goldstein (1977) points out that, "The police, by the very nature of their function, are an anomaly in a free society. They are invested with a great deal of authority under a system of government in which authority is reluctantly granted and, when granted, sharply curtailed" (p. xi). This goes to the heart of the issue in ensuring that the police have sufficient authority to carry out their duties,

while at the same time imposing governance restraints on their power to ensure that this power is not abused.

The role of the police in a democracy creates the challenge of giving a group of people extraordinary power over others. At the same time safeguards are put in place to ensure that those very people; those whom we call the police, do not abuse that power. To ameliorate this threat we create governance structures over the police to control their actions. This oversight power creates a danger of the governing body using the police for their own ends and the potential for political corruption arises. To lessen this threat, rules are put on the governance role that limits a board's involvement in the operational side of policing (Beare & Murray, 2007, p. 4). Defining "police operations" is somewhat inexact. Indeed, what level of independence should a chief have over this area of policing? Hess & Wroblewski (2006) give a definition of police operations as "activities conducted in the field by law enforcement officers as they 'serve and protect,' including patrol, traffic, investigation, and general calls for service" (p. 4).

The imprecise definition of police operations contributes to what Christie (2007) describes as a necessary tension between police leaders, "who strongly guard their operational autonomy and the governing bodies who actually hire the police leaders, have to set policy that impacts on operations, and has to acquire the funding necessary to carry out police operations" (p. 2). He describes the independence of the police as being "antithetical," and proposes that a 'synthesis' is demanded wherein a reasonable amount of police independence is preserved while at the same time facing the need for the police to be publicly accountable. This synthesis is described as a collaborative approach between governance and the chief police executive around the issue of 'operations'.

Prenzler (2009), when looking at the evolution of democratic accountability in Australia describes the creation of a 'cross-party parliamentary oversight committee' made up of government and opposition parties who include police oversight, and the police oversight bodies, in their mandate. Care is taken to ensure that there are confidential protocols in place for sensitive matters. This oversight committee is designed to ameliorate the concern of political interference versus the accountability to citizens through the elected officials in parliament. Their authority extends to reviewing and reporting on the agency's performance as well as allegations of misconduct. A "parliamentary inspector" is assigned who has legislated powers to investigate and report back to the committee (p. 171). This approach allows for a broad oversight of police

activities while creating a process for ensuring that there is a level of police independence consistent with the will of the people through their elected officials.

Stenning (2007) points out that the concept of police independence is not necessarily universal and is usually found in common law countries where the concept has been a creation of judicial decisions and inquiries and is not supported by legislation (p. 8). He presents as an example of this the 1962 Royal Commission of Police in the United Kingdom where police independence in operations was addressed in recommendation #6 that states:

6. Specific operational decision-making: the chief constable would enjoy complete political independence with respect to “quasi-judicial” law enforcement decisions (i.e. decisions re: investigation, arrest and prosecution in individual cases). (Stenning 2007, p. 18)

This recommendation suggests that police independence in operations is more focused on the quasi-judicial law enforcement decisions without specifically directing the governing body or the police chief as to how they will manage their roles. It is interesting to note that the 1962 Commission in the UK also recommended that, although the police chief should have a great degree of operational independence, the local supervisory board and the Home Office should have an advisory role in police operations. If their advice was regularly disregarded, then they should have the ability to remove the chief, “because he has ceased to be effective and no longer enjoys its confidence in his ability to command the force properly” (Stenning, 2007, p. 16).

Since policing is a provincial responsibility in Canada, there is an array of approaches to police services boards within the various jurisdictions. Morden (2012) points out that of the 169 police service boards in Ontario only fifteen of them, the larger ones, have staffs to serve them (p. 79). The approaches to board training in other parts of Canada are somewhat more progressive.

Examining the police governance policy guidelines in the Province of New Brunswick in Canada, one finds that it is significant that a panel of government officials, board members, and police executives came together to agree to a policy document and address the issue of the role of governance in police operations. In clause 1.2 they accept a definition of governance that states:

Governance is the exercising of direct authority over an organization or entity. It is the ability to control and direct the making of policy, as well as directing and influencing decisions made by the organization. It includes the capability to ensure that decisions made by the governing body are carried out in accordance with the governing bodies direction (oversight); with recourse to corrective action should this not occur. Governance is the process and structure used to provide direction to an organization's 'general operations' and activities. (Police Governance in New Brunswick, 2011, p. 9)

This view gives governance a stronger role in police operations.

Morden (2012) addresses the issue of *operational independence* in his report and indicates that amendments to the *Police Services Act* were specifically designed to increase the authority of the board and give them greater oversight authority (p. 4).

THE MORDEN REPORT

When examining the Toronto board's involvement in operations at the Toronto G20, Morden (2012) finds that it is apparent that there was confusion and even misunderstanding over what constituted the chief's independence in the operations of policing (p. 19).

He points out that before 1990, in Ontario, there was a lack of legislated clarity as to the role of the board in relation to the chief of police. The general understanding was that the chief had independence over operations and the board was in charge of policy. In revisions to the Ontario *Police Services Act* (RSO, 1990) the board's role was given more clarity. The new board mandate was expressed in section 41(1)(a) as having the, "responsibility for the provision of adequate and effective police services in the municipality"; and shall "generally determine, after consultation with the chief of police, objectives and priorities with respect to police services in the municipality" and shall "establish policies for the effective management of the police force."

Morden (2012) suggests that Police Services Boards were now given clearer and greater responsibility over the police services in Ontario (p. 50). He points out that the Ontario Solicitor General, David Tsubouchi, when presenting the revisions, stressed that the changes were intended to provide boards, police officers and chiefs of police with a "clear direction and a more precise definition

of their roles and responsibilities and to strengthen the role of the police services board” (p. 51).

Section 31(1) of the *Police Services Act* outlines the chief’s responsibilities over day-to-day operations that include: “administering the police force and overseeing its operation in accordance with the objectives, priorities and policies established by the board under subsection (1).” Subsection (4) provides that, “The board shall not direct the chief of police with respect to specific operational decisions or with respect to the day-to-day operation of the police force.” Morden states that this does not apply to:

. . . consultations between a police services board, who have the statutory responsibilities to provide adequate and effective police services, and the chief of police. Indeed, if it were applied to deprive a board of important information it would have a negative effect on the provision of these services. (2012, p. 58)

Morden concludes that the answer to the dilemma of police operational independence versus accountability to the board is the necessity of a dialogue around police operations between the board and the chief where there has to be flexibility in each of the roles to support the other. He states that, “[i]n other words, civilian oversight is the way we ensure that the public and police remain partners in the preservation of public safety” (Morden 2012, p. 100). This is similar to the 1962 UK Commission report that recommended an ‘advisory role’ for the governance body in police operations.

Morden (2012) makes many recommendations in his report and four of these stand out as impacting this board/chief relationship surrounding operations:

1. All Toronto Police Service procedures and processes should be filed with the board as a necessary step to strengthen the exercise of its monitoring and oversight responsibilities;
2. There needs to be a mechanism for an information exchange between the board and the chief of police on all subject matters;
3. The board should create a policy that defines “critical points” where the board needs to be notified of operational matters in advance; and
4. The board should determine appropriate objectives, priorities, and policies for major events, operations, and organizationally significant issues. (pp. 6–9)

Morden (2012) concludes that the board has more authority over operations than considered. He warns that putting this authority into practice is the challenge. He suggests that this can be addressed by a “consultation protocol” that will create challenges for both the police services board and the chief if adopted. He notes that the prohibitions in section 31(4) of the *Police Services Act* do not prevent a board from obtaining any information, including operational information, from the chief of police, nor from discussing any matter relating to policing in the municipality with the chief of police. These prohibitions also do not prohibit a board from expressing its opinions, or making suggestions, to the chief of police on any aspect of policing in the municipality (p. 85).

Morden (2012) distinguishes between the governance accountability of the chief after an event as compared to prior to the event in this consultation protocol. He believes that the board always has the responsibility to ask the chief about specific operational decisions and to hold the chief accountable for those decisions after an incident (p. 96). He points out that, in Ontario, section 31(1)(b) of the *Police Services Act* clearly provides for consultation being held both before and after the event. This section states that the board: “is responsible for the provision of adequate and effective police services in the municipality and shall, ... (b) generally determine, after consultation with the chief of police, objectives and priorities with respect to police services in the municipality...” He further surmises that, if operational information is only provided after the operation is over, the board will be missing important information it requires to carry out its statutory responsibility for governance (p. 98).

After a lengthy review of the law surrounding police governance in Ontario what becomes clear in the Morden Report (2012), and the literature on police governance, is that there is no broad agreement as to the level of independence of the chief of police in operations, thus creating the tension with the board that Christie (2007, p. 2) describes. Perhaps the key statement of this report is made when Morden says: “ this (communications) protocol does not require any amendment to the *Police Services Act*, but instead requires a mutual commitment on the part of the Board and the Toronto Police Service to engage with one another as true partners in the delivery of policing services in Toronto” (pg.100). This raises the question of the ability of the board to have the competence to communicate with the chief as a true partner. Graham puts the issue succinctly:

[S]o how do you measure and quantify or qualify even how much you should know [as a police board member]? Indeed, you should know the business. I mean, one of the criticisms on the corporate side of governance [is a] failure [of the corporate board] to develop an understanding of the business that you are providing oversight to. (cited in Morden 2012, p. 98)

In the complex field of policing there is an imbalance of power if only the chief has sufficient knowledge to fully understand the issues. Grange, one of the police services board members during the 2010 G20 event in Toronto stated, “The questions you ask are only as good as the information you have in front of you and if you don’t have the information, you don’t know what questions to ask. And that’s always been the struggle” (cited in Morden 2012, p. 98).

A CASE FOR INCREASED BOARD COMPETENCE

The appointment of board members in Ontario is a political decision made at two different levels of government. Neither level has a specific level of competence by way of board background, training or education. Section 135 (1) (6.2) of the *Police Services Act* (RSO, 1990) enables the Lieutenant Governor in Council to make regulations “prescribing courses of training for members of boards and prescribing standards in that connection.” To date no regulations have been made under this provision. The Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP) submitted to the Morden review that the vast majority of members of police service boards do not have “a broad policing background” and that there is a lack of effective training for police service board members. What is also significant is that the OACP submitted that chiefs of police should not be responsible for training board members and that boards should not be “training themselves on what their legislative authority is” (Morden 2012, p. 78).

The board has a responsibility to hold the chief accountable and ultimately the board is legislatively in charge of the police service. With this legal authority, they need to exercise their due diligence to ensure that they have the information they need to make informed decisions. The board also has a responsibility to develop their own competency to properly carry out their duties by seeking out resources, including the chief police executive.

It is argued that to accomplish their mandate the board also needs access to operational information before, during, and after events. It is the confidentiality and the use of this operational information that becomes the issue.

The size and scope of the Toronto Police Service allows it to be considered a large and complex organization that would clearly require a high level of competence for someone sitting in a governance role (Toronto Police, 2011, pp. 3–7). An appointed member of the Toronto Police Services Board, without any knowledge of policing, would be at a definite disadvantage in their oversight role.

The police boards in Ontario recognize their need for greater competence and, subsequent to the Toronto G20 event, the Ontario Association of Police Services Boards (OAPSB) passed a resolution asking for the Ontario Minister of Community Safety and Correctional Services to facilitate and fund training for police services boards (OAPSB, 2011). This resolution requested that the Province provide training for board members that can be prescribed by the Solicitor General. They pointed out in this motion that:

Failures in governance can have devastating (and headline-grabbing) impacts on public confidence in police. In the recent past, police service board members have been suspended for misuse of public property, criminally charged when overstepping their authority, and put under intense public and media scrutiny for decisions (or lack thereof) regarding police oversight. Witness the public outcry over G20. One of the most effective and efficient ways of mitigating these risks is through education. (OASPB, 2011, p. 1)

In the Province of New Brunswick, the government has worked with police leaders and police boards to develop ‘policy guidelines’ for police governance. In these policy guidelines there is a focus on board training. This training is very specific. It takes place over several months and includes legal training on board roles and responsibilities, an overview of the procedures they will follow and finance matters. They meet with the police executive, and ride along in police cars (Police Governance in New Brunswick, 2011, p. 28).

It is apparent from a review of the literature that, although the level of police independence in operations is not clearly defined, police governing bodies have a responsibility to ensure that policing is effectively applied in their jurisdiction and that they have an influence on operations, at the least to set policies and approve funding that impacts operations. There is a strong argument to be made that the board needs to develop a high level of competence if it is to carry out their duties effectively. It is also apparent that the

commissions, reviews, and legislation all support a collegial dialogue between the chief and the governance board surrounding their roles and responsibilities.

A CASE FOR AN INCREASED ROLE FOR THE POLICE EXECUTIVE IN GOVERNANCE

The idea of police being active participants in enabling governance is not a new concept. In a conference report of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (1999), the delegates listed responsibilities of the chief executive to the governing body as including, “[m]ost prominently; demonstrating integrity, trust, truthfulness, candor, and commitment.” Also included were; “supplying information and education on the needs and complexities of the department; maintaining good communications and access; being honest in communications and; being responsive to governing body concerns” (p. 1).

Lalonde & Kean (2003) in their review of the literature regarding the police chief and board relationship refer to Hayes (1992, p. 151) who points out the “ambiguous role that the chief plays.” This role is not one of a master servant since the chief is also arguably ‘an agent of the crown’ and swears allegiance to the Queen, though the governing board has the ability to hire and fire the chief. Stenning (1981) states that, “They [chiefs] are considered to be answerable not to their civic masters but to the law itself and the court” (p. III).

Lalonde and Kean (2003, p. 28) illustrate the symbiotic relationship between police boards and chief constables by referring to an Ontario Police Commission report into the Waterloo Regional Police Service:

Boards of Commissioners of Police, by the very nature of their composition, must rely heavily upon their Chief of Police for the expertise required to operate the police force. They must spell out general policy through regulations and direction, but in the administration of the Force, they must rely upon the Chief of Police, otherwise the board is assuming the prerogative of the Chief, and is, in effect, becoming the Office of The Chief, for which the board has neither time nor the expertise (Ontario Police Commission Report, 1978).

We have previously seen that the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police representatives, when interviewed by Justice Morden (2012), did not believe that chiefs of police should be involved in training the board on what their legislated authority is. It is interesting to note that they restricted their comment to the

narrow issue of training in the board's legislated authority (p. 78). Morden (2012) concluded:

I accept without reservation that chiefs of police should not be responsible for training board members, if this means that they are the only source of the training;" he goes on to say, "There is, however, much in the way of information and training that a board can and should receive from the chief of police with respect to the responsibilities of and challenges facing the police force. Without this, the board's training would be seriously incomplete. (p. 79)

Morden (2012) is very direct in saying that there is much in the way of training that the board can and should receive from the chief of police. The suggestion is that part of the competence development of the board is within the chief's responsibilities. Lalonde and Keane (2003) state that:

In addition to role clarity, boards must also be clear as to what information they regularly require from the Chief Constable, when they need it, and the form and manner in which it is to be communicated. At the same time, the Chief Constable needs to reserve the right not to report information that relates to ongoing investigations and is outside the board's immediate need to know. (p. 107)

here is also a personal interest for the chief police executive to ensure that they provide the board with the information they need to carry out their mandate. Ellis (2005) refers to Murray (2001) who points out that in the previous decade fifteen percent of Canadian police executives had left their position under duress. Murray states that research by the Police Futures Group has showed that those were, "often among the best, the brightest: those with reform agendas, and those prepared to take risks when necessary" (p. 45).

One of the reasons she gives for this exodus of police leaders is the lack of support or confidence from the police boards. The Canadian Police Sector Council (2010) recognizes the importance of the chief executive and their interaction with the governing bodies. In their recommended competency selection matrix for Canadian police chiefs, one of the high priority selection criteria that was identified as important for police leaders is the ability to, "develop relationships with leaders, organizations, and oversight and governing bodies" (p. 25).

A strong case can be made that the chief police executive should expect, demand, enable, and support expert governance. This involves nurturing a

relationship where, as Morden (2012) states, “the burden is on the chief to take the initiative in ensuring that the board is properly informed about matters – past, present, or future – that fall under the purview of the board’s responsibilities” (p. 59).

CONCLUSION

Without a clear definition of police operations and what the limits to police independence are, there will always be a potential for an adversarial relationship to develop between the chief police executive and the governing body. In his report on the police action related to the 2010 G20 in Toronto, Morden (2012) makes an attempt to reconcile this conflict in roles by suggesting that the board needs to be better educated as to their authority, and policing issues in general, and that the chief police executive has a role to play in this. If adopted, this will involve a level of dialogue, cooperation, and agreement with the board as to the extent of the chief’s operational independence. It will also involve an ongoing process of clarifying roles as issues arise.

It would seem sensible that informed “expert oversight” should balance the ‘expert police.’ An imbalance in oversight competence exposes the chief executive as being vulnerable to criticism and accusations of abuse of authority. This ultimately weakens and nullifies police oversight. This raises the questions as to how a board can hold the police accountable if they do not understand the world of *policing*?

It is apparent that neither the board nor the chief can fulfill their respective roles to serve the public without the support and cooperation of each other. The chief is the expert who has the information, tools, visibility, and people to effectively develop and execute policy. To limit the role of the chiefs to day-to-day operations without them being a strong influencer in the setting of policy would be a mistake. This requires the chief to establish their credibility with the board as being trustworthy and competent and ultimately this puts the chief in the role of educating the board. Accepting the role of being, at least in part, responsible for educating the board will require chiefs to take the lead in assuring that the board has the information they need to make informed decisions. A board that has confidence in their chief will listen to the chief.

The recommendation in the Morden Report (2012), and in the literature, is that a chief police executive needs to take a leadership role in embracing, demanding, and informing strong governance, while at the same time

maintaining the ‘law and spirit’ of operational independence that protects society from political interference and corruption in the administration of policing. At the end of the day it needs to be remembered that the purpose of police oversight is to ensure that the office of the chief police executive is accountable to the will of the people through the governance of the board.

REFERENCES

- Barton, H. (2010, June 1). *Governance and accountability of the UK police: The role of police authorities*. Retrieved from http://www.ntu.ac.uk/nbs/document_uploads/98890.pdf
- Beare, M. E., & Murray, T. (2007). *Police and government relations: Who's calling the shots?* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Christie, G. (2007, June 10). *Police-government relations in the context of state-aboriginal relations*. Retrieved from http://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ipperwash/policy_part/meetings/pdf/Christie.pdf
- Ellis, G. (2005). *Inter-institutional Collaboration in Ontario Higher Education: A Case Study of the Diploma-Degree Justice Studies Program at the University of Guelph-Humber*. (Doctoral Thesis). University of Toronto (OISE), Toronto, Canada.
- Goldstein, H. (1977). *Policing a free society*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company.
- Government of New Brunswick. (2011, April 1). *Police governance & oversight in New Brunswick: Policy guidelines*. Retrieved from http://www2.gnb.ca/content/dam/gnb/Departments/ps-sp/pdf/Safety_Protection/police/PoliceGovernanceAndOversight-PolicyGuidelines-April2011.pdf
- Grant, A. (1992). *Policing arrangements in New Brunswick: 2000 and beyond*. Province of New Brunswick: Department of the Solicitor General.
- Greenberg, S. (1999, May 1). *Police leadership in the 21st century: Achieving & sustaining executive success: Recommendations from the President's first leadership conference*. Retrieved from

- <http://www.theiacp.org/PoliceServices/ProfessionalAssistance/Ethics/ReportsResources/PoliceLeadershipinthe21stCentury/tabid/190/Default.aspx>
- Hayes, C. (1992). *The relationship between police boards and chiefs of police in Canada*. *The Police Journal*, 74, 149–154.
- Hess, K. M., & Wroblewski, H. M. (2006). *Police operations: Theory and practice* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- LaLonde, M., Kean, D. (2003, March). *Municipal board governance in British Columbia*. Retrieved from <http://www.pssg.gov.bc.ca/policeservices/shareddocs/policeboards-governancereport.pdf>
- Martin, D. (2007, June 10). *Legal sites of executive-police relations: Core principles in a Canadian context*. Retrieved from http://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ipperwash/policy_part/meetings/pdf/Martin.pdf
- Morden, J. (2012, June 29). *Independent civilian review into matters relating to the G20 summit: Report*. Retrieved from <http://www.tpsb.ca/g20/ICRG20Mordenreport.pdf>
- Murray, T. (2001). *Developing a framework for cooperative police management*. Retrieved from http://www.policefutures.org/docs/E_PFG_General.cfm
- National Union of Public and General Employees & The Canadian Civil Liberties Association (2011, February 11). *A citizen's inquiry into policing and governance at the Toronto G20 summit*. Retrieved from <http://www.ccla.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Breach-of-the-Peace-Final-Report.pdf>
- Ontario Association of Police Services Boards. (2011, March 21). *OAPSB governance training position paper*. Retrieved from http://www.oapsb.ca/advocacy_positions/oapsb_directors_response_to_morden_report/
- Ontario Police Commission Report. (1978). *Report on an inquiry into police practices of the Waterloo regional police force* (2nd ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Poisson, J., & Yang, J. (2012, June 29). G20 aftermath: Latest review a game changer for civilian oversight of police. *The Toronto Star*. Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/g20/2012/06/29/g20_aftermath_latest_review_a_game_changer_for_civilian_oversight_of_police.html

- Police Sector Council, (2010, November). *Police executive selection: A best practice approach for police boards and commissions*. Retrieved from <http://www.policecouncil.ca>
- Police Services Act*, RSO 1990, c. P. 15.
- Prenzler, T. (2009). *Police corruption: Preventing misconduct and maintaining integrity*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.
- Randall, S., & Ramirez, J. (2011, October 1). *Policing the police: Formal and informal police oversight mechanisms in the Americas*. Retrieved from [http://www.cdfai.org/PDF/Policing the Police Article.pdf](http://www.cdfai.org/PDF/Policing%20the%20Police%20Article.pdf)
- Roach, K. (2007, June 1). *The overview: Four models of police-government relationships*. Retrieved from http://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ipperwash/policy_part/meetings/pdf/Roach.pdf
- Savoie, D. J. (2008). *Court government and the collapse of accountability in Canada and the United Kingdom*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Sossin, L. (2007, May 2). *The oversight of executive police relations in Canada: The constitution, the courts, administrative processes, and democratic governance*. Retrieved from http://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ipperwash/policy_part/meetings/pdf/Sossin.pdf
- Stenning, P. (2007, June 1). *The idea of the political independence of the police: International interpretations and experiences*. Retrieved from http://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ipperwash/policy_part/meetings/pdf/Stenning.pdf
- Stenning, P. C. (1981). *Police commissions and boards in Canada*. Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.
- Toronto Police Service. (2011, June 1). *G20 after action review*. Retrieved from http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/publications/files/reports/g20_after_action_review.pdf
- Toronto Police Service. (2012, May 2). *2011 annual statistical report*. Retrieved from <http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/publications/files/reports/2011statsreport.pdf>
- United Kingdom, Royal Commission on the Police. (1962). *Final report command 1728*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Gary Ellis is the Head of the Department of Justice Studies at the University of Guelph-Humber, Toronto, Canada. He holds a doctorate (PhD) from the University of Toronto. His research interests focus on public sector leadership, governance, and policing. Prior to entering the education field, Dr Ellis spent over thirty years in policing with the Toronto Police Service, retiring at an executive level.

