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**THE POLICE AND THE PUBLIC  
IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND**



# *The Police and the Public*

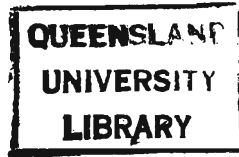
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IN AUSTRALIA  
AND NEW ZEALAND



UNIVERSITY  
OF QUEENSLAND  
PRESS

*D. CHAPPELL AND P. R. WILSON*



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## *Introduction*

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Commentators on the Antipodean way of life have long identified a strong anti-authoritarian trait among Australians and New Zealanders. It is an attitude which perhaps first came under the notice of the outside world during the course of the two World Wars when Australians, and to a lesser extent New Zealanders, gained the reputation of having little respect for military symbols of authority. Within Australia, anti-authoritarian attitudes have more recently been said to account for the average citizen's view of "the police as enemies, army officers as traitors to democracy . . . the boss as a barely necessary evil and anyone who gives an order as deeply suspect".<sup>1</sup>

Because of the Australian's hostility towards those in power over him, it has been claimed that "relations between the police and the public are probably worse in Australia than anywhere else in the world".<sup>2</sup> No evidence has been provided to support this sweeping statement, but it is a view quite frequently expressed in Australia, and, in the case of police-public relations in New Zealand, in that country as well.

This book discusses a research project which sought, as its principal aim, to establish objectively and authoritatively both what the Australasian public think of the police and what the police think about the public. It begins by looking at the important stages in the development of the Australian and New Zealand police forces with particular reference to placing in historical perspective many of the present-day problems confronting police, and in particular, the problem of establishing good relations with the public. The remaining chapters of the book discuss the results of surveys carried out by the authors on police-public relations and suggest methods of improving relations between the two groups. General police organization and working conditions are also discussed when they bear on the problem of police-public relations and police efficiency.

This book is largely the result of data generated from very substantial surveys carried out among citizens and the police in Australia and New Zealand. Because such a large part of the book is taken up with material gathered from thousands of interviews, it is important at this stage to mention the conceptual framework followed by the authors in conducting the surveys.

The questions asked of the respondents were based mainly on those which the British Home Office, in their 1960 investigation, asked British citizens and police.<sup>3</sup> There were two reasons for modelling the questionnaire on the Home Office investigation. First, in organization and structure Australasian police forces closely follow the English police pattern. It seemed appropriate therefore to use questions which had been thoroughly tested in a country which in many respects had a pattern of police-public relations similar to those existing in Australia and New Zealand. Secondly, the authors wished to compare, as far as possible, the attitudes towards each other of public and police in the Antipodes with those of citizens and police in another Western country. The British study is really the only large-scale investigation of police-public relations ever conducted and, to make comparisons with it, it was necessary to ask the respondents in this survey questions similar to those asked in the United Kingdom investigation.

To a considerable extent, then, the same questions were used, and, when it appeared relevant, comparisons were made with the British Home Office Survey. However, pre-testing of the Home Office questionnaire in Australia and New Zealand made it apparent that certain questions used in Britain were inappropriate to the Australasian situation. Consequently some questions were modified to meet conditions in the two countries. In addition, the Australian and New Zealand surveys contained many questions dealing with areas which were not covered by the British study but which appeared to the authors to be important areas to examine – for example, questions on public attitudes towards motoring police and other traffic enforcement personnel.

It is perhaps appropriate at this state to add two cautionary notes concerning the survey material. To begin with, as with all public opinion data, there is always the possibility that respondents may not have given their true opinion on the topics they were asked about. However, thanks to careful questionnaire construction and to trained—and, perhaps most importantly, enthusiastic—interviewers, it is felt that opinions expressed by both the police and the public in this book are their true ones.

Secondly, while well aware that opinions alone are not necessarily indices of objective reality, the authors feel that such views are still

important when social changes are being recommended. To give just one example, a large percentage of the Australian public think the police take bribes. In reality the public might of course be quite wrong. But the fact that a substantial percentage of the public *think* the police guilty of this kind of misdemeanour is damaging to the public image of the police, and any programme designed to improve police-public relations must dispel this belief. In short, if things are *thought* of by people as being real, they are often real in their consequences. Thus public opinion, right or wrong, must be considered.

This book is directed to anyone interested in and (to anticipate later chapters) concerned with the development and future of Australasian police-public relations and police organization. It is hoped that readers will come from a wide cross-section of the community — journalists, teachers, academics, politicians, lawyers, interested citizens, and of course policemen themselves. Because the book is directed toward such a heterogeneous group, many of the technical methods and statistical procedures adopted have been omitted from the text. In addition, tables and figures have been minimized whenever possible. For those who are interested in this aspect of the surveys, the Appendices contain methodological information on the sampling, interviewing, and questionnaire procedures used; they can be ignored by the reader not concerned with such matters. More technical detail concerning the study, as well as other information relevant to police forces but not appropriate here, will be dealt with in more formal academic publications.

This book could not have been written without the advice, encouragement, and co-operation of many people. Of the police officers who helped them, the authors would particularly like to thank Commissioner Whitrod of the Commonwealth police and Commissioners Bischof, McKinna, Fletcher, and Urquhart from Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand respectively. They would also like to thank the Commissioners of the Royal Papuan and New Guinea, Western Australian, and Victorian forces who, though they would not permit interviewing of samples of police in their forces, nevertheless provided information on the organization and structure of their departments which was invaluable for the study.

Others who were of assistance include Moira Poynter from the University of Sydney, Inspector Jackman from the Tasmanian force, Inspectors Killmier and Calvesbert from the South Australian police, Senior-Sergeant Lewis, Head of the Queensland Juvenile Aid Squad, and Superintendent Claridge from the New Zealand police. Dr. John Western from the University of Queensland and Mr. Gordon Hawkins from the University of Sydney provided invaluable

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constructive criticism of the manuscript. The authors would particularly like to thank Mrs. Jill Brown from the Department of Government at the University of Queensland who for the last eighteen months has competently handled the mass of computer analysis attached to a study of this kind.

Financial support for the project was very generously provided in 1967 and 1968 by the Nuffield Foundation and the Australian Research Grants Committee. In addition, the Universities of Queensland and Sydney assisted financially with the project.

Perhaps the greatest debt of gratitude is owed to the 1,000-odd police and 3,000 members of the public in Australia and New Zealand who were brave enough to provide the authors with their opinions on a wide range of subjects affecting the police and the public.

The book is the result of a joint effort by both authors, and both share equal responsibility for its limitations and shortcomings.

### *Notes to Introduction*

1. C. McGregor, *Profile of Australia* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1966), p. 43.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
3. *Royal Commission on the Police. Final Report* (London: H.M.S.O., May 1962), Cmnd. 1960.

# 1

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## *The Development of Police Forces in Australia and New Zealand*

There are at present ten separate and distinct police forces in Australia and its territories — one in each of the six states, one Commonwealth force, and one force each in the Australian Capital Territory, the Northern Territory, and the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.<sup>1</sup> In New Zealand one force polices the country as a whole.

In organization and structure each of these forces follows most closely the English police pattern. This is not surprising, since from the earliest days of settlement the development of police forces in Australia and New Zealand has been strongly influenced by ideas and techniques imported from the mother country. But it would be wrong to assume that Australasian police forces are merely slavish copies of their English counterparts. Police development in both countries has been shaped by the interaction of a variety of factors, including not only ideas from overseas but also such things as the geographic features of Australia and New Zealand, the composition and distribution of their populations, and the availability of economic and human resources.