- o O o -

Research Article

Managing the risks of public discourse on the New South Wales Police Force *Facebook* Site

Andrew Kelly[†]

As of June 2013, the New South Wales Police Force had established 117 *Facebook* sites as part of its Project Eyewatch community-policing strategy. The strategy seeks to engage the public on the web in a way that allows people to lead their busy lives and still contribute to community-policing objectives. Internationally, few policing organisations have been as keen to embrace web communication with many officers skeptical about the value of web communication and others concerned about the risk of offensive, illegal or libelous comments being posted on police-managed websites. This study evaluates these risks in the context of the New South Wales Police Force's corporate *Facebook* site and considers the role of legislation, technology and self-regulation in managing risk. *Facebook* dialogue is examined for evidence of illegal, offensive, or objectionable content and the steps taken by the New South Wales Police Force to mitigate the risk are also considered. The study concludes that the risks of engaging the public on *Facebook* can be minimised and are far outweighed by the benefits, which include enhanced contact and engagement with the public.

Keywords: online policing, police communication, police *Facebook*, police social networking, Project Eyewatch, risk communication

INTRODUCTION

Police organisations internationally have recognised the need to engage with the public both in the real world where events happen and in the online world where many people choose to engage socially. Balancing the benefits of online community engagement with the risks is an ongoing concern for policing organisations. An errant or offensive comment made by a police officer or citizen at a public meeting is generally only shared with a small audience and is

[†] Corresponding author: akelly@csu.edu.au

easily addressed, whereas a similar remark typed on a police organisation's website can be shared worldwide and indelibly tarnish the reputation of that organisation and police more generally.

Most policing organisations have been slow to embrace web communication because of concerns about reputation, resourcing and liability arising from comments published on police websites that are discriminatory, unlawful, defamatory, private, in breach of copyright or otherwise objectionable. In recent years, many policing organisations have experimented with the use of social networking services such as *Twitter*, *Flickr*, and *YouTube*, but very few have embraced it to the extent of the New South Wales Police Force (NSWPF). The organisation began with one corporate *Facebook* site in 2008, but now has more than 117 *Facebook* sites as part of its Project Eyewatch strategy. Project Eyewatch evolved from the seminal community policing strategy Neighbourhood Watch and shares many of its community-based policing objectives.

This article is based on a study of the use of *Facebook* by the NSW Police Force, in which dialogue posted to the organisation's corporate *Facebook* site was analysed for evidence of objectionable content. It considers the role technology, legislation and self-regulation has in mitigating risk, as well as the specific steps being taken by the NSW Police Force to moderate its *Facebook* sites and to mitigate risk. The discussion is informed by a content analysis of 20 police postings, ten public postings and 347 public comments made on the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site on 31 August, 2011.

BACKGROUND

Internationally, governments are increasingly emphasising the need for public bodies to be more accountable, responsive and encourage citizen participation in priority setting and running local services (Jackson, & Bradford, 2010; Brainard & McNutt, 2010). However, the ability of police to share information with the public is restricted by judicial and investigative priorities. Police are in the difficult position of being criticised by the judiciary when they release too much information and by the media when they withhold information.

Most police organisations have a website but relatively few are using social networking services to their full potential; partly because of concerns about resourcing, reputation and liability and partly because of a lack of awareness of the potential for web technology to enhance policing (Vrieling,

2011; Cohen, 2010; Stevens, 2010). There is however a growing consensus among police managers that web technology has the potential to enhance police legitimacy and further community policing objectives (Crump, 2011; Rosenbaum, Graziano, Stephens & Schuck, 2011).

There are important differences between the online and real worlds in respect of legislation, civil rights and social norms (Wall, 2007; Williams, 2007; Blumstein, 2003; Greenleaf, 1998). The real world is defined by borders on a map, state sovereignty and homogenous cultures. These distinctions are less clear on the Internet, where the laws and regulations of one country can often be circumvented through the use of technology and nebulous jurisdiction.

The global connectivity of computer networks, the ability to instantly transmit large quantities of data and the Internet's lack of respect for national borders reinforce the differences with the real world (Chitsa, 2011). There is also a general resistance among Internet users to the regulation of cyberspace by any particular sovereign and a growing body of Internet users who are claiming independence from the physical world, rejecting terrestrial laws in preference to the emergent laws of the Internet (Williams, 2007).

Governments have had some success in regulating the Internet by enforcing laws that restrict access to certain content, by imposing regulations on Internet Service Providers and through bilateral agreements with international partners. For example, Article 10 of *The European Convention on Cybercrime* sought cooperation among member states to make it a criminal offence, in Europe at least, to infringe copyright on the Internet (Keyser, 2003).

Police organisations have varying approaches to social networking, with many embracing it as a strategic or operational imperative, some reluctantly entering into it because of the need to take control of sites widely believed to already belong to the police and others having limited or no web presence at all (McGovern, 2011). The use of social networking services by police in the United Kingdom has increased significantly since 2008 following an endorsement by the Association of Chief Police Officers (Crump, 2011).

In Australia, the Queensland Police Service, Victoria Police and the NSW Police Force are using *Facebook* for recruitment, public relations and operational purposes, while most Australian police organisations are also using *Twitter*, YouTube and *Flickr*. In Canada, police successfully used social networking to engage with the public and protesters during the 2010 G20 Conference in

Toronto (Stevens, 2010). Globally, there has been rapid growth in the use of web communication in all facets of policing.

Facebook is a web-based community that allows users to create profiles, share personal information and interests, post videos and photographs, and interact online with other members (Henson, Reyns & Fisher, 2011). According to *Facebook* (2013), there were 1.1 billion people who used their platform in March 2013, including more than 10 million users in Australia. There were also 751 million active users of *Facebook* on mobile devices. Aside from its potential to enhance engagement with the public, social media is a potential source of intelligence for police, a source of real-time information about policing issues, such as road accidents or emergencies, useful for those in the police who are directly engaged in protecting the public from harm on the Internet and as a tool for sharing knowledge with other policing organisations (Crump, 2011).

Formed in 1862, the NSW Police Force is one of the largest police organisations in the world, with more than 17,000 employees serving a population of seven million across an area of 801,600 square kilometres, comparable in size to United States state of Texas and double the combined geographic areas of England, Scotland, and Wales in Great Britain (NSW Police Force, 2012a). In August 2011 the NSW Police Force launched what could be seen as an ambitious community policing strategy centered on the establishment of *Facebook* sites at each of the state's 80 geographically-based local area police commands and many of its specialist squads. The decision by the NSW Police Force to drastically expand the organisation's social networking presence was made after a successful 18-month trial of its corporate *Facebook* site. While the NSW Police Force corporate *Facebook* site is administered centrally by the organisation's Police Media Unit, Project Eyewatch *Facebook* sites are de-centrally administered by local police.

The *NSW Police Force Media Policy* (2013) provides a framework for how the organisation controls the release of information, including its use of social networking services. The policy warns employees of the risks of defamation, privacy, contempt of court and interfering with investigations, and provides guidance about the circumstances police can release information. The policy is part of a risk mitigation strategy, which includes filtering technology and 24-hour monitoring by the NSW Police Force Media Unit (PMU) in order to protect against objectionable public discourse on the organisation's website.

At a local level, selected police officers are nominated to engage the public online and help moderate the *Facebook* dialogue. The public can post comments on the police *Facebook* sites but are now, subsequent to the data being obtained in this study, restricted from publishing videos, photographs and other links to project Eyewatch sites. The restriction was put in place after the organisation's *Facebook* site was maliciously targeted in 2011 by fans of a high-profile bodybuilder who was arrested by police.

WHAT ARE THE RISKS OF SOCIAL NETWORKING?

Complex jurisdictional, legislative and social issues make it difficult to assess the risk of public discourse on an organisation's social networking site and as a consequence public sector managers are often risk-adverse when it comes to engaging online in dialogic communication with the public (Shirky, 2008; Pickin *et al*, 2002). Police have three main concerns about the use of social networking services. First, they fear that employees will cause damage to the organisation's reputation by posting inappropriate content. Second, they fear being held accountable for objectionable comments made by members of the public on the organisation's website. Third, police acknowledge that the benefits of social networking outweigh the risks but often lack the resources to adequately manage those risks (Stevens, 2010).

The first concern is being addressed through internal policies that outline the behaviour expected of police officers when engaging online. The NSW Police Force (2012c) uses the real-life example of a male police officer who was a prosecution witness in an assault trial where, in order to discredit him as a witness, the defence lawyer tabled a *Facebook* picture of the officer appearing intoxicated and wearing a bikini. In the United Kingdom, initial concerns among the Association of Chief Police Officers about the impact of social networking on freedom of information procedures, court proceedings, information management and police communication have gradually been overcome with the development and release of new policies by local forces and by the National Policing Improvement Agency. The policy framework has led to a consensus among senior police that social media has an important part to play in engagement with the public and more resources are being directed towards this endeavour (Crump, 2011; NPIA, 2010).

Applying the laws of defamation, privacy, and copyright to policing and web communication is complicated by the varying circumstances that can arise

and the differences that exist between jurisdictions. In Australia, a person who carelessly or recklessly republishes or circulates a defamatory statement may be just as liable as the original author, even when the statement originated overseas (Blumstein, 2003; Vick, McPherson & Cooper, 1999). For example, an Australian plaintiff sued the publishers of *The Wall Street Journal* in Victoria for statements it had published online that implied he was a money launderer. While the publisher is partially protected in the United States by the constitutional First Amendment right of free speech, the Australian High Court held that action could be taken against the publisher in any place where the comments are published (Chitsa, 2011). The level of editorial control a publisher has over the content is also an important consideration of liability in defamation matters. The more control the more liable the publisher is if they have failed to exercise that control responsibly (Decarlo, 1997).

Ibrahim (2008) characterised online networks as “complicit risk communities where personal information becomes social capital which is traded and exchanged” (p. 251). Users of social networking sites are often prepared to give up some privacy because of the social capital gained from being part of an online network (Debatin, Lovejoy, Horn & Hughes, 2009). Privacy is often breached when third parties target the data of social networking services for personal information and for other malicious purposes such as hacking and identity theft (Boyd and Ellison, 2008). Organisations have a social and legal responsibility to protect the personal information of their subscribers. For example, Vodaphone Australia was referred to the Australian Office of the Privacy Commissioner after the billing and call records of four million customers were mistakenly posted onto a public website (Martin & Battersby, 2011).

One of the key objectives of community policing is to inform the public about local crime and policing issues although such discussions are fraught with risk to the judicial process (Kingshott, 2011). The *NSW Police Force Media Policy* warns of the need for police to balance the public’s right for information against the integrity of the investigative and judicial processes (NSW Police Force, 2013). Police can limit the information provided in a media release but are less able to restrict contemptuous comments posted by the public to the organisation’s websites.

Since the 1970s, police have generally restricted the release of information to the public, often drawing criticism from the media for a lack of transparency and giving rise to speculation about police investigations (Egan, 2011).

Managers must continually balance the risks of social networking and the expected benefits of creating and maintaining interpersonal relationships (Debatin *et al*, 2009; Ibrahim, 2008; Tufekci, 2008; Tyma, 2007).

THE BENEFITS OF SOCIAL NETWORKING

The use of new media technologies has enabled police to communicate with the public more efficiently and cost effectively, while also enhancing the professional status and legitimacy of police organisations and their claims of transparency and public accountability (McGovern, 2010; Chan, Goggins & Bruce, 2010). Technology has fundamentally changed the way police organisations interact with the media and also in the way the media reports crime and policing news. Cuts to newsroom expenditure, a decline in the number of crime reporters and the unrelenting demands of a 24-news cycle have left media organisations with little choice, but to rely on the information provided by police media units (Mawby, 2010; McGovern, 2010; McGovern & Lee, 2010).

Many police organisations are choosing to bypass the media altogether when engaging the public to avoid the potential for the media to impose their own biases and frames on the intended message (Economou, 2009). Public attitudes to news are also changing as the Internet becomes an increasingly important source of information. In just three days during a flood crisis in January 2011, more than 150,000 people joined the Queensland Police Service *Facebook* site in order to receive emergency services updates. Conversely, Queensland's biggest selling newspaper, the *Courier Mail*, only increased its online membership by a few thousand during the crisis (Traffika, 2011).

This isn't to say that the *Courier Mail* did a worse job than the Queensland Police Service, as the newspaper had a lot more stories to cover across a broader range of topics. What it does show, however, is the effect of providing relevant, on-topic content to a market in need, versus more general content to a broader market. (Traffika, 2011)

The emergence of the Internet has led to a renewed examination of how police organisations interact with the public. For police, community engagement once meant meetings at the town hall, coffee shops, local churches or public squares but the Internet has generated a new public sphere, one where there has been a fundamental change to community and communication (Holmes, 2005). Enhancing the visibility of police, improving the quantity and quality of personal contact, and providing the public with information about local crime and

policing issues have all been shown to enhance the public's confidence in the police (Bradford, Stanko & Jackson, 2009). As the number and size of online communities has increased, so too has the need for police to establish a visible online presence to engage with these communities.

REDUCING THE RISK OF SOCIAL NETWORKING

There are three forms of control that can help reduce the risks of social networking: legislative; technological; and human. Legislative control is complicated by jurisdictional issues and the pervasive idea that cyberspace is free and distinguishable from the real world (Williams, 2007). The *European Convention on Cybercrime* is an example of legislative controls being used to reduce the risks of communication on the Internet. In Australia, the Federal Government has been considering introducing mandatory filters for Internet communication since 2007, primarily to protect children from harmful content (Duffy, 2009).

The use of technology is regarded by many as a more effective way to regulate cyberspace (Wall, 2007; Williams, 2007; Lessig, 1999). Technology can disrupt human action; impose constraints on how content is accessed and distributed; can be instituted pervasively and with immediacy; is adaptive to changes in law, societal norms, market influences or cyber threats; is less contentious than regulation; and is preventative rather than punitive (Williams, 2007, p. 77). Social networking services also have embedded technological solutions for protecting organisations against risk. For example, the NSW Police Force uses the *Facebook* blocking tool to filter objectionable words, including "bastard", "mongrel", and "chestbrah" (a reference to the bodybuilders). The word "court" is blocked, too, to minimise the risk of contemptuous commentary on judicial proceedings.

Employees assigned to moderate an organisation's website play an important role in educating users and reinforcing an organisation's social networking policy (Herring, Job-Sluder, Scheckler & Barab, 2002). Moderator engagement with the site's membership can also help ensure important corporate messages are not ignored or missed (Regester & Larkin, 2008). Studies have shown that online forums generally comprise a homogenous membership of active and passive supporters who will do what they can to maintain the norms of the group, reducing the need for moderator vigilance (Farsangi, 2010; Bruggeman, 2008; Boyd & Heer, 2006; Dahlberg, 2001). *Wikipedia* operates on

this premise, promoting user-generated quality control not as a legal obligation but as a commitment to its educational purpose and to the diligence of its fact-checking community (Walsh & Oh, 2010).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA

The NSW Police Force employs a fulltime digital media assistant to monitor its social networking sites and remove objectionable comments. While the majority of public comments on the NSW Police *Facebook* site can be openly accessed by any *Facebook* user at any time, it is only possible to capture the deleted and filtered comments at the time of their removal. As such, it was necessary for the researcher to be present with the digital media assistant as the comments were removed. Permission was only granted for the researcher to attend the Police Media Unit for one day, limiting the amount of data obtained. As such, the findings of this study are limited to a one day sample and, while useful for informing the discussion at hand, the findings are indicative rather than definitive.

Only public comments made on the site up to midday on the day following the initial posting were able to be considered, allowing the public between 13 and 32 hours to post a comment on the relevant entries. A check of the entries a week later revealed that only a small number of additional comments had been added, indicating that most responses occurred in the hours following the initial posting.

Facebook Insights data for the month of August 2011 was provided by the NSW Police Force. Wednesday, 31 August 2011 was an average day for the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site. Police posted 20 items on the *Facebook* wall, generating 317 public comments and attracting between 5,000 and 50,000 impressions for each item (impressions are the number of times a post is viewed anywhere on *Facebook*). See table 1.

Item 16 was removed from the site by the digital media assistant's manager on 1 September, 2011 after a number of objectionable comments were posted and because of an expectation that the item would continue to attract objectionable comments. The manager and other Police Media Unit staff have administrative access to the corporate *Facebook* site and are able to delete and post comments, videos, pictures and links. Members of the public posted a further 10 items that were unrelated to the police postings, eliciting 30 comments

from other users. None of these items or the comments they elicited were removed by the site's moderators. See table 2.

Upon logging into the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site on 1 September 2011, the digital media assistant identified 17 public comments from the previous day that had been filtered by the *Facebook* blocking tool. A review of the postings was conducted and 11 items were left unpublished and six were permitted to be published. A further eight comments, which were not identified by the site's filter, were deleted by the moderator. About 5.5 per cent of the comments made on the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site on 31 August, 2011 were not published. See table 3.

The following are examples of the comments that were filtered:

- "Sicko bastard"
- "I hope you get the mongrel"
- "Shame on the NSW court system"
- "Police do their jobs but the court system lets them down"
- "Damned if they do, rip their friggen head off"
- "Justice system fucked, shit, cunt..."

A number of mentions of the word "court" were at first filtered but later published by the moderator because the context of the comment was not considered to be contemptuous. Comments that cleared the filter but were later deleted by the moderator included:

- "Bring back the death penalty"
- "I recommend surgical removal of the body part that touches the child"
- "Castration comes to mind"
- "He should have been shot on the spot"
- "No point wasting the court's time"
- "I blame the owners for neglect and believe the boy provoked the dog attack"
- "Psycho"

Derivatives of blocked words such as court, for example "courts", were able to clear the filter, while there were also occasions when colloquial, expletive and profane words were published despite there being some likelihood that these

words might be deemed as offensive in some real-world contexts. Examples of potentially objectionable comments that cleared both the filter and the moderator included:

- “Another moron off the streets”
- “Great more dick heads running around with guns and in my own backyard too”
- “Them idiots”
- “I remember Green Valley when I was a kid. Same with all the western suburbs. Now murder, rape, bashing, drugs... filth in general”
- “The ONLY good (outlaw) bikie is a DEAD one!!! As long as they are not harming the general public, leave them to it!”
- “People should be put down not dogs”
- “Youth conference! Pathetic! Serial killer in the making! Anyone who harms defenceless animals and small children should be locked away”

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Facebook Insights reveals that as of 31 August, 2011, the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site had attracted 57,260 likes (subscribers), with 4,085 of those people later unsubscribing. About 62 per cent of users accessing the site are female, 35 per cent are male and three per cent are not specified. About 92 per cent of users are identified as being from Australia and 74 per cent are identified as being from NSW. During August 2011, there were 9,904 comments made on the site, averaging 320 a day, the lowest being 189 on Sunday, 7 August and the highest 515 on Wednesday, 17 August. There were 552,255 unique visitors to the site during August 2011, with an average of 17,815 people accessing the NSW Police *Facebook* site each day.

Of all the items posted on 31 August, Item 16 (Police confirm child’s death as suspicious) was the most provocative. The item was posted by police at 6.02pm on 31 August and removed the next morning about 10am. During this period of publication, 79 comments were posted by the public to the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site. Six of these items were blocked by the site’s filter and one item was deleted by the moderator the next morning before the entire posting was removed. The dialogue that took place on the site overnight included one entry that purported to name the child, several entries that discussed the specific location of the incident and the family’s involvement with authorities, some that

linked media reports to the information provided by the police and many others that opined on the values and conduct of the family concerned. The forum discussion initiated by the police led, in a very short time, to the publishing of information that could identify the dead child and her family, which is illegal under NSW law. It included a number of comments that arguably impugned members of the child's family and breached their privacy by revealing their street address and involvement with government agencies such as the NSW Department of Community Services.

Of the remaining postings, Item 4 (Boy injured in dog attack), Item 9 (Police investigate serious collision) and Item 19 (Police investigate child abduction) attracted the most comments from the public. The common factor in each of these incidents was the involvement of a child, including a nine-year-old girl (Item 19), a 13-year-old boy (Item 9) and an 11-year-old boy (Item 4). Six comments were filtered or deleted in Item 19 and one in Item 4, demonstrating a propensity, albeit from a very small sample, for postings about harm to children to elicit objectionable comments on the *Facebook* forum. Of the items initiated by the public, a discussion on the use of fog lights by motorists attracted the most interest with 22 comments.

There were numerous comments by users attempting to control the dialogue on the forum, admonishing extreme comments and steering the conversation to the information provided in the police media release. There was nil evidence of the site moderator being influenced by user comments. For instance, none of the decisions made by the moderator to change, add or delete content were made on the basis of a user request or comment. The literature suggests that the behaviour of online users is influenced by their online peers (Boyd & Heer, 2006); however this study does not provide any data to support or refute this claim.

DISCUSSION

The first objective of this study was to provide police practitioners and scholars with a better understanding of the risks that can arise when engaging the public on *Facebook*. The data obtained from the NSW Police *Facebook* site on 31 August, 2011 contained clear examples of offensive, unlawful, contemptuous and defamatory comments, with more than five per cent of comments considered by the NSW Police Force to be unpublishable because of their objectionable content. The evidence from the literature is that when such comments are posted

on an organisation's website, the organisation is often as liable as the person who posted the comment. Disparately, the literature also suggests that *Facebook* and other social networking services can benefit the police by helping them to communicate with the public more efficiently and cost effectively, while also enhancing the professional status and legitimacy of police organisations and their claims of transparency and public accountability.

Although the sample used in this study was too small to make definitive findings, it was useful for demonstrating the effectiveness of technology and human moderation in managing the risks, with most of the objectionable comments posted by the public either filtered or deleted within one day of being posted. The presence of sufficient and knowledgeable staff to moderate the organisation's social networking services ensured that objectionable comments were quickly removed and that legitimate public comments filtered by *Facebook's* blocking tool were reinstated. The moderator's knowledge, experience and awareness of legislation, organisational policy and policing would appear to be an important factor in reducing the risks of engaging the public online.

It was evident from the research that the process of monitoring and moderating the organisation's *Facebook* site can also help police to understand their organisational and operational environment, helping to inform operational practices and to develop policies and mechanisms by which they operate (Herrington, 2011; Stanko, 2010). For example, the site's administrators would now be aware that posting information relating to children is likely to elicit a significant response from the public and that there exists a greater risk of objectionable comments being posted. The organisation can reduce the risks by not posting inflammatory media releases to the *Facebook* site, by increasing the lexicon of objectionable words in the filter and by being vigilant moderators of the site.

The death of a child is a matter of significant public interest and it is common for police to release information about their investigation to the media, as occurred with Item 16 (Police confirm child's death as suspicious). In this instance it was probably necessary, in accordance with organisational policy, for police to release information in order to "provide transparency and maintain community faith in policing and our system of justice" (NSW Police Force, 2013, p. 4). However, the release of information through a media release poses less risk to the organisation than hosting of a public online forum to discuss the information

contained in the release. The removal of the item by the Police Media Unit appears to be recognition of the risks that presented on *Facebook* and for the organisation to be selective about the topics it chooses to engage the public in two-way communication.

The small percentage of deleted and filtered comments should not be viewed as confirming that the remaining comments were free of unlawful, liable or offensive content. Rather, it indicates that the site's moderators, based on their understanding of the relevant legislation, regulations, policies and organisational standards, did not regard the majority of comments as a risk to the organisation. The removal of Item 16 from the *Facebook* site reflects how police can quickly and easily remove threads that prompt objectionable comments provided adequate resources have been allocated to monitor the organisation's social networking sites. Additionally, when the organisation's *Facebook* site is deluged by objectionable comments, as occurred with the bodybuilder incident, words such as "chestbrah" can be added or removed from the filter, reducing the burden of the moderator through the use of technology. The willingness of Internet users to self-moderate their comments can also limit the risks of online forum communication.

Each of the items posted by police on the *Facebook* site was linked to a media release issued simultaneously by the organisation to the mainstream media. *Facebook* Insights shows that each item was viewed between 5000 and 50,000 times within one day of being posted to the Internet. As membership of the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site increases, so too does the organisation's potential audience and the associated benefits of engaging with that audience. This study does not compare the *Facebook* and mainstream media audience numbers but it does highlight that there are real and emerging communities that the police can communicate directly with in an efficient, cost effective and transparent manner.