Perhaps the most important distinction produced between the organization and structure of the English police and the police of the former colonies has been the degree of central government control exercised over the various forces. In Australia and New Zealand central control, whether at the state or national level, has been firmly and completely exercised by governments over police forces for a substantial portion of their history. A national police force was first established in New Zealand in 1867, while in Australia, the New South Wales police were organized as a state force as early as 1862. By the time of Federation at the turn of the century, police forces in all of the Australian states were centrally controlled by their respective governments.

In the United Kingdom, control of police forces has traditionally been vested in local communities rather than in the government at Westminster. Despite recent amalgamations, there are still more than one hundred police forces in England and Wales, although it is proposed eventually to reduce their number to about fifty. While central authority is ever spreading and strengthening its influence over these forces, largely by means of the purse strings held by the Home Office, local control and loyalties remain strong. In the United States, another former colony influenced by English ideas about policing, local control is still more firmly entrenched over the forty thousand or so police forces in the country.<sup>2</sup>

Debate as to the merits or demerits of central government control of the police must be postponed until later in this book. The purpose of the present chapter is mainly to outline the more important stages in the development of the Australian and New Zealand police forces and to discuss the major factors influencing this development. It should be made clear that in pursuing these aims it is not intended to provide a comprehensive history of the police in these two countries, a task better attempted by a professional historian than by a lawyer and a sociologist. Rather it is intended that this chapter should assist in placing in historical perspective many of the present-day problems confronting police, and in particular, the problem of establishing good relations between the police and the public. In the concluding section of this chapter a survey is made of the state of police-public relations during the formative stages of Australasian police forces. This survey forms a prelude to an analysis of data revealing the current state of relations between the police and the public.

### *The English Police System in the Eighteenth Century*

At the time of the first settlement in Australia, professional police forces were already well established in France and other continental countries. But in England such forces were not organized until the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost two centuries after the European developments in this field.<sup>3</sup> The reason for this delay was largely the suspicion felt by most Englishmen for police in general, and the French police system in particular. The police were widely regarded as an instrument of political oppression, and the prejudice against them constituted one of the major barriers to their establishment in England. These fears were expressed by Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the great penal reformers of the period, when he wrote of the powers which might be granted police:

However great and inordinate the powers with which the officers of such a police might be armed, they would in the end be found insufficient. Those very powers, rendering the persons who possessed them the objects of suspicion, and perhaps of public detestation, would make other and still more extraordinary powers necessary, till all the precautions, all the restraints, and all the severities of the most jealous tyranny were one by one established.<sup>4</sup>

Despite these and other objections to the establishment of professional police forces in England, the need for these forces was very real. With the later exception of one or two specially constituted law enforcement bodies like the Bow Street Horse and Foot Patrol, the maintenance of law and order had for centuries mainly depended upon the services of parish constables. Appointments to the extremely ancient office of constable eventually came to be made by justices of the peace assembled in petty sessions.<sup>5</sup> Constables were sworn in office by the justices and became subordinated to them.

The police system depending upon parish constables and justices worked with reasonable efficiency while England remained predominantly an agrarian country, but in the period following the Restoration the effectiveness of the system began to decline rapidly. Critchley, in his important study of the history of police in England and Wales, notes three main causes for this decline:

First, the contempt into which the office of constable had fallen; second, the contempt in which many justices of the peace came to be held . . . and, third, the growth in population and wealth, and the expansion of towns, which marked the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, multiplying the opportunities for crime, while at the same time undermining the stability of society and hence destroying the principle (of the universal obligation to serve as constable) on which the only available means of maintaining law and order still relied.<sup>6</sup>

It became the common practice for those obliged to serve as constable to evade this personal duty by employing deputies, or by paying a fine to parish funds. The result was that by the end of the eighteenth century many of those serving as parish constables "were at best illiterate fools, and at worst as corrupt as the criminal classes from which not a few sprang".<sup>7</sup>

It is scarcely surprising that the breakdown of the police system led to an ever increasing deterioration in the state of law and order in England. Attempts to stem the tide of crime by prescribing the death penalty for the majority of offences, and by transporting offenders to foreign countries, met with little success. Slowly it was realized that only by reform of the police could respect for law and order be restored. During much of the eighteenth century men like the Fielding brothers and Patrick Colquhoun searched for substitutes for the existing police system. However, it was not until the early nineteenth century that significant reforms were instituted.

### *Constables, Convicts, and Corruption*

It was against this background of social disorder and change that the first settlement took place in Australia in 1788. The influence of English ideas of policing was immediately evident in the new colony of New South Wales. Governor Arthur Phillip was granted authority to appoint constables in his second commission in 1787, and this power was renewed in the commissions of later governors.<sup>8</sup> Appointments of both constables and night watchmen were made by Phillip from among convicts of good behaviour.

Having regard to the English experience with constables, it is not strange to discover that this imported system proved equally inadequate in its new setting. While the Night Watch apparently met with some success, on one occasion apprehending six marines who had broken and entered a grain store,<sup>9</sup> the state of crime in the colony soon gave cause for concern. Upon his arrival in New South Wales in 1795, Governor John Hunter sought to remedy the situation, arranging for the election by the inhabitants of constables who would serve for a period of twelve months.<sup>10</sup> While receiving no monetary payment for their services, constables received "encouragement in the form of a pint of rum on Saturday nights. Apparently this encouraged them altogether too much, for six months later the issue was reduced to half a pint."<sup>11</sup>

Lachlan Macquarie, Hunter's successor as governor, found the organization of the police to be most defective and inadequate when he arrived in the colony. Keen to institute reform, he established the first real police force in Sydney in 1810. Not only was the force placed under civilian control for the first time, but the new superintendent, D'Arcy Wentworth, was able to select members of the police from free men, emancipists, and convicts alike.<sup>12</sup> Gradually, the last disappeared, although inevitably emancipists remained, causing frequent complaints regarding the poor quality of many members of the force.<sup>13</sup> The same complaints were made regarding police in rural areas, who remained under the supervision of local magistrates. Indeed, Wentworth considered "it would be a farce to apply the name of police at all" to those in country districts.<sup>14</sup>

The state of the police in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land was one of the matters investigated by Commissioner John Bigge upon his arrival from England in 1819. Van Diemen's Land had first been settled in 1803 and, as in New South Wales, English methods of policing were adopted almost from the outset. The development of the present Tasmanian police can be said to have begun not on that island but at Port Phillip.<sup>15</sup> Following the abortive attempt to settle at Port Phillip in 1804, a body of civilians, appointed



as a night watch for the prospective colony, were transferred with the rest of the settlers to Hobart and formed the nucleus of the Hobart Night Watch.<sup>16</sup>

The Watch, as in Sydney, proved ineffective and was disbanded in 1806 in favour of a military patrol. The lieutenant-governor, David Collins, reported that the

frequent robberies and depredations which are a disgrace to this settlement could never be committed or remain undiscovered if the Night Watch did their duty. But this can scarcely be expected while it (the Watch) continues to be composed of persons who are connected with thieves and who, moreover, are fearful of acting against them.<sup>17</sup>

While Collins' police remained primarily a military body, largely concerned with the administration of the penal system in the colony, they appear also to have acted as a licensing authority for public houses, weights and measures, butchers and bakers.

Following Collins' death in 1810, instructions were issued by Macquarie to the new administrator of the southern part of the colony

to establish as good a police in the settlement under your command as your means will permit of with a view to preserve the Peace and Tranquility of it, and to exert yourself to the utmost in inciting the Inhabitants to sobriety and industry, religion and morality.<sup>18</sup>

Similar instructions were subsequently issued to the administrator of the northern part of the colony. Finance for the police came from a special fund, established in 1810, which received the proceeds of an import duty on spirits and other goods.<sup>19</sup>

In 1818, the police came under unified command with the appointment of A.W.H. Humphrey as the first superintendent of police for the colony. Humphrey, who was also appointed a police magistrate, had conferred upon him the same "power and official duties as that attached to the office of superintendent of police in Sydney".<sup>20</sup> Under his administration the military character of the police was changed, as many free men as possible being recruited, with the strength made up from convicts of good character. However, the main function of the police continued to be that of assisting with the administration of the penal system in the colony.