CONCLUSION

Future studies would benefit from a larger sample of data that includes case studies from other policing organisations and a longer observation period. While the quantity of data obtained in this study was limited, it did serve the purpose of highlighting the issues faced by modern police organisations in relation to the risks and benefits of using social media services such as *Facebook*.

The NSW Police Force is an example of a policing organisation that has been willing to accept the risks of engaging with the public online although it has done so with the appropriate risk mitigation measures in place. The study showed that more than five per cent of public comments posted to the NSW Police Force *Facebook* site were objectionable, meaning they had the potential to harm the reputation of the organisation or expose it to litigation. However, the use of technology and human moderation considerably reduced the risks, eliminating many but not all of the objectionable public comments.

The remaining risk is offset by the considerable benefits that arise when police engage in two-way communication with the public, including enhanced public confidence and trust in the police.

REFERENCES

- Archbold, C.A. (2005). Managing the bottom line: risk management in policing, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol. 28 (1), 30-48.
- Bennett, T., Holloway, K. & Farrington, D.P. (2009). A review of the effectiveness of Neighbourhood Watch, *Security Journal* (22), 143-155.
- Blumstein, S. (2003). The new immunity in cyberspace: The expanded reach of the Communications Decency Act to the libellous “re-poster”, *Boston University Journal of Science and Technology Law*, Vol. 9 (2).
- Boyd, D., & Ellison, N. B. (2008). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13, 210–230.
- Boyd, D. & Heer, J. (2006). Profiles as Conversation: Networked Identity Performance on Friendster. *Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*, Vol. 3, 59c, Proceedings of the 39th Annual Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences (HICSS'06) Track 3, 2006.
- Bradford, B., Stanko, E.A. & Jackson, J. (2009). Using research to inform policy: The role of public attitude surveys in understanding public confidence and police contact. *Policing*, Vol. 3 (2), 139-148.
- Brainard, L.A. & McNutt, J.G. (2010). Virtual government – citizen relations: Informational, transactional or collaborative. *Administration & Society*, 2010 (42), 836-858.
- Bruggeman, J. (2008). *Social networks: An introduction*. Routledge Publishers, London and New York.

- Chan, J., Goggins, G. & Bruce, J. (2010). 'Internet Technologies and Criminal Justice', in Y. Jewkes & M. Yar (Eds) *Handbook of Internet Crime*, Willan Publishing, Devon, 582-602.
- Chitsa, S. (2011). Name Calling On The Internet: The Problems Faced By Victims Of Defamatory Content In Cyberspace, *Cornell Law School Inter-University Graduate Student Conference Papers*. Paper 48.
http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/lps_clacp/48.
- Cohen, L.S. (2010). *6 Ways Law Enforcement Uses Social Media to Fight Crime*. Retrieved on 12 November, 2011 from:
<http://mashable.com/2010/03/17/law-enforcement-social-media/>.
- Crump, J. 2011. What are the police doing on Twitter? Social media, the police and the public. *Policy & Internet* Vol. 3, (4), Article 7, 1-27.
- Dahlberg, L. (2001). Computer-mediated communication and the public: A critical analysis. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, Vol. 7 (1), cited in Kushin, M.J. & Kitchener, K. (2009). Getting political on social network sites: Exploring online political discourse on Facebook. *First Monday*, Vol. 14 (11).
- Debatin, B., Lovejoy, J.P., Horn, A.K. & Hughes, B.N. (2009). Facebook and Online Privacy: Attitudes, Behaviors, and Unintended Consequences *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 15 (2009) 83–108.
- DeCarlo, K.J. (1997). Tilting at windmills: Defamation and the private person in cyberspace, *Georgia State University Law Review* Vol. 13, 547- 579.
- Duffy, J.M. (2009). Toothless tiger, sleeping dragon: Implied freedoms, filters and the growing culture of censorship in Australia. *eLaw Journal: Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law*, Vol 16 (2).
- Economou, M. (2009). *Law Enforcement Working as Journalists*. Retrieved on 14 January, 2011 from <http://connectedcops.net/?p=916>.
- Egan, A.B. (2011). The NYPD: The nation's largest police department as a study in public information, *Public Relations Journal* Vol. 5 (2) Spring 2011.
- Facebook (2013). Facebook statistics. Retrieved on 6 June, 2013 from <http://newsroom.fb.com/Key-Facts>
- Farsangi, M.H. (2010). *Active citizens on Facebook: Case study of Indonesians' online participation regarding the 2009 presidential election*. Australian New Zealand Communication Association 2010 Conference, Canberra,

- retrieved on 20 April, 2011 from
<http://www.anzca.net/conferences/conference-papers/94-anzca10proceedings.html>.
- Greenleaf, G. (1998), An endnote on regulating cyberspace: Architecture versus law?’, *University of New South Wales Law Journal*, Vol. 21, 593-622.
- Hearn, L. (2011). Flock to Facebook for flood updates. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 January, 2011. Retrieved on 14 May, 2012 from
<http://www.smh.com.au/technology/technology-news/flock-to-facebook-for-flood-updates-20110111-19mfr.html>.
- Henson, B., Reyns, B.W. & Fisher, B.S. (2011). Security in the 21st Century: Examining the link between online social network activity, privacy, and interpersonal victimization, *Criminal Justice Review* 36, 253.
- Herring, S., Job-Sluder, K., Scheckler, R. & Barab, S. (2002). Searching for safety online: Managing trolling in a feminist forum. *The Information Society*, 18: 371-384.
- Herrington, V. (2011). Police as critical consumers of research: informing practice through research, in Birch, P. & Herrington, V. (Eds). *Policing in practice*, Palgrave MacMillan, South Yarra, Australia.
- Holmes, D. (2005). *Communication theory: Media, technology and society*. Sage Publications, London.
- Ibrahim, Y. (2008). The new risk communities: Social networking sites and risk. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, 4(2), 245–253.
- Jackson, J. & Bradford, B. (2010). What is trust and confidence in the police? *Policing*, Vol. 4 (3), 241-248.
- Johnson, D. R. & Post, D. (1996), ‘Law and borders: The rise of law in Cyberspace’, *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 48, 1367-1380.
- Keyser, M. (2003). The Council of Europe Convention of Cybercrime, *Journal of Transnational Law and Policy*, Vol. 12 (2), 287-326.
- Kingshott, B.F. (2011): Effective police management of the media, *Criminal Justice Studies*, 24 (3), 241-253.
- Lessig, L. (1999), *Code: And Other Laws of Cyberspace*, Basic Books, New York.

- Martin, P. & Battersby, L. (2011). Vodafone may be liable on privacy breach. *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 10, 2011.
- Mawby, R. C. (2010) 'Police Corporate Communications, Crime Reporting and the Shaping of Crime News', *Policing and Society*, vol 20 no 1, 124-39.
- McGovern, A. (2010). *Tweeting the News: Criminal Justice Agencies and their Use of Social Networking Sites*. The Australian and New Zealand Critical Criminology Conference 2010 (c) 2011 Institute of Criminology, Sydney Law School, The University of Sydney
<http://sydney.edu.au/law/criminology>.
- McGovern, A. (2011). Tweeting the News: Criminal justice agencies and their use of social networking sites, *The Australian and New Zealand Critical Criminology Conference Proceedings 2010*, Sydney Institute of Criminology, retrieved on 10 May, 2012 from
<http://hdl.handle.net/2123/7378>
- McGovern, A. & Lee, M. (2010). Cop[ying] it sweet: Police media units and the making of news, *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 43 (3), 444-464.
- NPIA. 2010. *Engage: Digital and Social Media for the Police Service*. London: National Policing Improvement Agency.
- NSW Police Force (2012a). *NSW Police Force*, retrieved on May 22, 2012 from
<http://www.police.nsw.gov.au>
- NSW Police Force (2013). *NSW Police Force Media Policy*, retrieved on 17 June, 2013 from
http://www.police.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/175269/Media_Policy_4_February_2013_FINAL.pdf
- NSW Police Force (2012c). *Personal Use of Social Media Policy and Guidelines*. (August 2011), Retrieved on 13 November, 2011 from
http://www.police.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/208609/personal-use-of-social-media-policy-and-guidelines.pdf.
- NSW Police Force (2012d). *New South Wales Police Facebook site*, Retrieved 22 May, 2012 from <https://www.facebook.com/nswpoliceforce>.
- Pickin, C., Popay, J., Staley, K., Bruce, N., Jones, C. & Gowman, N. (2002). Developing a model to enhance the capacity of statutory organisations to

- engage with lay communities, *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, Vol. 7 (1), 34-42.
- Queensland Police Service (2011). *Queensland Police Service Facebook page*. Retrieved on 21 November, 2011 from <https://www.facebook.com/QueenslandPolice>.
- Reiner, R. (2000). *The Politics of the Police* (3rd Ed.) Oxford University Press, Chapter 5: Mystifying the police: The media presentation of policing. 138-163.
- Regeester, M. & Larkin, J. (2008). 4th Ed. *Risk issues and crisis management in public relations: A casebook of best practice*. Kogan Page, London.
- Rosenbaum, D.P., Graziano, L.M., Stephens, C.D. & Schuck, A.M. (2011). Understanding community policing and legitimacy-seeking behaviour in virtual reality: A national study of municipal police websites. *Police Quarterly*, 2011 (14), 25-47.
- Shirky, C. (2008). *Here comes everybody. The power of organising without organisations*, Penguin Books, New York.
- Socialbakers (2012). *Australia Facebook statistics*. Retrieved on 2 May, 2012 from <http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/australia>
- Stanko, E.A. (2010). Improving policing through research. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, Vol. 3 (4) 306-309.
- Stevens, L. (2010). When cops are attacked with social media: eight lessons *learned at G20*. Retrieved on 5 January, 2011 from <http://connectedcops.net/?p=2230>.
- Tankard, J.W. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of framing. In S.D. Reese, O.H. Gandy Jr. and A.E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ, 95-106.
- Traffika (2011). *Queensland Police Helps Us Stay Above Water*. Retrieved on 14 May, 2012 from <http://www.traffika.com.au/blog/article/queensland-police-helps-us-stay-above-water>
- Tufekci, Z. (2008). Can you see me now? Audience and disclosure regulation in online social network sites. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 28(1), 20-36.

- Tyma, A. (2007). Rules of Interchange: Privacy in online social communities: A rhetorical critique of MySpace.com. *Journal of the Communication, Speech & Theatre Association of North Dakota*, 20, 31–39.
- Vick, D.W., Macpherson, L. & Cooper, S. (1999). Universities, Defamation and the Internet *The Modern Law Review Limited* 1999 62:1, January). Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, USA.
- Vrielink, R. (2011). The use of social media within police education. *School of Policing, Police Academy of the Netherlands*.
- Wall, D. (2001). Maintaining order and law on the Internet, in D.Wall (Ed.), *Crime and the Internet*, Routledge, London.
- Wall, D. (2007). Policing cybercrimes: Situating the public police in networks of security within cyberspace, *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 8. (2), 183-205.
- Walsh, K.M. & Oh, S. (2010). *Self-Regulation: How Wikipedia Leverages User-Generated Quality Control Under Section 230*, Express, Available at http://works.bepress.com/sarah_oh/1.
- Williams, M. (2007). Policing and Cybersociety: The Maturation of Regulation within an Online Community, *Policing and Society*, 17:1, 59-82.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Andrew Kelly, BA, MA, is a lecturer and early-career researcher with Charles Sturt University's School of Policing Studies, Goulburn, New South Wales. He worked as a police officer, journalist, and corporate communications manager with various government organisations before commencing his academic career. His current research focuses on the use of online social media by policing organisations to engage with the public.

TABLES

Table 1—Police *Facebook* postings 31 August 2011

	Title of posting	Time	Number of comments made by the public
1	Police investigate fire at unit block	3.43am	1
2	Man dies after being hit by runaway trailer	3.58am	21
3	Police appeal after lamb dies following cruel attack	4.27am	27
4	Boy injured in dog attack	4.56am	39
5	Police locate vehicles following investigations into shooting	9.02am	3
6	Firearms stolen from house during break and enter	9.03am	14
7	Police charge man following alleged sexual assault	9.07am	9
8	Man charged following armed robbery and assault	10.53am	3
9	Police investigate serious collision	11.00am	28
10	Police attend stabbing incident	12.16pm	6
11	Man arrested after drugs, firearm and ammunition located	12.48pm	12
12	Police officer recognised with courage award	2.47pm	6
13	Car crashes into house	5.04pm	7
14	World War II firearms stolen	5.10pm	8
15	Police appeal for information about stabbing	5.12pm	6

16	Police investigate child's death	6.02pm	79
17	Family stuck overnight in vehicle	6.15pm	10
18	Three arrested over shooting	9.23pm	5
19	Police investigate child abduction	10.19pm	31
20	Man injured during violent assault	11.12pm	2
Total			317

Table 2: Civilian postings to *Facebook* 31 August 2011

	Nature of posting	Total comments
1	Enquiry – toddler run over	0
2	Enquiry – MVA	0
3	Enquiry – disturbance	4
4	Enquiry – disturbance	1
5	Enquiry –disturbance	0
6	Notification – Traffic backup M5	0
7	Complaint –fog lights	22
8	Enquiry – wish I could be a copper	1
9	Enquiry – disturbance	0
10	Enquiry – crime statistics	2
Total comments		30

Table 3: Number deleted, filtered, and published comments

	Title of posting	Deleted	Filtered	Published	Total
1	Police investigate fire at unit block	0	0	1	1
2	Man dies after being hit by runaway trailer	0	0	21	21
3	Police appeal after lamb dies following cruel attack	1	0	26	27
4	Boy injured in dog attack	1	0	38	39
5	Police locate two vehicles following investigations into shooting	0	0	3	3
6	Firearms stolen from house during break and enter	0	1	13	14
7	Police charge man following alleged sexual assault	2	0	7	9
8	Man charged following armed robbery & assault	0	0	3	3
9	Police investigate serious collision	0	0	28	28
10	Police attend stabbing incident	0	0	6	6
11	Man arrested after drugs, firearm and ammunition located	0	0	12	12
12	Police officer recognised with courage award	0	0	6	6
13	Car crashes into house	0	0	7	7
14	WWII firearms stolen during break-in	0	0	8	8
15	Police appeal for information over stabbing	0	1	5	6

16	Police confirm child's death as suspicious	1	6	72	79
17	Family stuck overnight after vehicle caught in mud	0	0	10	10
18	Three arrested by Greenacre shooting investigators	0	0	5	5
19	Police investigate child abduction	3	3	25	31
20	Man injured during violent assault	0	0	2	2
21	Public wall posts	0	0	30	30
Total		8	11	328	347

- o O o -

Research Article

THE INCORPORATION OF OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY INTO NEW SOUTH WALES POLICE FORCE RECRUIT TRAINING

Ken Wooden[‡] and John Nixon

This article draws on a longitudinal study of Australian (New South Wales) (n=286), Canadian (n=116) and Chinese (n=91) police recruits to discuss participants' understandings of the concept of obedience to authority. Results for this study, which was conducted within the early stages of the recruits' training, indicate a significant degree of uncertainty amongst participants from all three jurisdictions when faced with varying situations involving obedience to authority issues. Policing researchers have long observed that recruits enter training with noble intentions and this is enhanced through elements of academy training, such as ethics education. In contrast, however, other researchers have found that once recruits commence their policing roles the negative aspects of police culture can impact adversely upon ethical decision making. In addition, the hierarchical nature of policing coupled with the authoritarian nature of academy training can instil in recruits obedience to authority attributes which can also erode ethical decisions. It is contended that understanding the perceptions of recruits and, in particular, those from New South Wales (NSW), concerning obedience to authority issues, may have implications for recruit training. By incorporating an understanding of obedience to authority along with associated practical scenarios within the academy training curriculum, inexperienced officers when faced with obedience to authority dilemmas in the field may be assisted.

Keywords: policing, obedience to authority, police ethics

PURPOSE

This study examined the question whether obedience to authority is a possible factor in making it difficult for police to report minor misconduct. The study defines obedience to authority and looks specifically at its effect on ethical

[‡] Corresponding author: kwooden@csu.edu.au

decision making by junior police. The study then describes the methodology used and then discusses the findings. Finally, the study makes several conclusions that led directly to recommendations for future actions that can be incorporated into police recruit training.

In brief, this study highlights the importance of ethics education, and in particular, the topic of obedience to authority in police recruit training. It does this by reporting on the findings of a longitudinal study involving police recruits from New South Wales, Australia, Canada, and China.

INTRODUCTION

Research suggests that students enter their police training with selfless motives, such as serving the community (Van Maanen, 1973) and with intentions of performing good deeds for society (Sherman, 1991). Research conducted by Meagher and Yentes (1986) found that women and men choose a career in law enforcement for similar reasons "...to help people and the security of the job" (Meagher & Yentes, 1986, p. 324). Research also indicates that policing students' altruistic attitudes prior to the commencement of their training are in fact enhanced during their initial police training.

Wortley's (1992) study found that academy training did have a positive impact upon the attitudes of students. He found that academy training was quite successful in producing police who were not "stereotypically authoritarian" and, that upon completion of academy training, were more adaptable in their understanding of the causes of crime and in some regards less punitive. However, research also indicates that once recruits commence their duties as police officers there is a decline in their noble attitudes (Ellis, 1991; Chan, Devery & Doran, 1991; Christie, Petrie & Timmins, 1996; Haar, 2001; McConkey, Huon & Frank, 1996; Prenzler, 2009). Ellis's (1991) study of the socialisation of police recruits into the police culture showed that as recruits progressed in their policing career they developed a sense of alienation towards the general community. Ellis found that the number of recruits who disagreed with the statement, "I trust most members of the public" was eighteen percent, while the response of experienced constables to the same question was thirty four percent. The author concluded:

It is apparent that new police recruits bring a fairly consistent set of attitudes, beliefs and values concerning policing with them as they approach and enter a policing career. It is also apparent that these attitudes

undergo change in a consistent fashion - police develop a sense of alienation and cynicism concerning their role and place in society (Ellis, 1991, p. 116).

Ellis' study also found support in Australian research conducted by Christie et al., (1996). The latter surveyed 287 Queensland police recruits. The authors found that, "...it seems that exposure to policing renders new recruits more conservative irrespective of their pre-existing level of conservatism. This is so, despite the attempt to liberalise attitudes through education" (Christie et al., 1996, p. 312). Further study into the difference of attitudes between new recruits and experienced police officers was conducted by McConkey et al.,(1996). This study examined attitudes of recruits and police officers who were provided with scenarios involving breaches of ethical conduct. The study found that recruits rated serious breaches of ethical conduct far more seriously than did police officers. McConkey et al. (1996) concluded that most of an officers' training occurs on the street under the guidance of experienced officers. However, the attitudes and behaviours of the veterans can differ from or even contradict academy training. The authors commented, "Policing as an occupation might therefore be regarded as a subculture, the values, attitudes and ethos of which are reinforced by the socialisation of its recruits" (McConkey et al., 1996, p. 1).

In addition, as highlighted by Prenzler (2009), "...within a short time, personal moral standards are deeply compromised" (p. 25). Research conducted by Chan, Devery and Doran (2003) and Haar (2001) also alluded to the problem of the decline of recruits' ethical values once they commence working at police stations. In fact, Haar's (2001) study found that by the end of the first year of work, police recruits held more negative attitudes towards the areas of community policing and problem solving policing. The study found that attitudes of co-workers were a significant contributing factor in the formation of the attitudes of new police officers. Furthermore, field training experience and exposure to the policing environment did not reinforce the positive influence of academy training upon recruits (Haar, 2001).

Research suggests that one factor which may contribute to the decline in academy values is the informal socialisation of recruits into the negative aspects of the police culture. Chan (1997) conceptualised the police culture as "...a layer of informal occupational norms and values operating under the apparently rigid hierarchical structure of police organisations" (p. 43). It is contended though that certain elements of the police culture share both positive and negative

qualities. For instance, police solidarity, standing together in the face of adversity, is an important virtue for a police officer, so is loyalty which has been recognised as, "...an important moral virtue for police" (Richards, 2010, p. 221).

In contrast though, these same positive virtues can also be a negative aspect for the policing role. For example, in terms of solidarity, writers such as Chan (1997) and Crank (1998) have drawn a link between solidarity and "a code of silence" concerning the reporting of police corruption. Also, misplaced loyalty can involve police "turning a blind eye" to police misconduct matters of a non-serious nature (Richards, 2010, p. 231). In fact, indicators exist that the negative aspects of solidarity and loyalty can contribute to the failure of police to report the misconduct of colleagues. During the course of the Wood Royal Commission into corruption in the New South Wales Police, Justice Wood (1997) attributed the reluctance of some officers to report the misconduct of others to the influence of negative characteristics of the police occupational culture. His Justice observed, "...the code of silence ... leads to the closing of ranks and protection of the corrupt and wilfully incompetent" (Wood, 1997 p. 216).

It is also noted that during the Royal Commission, Justice Wood made particular reference to evidence deposited by a witness concerning the influence of the police culture and observed, "[i]t was of such a force that an experienced Internal Affairs investigator, said that he would not expect a probationary constable to ever speak out against a senior officer." (Wood, 1997, p. 406). Justice Wood's observations have also been supported through research, Ede and Legosz (2002) reported the findings of surveys administered to Queensland Police Service recruits, first year constables and experienced police. The participants were presented with hypothetical scenarios of unethical conduct and were asked to articulate their views concerning the perceived seriousness of the scenarios.

Ede and Legosz (2002) examined the results of the surveys in regards to participants' desire to pursue official action and their reluctance to act. Results indicated that recruits considered the ethical breaches depicted within the scenarios as far more serious than the first year constables, whereas the first year constables rated the scenarios more serious than the more experienced police participants. The authors stated, "The data presented here suggest that elements of a code of silence exist to least some extent in the QPS and that new members

of the Service may be quickly socialised into the informal code” (Ede & Legosz, 2002, p. 4).

OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY AND POLICING

In addition to the adverse influences of misplaced loyalty and the negative aspects of solidarity, this current study sought to discover if another possible factor, namely; obedience to authority can make it difficult for police to report minor misconduct matters. It is conceded that it is crucial for subordinate staff to comply with the lawful instructions of superiors, however, obedience to authority deals with subordinate officers following without question the unlawful/unethical directions of senior officers. Milgram (1974) defines obedience to authority as occurring when an individual, “...defines himself in a social situation in a manner that renders him open to regulation by a person of higher status. In this condition the individual no longer views himself as responsible for his own actions but defines himself as an instrument for carrying out the wishes of others” (Milgram, 1974, p. 134).

In addition, Zimbardo (2007) argues that although Milgram’s seminal study involved violence, in modern society; obedience to authority does not necessarily consist of someone in authority facilitating physical violence through the actions of a subordinate. For instance, obedience to authority can involve a person in authority passing an order to a subordinate to undertake, “...verbal abuse that undercuts the self-esteem and dignity of the powerless” (2007, p. 278). Furthermore, as highlighted by Cunha, Rego and Clegg (2010) an important element of obedience to authority is not the, “authority figure’s style” (p. 298) as such, but rather the subordinate’s perception of the legitimacy of the person in authority.

The discussion now turns to the possible adverse influence of obedience to authority upon policing and in particular the ethical decision-making process of junior police. Writers such as Richards (2010) argue that although Milgram’s obedience to authority experiments involved individuals, it may also be applicable to organisations possessing certain characteristics. Such characteristics include; cohesiveness, insularity and subordinates, “subjected to legitimate authority” (Richards, 2010, p. 237). Furthermore, the author considered that police organisations possessed such characteristics which made subordinate staff vulnerable to obedience to authority influences. Additionally, a number of authors have identified various aspects of police organisational

structures and processes as providing opportunity for the facilitation of obedience to authority to occur. For instance, Conti (2009) considered that the police training process encourages new recruits to adopt obedience to authority attitudes. Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce (2010) expand upon Conti's proposition and argue that during police training recruits are required to defer to the hierarchical structure of the police organisation. In fact, Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce (2010) contend that early in their training, new recruits learn about deference to authority and higher rank (p. 194) and in doing so, are taught that deference is associated with rank rather than the police organisation.