### *Bigge, Rossi, and Mounted Police*

When Bigge finally reported on the results of his investigation into the police, he indicated that the various forces were in a most unsatisfactory state and made a number of recommendations for reform, one of them being the appointment of an officer to take charge of the police of New South Wales as a whole. The eventual choice of an officer for this position fell upon Captain F.N. Rossi,

who commenced his duties as principal superintendent of police at New South Wales in 1825.<sup>21</sup>

Despite his title, Rossi in fact never became more than head of the Sydney police, and his time was fully occupied policing the population of this expanding settlement.<sup>22</sup> This was a far from easy task in an ill-lit town with a constantly shifting population of seamen, convicts, emancipists, and others. Offenders could readily escape detection by sheltering in the bush surrounding the town, or by taking to a boat on the harbour. No doubt some present-day law enforcement officers would echo the words of Rossi's successor when he complained "that there is no town that I have ever seen which affords so much facility for eluding the vigilance of the police".<sup>23</sup>

While Bigge's attempt to provide a unified control of the police in New South Wales met with failure, another of his recommendations was more successfully implemented in 1825 by the governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, with the formation of a Horse Patrol. The need for such a patrol was dictated largely by the outrages committed by aborigines in certain areas, and by the growing number of escaped convicts who had turned bushrangers.

Hazel King, in her most useful and readable account of the early development of police administration in New South Wales, emphasizes the close resemblance between the organization of the Mounted Police of New South Wales, and that of the Royal Irish Constabulary.<sup>24</sup> The latter were established in 1822 following a long period of civil disturbance in Ireland which could not effectively be quelled by the existing police system. Men of the Irish Constabulary were, in essence, members of a military police force. Armed with short carbines, they wore military style uniforms, lived in barracks, and were drilled.<sup>25</sup>

The resemblance between the Irish and the New South Wales force was "not due to conscious imitation, but rather to the fundamental necessity in both cases, of imposing a rule not willingly accepted by a large section of the community."<sup>26</sup> It is at this point that the development of Australian police forces turns positively from traditional English methods of policing to a more authoritarian system exercising wider controls over the community. An English Royal Commission of 1839, investigating methods of establishing a rural constabulary, rejected any similar system for England and Wales. The commissioners regarded the Royal Irish Constabulary as military and repressive in character, and its organization and actions as "essentially inapplicable to England and Wales".<sup>27</sup> But an organization of this type was not "essentially inapplicable" to New South Wales with its mixed population of free settlers and convicts. The dilemma confronting the authorities in policing this community,

and any other like it, was to keep the balance between the civil liberties of the free settlers and the maintenance of law and order among the convicts. Coupled with this dilemma were the peculiar problems of the Australian environment — the sheer size of the country with its sparsely spread settlements, the ruggedness of the terrain, the attacks by aborigines, the difficulties of communication, and so on. The establishment of an effective police force under these conditions presented almost insuperable difficulties.

Initially, members of the new Horse Patrol were said to be drunk and disorderly and in general unequal to their task.<sup>28</sup> However, their quality improved when volunteers from the New South Wales garrison were enrolled by the governor, Sir Ralph Darling, in 1827. Darling expanded the force to more than one hundred in 1830 following an increase in bushranging, a form of crime which was to trouble the authorities for many decades despite the efforts of the Mounted Police. Recruitment to the force continued to be made from the army, regiments coming to New South Wales being permitted to recruit fifty men in excess of strength in England in order to supply personnel for the Mounted Police.<sup>29</sup> Members of the force received regular army pay, together with extra allowances for police services. Those who were NCO's and troopers were sworn in as constables, while most of the officers were sworn in as justices of the peace and sometimes exercised judicial powers.<sup>30</sup>

Following New South Wales' lead, in Van Diemen's Land the lieutenant-governor, Sir George Arthur, formed a mounted force of Field Police in 1826. Arthur was very conscious that he was in charge of a colony whose *raison d'être* was to be a large gaol, and he paid particular attention to the organization of the police.<sup>31</sup> Members of the new Field Police were recruited by Arthur, as a matter of deliberate policy, from among the best behaved convicts. He believed this policy provided a stimulus for their reform and created distrust and disunion among the convict population.<sup>32</sup>

In 1828, Arthur reorganized the entire police force in Van Diemen's Land, dividing the colony into nine police districts, each of which was placed under the supervision of a stipendiary magistrate, with a force of Field Police at his disposal. This new police structure met with general approval in the colony, Arthur regarding "the magisterial surveillance associated with it as 'the pivot on which the whole system is turned'".<sup>33</sup>

### *The Metropolitan and Sydney Police Acts*

In 1829, those who had been struggling for so long both in and outside Parliament to secure police reform in England won their

major victory — the passage of the Metropolitan Police Act which established the Metropolitan Police.

The history of the Metropolitan Police has been more than adequately described elsewhere.<sup>34</sup> Commanded by commissioners, ultimately responsible to the Home Secretary, the force was organized as a disciplined body with ranks of superintendent, inspector, sergeant, and constable. The Metropolitan Police District was formed into divisions, and each division into beats. The route of each beat was mapped out, and the time taken to walk it registered, so that it became possible to determine at any moment the point at which an officer on a beat ought to be.

The regulations of the Metropolitan Police required members to be under thirty-five, of good physique, at least five feet seven in height, literate, and of good character.

From the outset it was a deliberate policy to recruit men “who had not the rank, habits or station of gentlemen”. There was to be no caste system as in the Navy or Army, and ranks up to that of Superintendent were to be drawn, typically, from ex-warrant officers and NCO’s. When vacancies occurred, promotion to higher ranks was to be given to men from within the force.<sup>35</sup>

It was realized by Sir Robert Peel, founder of the new force, that if his reforms were to succeed the police would require the full support and confidence of the public. In the instructions issued to members of the force this belief is clearly expressed:

He [the constable] will be civil and obliging to all people of every rank and class.

He must be particularly cautious not to interfere idly or unnecessarily in order to make a display of his authority; when required to act, he will do so with decision and boldness; on all occasions he may expect to receive the fullest support in the proper exercise of his authority. He must remember that there is no qualification so indispensable to a police officer as a perfect command of temper, never suffering himself to be moved in the slightest degree by any language or threats that may be used; if he do his duty in a quiet and determined manner, such conduct will probably excite the well-disposed of the bystanders to assist him, if he requires them . . . <sup>36</sup>

The influence of the English police reforms was soon to be felt in Australia. The Sydney Police Act, passed in 1833, was modelled, in part, on the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. The preamble to the Act of 1833 recited that it was

expedient and necessary to make further provision for the maintenance of the public peace and good order and for the prosecution of certain offences committed within the town and port of Sydney as well as for the removal and prevention of nuisances and obstructions in the said town or port.

The act empowered the governor to appoint two or more persons as police magistrates for the town of Sydney. These magistrates

were, in turn, to be authorized by the governor to appoint "a sufficient number of fit and able men as a police force for the said town or port". Members of the force were to be sworn as constables by the magistrates, and were to be subject to their commands. The magistrates were also to draw up regulations of the force, and were provided with powers of suspension and dismissal over its members. Similar powers were granted the Home Secretary under the provisions of the Metropolitan Police Act.