Moreover, Clark (2005) argues that even beyond recruit training, police organisations have fostered, "...unquestioning obedience to directives handed down in a strong hierarchical system" (p. 647). The interplay between the concept of obedience to authority and hierarchical organisations such as the police is probably best described by Primeaux and Beckley (1999) who contend that:

Within the hierarchical organization leadership represents the primacy of subordination, of obedience, and of individual distinction because it is defined with respect to decision-making. It is also tied to maintenance, to preserving the central vision and mission of the organization. It promotes distinction and separation by reserving decision-making to itself, and by distinguishing leaders and followers from one another. Leaders make decisions; followers obey them (p. 128).

The problematic nature of obedience to authority for policing also appears to be supported by exploratory research conducted by Wooden (2004). This unpublished research involved qualitative interviews conducted with seven male and two female police recruits undertaking training at the New South Wales Police Academy.

Findings indicated that participants possessed good knowledge concerning accountability and police culture issues. However, when presented with ethical case studies which involved misconduct of senior officers a contradiction appeared in what participants articulated as their understandings and views concerning police culture and accountability and their responses concerning the ethical case studies. For instance, a degree of uncertainty appeared amongst participants as to what actions, if any, they should take regarding the unethical conduct of colleagues. These results from the participants indicated that as ethical scenarios became more difficult, in the sense

of the involvement of supervisors in the misconduct, the level of uncertainty in participants' responses increased.

METHOD

During September 2012 a questionnaire to discover participants' understandings of the problematic nature of "obedience to authority" was administered to 286 police recruits from the New South Wales Police Academy ($m = 210$, $f = 76$), 116 recruits from the Ontario Police College ($m = 87$, $f = 29$) and 91 policing students from the China Criminal Police University ($m = 82$, $f = 9$). Students were presented with a number of statements pertaining to "obedience to authority" and were asked as to whether they agreed, disagreed, or were neutral. The demographic characteristics of male and female participants from each sample group are shown in table 1.

Table 1—Demographic Data

Demographics	Australia	Canada	China	Total
Gender				
Male	210	87	82	379
Female	76	29	9	114
Age				
18–25	178	45	88	311
26–30	52	38	3	93
31–35	29	24	0	53
36–40	14	8	0	22
41–45	8	2	0	10
46–50	5	1	0	6
Marital Status				
Single	187	52	91	330
Married	52	47	0	99
de facto	40	15	0	55
/Common Law				
Separated	4	2	0	6
Divorced	2	1	0	3
Other	0	1	0	1

This study followed a qualitative research methodology utilising a survey approach. The survey given to participants consisted of 14 demographic questions and nine scales measuring different aspects of new police recruits attitudes and experiences. Only one scale was of interest to the present study.

Other scales and questions were for related research. Participants' understanding of the problematic nature of obedience to authority was measured using a 12-item author-designed self-report questionnaire.

From this questionnaire four questions were selected to be analysed. These were deemed to be relevant to the issue of obedience to authority. The first question looked at whether students would always report the conduct of a senior officer if they ordered them to do something they knew was wrong. The second question asked them if they felt they had sufficient knowledge to handle any dilemmas that could arise regarding obedience to authority. The third question asked them if they believed they would be supported by police management if they reported the misconduct. Finally, they were asked whether they felt they would be subjected to bullying and ostracism if they reported this misconduct. Participants were asked to rate their responses on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

As this research needed to consider the perceptions and attitudes of police recruits concerning the topic of obedience to authority, the selection of participants were chosen through purposive sampling (Walter 2006). In regards to the use of purposive sampling, Walter (2006), observed, "[i]n purposive sampling, the sample is selected in a systematic way based on what we know about the target population and the purpose of the study" (Walter, 2006, p. 199). This type of sampling is supported by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) who observe that purposive sampling is used when researchers, "...seek out groups, settings and individuals where and for whom the process being studied are most likely to occur" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 370). However, the researchers undertaking this current study do recognise the limitations of such research methods.

A possible limitation is that results cannot be generalised to other situations (Hakim, 1987). In this present case, police recruits undertaking training in New South Wales, the Ontario Police College and China Criminal Police University was not representative of all police recruit populations and therefore, subsequent results do not allow for generalisations to be drawn concerning recruits training in other academies. Nonetheless, as the study was exploratory, it is considered that the participants from the aforementioned training facilities provided a snapshot of their understandings and attitudes concerning the concept of "obedience to authority" which in turn can help assist the formulation of curriculum design and delivery within those institutions.

The obedience to authority questionnaire was distributed to the entire class of recruits in each location. Each class was given the same verbal instructions. They were told that participation was voluntary and that they could leave the questionnaire blank if they did not wish to be involved. Each questionnaire was coded and no identifying information was included on the Form. This was done to ensure anonymity. Email addresses were collected to allow researchers to send out follow up surveys as this was the first stage of a longitudinal study. A frequency analysis was undertaken to allow for an in-depth look at the data. Here the data was collapsed down so that the response categories of *strongly disagree* and *disagree*, as well as *agree* and *strongly agree* were combined, resulting in a three-point Likert scale ranging from *disagree* to *agree*. Once the data was collapsed, clustered bar graphs were generated for the four items of particular interest to the researchers. These graphs were subsequently broken down by gender and country.

FINDINGS

To explore students understanding of obedience to authority, participants were asked to respond to a series of questions. This report focuses on participants' responses to the following four questions: 1) I would always report the conduct of a senior officer if they ordered me to do something I knew was wrong; 2) I have sufficient knowledge to handle dilemmas that arise regarding obedience to authority; 3) I believe that I would be supported by Police Force management if I reported the unethical conduct of a senior officer; and 4) I would be subjected to bullying and ostracism if I reported misconduct by a superior officer.

I would always report the conduct of a senior officer if they ordered me to do something I knew was wrong.

- In terms of the New South Wales Police Force; 120 (57.1%) males agreed, although 68 (32.4%) males were neutral and 22 (10.5%) disagreed. Forty (52.6%) females agreed, however 30 (39.5%) were neutral and 6 (7.9%) disagreed.
- Regarding recruits from the Ontario Police College; 35 (40.2%) males agreed, conversely 38 (43.7%) were neutral and 14 (16.1%) disagreed. Twelve (42.9%) females agreed, however, 14 (50.0%) were neutral and 2 (7.1%) disagreed.

- Concerning recruits from the China Criminal Police University; 18 (22.0%) males agreed, although 45 (54.9%) were neutral and 19 (23.2%) disagreed. Four (44.4%) females agreed, however, 4 (44.4%) were neutral and 1 (11.1%) disagreed.

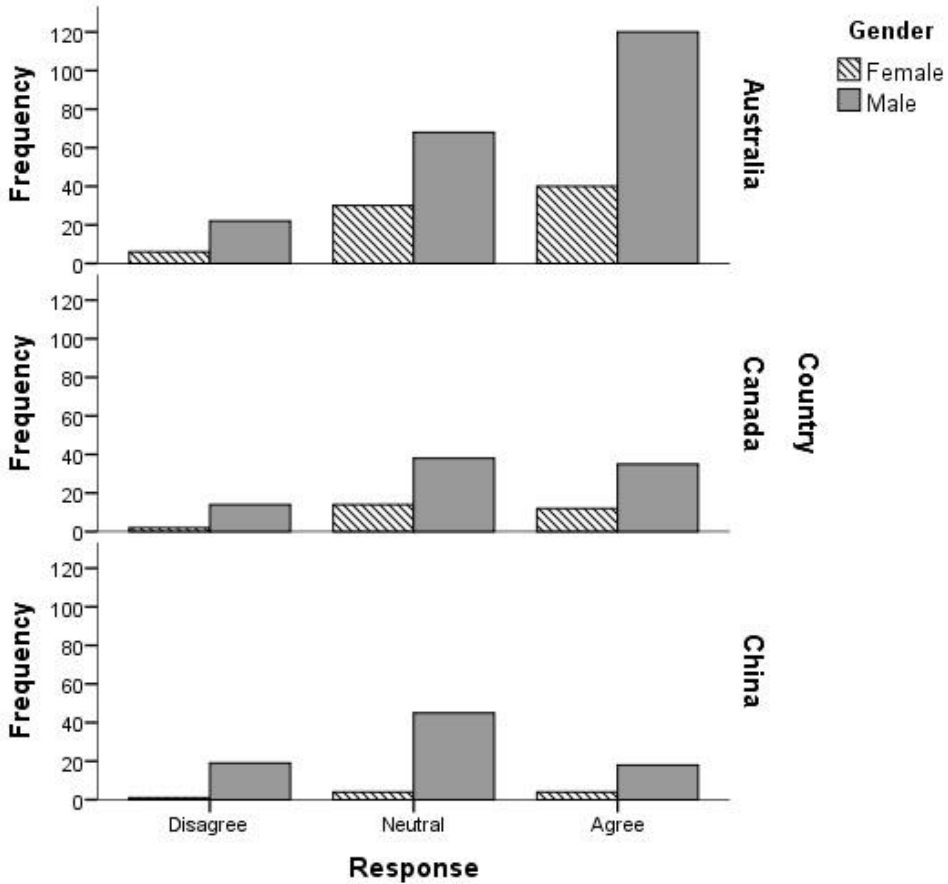


Figure 1—Distribution of responses to question (*I would always report the conduct of a senior officer if they ordered me to do something I knew was wrong*) by gender and country. Valid responses (n) from Australia = 286, Canada = 115, China = 91.

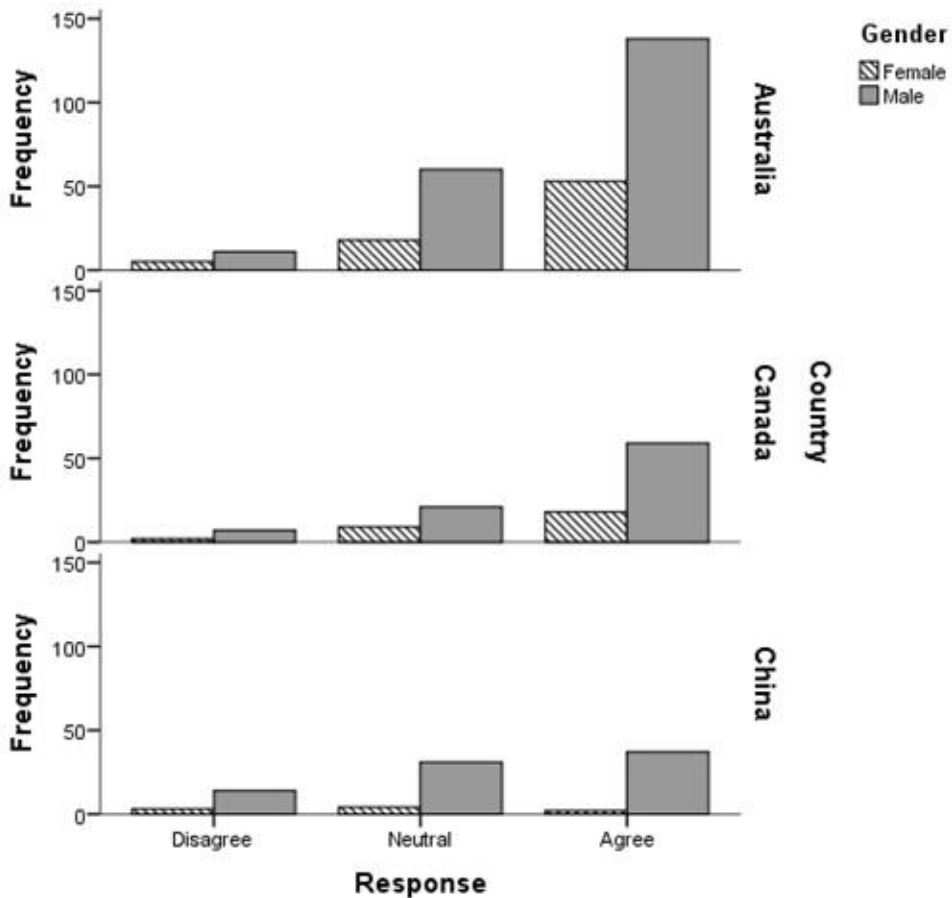


Figure 2—Distribution of responses to question (*I have sufficient knowledge to handle dilemmas that arise regarding obedience to authority*) by gender and country. Valid responses (n) from Australia = 285, Canada = 116, China = 91.

I have sufficient knowledge to handle dilemmas that arise regarding obedience to authority.

- Regarding recruits from the New South Wales Police Force; 138 (66.0%) males agreed, although 60 (28.7%) males were neutral and 11 (5.3%) disagreed. Fifty three (69.7%) females agreed, conversely, 18 (23.7%) were neutral and 5 (6.6%) disagreed.

- Concerning Ontario Police College recruits; 59 (67.8%) males agreed, however, 21 (24.1%) were neutral and 7 (8.0%) disagreed. Eighteen (62.1%) females agreed although 9 (31.0%) were neutral and 2 (6.9%) disagreed.
- Regarding China Criminal Police University recruits; 37 (45.1%) males agreed, conversely, 31 (37.8%) were neutral and 14 (17.1%) disagreed. Two (22.2%) females agreed, however, 4 (44.4%) were neutral and 3 (33.3%) disagreed.

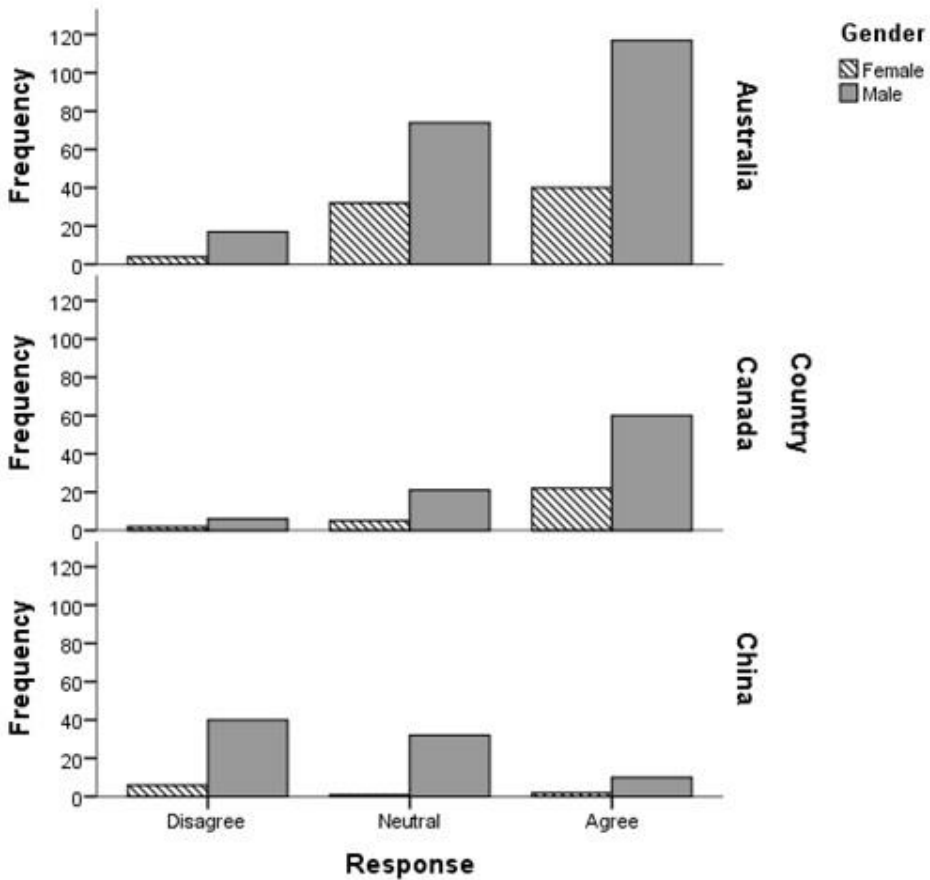


Figure 3—Distribution of responses to question (*I believe that I would be supported by Police Force management if I reported the unethical conduct of a senior officer*) by gender and country. Valid responses (n) from Australia =286, Canada = 116, China = 91.

I believe that I would be supported by Police Force management if I reported the unethical conduct of a senior officer.

- Concerning New South Wales Police Force recruits; 117 (55.7%) males agreed, although 74 (35.2%) were neutral and 19 (9.0%) disagreed. Forty (52.6%) females agreed, however 32 (42.1%) were neutral and 4 (5.3%) disagreed.
- Results from the Ontario Police College indicated that; 60 (69.0%) males agreed, conversely, 21 (24.1%) were neutral and 6 (6.9%) disagreed. Twenty two (75.9%) females agreed, however, 5 (17.2%) were neutral and 2 (6.9%) disagreed.
- Regarding the China Criminal Police University recruits; 10 (12.2%) males agreed, although 32 (39.0%) were neutral and 40 (48.8%) disagreed. Two (22.2%) females agreed, conversely, 1 (11.1%) were neutral and 6 (66.7%) disagreed.

I would be subjected to bullying and ostracism if I reported misconduct by a superior officer.

- Results from the New South Wales Police Force indicated that; 40 (19.0%) males agreed, 109 (51.9%) were neutral and 61 (29.0%) disagreed. Thirteen (17.1%) females agreed, 41 (53.9%) were neutral and 22 (28.9%) disagreed.
- Regarding Ontario Police College recruits; 26 (30.6%) males agreed, 33 (38.8%) were neutral and 26 (30.6%) disagreed. Six (20.7%) females agreed, 14 (48.3%) were neutral and 9 (31.0%) disagreed.
- Concerning China Criminal Police University recruits; 33 (40.2%) males agreed, 33 (40.2%) were neutral and 16 (19.5%) disagreed. Four (44.4%) females agreed, 2 (22.2%) were neutral and 3 (33.3%) disagreed.

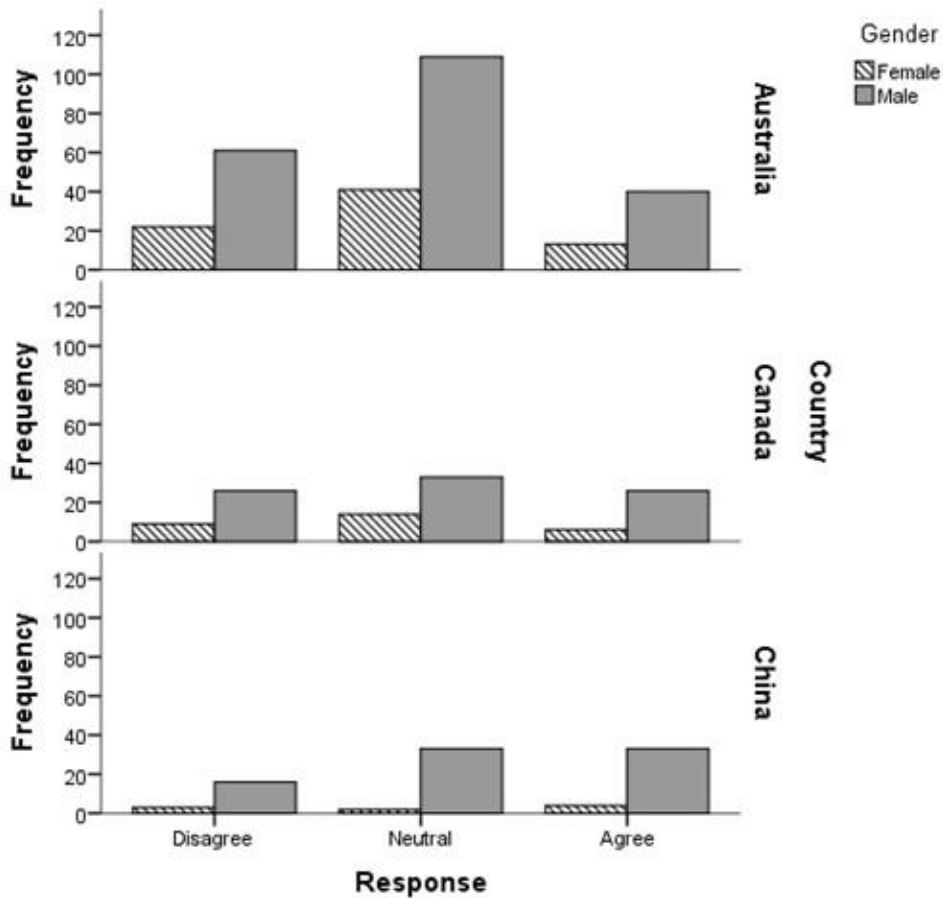


Figure 4—Distribution of responses to question (*I would be subjected to bullying and ostracism if I reported misconduct by a superior officer*) by gender and country. Valid responses (*n*) from Australia = 286, Canada = 114, China = 91.

DISCUSSION

This discussion, in light of theoretical literature, addresses the following themes identified from the findings of this study; 1) reporting misconduct of senior officers; 2) knowledge to handle obedience to authority dilemmas; 3) confidence in support afforded by police management; and 4) perceptions of bullying and ostracism.

Overall, in terms of the themes “reporting misconduct of senior officers”; “knowledge to handle obedience to authority dilemmas” and “confidence in

support afforded by police management”, participants from all three jurisdictions responded with a significant degree of uncertainty. Similarly, there was a significant degree of agreement amongst New South Wales, Canadian and Chinese participants that they would be subjected to “bullying and ostracism” following the reporting of misconduct of a senior officer. It is contended that these findings indicate perceptions of a lack of “control” and “confidence” amongst a large number of participants in dealing with obedience to authority issues. This would appear to support the theoretical literature pertaining to the problematic nature of obedience to authority. For instance in terms of lack of “control,” Milgram (1974) considered that obedience to authority involved an individual being, “open to regulation by a person of higher status” (p. 134) and in doing so, “...the individual no longer views himself as responsible for his own actions but defines himself as an instrument for carrying out the wishes of others” (Milgram, 1974, p. 134).

Furthermore, it is argued that in regards to policing, and in particular, police training there is a requirement that subordinates, especially recruits, defer to the hierarchical structure within the police organisation (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Conti, 2009; Richards, 2010) and in doing so, this perpetuates obedience to authority attitudes amongst subordinates (Conti, 2009) which in turn, fosters perceptions of lack of “control” and “confidence” in dealing with obedience to authority dilemmas. In fact, as highlighted by Primeaux and Beckley (1999) the hierarchical nature of policing allocates decision making to senior staff and the following of directions to subordinates.

In addition, this substantial degree of uncertainty amongst participants in this present study appears to support exploratory research conducted by Wooden (2004) which discovered that when participants were presented with case studies involving the misconduct of senior officers, participants’ levels of uncertainty as to the reporting of misconduct increased. Finally, it is instructive to note that in terms of these aforementioned themes, results across all three jurisdictions indicated a significant degree of uncertainty amongst participants when dealing with obedience to authority issues. Although it is acknowledged that this present study was exploratory and as a result findings cannot be generalised to all police training institutions it can be argued that these findings do possess some potentially important implications for New South Wales, Canadian, and Chinese recruit training.

What was striking in this research was the universality of the uncertainty amongst respondents across all three jurisdictions. This was especially important amongst the Chinese participants where there is a great difference in culture and police practice in comparison with western police recruit participants. This would appear to clearly point to the importance of addressing this issue.

This issue appears to be consistent with the observations of Blass (2012) that, "...people's tendency to obey authority may be one of the universals of social behaviour" (p. 203). When faced with this uncertainty in a strong hierarchical organisation and with co-worker pressure it would seem less difficult to just default to a course of action where the person simply obeys the more powerful and assumed experienced authority.

To help prevent this default, a more comprehensive understanding of obedience to authority and case study practice could perhaps create a more confident approach to these situations. In regards to implications for recruit training within the New South Wales Police Force, recruits as part of an integrated case study focused approach in Session 1 of the Associate Degree in Policing Practice, undertake the subject PPP131 "Ethical Practice and Decision Making 1." In Session 2 students undertake subject PPP136 "Ethical Practice and Decision Making 2." Topics addressed within these subjects include: doctrine of original authority; discretion; ethical decision-making; corruption and moral vulnerability; corruption resistance; reporting misconduct and loyalty and conflicts of interest. Recruits are also taught that they are not permitted to obey unlawful directions from superiors and that they must report corruption or other misconduct by another NSW employee.

Furthermore, students learn about the negative aspects of the police culture such as the code of silence and misplaced loyalty and the adverse impact these can have upon the reporting of misconduct. It is argued that potential exists for obedience to authority to have the same detrimental impact upon the reporting of misconduct as these two previously mentioned negative police cultural elements and therefore should be incorporated into recruit training to address a potential gap in the ethical education currently provided to New South Wales recruits.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Results from this study provide an indication that obedience to authority issues appear to be problematic for police recruits across the New South Wales,

Canadian, and Chinese police jurisdictions. Arising from this present study's findings it is suggested that recruit training within the New South Wales Police Force would benefit from obedience to authority being incorporated in the curriculum for new police.

Police recruit training in New South Wales is comprised of five fourteen week sessions. The first two sessions are undertaken by police recruits prior to them being sworn in as probationary constables (Charles Sturt University, 2011). Sessions three to five are undertaken after the recruits have been appointed as probationary constables and are performing duties at a police station, during their first year of employment as police. It is suggested that the positioning of the obedience to authority topic should occur while recruits are in their early stages of training at the police academy. It is further suggested that obedience to authority training for recruits should be conducted prior to recruits undertaking their probationary constable training. In doing so, this reduces the possible negative impact of the police culture upon their learning.

Although students learn about the problematic potential of loyalty in policing and reporting misconduct they are not exposed to obedience to authority and its inherent problems. This maybe a significant omission in recruit training when one considers the findings of this current study as well as the views of Cunha, Rego and Clegg (2010) who state:

It is necessary, through appropriate corporate ethics programs, to help leaders and organizational members in general to understand how the features of the situation may capture their ethical reasoning—thus making them more aware of the situations conducive to the banalization of evil (p. 306).

It is contended that by not being aware of obedience to authority and its associated dilemmas recruits do not have an understanding of the potential adverse influence this concept can have upon the conduct of subordinate staff. By incorporating the topic of obedience to authority into New South Wales recruit training and providing students with practical scenarios relating to obedience to authority dilemmas this may assist junior police when faced with obedience to authority issues in the field.

REFERENCES

- Blass, T. (2012). A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Studies of Obedience Using the Milgram Paradigm: A Review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 6(2), 196–205.
- Chan, J. (1997). *Changing police culture. Policing in a multicultural society*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Chan, J.B., Devery, C., & Doran, S. (2003). *Fair Cop, Learning the Art of Policing*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Chappell, A., & Ianza-Kaduce, L. (2010). Police Academy Socialisation: Understanding the Lessons Learned in a Paramilitary-Bureaucratic Organization. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 39(2), 187–214.
- Charles Sturt University (2011). *Associate Degree in Policing Practice*. Retrieved November 14, 2011, from Charles Sturt University website: http://www.csu.edu.au/courses/undergraduate/policing_practice_adpp/course-structure.
- Charles Sturt University (2012). *Professional Ethics, PPP123 Study Guide*. Bathurst: Charles Sturt University.
- Christie, G., Petrie, S., & Timmins, P. (1996). The Effect of Police Education, Training and Socialisation on Conservative Attitudes. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29(3), 299–314.
- Clark, M. (2005). The importance of a new philosophy to the post-modern policing environment. *Policing*, 28(4), 642–653.
- Conti, N. (2009). A Visigoth System: Shame, Honor and Police Socialization. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 38(3), 409–432.
- Crank, J.P. (1998). *Understanding Police Culture*. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Cunha, M.P., Rego, A. & Clegg, S.R. (2010). Obedience and Evil: From Milgram and Kampuchea to Normal Organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 97, 291–309.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). Strategies of Inquiry. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp.367–378). California: Sage Publications.
- Ede, A., & Legosz, A. (2002). *Monitoring the Ethical Climate of Organisations: A Queensland Case Study*, 2. Queensland: Crime and Misconduct Commission.

- Ellis, R.T. (1991). Perceptions, attitudes and beliefs of police recruits. *Canadian Police College Journal*, 15, 95–117.
- Haar, R.N. (2001). The Making of a Community Policing Officer: The Impact of Basic Training and Occupational Socialization on Police Recruits. *Police Quarterly*, 4(4), 402–433.
- Hakim, C. (1987). *Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- McConkey, K.M., Huon, G.F., & Frank, M.G. (1996). *Practical Ethics in the Police Service, Ethics and Policing* (Study 3, 125.3). Adelaide: Australasian Centre for Policing Research.
- Meagher, M.S., & Yentes, N.A. (1986). Choosing a Career in Policing: A Comparison of Male and Female Perceptions. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 14(4), 320–327.
- Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental view*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Prenzler, T. (2009). *Ethics and Accountability in Criminal Justice: Towards a Universal Standard*. Brisbane: Australian Academic Press.
- Primeaux, P. & Beckley, J. (1999). Double Bookkeeping: Hierarchical Obedience and Participative Cooperation. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 19, 123–136.
- Richards, N. (2010). Police Loyalty Redux. *Criminal Justice Ethics*, 29(3), 221–240.
- Sherman, L. (1991). Learning Police Ethics. In M. Braswell & B. McCarthy (Eds.), *Justice, Crime and Ethics*. (pp. 97–114). Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Van Maanen, J. (1973). Observations on the Making of Policeman. *Human Organisation*, 32(4), 407–18.
- Walter, M. (2006). *Social Research Methods an Australian Perspective*. Victoria: Oxford University Press.
- Wood, J.R.T. Hon Justice, (1997). *Royal Commission Into The New South Wales Police Service, Final Report, 1, Corruption*, The Government of the State of New South Wales.
- Wooden, K.R. (2004). *The Exposure Of Policing Students To The Concept Of 'To Be Accountable' And Whether This Can Increase Their Resilience To The Negative Characteristics Of The Police Culture*. Unpublished

qualifying dissertation for doctoral studies. Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.

Wortley, R.K. (1992). *Police Prejudice, Discrimination And Socialization, An Attributional Perspective*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.

Zimbardo, P.G. (2007). *The Lucifer Effect: How Good People Turn Evil*. Lond

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dr Ken Wooden Bpol, GradCertUnivTeach&Learn, MSocSc(Crim), PhD, is a lecturer with Charles Sturt University. He previously worked for the New South Wales Police Force for twenty years performing general duties, as well as working in the Anti-Theft Squad and Legal Services. Dr Wooden's area of research focuses on police perceptions of accountability and community policing.

John Nixon, BA(Adult Education), MA(Adult Education) has extensive experience at all levels of teaching—from primary through to university. He is a lecturer at the School of Policing Studies, Charles Sturt University. His particular area of interest is communication (frontline communication). He has been involved in developing, coordinating, and teaching communication courses for the School of Policing Studies, the Centre for Investigative Studies and Crime Reduction and the New South Wales Police Force. Mr Nixon has been involved in research on obedience to authority and innovative teaching practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank Dr Susan Robinson and Ms Rachel MacCulloch, BSc, MSc for their feedback on an earlier draft of this manuscript. The authors would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions to improve the final paper.

- o O o -

Research Article

EXAMINING POLICE STRATEGIC RESOURCE ALLOCATION IN A TIME OF AUSTERITY

Garth den Heyer[§]

The increasing importance of proactive policing has highlighted the need to ensure that the police utilise their resources both efficiently and effectively. Traditionally, police agencies have allocated resources in response to their operational demands or requirements, with the majority of resources being distributed in response to political demands and public calls for service. In recent years there has been a greater emphasis by police to deliver services proactively, and to direct resources to specific geographic areas of high crime or to specific crimes, and to apply intelligence led targeted policing initiatives. The changing operating environment to a public service ethos of accountability and ‘do more with less’ means that historical methods of allocating police officers may not meet an agency's strategic goals. This paper examines if an economic approach to allocating police strategic resources is an appropriate and equitable method in a time of austerity. This greater emphasis on proactive, rather than reactive policing, which also represents a shift from centralised control, underlines the need to ensure the efficient and effective use of resources.

Keywords: Strategy, new public management, police reform, resource allocation

INTRODUCTION

In the 1860s, General Ulysses Grant defined strategy “[as] the deployment of one's resources in such a manner which is most likely to defeat the enemy” (quoted in Mintzberg, 1996, p. 14). In a modern policing context, such an idea is no different, not to defeat the enemy *per se*, but for the police to be able to provide core services by responding to public calls for assistance. In recent years, police have placed a greater emphasis on delivering services proactively and directing resources to specific high crime areas or specific crimes, and applying intelligence-led resources to targeted policing initiatives. The use and allocation of resources forms part of an organisation's strategic direction and was

[§] Corresponding author: gdenheyer@csu.edu.au

identified by Hamel and Prahalad (1998), that “allocating resources across businesses and geographies is an important part of top management's strategic role” (p. 39).

After unprecedented increases in the number of reported offences in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, crime reduction became a primary concern of the police, the government and the community. The challenge facing police agencies across the world was to balance resources and service delivery levels with a decreasing level of funding and increasing expectations of the community. According to Stockdale, Whitehead and Gresham (1999), in the United Kingdom, where public demand for police service is rising and increasing the level of expenditure on resources is not feasible, managing and allocating resources has become essential.

The principle parameter that inhibits the effectiveness of police agencies is that they are geographically positioned as city, municipality, state, federal or national structures. In a democracy, the mandated control of crime is principally a government responsibility and a public good, and, as a result, there are major difficulties in allocating resources efficiently for protecting persons and property. For example, the delivery of police services in New Zealand is different from that of many other countries, in that there is one police organisation that is responsible for all policing at the local and the national level. A national police structure imposes a number of organisational problems when allocating police staff at the city and local level as there are difficulties in allocating the number of police officers required to meet the social outcomes identified by government.

This paper examines the issue of police strategic resource allocation in a time of austerity, and whether an economic approach and econometric modelling is an appropriate and equitable method in allocating police staff. The examination of strategic resource allocation is undertaken within the context of the 1990s New Public Management (NPM) organisational effectiveness movement. The paper will consider whether the NPM core principles provide a framework to enable police decision makers to identify a resource allocation method that increases the effectiveness of organisational service delivery.

While we now have some literature available pertaining to the implementation of some crime strategies, such as targeting hotspots, and whether or not these strategies had an effect on the level of crime, there is no modern, or post 1990, literature that evaluates or analyses police resource allocation

methods or that examines management structures. As a result, this article discusses the findings from research undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s which is still valid today.

There is strong evidence to support the notion that important facets of crime have become amenable to economic and econometric analysis and solution. Eck and Maguire (2000) noted that most economists would argue that the problem of crime and its solution hinge in a very fundamental way on how society allocates its resources at the local and national levels. However, Dimma (1985, p. 25, as cited in Mintzberg, 1994) advises “[b]e skeptical, though not cynical about all forecasts...Distrust econometric models and elaborate simulations...” (p. 230). This paper also examines the economic literature pertaining to resource allocation and New Public Management (NPM) and presents the view that an econometric approach is justified when precautions are included in the construction of any proposed model and when interpreting the subsequent analysis.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Where public demand for police services is rising and increased expenditure on resources is not feasible, the issue of managing and allocating resources becomes crucial (Stockdale, et. al., 1999). One approach to identifying the methods used by police allocate to resources is to examine their organisational strategies. According to Quinn (1996), “a strategy is the pattern or plan that integrates an organisation's major goals, policies, and action sequences into a cohesive whole” (p. 3). A comprehensive approach such as this ensures that an organisation commits their resources to achieving its strategic goals and government outcomes. Goals provide a dynamic track against which progress can be measured. The strategic decisions made by an organisation will “dictate both the resources the enterprise will have accessible for its tasks and the principal patterns in which these resources will be allocated” (Quinn, 1996, p. 4).

Is the level of crime in a particular location affected by the number of police officers in that location (Bayley, 1998)? Many politicians and members of the community believe that this is so. According to Hamel and Prahalad (1998), the use of resources, whether financial or non-financial, may be maximised through leverage. Leverage can be achieved principally by concentrating resources more effectively on key strategic goals and through effectiveness or by the complementing of one type of resource with another to

create higher order value (Hamel & Prahalad, 1998). However, the primary resource or mechanism for achieving the goals and objectives of a police agency are its personnel, and it is for this reason that “more [police officers] are thought to be better, fewer are thought to be worse” (Bayley, 1998, p. 6).

Managers of police organisations and their Ministers frequently adjust the number of police officers allocated or deployed to a geographical area, seeking the optimal ratio of police to population in order to make the smallest investment of resources to produce the greatest public satisfaction. In the past, the number of police officers allocated to a geographical area was based on formulas, institutional traditions, tacit understandings, and contract rules, all of which have little or no association with the reduction of crime. Goldstein (1990), notes that police resources are not used rationally to achieve public safety.

Except for targeted hotspot policing and short-term large enforcement crackdown operations (Braga & Weisburd, 2010), previous studies of police resource allocation have been inconclusive as to whether or not an increase in the number of police officers in an area decreases or increases crime. Debate continues as to which social variables are associated with police staffing levels and which are associated with the level of crime. Table 1 summarises the results of previous United Kingdom and United States studies.

Table 1: Results of Previous Studies of Police Resource Allocation

-
- Many aspects of the economic theory of crime are supported by empirical data;
 - The level of crime can be decreased by either increasing the probability of capture, conviction or punishment or by increasing the severity of punishment; and
 - Increasing the number of police in an area can have a mixed result on the crime rate.
-

Phillips & Votey, 1972; Carr-Hill & Stern, 1973; 1979; Chamlin & Langworthy, 1996; Maguire, 2003; den Heyer 2009

The mixed findings of previous research are largely attributable to matters such as the variation in how police strength is defined across different studies, the variation in the unit of analysis across studies, and the poor and/or inconsistent model specification and complexities involved in interpreting mutual effect

variables, such as the relationship that the level of crime and the number of police have on each other. Moreover, the literature has not clarified whether increasing the number of police officers will produce a greater level of public safety or whether it will reduce the level of crime. Not only has previous research found little connection between crime rates and the number of police officers, but increasing the number of police officers may increase crime rates, at least in the short term due to increased observation by officers or officers on patrol and hence, an increase in reported crime (Carr-Hill and Stern, 1979).

There is little consensus amongst academics as to which social factors are related to criminal activity, how to model criminal activity or police resources appropriately, and which public policies serve to lessen criminal activity (Carr-Hill & Stern, 1973, 1979; Avio & Clark, 1978; Benson & Rasmussen, 1991; Benson, Kim, Rasmussen & Zuehlke, 1992; Becsi, 1999; Weisburd & Eck, 2004; Police Foundation, 2011). In a symposium on the economics of crime, DiIulio (1996) argued that economists have not focused adequate attention on the modelling crime or on police resource allocation by using the sophisticated quantitative and modelling skills that are part of the economists' toolkit. DiIulio laments the fact that much of the research in this area has remained the domain of sociologists and criminologists who tend to use less sophisticated empirical analyses.

THE CHANGING OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE IMPACT OF NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT ON POLICING

Since the 1980s, police organisations in advanced liberal democracies have undergone a series of strategic and managerial reforms that were designed to improve their core service delivery and operational transparency (den Heyer, 2009). These reforms included a number of innovative policing programs to change from a reactive to a proactive method of service delivery, such as Community Oriented Police, Intelligence-led and neighbourhood style policing. However, Owing to the fiscal environment following the economic recession in late 2007, police agencies have found it increasingly difficult to maintain service delivery levels, effective operational and administrative levels of staffing, and the delivery of special programs, such as community policing (Wilson and Grammich, 2001). In response to these challenges, police managers are reviewing the allocation of their resources, and are examining new and alternative methods to maintain service delivery levels and maintain public confidence.

Police salaries and associated personnel costs can account for the majority of the total expenditure of a police agency. Given this, and that increased expenditure on police resources is not feasible, the issue of managing and allocating resources effectively becomes crucial. Managing and allocating resources effectively is the foundation of contemporary public service management. The new public service management environment raises the issues of fiscal and management accountability with the measurement of police performance moving to the forefront of the political agenda (Cope, Leishman, & Starie, 1997; Gillespie, 2006). These evolving government requirements have an impact on police as funding police consumes a large component of any government budget. In addition, the demand by the community for government services is ever increasing while fiscal policy constraints make it difficult or impossible for governments to fully meet these demands.

Historically, police agencies allocated resources in line with a perceived, rather than an empirically validated need, although this has changed in more progressive agencies, mainly as a result of the introduction of the NPM philosophies of the mid-1980s and early 1990s. The NPM philosophies included the application of the theories of Keynesianism and monetary economics to national, federal, state and local governments (Leishman, Cope, & Starie, 1995; Gorringer, 2001). The implementation of these economic elements was based on the theory of agency and of choice, changing the relationship between ministers or city council members and chiefs of police or commissioner, and increasing management discretion within agencies (Boston, 1991, 1999; Gorringer, 2001).

The basic thrust of the NPM reforms was to improve the incentives for efficiency within the government sector (Boston, 1991, 1999; Gorringer, 2001, Gillespie, 2006). The distinction between the service outputs that an agency produces and the outcomes that a government seeks to achieve, was central to these reforms (Gorringer, 2001). NPM arose from thinking about what is meant by the terms performance and accountability. The performance of government agencies may be judged on whether they produce the agreed service outputs, and whether they do so effectively (Boston, 1999).

The rise of NPM cannot be attributed to a single factor, but its adoption reflected the pressure placed on government departments and governments at the time (Leishman, et. al., 1995). The introduction of NPM has been successful in enhancing public sector organisational effectiveness and efficiency in the United Kingdom and in New Zealand. In other western nations, the introduction of

NPM has not been as successful due to the varying level of managerial acceptance. This has been due to the divergent capabilities of the managers concerned and “the levels of efficiency prior to the reforms” (Bale & Dale, 1998, p. 111).

As a result of the operating environment, police need to make transparent resource allocation decisions, be able to evaluate outputs and outcomes, and be able to demonstrate that resources are being used to generate the best returns for communities and society (den Heyer, 2009).

THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES BY POLICE ORGANISATIONS

With increasing police organisational decentralisation, the manner in which police resources are allocated between geographical areas for different services is of increasing importance both politically and, more, importantly, for those who receive the service. Whilst, previously, these allocations were often decided through negotiation or based on historical precedent, with increasing pressure for police accountability there is a need for police agencies to use justifiable methods to allocate resources. However, there is a limited amount of information available on the methods used by police agencies in allocating resources. Most United States law enforcement agencies allocate resources based on the number of calls for service (Chaiken, 1975), and the United Kingdom and Scottish Forces usually allocate resources based on a combination of central and local government funding regimes (Loveday, 2000).

The steady increase in the number of police officers and the increase of police expenditure in Western democracies over the last few decades has been a concern for governments, policy makers and researchers (Brandl, Chamlin & Frank, 1995; Craig, 1987; Grabosky, 1988; Chamlin & Langworthy, 1996; Stockdale et al., 1999). While the increase in police numbers and budgets has ceased since 2007, there is concern as to how police can deliver core services more efficiently and effectively. Allocating police officers to ensure that an efficient and effective service is delivered requires an analysis of the variables that impact on organisational performance. However, there is little information available or agreement of the specific social or economic forces that affect the growth in police officer numbers or how police officers should be allocated to specific geographical areas. Brandl et al. (1995) noted that to meet strategic objectives, the number of police officers is highly related to previous police numbers.

THE BASIS OF AN ECONOMETRIC MODELLING APPROACH TO ALLOCATING POLICE RESOURCES

In developing police resource allocation policy, using an econometric approach, Hsiao (1986) and Benson and Rasmussen (2000) recommended the use of either time series or panel data as the foundation for a regression analysis model. Although official crime statistics, that is, those reported and recorded by police, do not reflect accurately the actual number of crimes committed, both cross sectional and time series analytical studies use this information as their basis. Inaccuracy however, can stem from the definition of crime, its interpretation and the administrative processes devised to record it (Weisburd & Eck, 2004).

Any proposed econometric model would be based on one dependent variable: the number of police officers, as a function of a number of different socio-economic and socio-demographic variables believed to be relevant to allocating resources. Developing an explanatory model through the construction of a regression equation will facilitate a better understanding of the situation under study and will allow experimentation with different combinations of inputs to examine and analyse their effects on the dependent variable. In this way, the identified explanatory model can, by its basic formulation, be geared toward intervention, therefore, influencing any future resource allocation through the identification of influencing variables.

THEORETICAL MODEL RELATIONSHIP

The economic analysis of crime is concerned with the effect of incentives on criminal behaviour and the evaluation of alternative theoretical and operational strategies to reduce crime. At an individual level, this approach postulates that welfare maximising behaviour optimally allocates resources according to perceived or relative returns, and links socio-economic conditions to an individual's relative returns from legal and illegal activity (Becker, 1968; Stigler, 1970). This approach to the study of crime is entirely different to the sociological theories of learning and social control. These sociological theories link socio-economic conditions to society's failure to control criminal tendencies and to the personal processes by which an individual learns criminal behaviour (Hughes & Carter, 1981), whereas the economic literature typically focuses on the theoretical supply of offences in which per capita crimes are related to the probability and the severity of punishment for the type of crime, the expected

income from criminal activity, returns from alternative legal activities, and other socio-economic factors.

The literature does not identify a set empirical approach to the subject of econometric modelling of crime. Each researcher identifies which of the dependent variables they intend to model and then, based on relevant aspects of criminological, economic and econometric theory, present evidence to justify the position taken. However, a number of researchers have identified that the basic economic crime model will include, in addition to deterrence, likelihood of detection and severity of punishment, and other social and socio-economic variables such as opportunity, employment, income distribution, ethnicity, gender, poverty and percentage of youth in a population (Carr-Hill & Stern, 1973, 1979; Trumbull, 1989; Maguire, 2003).

The typical econometric model constructed at the local level to identify the variables associated with crime, the number of police officers and the resolution rate, employs data on reported crime and a simultaneous equation system in which police deterrence efforts are measured by the number of arrests or the number of crimes resolved. These analyses are aimed at establishing which police and socio-economic variables individually or together are related to crime or a specific offence. The crime equation is generally the first equation within a two or three equation multi-system, while deterrence is the second. Deterrence is usually identified by the police clearance or resolution rate. The third equation attempts to identify which of the variables are related to the number of police officers in an agency. Table 2 illustrates a typical three-equation system found in the literature.

Table 2: Typical Econometric Three Equation Crime Model

Crime/offence = $f(\text{penalties imposed, likelihood of detection, police per capita, expenditure per police officer})$
Resolution Rate = $f(\text{unemployed, youths 15–24 years, \% under average income, police per capita})$
Number of Police = $f(\text{number of offences, population, expenditure per officer}).$

Adapted from Carr-Hill & Stern, 1979

This form of econometric model, using single or simultaneous equations, assumes that the rate of illegal activity will drop if there is a higher probability or severity of punishment (Ehrlich, 1981).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLICING, CRIME AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

Previous aggregate studies of police resource allocation have used a number of different approaches, the most common method of which is to relate arrest rates with levels of crime (Phillips & Votey, 1972; Sjoquist, 1973; Tittle & Rowe, 1974; Logan, 1975; Loveday, 2000). These studies all relied on official police statistics and found lower levels of recorded crime in areas where police arrest rates were high. However, Wilson and Boland (1978) attempted to overcome the known weaknesses of police statistics by examining the data obtained from victimisation surveys and by finding a significant negative correlation between arrest rates and levels of crime.