The 1833 Act differed from the Metropolitan Police Act, in that a substantial part of it was devoted to matters relating to the "removal and prevention of nuisances and obstructions". In the absence of effective local government, the police were given the task of administering not only traditional criminal laws but also those affecting public health and hygiene. Sections prohibiting such practices as the blocking of town watercourses, the throwing of filth on public places, the beating of carpets in the street, and the breeding of swine in places adjacent to streets are all to be found in the Act. It is interesting to observe that most of these sections remain in the current edition of the Police Offences Act in New South Wales, even though we now possess some semblance of local government and no longer rely on the police to administer this particular category of laws. But in 1833 these were important provisions in the absence of effective local institutions. They also emphasize "one of the fundamental points of contrast between the English and colonial police systems. In New South Wales the constable could hardly be said to represent the local community, for the local community had no real cohesion, no vital corporate life."<sup>37</sup>

The Sydney Police Act of 1833 was an important landmark in the development of police forces in Australia, being the precursor of many present-day police powers. But by itself the Act could not cure one of the main problems facing the authorities then and now, namely that of attracting men of suitable quality into the police force. This was not a problem peculiar to Australia at the time, the Metropolitan Police experiencing, in its first few years of existence, a high turnover in manpower, mainly on account of dismissals for drunkenness. Between September 1830 and December 1832, 2,803 men were dismissed from the Metropolitan Police out of a total force of some 3,300.<sup>38</sup> This extremely high dismissal rate diminished slowly as the morale of the force improved and a better type of man began to be recruited.

If it were found difficult to obtain men of suitable quality for the police in London, it is not hard to imagine how much more difficult it was to recruit suitable personnel for the police in New South Wales and the other Australian colonies from among a

population largely composed of convicts and emancipists. While some improvement was noted in the type of man joining the force in Sydney (by 1835 many recruits were literate<sup>39</sup>) it appeared poor conditions of service within the force dissuaded many respectable men from becoming constables.

### *Report of the Committee on Police and Gaols, 1839*

As will become evident in later chapters of this book, many of the complaints concerning police conditions of service in this and later periods of the nineteenth century have a strong flavour of today's problems about them. One of the principal causes of complaint was the low rate of pay for constables. As a committee of the New South Wales Legislative Council reported in 1839, the poor salaries for police made it impossible to persuade

respectable and efficient men to join the constabulary force, it being only for the most part such as are idle, or incapable from age or infirmity from performing hard labour, who are induced to avail themselves of this resource as a means of livelihood.<sup>40</sup>

From information provided by the committee it seems the initial rates of pay for police in Sydney in 1836 were: Inspectors: 4s. per day; Sergeants: 3s. 3d. per day; Patrolmen: 2s. 10d. per day.

In the opinion of witnesses who gave evidence before the committee, these rates of pay were much lower than the ordinary wages of labour in the colony. As Colonel Wilson, Rossi's successor as superintendent of police, observed:

I have no hesitation in saying that where the ordinary rate of wages is 4s. a day, it is quite impossible to obtain efficient and respectable men at 2s. 10d. per diem, to be employed on duty by night as well as day.<sup>41</sup>

The hours of duty required of police were indeed long, as Colonel Wilson inferred. The discharged soldiers, ticket of leave men, and the few free settlers who made up the Sydney police force were expected to spend only one night out of three in bed. On the other nights they had to patrol the streets in two-hourly watches, remaining two hours on the beat and two in the watchhouse. During the day they performed a variety of duties, including searching departing ships for escaping convicts, and protecting females disembarking from newly arrived ships.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the low rates of pay, the cost of the police force was causing some alarm to the authorities at the time of the committee's deliberations. With a view to economy, the committee considered whether they should diminish the size of the constabulary force,

which in Sydney alone had increased from 71 men in 1832 to 181 in 1836. However, having regard to the need to preserve life and property, and to the increases in population and the areas settled, the committee felt unable to recommend any such reduction, except in Sydney. Nonetheless, increases in pay were not thought justified, although, to make employment in the police a more desirable occupation, the committee recommended that all men under the rank of Chief Constable be given an additional 3d. per day as a uniform allowance.<sup>43</sup>