Stockdale et al. (1999) used criminological theory in conjunction with economic techniques to assess the relative efficiency of police services. They concluded that as police services expand above a specific size, they typically encounter either diseconomies of scale, reduced technical efficiency, or a combination of the two. This was an extremely significant finding in terms of police organisational structure and resource allocation, and suggests that there is an optimum size of a police organisation, and this occurs at a relatively low minimum efficient scale or at a low number of police officers.

The Carr-Hill and Stern (1979) study produced three principal findings in regard to the number of police officers deployed in a geographical area:

1. The higher the clearance rate the lower the crime rate;
2. The larger the number of police in an area the higher the recorded offence rate; and
3. The larger the number of police in an area the lower the rate at which offences were cleared.

Carr-Hill and Stern (1979) attributed these results to the possibility that more police officers translate to more offences being recorded, either because they discover more offences themselves, or because they record more of the offences reported to them by the public. Their third conclusion states that having more police leads to lower clearance rates. Carr-Hill and Stern explain their findings

by noting that the recording effect outweighs any deterrent effect and they avoid suggesting that the police are ineffective, or do not have an effect in deterring criminals.

Difficulties in interpreting the research and the inconsistencies between the studies make it difficult to evaluate the aggregate approach in studying police effectiveness. While all the studies find a strong inverse relationship between the crime rate and the clearance rate, it is quite unclear what implications are to be drawn from these results. On the one hand, such findings may be seen as providing evidence for the effectiveness of police activity; while on the other, it could be argued that the studies demonstrate a workload effect, and that the resolution rates are high because crime rates of an area are low. Chaiken (1975), however, suggested, that in an area where workload levels are moderate, the association between workload and arrests per crime is weak, while areas where workload is either very low, or very high; its association with arrests is stronger. Wilson and Boland (1978) did not support this interpretation. In a study using a cross sectional sample of robbery, burglary and car crime in 35 large American cities, they did not find any workload effects on the arrest rate of individual police officers.

If police performance, measured by resolution rates, is associated with lower rates of crime, it can be anticipated that increases in police resources would be accompanied by lower crime rates. However, much of the previous research does not support this theory, and as such, the relationship between police numbers and crime rates could be an artefact of the statistical data upon which the analysis is based. This could also explain the inconsistent results and the interpretation of the research. The use of the crime rate, for example, as a measure of the outcome of police activity, can be criticised on the grounds that it reflects only a small proportion of crime which actually takes place in a community (Mosher, Miethe & Phillips, 2002). Many studies have indicated (Coleman & Bottomley, 1976; McCabe & Sutcliffe, 1978; Weisburd & Eck, 2004; Braga & Weisburd, 2010) that recorded crime statistics are influenced by police discretion and their recording practices.

The principal weakness in using aggregate data to analyse police effectiveness arises from the need to rely on gross data that is supplied by police and the difficulty of being able to draw an indication from the data how high clearance rates are achieved. A number of researchers have noted that the correlation between the number of officers allocated to a police agency and the

number appearing on patrol is usually not significant (Wilson, 1975). In a subsequent publication (Wilson & Boland, 1978), the authors identified that the crime rate may be less affected by the number of police officers on the streets than on how they are deployed and what tactics they use when on patrol. This view is supported by Forst, Lucianoric and Cox (1977), who highlighted that in Washington DC, fewer than 10 percent of the officers made over half of the arrests, and nine accounted for more arrests than 450 of their colleagues. Wilson and Boland (1978) went on to argue that patrol tactics depend on organisational and political decisions and probably not on the socio-economic and socio-demographic variables in a geographical area.

The Kansas City Patrol Experiment identified that after a point the effectiveness of an increase in the number of police diminishes and that saturating areas with police does not reduce crime or increase resolution rates through arrest (Kelling, Pate, Diekmann & Brown, 1974). However, the number of available police must be large enough to control unpredictable events, such as riots. For this and other reasons, the exact point where an additional police officer will no longer be cost effective cannot be known with confidence. This may be termed an officer's 'marginal utility'. If the marginal utility of an additional police officer is reduced after a point, relationships between some determinants and the number of police personnel may diminish as these explanatory variables approach their highest values.

To date, the use of aggregate data to study police effectiveness has yielded little useful information. If this method of study is to be of value, the assumptions implicit in the approach require both modification and development. For these improvements to be achieved, it will be necessary, for example, to take account of factors influencing the reporting of crime, the resolution rate and the allocation of police resources.

CONCLUSION

One of the features of the economic theory of crime is that it can be used to investigate both criminal behaviour and law enforcement activity (den Heyer, 2009). The most influential theories developed by Becker (1986) and Ehrlich (1981), assume that in any model of crime, the level of crime and the number of police officers are simultaneously determined, so that it is not possible to analyse one without taking the other into account. A strategic approach to allocating police officers to geographical areas will help police agencies to understand what

they want to achieve and how they will achieve it (British Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, 2004). As Wintringham (2000) identifies, “capability is about purpose. It is the ability to marshal the right resources, at the right time, for the right objective” (p. 4).

This paper has identified that although econometrics may be an appropriate method of allocating police resources, previous research on police resource allocation has not advanced significantly, although some methodological advancement has been made, especially in the statistical construction of proposed models. It is clear from previous research that if police agencies are to be able to contribute to government outcomes, simplistic analyses of the variables related to police resource allocation and effectiveness are no longer useful.

The question of the optimal level and allocation of police services in a geographical area is clearly a subject of complexity that has received relatively little empirical attention and as such will require police agencies to ensure that any resource allocation methodology adopted is firmly based on theory and empirical-based practice. An economic based model, developed from the geographical area's social, demographic and strategic information is one equitable process to provide information for police to allocate their resources.

REFERENCES

- Avio, K. & Clark, C. (1978). ‘The supply of property offences in Ontario: Evidence on the deterrent effect of punishment. *Canadian Journal of Economics*, XI: 1, pp. 1-19.
- Bale, M. & Dale, T. (1998). Public sector reform in New Zealand and its relevance to developing countries. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 13: 1, pp. 103–121.
- Bayley, D. (1998). *What works in policing*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Becker, G. (1968). Crime and punishment: An economic approach. *Journal of Political Economy*, 76: 2, pp. 169–217.
- Becsi, Z. (1999). Economics and crime in the States. *Economic Review*, First Quarter. Atlanta, Georgia: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.
- Benson, B. & Rasmussen, D. (1991). Relation between illicit drug enforcement policy and property crimes. *Contemporary Policy Issues*, 9, pp. 106–115.

- Benson, B. & Rasmussen, D. (2000). Deterrence and public policy: Trade-offs in the allocation of police resources. *International Review of Law and Economics*, 18, pp. 77–100.
- Benson, B., Kim, I., Rasmussen, D. & Zuehlke (1992). Is property crime caused by drug use or drug enforcement policy? *Applied Economics*, 24, pp. 679–692.
- Boston, J. (1991). The theoretical underpinnings of public sector restructuring in New Zealand. In J. Boston, J. Martin, J. Pallot & P. Walsh (eds.), *Reshaping the State: New Zealand's Bureaucratic Revolution*, pp. 1–26. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Boston, J. (1999). The funding of tertiary education: Enduring issues and dilemmas. In J. Boston, P. Dalziel, & S. St. John (eds.), *Redesigning the Welfare State in New Zealand: Problems, Policies, Prospects*, pp. 197–217. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Braga, A. & Weisburd, D. (2010). *Policing problem places: Crime hot spots and effective prevention*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brandl, S., Chamlin, M. & Frank, J. (1995). Aggregation bias and the capacity for formal crime control: The determinants of total and disaggregated police force size in Milwaukee, 1934–1987. *Justice Quarterly*, 12, pp. 543–562.
- British Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004). *Strategy survival guide*. London: Home Office.
- Carr-Hill, R. & Stern, N. (1973). An econometric model of supply and control of recorded offences in England and Wales. *Journal of Public Economics*, 2, pp. 289–318.
- Carr-Hill, R. & Stern, N. (1979). *Crime, the police and criminal statistics: An analysis of official statistics for England and Wales using econometric methods*. London: Academic Press.
- Chaiken, J. (1975). *Patrol allocation methodology for police departments*. Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation.
- Chamlin, M. & Langworthy, R. (1996). The police, crime and economic theory: A replication and extension. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 20, pp. 165–182.
- Coleman, C. & Bottomley, A. (1976). Police conceptions of crime and no crime. *Criminal Law Review*, pp. 344–360.

- Cope, S., Leishman, F. & Starie, P. (1997). Globalization, new public management and the enabling State: Futures of police management. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 10: 6, pp. 444–460.
- Craig, S. (1987). The deterrent impact of police: An examination of locally provided public service. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 21, pp. 298–311.
- den Heyer, G. (2009). *Econometric modelling and analysis to support operational policing: A New Zealand police case study*. Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller.
- DiIulio, J. (1996). Help wanted: Economists, crime and public policy. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 10, pp. 3–24.
- Eck, J. & Maguire, E. (2000). Have changes in policing reduced violent crime? An assessment of the evidence. In A. Blumstein & J. Wallman (eds.), *The Crime Drop in America*, pp. 207–265. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehrlich, I. (1981). On the usefulness of controlling individuals: An economic analysis of rehabilitation, incapacitation, and deterrence. *American Economic Review*, 71: 3, pp. 307–322.
- Forst, B., Lucianoric, J. & Cox, S. (1977). *What happens after arrest?* Washington, DC: Institute of Law and Social Research.
- Gillespie, J. (2006) *Policing performance management systems: Identifying key design elements within a 'new' public management context*. Masters By Research Thesis, School of Business Management, Edith Cowan University, Perth, Australia.
- Goldstein, H. (1990). *Problem-oriented policing*. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing.
- Gorringer, P. (2001). *Economics for policy: Expanding the boundaries*. Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University.
- Grabosky, P. (1988). *Efficiency and effectiveness in Australian policing*. Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, Number 16. Barton, Canberra, Australia: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Hamel, G. & Prahalad, C. (1998). Strategy as stretch and leverage. In S. Segal-Horn (ed.), *The Strategic Reader*, Hoboken, New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hsiao, C. (1986). *Analysis of panel data*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Hughes, M. & Carter, T. (1981). A declining economy and sociological theories of crime: Predictions and expectations. In K. Wright (ed.), *Crime and Criminal Justice in a Declining Economy*. Cambridge, England: Oelgeschlager, Gunn and Hain.
- Kelling, G., Pate, T., Diekman, D. & Brown, C. (1974). *The Kansas City patrol experiment: A summary report*. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.
- Leishman, F., Cope, S. & Starie, P. (1995). Reforming the police in Britain: New public management, policy networks and a tough “Old Bill”.” *The International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 8: 4, pp. 26–37.
- Logan, C. (1975). Arrest Rates and Deterrence. *Social Science Quarterly*, 55, pp. 376–389.
- Loveday, B. (2000). Managing crime: Police use of crime data as an indicator of effectiveness. *International Journal of Sociology of Law*, 28, pp. 215–237.
- Maguire, E. (2003). *Organizational structure in American police agencies: Context, complexity and control*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- McCabe, S. & Sutcliffe, F. (1978). *Defining crime: A study of police decisions*. Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mintzberg, H. (1994). *The rise and fall of strategic planning*. New York: The Free Press.
- Mintzberg, H. (1996). *The strategy process: Concepts, contexts, cases*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Mosher, C., Miethe, T. & Phillips, D. (2002). *The mismeasure of crime*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Phillips, L. & Votey, H. (1972). An economic analysis of the deterrent effects of law enforcement on criminal activity. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 63, pp. 330–342.
- Police Foundation (2011). *Police effectiveness in a changing world*. London: Police Foundation.
- Quinn, J. (1996). Strategies for Change. In H. Mintzberg (ed.), *The Strategy Process: Concepts, Contexts, Cases*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Sjoquist, D. (1973). Property crime and economic behaviour: Some empirical results. *American Economic Review*, 63: 3, pp. 439–446.

- Snipes, J. (1993). Issues of refinements in modelling macro-level threat theory. Unpublished Manuscript. Department of Criminal Justice, SUNY-Albany, New York.
- Stigler, G. (1970). The optimum enforcement of laws. *Journal of Political Economy*, 78: 3, pp. 526–536.
- Stockdale, J., Whitehead, C. & Gresham, P. (1999). *Applying economic evaluation to policing activity*. Police Research Series Paper 103. London: Policing and Reducing Crime Unit, Home Office.
- Tittle, C. & Rowe, A. (1974). Certainty of arrest and crime rates: A further test of the deterrent hypothesis. *Social Forces*, 52, pp. 455–462.
- Trumbull, W. (1989). Estimations of the economic model of crime: Using aggregate and individual level data. *Southern Economic Journal*, 56, pp. 423–439.
- Weisburd, D. & Eck, J. (2004). What can police do to reduce crime, disorder, and fear? *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593: 1, pp. 42–65.
- Wilson, J. (1975). *Thinking about crime*. New York: Basic Books.
- Wilson, J. & Boland, B. (1978). The effect of the police on crime. *Law and Society*, Spring, 12: 3, pp. 367–390.
- Wilson, J. & Grammich, C. (2012). *Police consolidation, regionalization, and shared services: options, considerations, and lessons from research and practice*. Be On The Lookout (BOLO), February. Washington, DC: Community Oriented Policing Services.
- Wintringham, M. (2001). Problems in practice: Capability in the state sector. *Public Sector*, 24: 1.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Garth den Heyer holds master's degrees from the University of London and Victoria University, as well as doctorate from Charles Sturt University. He is a lecturer with the Australian Graduate School of Policing and Security, and a Senior Research Fellow with the Police Foundation, Washington, D.C. Dr den Heyer is also an Inspector with the New Zealand Police.

Research Article

SAGE ON THE STAGE OR GUIDE BY THE SIDE?: A PROPOSED DEVELOPMENTAL PATHWAY FOR POLICE EDUCATORS

Brett Shipton^{**}

Within the broad field of educational research, good teaching is viewed as guiding students through deeper learning processes in what is often termed a “learner-centred” approach. This approach is contrasted with being “teacher-centred,” which essentially views the teacher as a “sage on the stage” whose role is to pass on knowledge to students in a generally didactic manner. Police educators, like educators generally, often view themselves as a sage early in their teaching career but with effective development they can move towards a more sophisticated and effective learner-centred conception, where they act increasingly like a “guide by the side.” Developing a learner-centred teaching conception is becoming increasingly more valuable within the police education context as policing organizations make greater use of innovative teaching approaches such as problem based learning (PBL). Referring to recent research on teaching conceptions, this paper outlines a potential pathway for police educators to develop from sage to guide.

Keywords: Police education, teaching, staff development, phenomenography, problem based learning.

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on sworn police as well as civilian educators in Australian police academies. Its title is derived from the work of Stinson and Milter (2006). As such, the discussion is limited to these institutions and an emphasis on classroom teaching. Therefore, while the teaching conceptions highlighted cannot be directly attributed to other police educators—such as police field trainers or lecturers on graduate programs—it is suggested that the findings

^{**} Corresponding author: bshipton@csu.edu.au

remain broadly relevant to teachers and trainers working in the broader field of police education.

Police educators in academies are expected to develop in their role via a range of formal and informal strategies similar to teachers in other educational contexts. Historically, police educators have often received only minimal preparation and development for their teaching roles (Berg, 1990; McCoy, 2006; Shipton, 2011). This is also true of the Australian policing context, with the minimum qualification for teaching police recruits only recently incorporating the Certificate IV in Training and Assessment. However, even this qualification has been questioned in relation to its adequacy in providing a suitable standard for teachers in the vocational education and training (VET) sector (Clayton, Myers, Bateman & Bluer, 2009).

Inadequate teaching standards have led to a range of criticisms in relation to teaching approaches in police academies across the world that suggest police educators are overly teacher-centred and need to make greater use of adult learning principles to improve the learning outcomes of policing students (Birzer, 2003; Cleveland, 2006; McCoy, 2006; Doherty, 2012; Sims, 2012). In response to these concerns, many police academies across the world are making increasing uses of adult learning principles within their classrooms, with problem-based learning (PBL) being one of the more prominent examples.

Initially, this paper will examine some of the traditional assumptions of teaching and their development from the broader literature. The discussion will then focus more specifically upon how police educators see themselves as teachers based on the limited research in this area. This discussion will then form the basis for sketching a potential framework or developmental pathway that police educators will journey through as they strive to become more effective teachers. Essentially, this pathway will highlight the concepts police educators become increasingly aware of as they move from being teacher-centred or a sage on the stage, to being more learner-centred, or a guide by the side. While it is not the purpose of this paper to suggest a detailed developmental program, some key issues informing this transitional process will be highlighted.

TEACHING CONCEPTIONS AND STUDENT LEARNING

Studies of conceptions teachers hold in relation to their role have identified two broad categories that Kember (1997) characterised as teacher-centred/content-

oriented and student-centred/learning oriented. These conceptions will simply be referred to in this paper as “teacher-centred” and “learner-centred” respectively. A teacher-centred approach places the teacher at the centre of the learning environment, transmitting information in the form of isolated facts and skills to students, who assume a relatively passive role that is dependent upon the teacher’s actions and knowledge. This is in contrast to a learner-centred approach, which assumes a significant focus upon student learning needs, the development of deeper conceptual understandings via active learning and an assumption that students tend to be more proactive and self-directed in their learning approaches (Åkerlind, 2007; Conti, 1989; Kember, 1997; Ramsden, 1992; Trigwell, Prosser & Waterhouse, 1999).

Essentially, a teacher-centred conception is seen as less sophisticated or limited because it mostly views teaching as a process of simply passing information on to students for them to remember. However, a learner-centred conception recognises teaching and learning is much more than passing information to students and emphasises the importance of understanding the complexities of human learning and applying effective teaching strategies that meet their learner’s specific needs (Biggs, 1999).

There has been a body of research developing since the early 1990’s examining the conceptions educators hold in relation to their teaching that suggests a pathway along which they develop in this role. Prior to this time, staff developers tended to limit their focus to specific teaching strategies and methods rather than the underlying conceptions teachers held about their teaching practice (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996). Kember (1997), in a review of key studies in this area of research, highlighted the need to understand and recognise teaching conceptions in order to improve staff teaching approaches and therefore enhance the quality of student learning. The importance of understanding teaching conceptions can be seen in the impact they have on teaching practice and the flow through effects on student learning as highlighted in Figure 1.

Essentially, it is suggested that teachers will not develop their knowledge and skills beyond the limits of their teaching conceptions and this limitation will in turn lead to less effective learning (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996; Kember, 1997).

Stinson and Milter (2006) in their description of teaching skills required to utilize PBL, describe the more traditional or teacher-centred approach as being akin to a sage on the stage. This analogy describes the sage or expert as being at

the front of the classroom transmitting information and knowledge to students who remain mostly passive participants.

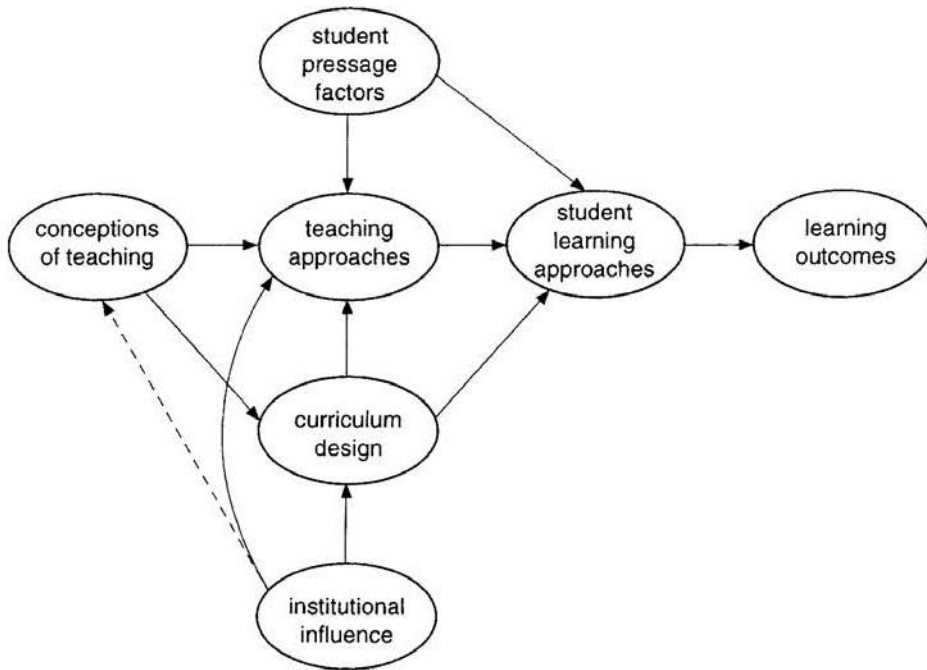


Figure 1—Adapted from Kember 1997, p. 269.

In this context, knowledge is seen as something that is handed from teacher to student, with the latter assumed to be an empty vessel waiting to be filled with knowledge. Stinson and Milter suggest however, that teachers will require a paradigm shift in their understanding of what teaching and learning is in order to successfully facilitate a learner-centred approach like PBL. In becoming more learner-centred, Stinson and Milter suggest a teacher should act more like a guide by the side. In this role, there is an increasing need by the teacher to demonstrate listening, coaching and facilitation skills and recognise that the learner constructs their own knowledge based on previous knowledge and experience in ways unique to each individual.

Importantly, there has been a general consensus amongst authors that conceptions ranging towards a more learner-centred practice, with an emphasis upon conceptual understanding and student learning, represent a more sophisticated and effective model of teaching because it promotes deeper

learning (Biggs, 1999; Kember, 1997; Åkerlind, 2007). A study by Trigwell, Prosser and Waterhouse (1999) suggested that teachers using a teacher-centred approach were more likely to encourage less effective surface learning approaches in their students. There was also a converse, but slightly weaker, relationship indicating teachers who adopted a learner-centred approach encouraged deeper learning approaches in their students. Studies by Kember and Gow (1994) reported similar findings, with a knowledge transmission orientation (teacher-centred) causing less desirable learning and a learning facilitation orientation (learner-centred) encouraging more meaningful learning.

Importantly, these studies highlighted the need for staff development activities to encourage the adoption of learner-centred teaching approaches in order to improve the student experience and the quality of their learning outcomes (Kember & Gow, 1994; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996). This line of research has demonstrated the need to develop teachers towards being more learner-centred or a guide on the side with an increasing focus upon the student and their learning. However, at this point it is important to clarify that standing in front of a classroom of students is not necessarily wrong or inappropriate. As we will see, a learner-centred teacher will often incorporate strategies used by a teacher-centred practitioner but as a subset of a range of broader strategies. Essentially, a teacher-centred conception does not allow a teacher to be aware of this broader range of strategies, or more importantly, understand the reasons behind their use.

DEVELOPING STAFF TO ENCOURAGE LEARNER-CENTRED TEACHING

Developing teachers' conceptions is not necessarily a simple switch from teacher to learner-centred thinking. While highlighting two broad orientations, Kember's (1997) review indicated that a range of previous studies of this topic suggested that there were a number of stages differentiating teachers' conceptions along a teacher-centred to learner-centred continuum (see Figure 2, below). Kember suggests the lower level of this model highlights a number of transitional stages teachers progress through to arrive at a more advanced understanding of teaching practice. The model indicates that transitions within the broader domains, for example, from Imparting Information to Transmitting Structured Knowledge, are relatively easy; however, moving from the Teacher-centred to Student-centred domain is a more difficult and complex conceptual shift.

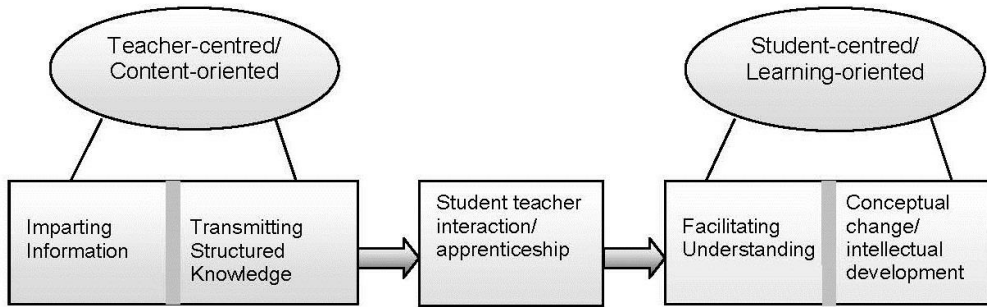


Figure 2—Adapted from Kember, 1997, p. 264.

This model has been refined over the past two decades, with further studies questioning the existence of the middle or transitional stage. However, what remains is the need for staff development activities that promote changes in teaching conceptions or beliefs in order to assist teachers in transitioning through these stages from teacher-centred to more learner-centred approaches (Kember & Kwan, 2000).

A range of studies in the area of teaching conceptions and approaches have also used phenomenographic research including Martin and Ramsden (1992), Prosser and Trigwell (1999), Åkerlind (2003) and McKenzie (2003). There are some key ontological differences between phenomenography and cognitive perspectives used by authors such as Samuelowicz and Bain (2001) and Kember (1997), with the latter taking a different perspective on conceptual development. From a cognitive perspective, development is seen as conceptual change, which implies teacher-centred and learner-centred conceptions are independent of each other along a continuum of development (Åkerlind, 2008). When viewing this development within Figure 2, a person is seen as replacing one system of belief (teacher-centred conception) with another (learner-centred). This contrasts with the phenomenographic perspective, where conceptions are seen as related within a hierarchy of inclusiveness, implying that development towards a more learner-centred understanding is the result of conceptual expansion (Åkerlind, 2008).

An example of a phenomenographic research approach demonstrating expansion within a hierarchy of inclusiveness can be seen in the study by Åkerlind (2003). This study established ways university practitioners viewed their role as teachers. Four qualitatively different conceptions emerged to include:

- 1) A Teacher Transmission Focus;
- 2) A Teacher-Student Relations Focus;
- 3) A Student Engagement Focus; and
- 4) A Student Learning Focus.

These conceptions, which are similar to those reported by Kember (1997), represent the increasing awareness of variation from an initial teacher-centred focus (didactically imparting information to passive students), to more complex and sophisticated learner-centred views of teaching (encouraging students to think critically and emphasising the learning process). This phenomenographic assumption recognises that each category builds upon and subsumes the understanding and skills within earlier categories, as teachers gradually become more aware of the wider variations in their practices (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996; Åkerlind, 2007).

Despite the differences in the assumptions of cognitive and phenomenographic perspectives, findings from both perspectives suggest teachers do transition through a number of qualitatively more sophisticated stages in order to develop towards learner-centred conceptions of teaching. Crucially, this development of more sophisticated teaching conceptions is necessary in order to change the way teachers approach their practice, as they are unlikely to utilise approaches that extend beyond the sophistication of their current conceptions (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996). Therefore, encouraging learner-centred approaches requires the broadening and developing of underlying conceptions of what teaching and learning means (Kember & Gow, 1994; Irby, 1996).

This approach requires a move beyond traditional staff development approaches that simply highlight various teaching strategies and step by step guides to their use and the assumption that teaching staff will simply start using these, to more sophisticated approaches that challenge current understandings and help participants become more aware of wider variations in teaching and learning (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996; McKenzie, 1999; Åkerlind 2007). While these findings provide significant insight into the direction of staff development programs, changing teacher conceptions remains a challenging task (Irby, 1996; Trigwell & Prosser 1996). In this regard, the focus of further discussion will be on the conceptions police educators hold towards their own teaching rather than

an examination of organisational approaches to teaching within the policing jurisdictions studied.

EMERGING ISSUES IN POLICE RECRUIT EDUCATION

As indicated at the beginning of this paper, there has been considerable criticism of teaching approaches used in police academies and the need to improve the design and delivery of various police recruit learning programs (Birzer, 2003; Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Cleveland & Saville, 2007; Doherty, 2012; Oliva & Compton, 2010). These authors commenting upon the North American situation suggest police educators are overly teacher-centred, inhibiting the development of problem-solving skills and deeper learning by police recruits. Similar comments were also made in relation to police recruit education in the United Kingdom, where Pearce (2005) and White (2006) suggest contemporary adult learning techniques are only marginally adhered to due to the current teacher-centred methodology. Similarly in Australia, there has also been criticism of police education via inquiries including the Fitzgerald Inquiry (Queensland) and the Wood Royal Commission (New South Wales), both of which criticised the narrow law enforcement focus and insular nature of police education programs (Fitzgerald, 1989; Wood, 1997; Cox, 2011).

While there appears to be a consensus amongst academics in the area of police education about these findings, there is limited research in the specific area of teaching approaches and conceptions amongst police educators. One of the initial studies on the teaching styles of police educators' was conducted by Berg (1990) in the United States. While this ethnographic field study did not determine whether police educators were teacher or learner-centred, it did categorise participants into various typologies which highlighted a range of issues in relation to the staffing of police academies. Berg in particular, was critical of the lack of teaching qualifications and the preparation of police for their teaching roles.

The first specific study in relation to the variation of teaching styles of police educators was conducted by McCoy (2006), who found that police academy staff were predominantly teacher-centred in their approach. His analysis did indicate doubts by a number of participants about whether these traditional teaching methods were appropriate. However, McCoy suggested these participants did not possess the required training and development in teaching to fully articulate and demonstrate learner-centred methods. Research

similar to McCoy (2006) was conducted by Werth (2009), who compared the teaching styles of staff at two US police academies in the process of implementing PBL.

Interestingly, the staff at these academies, despite having received specific PBL training and experience facilitating PBL, still recorded scores indicating teacher-centred styles similar to those found by McCoy (2006). However, Werth (2009) highlighted a number of possible reasons for this relating to how PBL was being implemented and the time needed to break down resistance in the police sub-culture. Finally, a survey of police educator teaching approaches by Shipton (2011) supported the findings of McCoy (2006) and Werth (2009), indicating that teaching staff in an Australian police academy were overly teacher-centred in their approach and not adequately prepared for their teaching role. Shipton (2011) suggested these findings underlined the need for future staff development to change the underlying conceptions police educators hold in relation to their teaching in line with the broader higher education sector (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996; Kember & Gow, 1994; McKenzie, 1999; Åkerlind 2007).

A PROPOSED DEVELOPMENTAL PATHWAY FOR POLICE EDUCATORS

Studies conducted to date into teaching approaches by police educators have lacked a research approach that provides a more detailed pathway or continuum of conceptions towards teaching. As such, the author of this paper is currently undertaking research into the conceptions of teaching and growing and developing as teachers of police educators from across a number of Australian police academies. While it is not the intention of this paper to discuss the findings of this research or its method in depth, some preliminary findings in relation to teaching conceptions will be shared to shed some light on the developmental pathway of police educators. The credibility of these findings is supported by fact they align closely with the teaching conceptions already described above by Kember (1997) and Åkerlind (2003) in their studies of university teachers.

The study in question involved interviewing 25 police and non-police teachers across five Australian police academies involved in the initial training and education of police recruits. Two of these academies conduct their programs in partnership with a university within the higher education (HE) sector, while the other three operate as registered training organisations within the VET sector.

However, at least at face value, each of these academies appears to operate on quite similar standards in terms of content delivered and student outcomes. Regarding content, this includes but is not limited to the law, investigations, communications, ethics, officer safety and physical training.

The research approach utilised for this study was phenomenography. A key emphasis with this methodology is establishing conceptions that represent a collective understanding of a given phenomenon. The conceptions highlighted below thus represent the beliefs of varied numbers of teachers from across different academies, teaching on different subjects and across both HE and VET sectors. As phenomenography is not a quantitative method, there is no attempt to compare or contrast different categories of teachers, institutions or delivery systems but instead represent a collective conception of teaching.

In terms of method, semi-structured interviews of around an hour in length were utilised. The aim of the interview was to focus on the research participants' beliefs or conceptions in relation to teaching. The data analysis consisted of an iterative process, where the interview transcripts were read and re-read to highlight similarities and differences in order to establish variations in how police educators conceive of their teaching role. In establishing a phenomenographic outcome space, the different meanings or variations on a collective level are established and then at some stage in this process, the structural aspects of these meanings are also constructed. As this study is only partially complete and for the sake of simplicity, only the conceptual meanings are represented below.

The preliminary conceptions from this study, ranging from less to more sophisticated, suggest police educators see teaching as being one or more of:

1. Transmitting Policing Knowledge

In this category, the teacher is seen as simply 'covering' content by passing on basic information and/or structured policing knowledge to their students. A teacher in this category predominantly uses lecture methods of teaching but also considers a variety of other strategies such as visual media and role plays, but with the general intention of assisting students to remember subject content and reproduce this for their assessments. Students are seen as passive recipients of this knowledge, with the teacher maintaining control over delivery as the centre of attention and expertise in the classroom. Their

focus is upon the subject content, with minimal consideration of learning processes or the student's role within that process.

2. Teacher and Student Interaction

The aim of teachers in this category is to interact with their students in a way that helps them feel more confident and enthused about their learning. In addition to relying upon the methods described in Category 1, there are attempts to promote interaction between teacher and students. This is achieved via teacher directed questions towards students to check their understanding or memory of what is considered to be the right answers in relation to the subject content. In this regard, the right answers often consist of repeating structured information or actions, perhaps in the form of verbal answers, written answers or a role play but with limited analysis or deeper engagement with the topic. Teachers in this category will tend to utilise practical policing scenarios, often from their own experience, but still control how students engage with these situations, usually by directing interaction from the front of the classroom.

3. Facilitating Understanding

This category demonstrates an increasing focus on students engaging in meaningful learning activities to promote a deeper understanding of the topic when compared to Categories 1 and 2. There is less reliance upon the teacher to cover content, with a greater emphasis upon actively guiding students towards finding their own answers. By finding their own answers and justifying these to their teacher and peers, there is an increasing expectation that students will think more about why they are important and how they are applied in policing situations. Rather than simply directing activities from the front of the classroom, the teacher makes increasing use of practical scenarios and/or learning groups that can assist in developing teamwork and communication skills in addition to improving their understanding and application of the subject content. Teachers in this category often describe being more didactic in terms of their teaching method at the beginning of their subject, in a way similar to Categories 1 and 2 but with the intent of gradually removing this support or scaffolding as the students become more confident in dealing with their learning tasks. However, teachers in this category still maintain a reasonable degree of control or structure in the classroom and do not explicitly encourage the

development of learning processes beyond what is required for the immediate learning task.

4. *Learner Development*

The emphasis in this category is on student learning and development in the classroom and beyond the classroom into their future policing practice. Teachers in this category place an increasing emphasis upon learning processes that engages police students in critical thinking and problem solving activities in relation to the subject content. In this regard, there is an explicit focus on both content and learning processes. This approach is often achieved via holistic and increasingly more complex scenarios than seen in the preceding categories. Teachers in this category also believe it is important to gradually cede control of learning in the classroom to their students by encouraging them to reflect upon their learning and take greater responsibility for their own development. They do these things to foster more autonomous or lifelong learning approaches that students can take from their academy experience and utilise in the field as police. They see the students benefiting by this on a personal and professional level and ultimately see a benefit to the wider community due to more effective policing.

It is important to remember that like the findings of Åkerlind (2003) described above, these beliefs by police educators about their teaching represent an expanding awareness of teaching, so each higher category also includes aspects of lower categories, but not *vice versa*. For example, a teacher in Category 4 may at times utilise a lecture method seen in Category 1, questioning methods highlighted in Category 2 or guide learning groups similar to Category 3, however, they will use these methods in a more selective manner than the lower categories and more importantly, with the intention of promoting deeper learning and developing their student's learning autonomy. In this regard, a teacher in Category 4 has the advantage of being aware of the beliefs and approaches of all four categories.

Returning to the previously discussed analogies described by Stinson and Milner (2006), Category 1 most clearly represents the sage on the stage, with the teacher in control at the front of the classroom and acting as the font of knowledge to be imparted to their students. Category 2 starts to see the sage become slightly less teacher-centred by interacting more with their students, but

in many ways they still remain on the stage by maintaining control over this process. Category 3 then sees our sage taking increasing opportunities to move from the stage and act more of a guide for students who are undertaking active learning tasks that begin to promote a deeper and more effective understanding of their topic.

Finally, with Category 4, our teacher spends most of their time being a guide on the side, although occasionally returning to be a sage on the stage when required at key points of the learning process. Importantly, part of being a guide within Category 4 now requires our teacher to develop their students' ability to learn for themselves, which not only facilitates a deeper understanding of the topic, but also provides an ability to continue learning and developing as police practitioners beyond the immediate learning situation. Essentially, Category 4 represents and applies the principles of adult education that police educators should see as their goal.

Crucially, these categories are not strictly differentiated by what methods are used, although the higher categories do tend to use what are considered more learner-centred methods, such as PBL. Rather, it is how they are utilised and the intention towards a certain kind of learning that highlights the differences. Essentially, each of these categories represents *qualitative* differences in a teacher's understanding of teaching rather than a *quantitative* increase in knowledge. This perspective also assumes that less sophisticated understandings should not be regarded as wrong, rather as incomplete (Åkerlind, 2008).

What these conceptions represent is a potential pathway for police educators' development as teachers; however, as highlighted earlier in this paper, developing more sophisticated teaching conceptions is a challenging task. Åkerlind's (2003; 2007) research in this area has shown that teachers with learner-centred conceptions of their role will also tend to have more sophisticated conceptions of their development in this role. In other words, our Category 4 police educator will seek teaching development that will improve their ability to promote student reflection, facilitate group learning and make learning processes explicit for students. For a Category 1 teacher, their developmental choices would be limited to acquiring better ways of presenting to students, such as improving their knowledge of the topic or improving their PowerPoint presentations.

Again, these actions of the Category 1 teacher would not be necessarily wrong, as teachers in the higher categories might also choose to do these things, especially in relation to content knowledge. The problem is that Category 1 teachers' lack of awareness limits their understanding of developmental choices and as such, they might often reject attempts to develop their skills and knowledge in learner-centred approaches. This situation is also exacerbated by the inclination of police educators to maintain control of teaching in the classroom similar to the way control is required in operational policing situations (Shipton, 2008).

While the author's thesis will explore development in greater detail, a brief anecdotal example will be discussed to highlight the importance of this limited awareness and its implications for staff development. This example relates to a recent induction workshop conducted at the New South Wales Police Academy for operational police seconded to assist with academy teaching. The two day workshop was the first stage of a standard developmental program and in many ways attempted to provide some of the teaching skills and knowledge that could be associated with what has been described above in Category 3 and perhaps to some extent Category 4. During the course and in its post evaluation, however, a number of participants voiced concerns that the workshop did not properly prepare them for their imminent teaching role, as there was no consideration given to the subject content they were to teach.

While aspects of content knowledge were considered in other parts of the induction process, it still became clear that many of the participants were sceptical about being taught various facilitation skills. In this case, an explanation for this reaction could be that many of the participants had little or no experience as teachers and as such would most likely have less sophisticated Category 1 or perhaps Category 2 conceptions. Having these beliefs would give participants the impression that teaching is about being the sage on the stage, therefore their main focus of development would logically focus upon content knowledge and lecture methods to transmit this in a quantitative manner to students (Åkerlind, 2007). Again, there is no suggestion being made that these approaches are not important but a teacher limited to these conceptions will struggle to promote deeper learning (Biggs, 1999).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Police educators across Australia, most of who are serving police, tend to only have minimal teaching standards, often in the form of a Certificate IV in Training and Assessment. Formal development within police academies is also limited, especially with the issue of tenure affecting some jurisdictions. While a case could be made for increasing the amount of staff development in relation to teaching, including the completion of university level teaching qualification, this paper additionally highlights the need to structure developmental processes around the conceptions police educators hold towards their teaching. In doing this, there should be several considerations made in relation to this approach.

Firstly, while police educators are expected to develop in their role via a range of formal and informal strategies and develop specific teaching methods and approaches, there should also be a focus on expanding teachers underlying conceptions (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996, Kember, 1997; Åkerlind, 2007). If a police educator has a Category 1 conception as described above, they may be unwilling to accept new training in learner-centred approaches, such as PBL. In fact, in instances such as this, there are many examples of police educators actively undermining attempts to implement learner-centred changes to curriculum (Cleveland & Saville, 2007). Åkerlind (2007) therefore suggests that development should be tailored to individual teacher's intentions and understanding either by limiting the aims of development to suit their conceptions or by providing specific strategies to expand their conceptions into higher categories. This may also entail grouping teachers based on their current conceptions and tailoring courses to meet the specific needs of those groups.

Secondly, developing more sophisticated learner-centred conceptions takes time. Undertaking initial training programs or completing tertiary qualifications in teaching are an important first step but alone are often not enough and in fact, over the short term, these programs may result in increased uncertainty by teachers about their role (Lindblom-Ylänne, Trigwell, Nevgi & Ashwin, 2006). Thus, the suggestion is that any change process will need to consider an ongoing developmental process within the workplace to encourage the conceptual expansion required (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996; Shipton, 2011).

Thirdly, specific courses and developmental programs to expand teaching conceptions should be structured so teachers examine their own experiences and those of their students (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996). This approach can assist

participants to see variation amongst different teachers and learners and gradually bring into focus the higher conceptions of teaching. This allows teachers to progress at a reasonable pace through the different stages or conceptions, rather than expecting a dramatic move from lower to higher stages. Also, it is not suggested that teaching specific skills is not appropriate. Rather, it is suggested that skill development should be incorporated into the process of broader conceptual development (Paakkari, 2012). Essentially, this is a holistic teaching approach that is consistent with the learner-centred principles of contemporary adult education theory that introduces police educators to appropriate teaching approaches at the very beginning of their career in a manner that is consistent with internal and external teaching development programs.

REFERENCES

- Åkerlind, G. (2003). Growing and developing as a university teacher – Variation in meaning, *Studies in Higher Education*, 28(4), 375–390.
- Åkerlind, G. (2007, February). Constraints on academics' potential for developing as a teacher, *Studies in Higher Education*, 32(1), 21–37.
- Åkerlind, G. (2008, December). A phenomenographic approach to developing academics' understanding of the nature of teaching and learning. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 13(6), 633–644.
- Berg, B.L. (1990). Who should teach police: A typology and assessment of police academy instructors. *American Journal of Police*, 9, 79–100.
- Biggs, J. (1999). What the student does: Teaching for enhanced learning. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 18(1), 57–75.
- Birzer, M.L. (2003). The theory of andragogy applied to police training. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 26(1), 29–42.
- Bradford, D., & Pynes, J. (1999). Police academy training: Why hasn't it kept up with practice? *Police Quarterly*, 2(3), 283–301.
- Clayton, B., Myers, D., Bateman, A. & Bluer, R. (2009) Practitioner expectations and experiences with the Certificate IV in Training and Assessment (TAA40104), National Centre for Vocational Education and Training Research (NCVER), Australian Government.
- Cleveland, G. (2006) Using problem-based learning in police training. *The Police Chief*, December 2006. pp. 16–24.

- Cleveland, G., & Saville, G. (2007). *Police PBL, Blueprint for the 21st century*, Community-Oriented Policing Services, US Department of Justice and Regional Community Policing Training Institute, Wichita State University. Retrieved January 1, 2011, from <http://www.pspbl.com/pdf/PolicePBLBook2007.pdf>
- Conti, G.J. (1989). Teaching styles and the adult basic educator. In M.C. Taylor & J.A. Draper (Eds.), *Adult Literary Perspectives* (pp. 311–317). Toronto, Canada: Culture Concepts.
- Cox, D. (2011) Educating police for uncertain times: The Australian experience and the case for a ‘normative’ approach, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 3–22.
- Doherty, D. (2012) *Problem Based Learning links to Community Policing and Professionalization in Police Education*, PBL Interim Evaluation Literature Review for Charles Sturt University, School of Policing Studies.
- Fitzgerald, G.E. (1989) Report of a Commission of Inquiry Pursuant to Orders in Council, Queensland Government, Brisbane.
- Irby, D.M. (1996). Models of faculty development for problem-based learning, *Advances in Health Sciences Education*, 1, 69–81.
- Kember D., & Gow, L. (1994). Orientations to teaching and their effect on the quality of student learning. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 65(1), 58–74.
- Kember, D. (1997). A reconceptualisation of the research into university academics’ conceptions of teaching. *Learning and Instruction*, 7(3), 255–275.
- Kember D., & Kwan, K. (2000). Lecturer’s approaches to teaching and their relationship to conceptions of good teaching. *Instructional Science*, 28, 469–490.
- Lindblom-Ylanne, S., Trigwell, K., Nevgi, A. and Ashwin, P. (2006) How approaches to teaching are affected by discipline and teaching context, in *Studies in Higher Education*, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 285–298.
- McCoy, M. (2006). Teaching style and the application of adult learning principles by police instructors. *Policing: An International Journal of Policing Strategies & Management*, 29(1), 77–91.

- McKenzie, J. (2003) *Variation and change in university teachers' ways of experiencing teaching*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Technology, Sydney.
- Oliva, J.R. & Compton, M.T. (2010) What do police officers value in the classroom?: A qualitative study of the classroom social environment in law enforcement education, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol. 33 Iss: 2, pp. 321–338.
- Paakkari, L. (2012) Widening Horizons, A Phenomenographic Study of Teachers' Conceptions of Health Education and Its Teaching and Learning, PhD dissertation.
- Pearce, R.J. (2006) Probationer training for neighbourhood policing in England and Wales: fit for the purpose? *Policing: an International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, Vol. 29, No. 2.
- Prosser, M., & Trigwell, K. (1999). *Understanding learning and teaching: the experience in higher education*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Ramsden, P. (1992). *Learning to teach in higher education*. London: Routledge.
- Samuelowicz, K., & Bain, J.D. (1992). Conceptions of teaching held by academic teachers. *Higher Education*, 24, 93–111.
- Shipton, B. (2008) Exploding Some Myths in Police Education: Reflections on the Police Problem Based Learning Course, *Australian Police Journal*, December 2008, pp. 181–186.
- Shipton, B. (2011). Expanding Police Educators' understanding of teaching, are they as learner-centred as they think? *Journal of Learning Design*, 4(2), 1–19.
- Sims, B. (2006) Creating a Teaching and Learning Environment in Criminal Justice Courses that Promotes Higher Order Thinking, *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*; 17, 2, pp. 336–399.
- Stinson, J.E. & Milter, R.E. (2006) Problem-based learning in business education: Curriculum design and implementation issues, in *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, Vol. 1996, Iss. 68, pp. 33–42.
- Trigwell, K., & Prosser, M. (1996). Changing approaches to teaching: A relational perspective. *Studies in Higher Education*, 21(3), 275–284.

- Trigwell, K., Prosser, M., & Waterhouse, F. (1999). Relations between teachers' approaches to teaching and students' approaches to learning. *Higher Education*, 37, 57– 70.
- Werth, E.P. (2009). Problem-based learning in police academies: Adult learning principles utilized by police trainers. Unpublished Doctor of Education dissertation, Liberty University.
- Wood, J. (1997) Royal Commission Into the New South Wales Police Service, Final Report, Volume II: Reform. NSW Government.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Brett Shipton was a sworn police officer with the New South Wales Police Force for fifteen years. During his career he worked in general duties, highway patrol, and as a police academy instructor. While completing the degrees of Bachelor of Education and a Master of Education, Mr Shipton became increasingly involved in curriculum design and assisted with staff development activities. In 2001, he left the police force and spent some time working as an education officer in corrective services, and teaching justice studies with a Queensland college of Technical and Further Education (TAFE). In 2005, he returned to the New South Wales Police Academy when he works as a lecturer for Charles Sturt University on the Associate Degree in Policing Practice, teaching on several law related subjects and problem-based learning. Currently, Mr Shipton is completing a PhD that focuses on analysing the conceptions police educators hold towards their teaching and their development in this role.

- o O o -

Critical Essay

POLICE INSTRUCTOR OR POLICE EDUCATOR?

Brian R. Basham^{††}

The past few decades has seen a high degree of scrutiny on police and police instructional techniques, with various researchers recommending engagement with adult learning principles. However, what is lacking in contemporary research is any discussion about the role of police instructors and whether they are able to engage with adult learning principles. This critical essay commences that discussion and offers suggestions on how to transition the police instructor to become an effective police educator. It is argued that police instructors undertake several informal roles that are in contrast to the role of an educator; and place the police instructor in an abnormal position of power. Further, it is proposed that the current required training qualification for police instructors is an inappropriate and ineffectual qualification for police educators. This critique concludes by offering some suggestions that are likely to overcome potential barriers to increasing the competency of police instructors.

Keywords police instructor, police educator, qualifications, perceived barriers

INTRODUCTION

There is considerable literature produced outlining specific pedagogical approaches, in addition to highlighting the need to develop varying informational/education programs for dealing with various sectors of the community, along with proposing sociological and/or criminological approaches to policing (see Birzer, 2003; Etter & Griffin, 2013; Oliva & Compton, 2010; Marenin, 2004 as examples). What is missing in the literature, in equal measure, is a review of the role of the police instructor/educator and their ongoing development, particularly in Australia. This critical essay discusses this issue

^{††} Corresponding author: bbash@bigpond.net.au

and offers suggestions as to how to police agencies might consider transitioning their police instructors to become effective police educators.

It is argued that police instructors do more than provide instruction and they undertake several informal roles that are in contrast to the role of educators; and place the police instructor in an abnormal position of power that is not enjoyed by aligned professions. These roles include acting as a recruiting gatekeeper ensuring that the new recruit can be worthy of being called a police officer; and a socialisation and orientation agent to move the recruit from civilian to police officer.

Further, it is argued that the current Australian qualification of a Certificate IV in Training and Assessment is an inappropriate and ineffectual qualification for police educators. It is asserted that this qualification, at best, encourages knowledge transfer through a process of *watch me do it, watch me slow, let's do it together, now off you go*. This encourages mimicry as a form of competence demonstration, but does not provide the new police officer with the skills to deal with situations outside of the mimicry environment and does not facilitate strong critical thinkers.

The term *instructor* denotes how the current role is perceived; the term *educator* denotes the preferred approach to police instruction. Also, while the discussion is based in the initial police recruit training phase, there are intersections with the role of the instructor as discussed with other police training courses, such as courses for specialisation and/or promotion.

HISTORICAL ROLE AND FUNCTION

Historically, the role of the police instructor was to educate the civilian into becoming a police officer (Scott, 1939; Frost, 1959). Yet, police instruction, and by extension, the role of the police instructor, has moved to separate the police officer from society and turn them into a police officer (Ryan, 2010). Or, as it was once described to the author by a police recruit, instructors assist the recruit to transition from being a civilian through “the act of becoming blue”. This separation is in contrast with the Peelian principles of policing which are still discussed today. For the purpose of the argument here, the key principle states that:

Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public

who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.

Scott (1939), as an historical reference, considered that police training should create an enlightened educational approach. This “enlightened approach” would include the subject of psychology, which would permit the police officer to “study his community with sympathetic understanding,” so he could see crime as “not being an outcome of a defective moral sense, but as a mental or emotional defect” (Scott, 1939, pp. 246–7). As such, the police officer will see the criminal as a sick man who must be cured. Conti (2010, p. 6) observed that police instructors model a type of behaviour that demonstrated the “kind of heart that a cop had to have and then go on to discuss the solidarity that existed among officers as they are collectively running towards trouble while everyone else was running away.”

A more contemporary view of the police instructor is that they actively participate as an extension of the recruit selection process through monitoring the “progress of the recruits and detecting significant personality and/or performance characteristics” which would render them unsuitable to be a police officer (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology Education Unit [RMIT], 1986, p. 50). This places the instructor in a conflicting dual role; the first being that of an instructor training the person in the tasks of policing, and that of a recruiter identifying suitable persons to remain in the police academy and continuing the journey to become a police officer.

The role of police education, and thereby extension police instructors, has been seen as one to help shape the recruits to become a police officer and into the role and discipline of policing. For example, Moriarty (1929) as an historical reference, indicated that the goal of the police instructor is to gauge the recruits and determine the recruits “possibilities as a policeman” (p. 459). Further the police instructor could only teach a person how to act like a policeman as it is only the “practical work out of doors” (p. 466) that will teach a person to become a police officer.

More contemporary literature provides a view of police training as a model that emphasises reactive policing, offender apprehension and processing skills, with a greater focus on practical street knowledge and skills to function in the everyday policing practice (Jaschke, 2008). The police educational model, and by extension the instructors, is observed as wedded in a behavioural list-

orientated competency-based training model with a greater focus on order maintenance, law enforcement, and general service; with the training and operational environment bedded into a quasi-military management style which is antithetical to a democratic management style (Cox, 2011; Ryan, 2010; Pitman and Barrow, 1995).

Police training appears to rely heavily on the rule of law and organisational procedures, with a training model as one that reflects “pedagogical practices that reflect doctrinal values rather an educative values...[that] limits intellectual stimulation” (Densten as cited in Ryan, 2006, p. 7–8). McCoy (2006) stated that police training, and by extension police instructors, as being wedded in a “very behavioural and militaristic environment” (p. 29). This approach, according to Ryan (2010), is characterised by an ‘insular and defensive culture,’ that seeks to maintain the status quo and as such “positions training in a traditional, technical framework” (Ryan, 2006, p. 3) where “learning is at best trivialised, at worst, never evaluated, taken-for-granted,” ... “that displays a certain “operational concern that is bound up in notions of liability and control” (Ryan, 2006, p. 4).

Other researchers, such as Conti (2010) view the role of police instructors as one that embeds organisational cultures and values into police recruits. Conti (2010) contends that this de-civilianisation is best achieved through the traditional high stress paramilitary training. Through his research, Conti contends that this training approach aids in the “excision of the civilian identity and transmission of the demeanour, bearing, and competence befitting and idealized sense of police character” (Conti, 2010, p. 5). Conti (2010) observed that socialisation also occurs through the use of “war stories or parables told by instructors” (p. 5), and it is through these narratives that the notion of “weak links” and “warrior hearts” is reinforced (Conti, 2010, p. 5). Conti states that the notion of warrior hearts is articulated and reinforced by academy staff who talk about “the kind of heart that a cop had to have and then go on to discuss the solidarity that existed among officers as they are collectively ‘running towards trouble while everyone else was running away” (p. 6).

Chappell and Lanza-Kouduce (2010) also identified that police training socialises the recruits into the police force, and excises them from the general community by encouraging recruits to “break ties with former ‘nonpolice’ friends” and that the “instructors modelled this behavior by making it clear to recruits that their peer group was made up of fellow officers” (Chappell and

Lanza-Kouduce, 2010, p. 203). Ahern (cited in Van Maanen 1972, (pp. 12)) articulates the de-civilianisation of the recruit:

The day the new recruit walks through the doors of the police academy he leaves society behind to enter a profession that does more than give him a job, it defines who he is. For all the years he remains, closed into the sphere of its rituals...he will be a cop.

MOVE TO EMBRACE ADULT LEARNING PRINCIPLES

In the past decade, police researchers and academics have advocated the use of adult learning principles by sworn police instructors — specifically those espoused by Knowles (see Birzer, 2003, 2004; Cleveland and Saville, 2007; Etter, 2000, 2011; McCoy, 2006; Shipton, 2009, 2011). It is asserted that by introducing adult learning principles such as problem-based learning, peer-to-peer learning, and self-directed learning approaches to police education, recruits will embrace a community-orientated policing methodology. Further, by abandoning the methodology of paramilitary training and embracing adult learning principles, police officers will recognise their place in society as opposed being separate to society as a whole, and be better equipped to make decisions with and in consultation and consideration of the community they serve. It is asserted that by having a focus on student-centred problem-based learning, police officers will graduate better equipped to deal with the unpredictable nature faced in day-to-day policing.

However, there has been some research that indicates that police instructors are either not capable of embracing adult learning principles as they either do not understand them, have no awareness of them, or are unable to incorporate them into their instructional practices (McCoy 2006; Shipton, 2009, 2011). Further, some instructors indicated that there is insufficient time in their curriculum to integrate student-centred educational practices (Basham, 2011, McCoy, 2006).

OVERCOMING PERCEIVED BARRIERS

The argument of insufficient time is not considered a valid defence to not engaging with adult learning principles. Rather, it is suggested that the barriers to implementing true educational practices within a police academy lie in the following areas:

- an ongoing culture that only police know how to educate police and therefore traditional non-police educational approaches are not considered relevant or appropriate;
- an ongoing adherence to the position of instruction that has a greater emphasis on the art and craft of policing;
- having the Certificate IV in Training and Assessment as the only required educational qualification for instructors;
- a lack of ongoing professional development that encourages instructional/educational staff to investigate adult learning principles and apply them to their day-to-day educational activities; and
- the policy of a limited time-in-position for sworn police instructional/educational staff.

To overcome these barriers the following remedial actions are proposed. These recommendations stem from the author's personal observations based on his educational experience, though they resonate with the subject literature.

The need for greater emphasis on education and not just instruction; that is while recognising the need to educate police officers in the vocational aspects of operational policing, there needs to be a greater emphasis on not just showing them what or how to do, but also why. By developing a deeper understanding of the *why* police officers will develop a quicker and greater understanding of the "what and how."

Police instructors should advance their knowledge of pedagogical practices through undertaking additional courses such as the Australian qualification of a Graduate Certificate in Learning and Teaching in Higher Education or a Graduate Certificate in Tertiary Teaching and Learning. They can build on current professional practice thereby providing instructors the ability to explore learning and teaching at higher level and be exposed to theoretical knowledge that would move them beyond the current teacher-centred approaches to engaging with learner-centred approaches to police training (McCoy, 2006) Within these tertiary qualifications, it is important that there are modules on learning principles in general and adult learning principles specifically, pedagogical practices, and effective assessment and evaluation that move beyond the competency-based mind-set.

These qualifications are viewed as what is needed within the competency-based system, but it is argued that the generic Certificate IV in Training and Evaluation is an inadequate qualification for the tasks that police educators undertake. By way of example, some of colleagues of the author were required to upgrade their Certificate IV. The units they completed had little emphasis on pedagogical practices. The textbook provided contained approximately seventeen pages on generic learning theories, out of approximately 270 pages. This is viewed as scant coverage and hence inadequate for an adult education environment as well as for an occupation that requires its graduates, unlike other professions, to be competent in tackling a variety of situations once they become operational.

Some policing organisations impose a maximum time-in-position for sworn police staff. It would be difficult to imagine any other educational institutional advising their academic staff that after three years they must leave. As such, this approach is short-sighted and inhibits the retention and continuity of organisational and educational knowledge and history. It is also inconsistent with developing effective and engaged academic staff. As such, it is argued that such policies should be abolished.

The justification for this rotation is that policing organisations assert that beyond a three-year timeframe the police officer loses their operational contextuality and experience. This rationale appears to be a carryover from a competency-based training regime rather than a capability focussed educational system. This is not to say that educators should not have an understanding of the operational environment, but if the only reason why police officers are rotating out of the educational environment after three or four years is to make the competent and current, then this could be overcome by requiring those officers to undertake regular sabbaticals in the operational domain.

For example, every 18 to 24 months a police educator could be required to work in a supervisory capacity at an operational/training station for a short period—approximately three months. The supervisory capacity, as opposed to working the van/car, best positions the police educator to view the impact that the education process has on the recipients, i.e. operational police officers. It would also allow the educator to gain experience as a supervisor and all the tasks associated with that role should they seek to go down that career path in the future. Additionally, if managed effectively, the ongoing sabbatical rotation would enable other operational police officers an opportunity to teach at the

academy on a secondment basis, thereby increasing their theoretical knowledge for when they return to operational duties.

Further, and in conjunction with the sabbatical proposal, it is recommended that police educational staff should become participant-researchers and engage in an evaluative research process to examine instructional/educational practices within their facility and organisation to ensure that where possible they are using best practices; and share their success and failures with others. This is no different to other experts who work in the educational domain, for example academic lecturers.

Academic lecturers are not only required to remain abreast of contemporary knowledge and approaches they are also required and/or encouraged to research and publish on contemporary educational issues in their area of expertise. By encouraging police educators to become police researchers they will not only be increasing and advancing their knowledge, but the overall knowledge of the profession. Furthermore, this research approach may assist in closing the gap between what is often termed “the real-world” and “academy-land.”

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, international research suggests that instructors are still engaged in a teacher-centred, chalk and talk model of instruction (Basham, 2011; Birzer & Tannerhill, 2001; Cleveland & Saville, 2007; King Stargel, 2009; Shipton 2011). This model of instruction, which is based “both on a behavioural and militaristic model of training rooted in obsolete and counter-productive practices long ago abandoned by educators and other occupational and professional communities” (Cleveland and Saville, 2007, p. 3), it is posited, is no longer suitable as it does not create thinking police officers.

There is a need for police *educators*. An educator is one who not only understands the subject and its application in the operational environment; but also the student, and how to reach those police students through various approaches, (including targeting dominant learning modalities), and approaches that cause the police student to not be able to just ask how, but also why.

The argument here is not advocating against the competency-based development of police officers; nor is it offering suggestions for the ongoing professional development of operational police officers. What is being argued is

the development of a professional police educator. Policing needs to move on from taking an operational officer off the road, equipping them with the Certificate IV and placing them in front of a class of students, whether they are recruits or current serving members seeking a skills upgrade or promotion, and assuming they are able to educate their students.

REFERENCES

- Basham, B.R. (2011). *An understanding and application of adult learning principles by sworn police instructors*. (Unpublished masters research paper). University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, Queensland.
- Birzer, M.L. (2003). The theory of andragogy applied to police training. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 26(1), 29–42.
- Birzer, M.L. (2004, Fall). Andragogy: student centred classrooms in criminal justice programs. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 15(2), 303–411.
- Chappell, A.T., & Lanza-Kaduce, L. (2010). Police Academy socialization: understanding the lessons learned in a paramilitary-bureaucratic organization. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 39(2), 187–214.
- Cleveland, G., & Saville, G. (2007). Police PBL: Blueprint for the 21st Century. *Police Society for Problem Based Learning*. Retrieved from <http://www.pspbl.com/pdf/PolicePBLBook2007.pdf>
- Conti, N. (2010). Weak links and warrior hearts: a framework for judging self and others in police training. *International Police Executive Symposium*, Cochin, India: Le Meridien Hotel & International Convention Center. Retrieved from http://www.ipes.info/WPS/WPS_No_24.pdf.
- Cox, D. (2011). Educating police for uncertain times: the Australian experience and the case for a 'normative' approach. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence, and Counter Terrorism*, 6(1), 3–22.
- Etter, G. (2000). The Perceived Effectiveness of In-service Training of Sheriff's Deputies in Kansas: An Instructional Analysis, *Bell & Howell Information and Learning*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Etter, G.W., & Griffin, R (2011). In-service training of older law enforcement officers: an andragogical argument, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 34 (2), 233 – 245.

- Frost, T.M. (1959). *A forward look in police education*. Springfield, Il: Thomas Books.
- Jaschke, H-G. (2008). Knowledge-led policing and security: Developments in police universities and colleges in the EU. *Policing*, 4(3), 302–309.
- King Stargel, T.M. (2009). The perceived value of problem-based learning at a police training academy (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from Proquest Dissertations & Theses: <http://proquest.umi.com>
- Knowles, M.S, Holton, E.F., & Swanson, R.A. (2011). *The Adult Learner*. Burlingtom, MA: Butterworth-Heinnemann
- Marenin, O. (2004). Police training for democracy. *Police Practice and Research*, 5(2), 107–123.
- McCoy, M.R. (2006). Teaching style and the application of adult learning principles by police instructors. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 29(1), 77–91.
- Moriarty, C.C.H. (1929). The police recruit. *Police Recruit*, 2, 453–466.
- Oliva, J.R., & Compton, M.T. (2010). What do police officers value in the classroom? *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 33(3), 321–338.
- Pitman, G., & Barrow, P. (1995). Queensland Police Education Police Development (1989–1993): The untold story. *Criminology Australia*, February, 15–20.
- Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. (1986). *Training for Constables* (Final Report). Melbourne, VIC:RMIT
- Ryan, C.M. (2010). “Tough, Loyal, Reputable”: Discourses and Subcultures in Vocational Policy Training. Presented at the *VET Research: Leading and Responding in Turbulent Times; AVETRA 13th Annual Conference*. Surfers Paradise, Queensland: Holiday Inn Surfers Paradise. Retrieved from <http://avetra.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/93.00-Cheryle-Ryan.pdf>
- Scott, G. (1939). Police Education. *Police Journal*, 12, 246–248.
- Shipton, B. (2009). Problem based learning: Does it provide appropriate levels of guidance and flexibility for use in police recruit education? *Journal of Learning Design*, 3(1), 57–67.

- Shipton, B. (2011). Expanding police educators' understanding of teaching, are they as learner-centred as they think? *Journal of Learning Design*, 4(2), 1–19.
- Van Maanen, J. (1972). *Observations on the Making of Policemen* (Alfred P. Sloan School of Management Working Paper). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Brian R. Basham, BBus, Med, has worked as an operational police officer from 1986 to 1999. He has also worked as an investigator/analyst with the Royal Commission into the Building Industry; Compliance Officer for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs; and a Fraud Investigation Team Leader with Centrelink. He is currently employed as an Educator—Law & Policy, with the Centre for Road Policing Investigation, Victoria Police. Mr Basham is undertaking studies toward the degree of Doctor of Education (DEd) at Griffith University. His research centres on the development of critical thinking in emergency services personnel.

- o O o -

Book Review

***White-Collar Crime:
Accounts of Offending Behaviour***

by Dr Janice Goldstraw-White

Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke

2012, 231 pages

ISBN: 978-0230581852



Reviewed by Douglas M.C. Allan

When contemplating why fraudster's commit fraud, the academic literature historically considered aspects such as money, threat of loss, superiority complexes, ego, and power, benefitting the victim and group forces as potential motivational triggers. Goldstraw-White's recent publication highlights a slightly different view in relation to commonly held perceptions of fraudster motivations. In examining this issue, the author's research presents what could best be described as a more descriptive set of characteristics of fraudsters. By addressing both motivational and characteristic tendencies, Goldstraw-White's work offers insightful descriptions centred around three categories namely: 1) rational actors; 2) pressurised actors; and 3) seduced actors.

Goldstraw-White separates the *rational actor* category into two distinct sub-categories, the *planned actor*, and the *opportunity actor*. Planned actors are often defined by their planned and calculating behaviour. Individuals will deliberately weigh-up the expected benefits against the likely impact of imprisonment, and in some cases go as far as investigating prison conditions, prison locations and estimated time served in order to develop a clear understanding of the restraining forces which to weigh up the driving forces. Planned actors, suggests Goldstraw-White, are quite rational and methodical in their approach to their crime, in essence crime can and does "pay" when fraudsters identify opportunities and capitalise on them. Opportunity actors on the other hand do not go out of their way to identify system weakness, rather

Goldstraw-White suggests that when confronted with one they simply react in some manner. Her research revealed a common theme in the accounts of the individuals interviewed in that it was quite often lax internal security systems that led them to their crime. Indeed had there been more robust systems been in place then the commencement or continuation of the financial crime would have been much more difficult.

Goldstraw-White splits the pressured actor category into three sub-categories, *aspiring actors*, *desperate actors*, and *threatened actors*. In this category participants revealed that some level of pressure, whether arising internally, or externally applied, triggered the individuals criminality. In the case of aspiring actors participants identified the pursuit of wealth, material success and perceptions of others as becoming so overwhelming, that they did not necessarily realise until too late that their pursuit of goals lead to their offending. In the second sub-category desperate actors, the author breaks this further into two pressure groups; business and family. Economics impacts directly on all levels of society, and the business world is no exception. Often what may appear to be a minor inconvenience triggers a veritable snowball effect and intervention is required to save a business.

Participants disclosed feelings of entrapment where when faced with a choice of losing their livelihood or crime, they chose the lesser of two evils and opted for a criminal response, justifying that this was only a one off situation and there is no real victim apart from themselves. Family, the other pressure group in the desperate actor's category provides many of the same motivating factors that lead seemingly good people to offend. The desire to keep a roof of the families head or to care for an ill family member have been cited in this category. The final sub-category—threatened actors—contrasts the two previous examples where the fraudsters seemingly have the capacity to make an informed decision whether to partake in the offending behaviour or otherwise. However, for the threatened actor such a choice is less readily available to them for fear of some form of exposure of violence.

In the final category, the seduced actors are not pressured to offend by others, nor do they clinically plan their offences or respond to opportunities. Rather the seduced actor feels the need to carry out their crime due to a sense of loyalty or attachment to another.

Utilising data gathered from interviews with fraudsters serving time in several United Kingdom prisons, Goldstraw-White's excellent publication highlights why the fraudsters interviewed committed their crimes, and provides a useful insight for those charged with the prevention of this crime. The publication provides insights into the discussion on "why select one target and not another," "what was considered when deciding to carry out their crime," "could anything have stopped them," and "at what time would intervention have had the greatest impact?" Based on fraudsters' accounts, Goldstraw-White's work moves the topics of motivation and classification of offenders from an interesting academic discourse to a productive analysis of how prevention may be addressed in the future.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER

Douglas M.C. Allan, DipTchLrn, MEd, is a lecturer of policing at Charles Sturt University, School of Policing Studies, and a lecturer of fraud and financial crime at the Australian Graduate School of Policing and Security in New South Wales. He has served as a Constable in the New Zealand Police Service, worked as an accredited as a Counter-Fraud Specialist for National Services Scotland, and an Accredited Counter-Fraud Specialist trainer for National Health Service Counter-Fraud and Security Management Service in England. Mr Allan's academic interests are in the area of fraud and organisational fraud prevention.

- o O o -

Call for Papers

Salus Journal is a peer-reviewed open access e-journal for the publication of law enforcement and security agencies, as well as research findings and discussion papers regarding emergency management and public safety. *Salus Journal* seeks to contribute to practice by inspiring discussion through an interdisciplinary approach.

We invite submissions of articles of between 3,000 and 6,000 words for double-blind peer review that:

- focus on issues that have an impact on criminal justice, law enforcement, national security, or emergency management;
- engage with contemporary topical practice issues; or
- add to the understanding of complex management conundrums.

Submissions can use either qualitative or quantitative approaches, including studies that employ the use of exploratory or holistic approaches. The journal also accepts discussion papers, or critical essays, as long as a clear position is stated and the argument is grounded in sound practice, or the subject literature.

Book Reviews

Salus Journal also accepts book reviews that do not exceed 750 words. Reviews should go beyond the descriptive account of the book's contents. Reviews that discuss the implications of the book's message for practice or policy are sought for inclusion in future editions. Books can be either newly published, or vintage editions where the book's thesis can be applied to a current situation or in newly emerging context.

Submission Process

Visit the journal's submissions page to see a copy of the author guidelines and a summary of the refereeing process:

www.salusjournal.com/submissions