The committee also considered complaints that the police spent too much time on administrative tasks, such as serving subpoenas and escorting prisoners, and not enough time preventing crime. As Mr. T.A.Murray told the committee:

The police force, insufficient under any circumstances is almost constantly employed either in escort duty, or in serving subpoenas, which are so frequently issued within a few days of the time appointed for trial, that constables must be sent with them in different directions, to the great interruption of any other duties in which they may be engaged . . .<sup>44</sup>

To reduce the frequency of escort duties for police, the committee made the interesting recommendation that, instead of sending prisoners to Sydney for confinement and punishment on the treadmill, this instrument of hard labour, together with solitary cells, should be erected at principal police stations!<sup>45</sup> An adequate treadmill, capable of being worked by two to ten men, could apparently be built for about £150, including the necessary machinery for grinding maize and wheat, and converting the latter into flour. In a country where labour was in short supply, the treadmill was sensibly regarded as an instrument for productive work as well as punishment, whereas in England, where there was no shortage of labour, the treadmill was almost invariably used as a method of punishment only.

Another constructive suggestion made by the committee to relieve police of escort duties — a suggestion which had much wider implications for the general administration of justice in New South Wales — was to extend courts of quarter sessions to more distant parts of the colony. The committee observed that

by bringing justice nearer the spot where crime has been committed, a knowledge of the law and of its vindication is the more readily impressed on the minds of those amongst whom it has taken place, a greater facility of proof is afforded, and the prosecutors and witnesses, not being withdrawn from their homes and occupations, are the more ready to come forward to prosecute and give evidence. The general result, there is no doubt, would be favourable to the repression of crime . . .<sup>46</sup>

The committee also urged the establishment of circuit courts for

the trial of capital and other offences of an aggravated character.

Considerable space has been devoted to the *Report of the Committee on Police and Gaols* of 1839 because it provides an excellent account of many of the problems met by those seeking to establish an effective police force not only in New South Wales but also in the other emerging colonies. The committee acknowledged that certain features of the population necessitated a large and consequently expensive police force. The first of these, and perhaps the most interesting sociologically, was the great numerical disparity between the sexes in the distant parts of the colony, in some areas the ratio of males to females being as high as 10:1. In the opinion of the committee,

in a community thus constituted, some of the most important ties of society which are calculated to repress crime cannot exist. The temptations to drinking, and other sources of dissipation, become great in proportion to the want of those consolations of home and society, of which the population in the interior is deprived.<sup>47</sup>

From the experience of contemporary society, some may view this particular opinion of the committee with considerable cynicism, "drinking and other sources of dissipation" continuing despite the "consolations of home and society". Nonetheless, we know from sociological studies of life in mining and other frontier areas that a large numerical disparity between the sexes is one of several factors likely to produce instability in community relations. This being the case, violence may easily erupt and the need for an effective police force is consequently greater.

In addition to the numerical disparity between the sexes, the committee mentioned the large percentage of convicts in the population, the dispersal of the settlers over vast areas of territory, and the conflict between white and black elements of the population, as the main features influencing the size of the police force. Some or all of these features were also to be found in the other Australian colonies which were now beginning to develop, and it is towards these colonies and their police that we must now turn our attention.

### *Complaints and a New Reorganization of Police in Van Diemen's Land*

Mention has already been made of certain developments in the police force in Van Diemen's Land and, in particular, of the reorganization of the police effected by Arthur in 1828.

Throughout the 1830's and 1840's, police in this colony appear to have expended most of their energies in the pursuit of absconding convicts and bushrangers, their chief business continuing to spring



principally from the penal nature of the settlement. An indication of the volume of the work created by absconders and bushrangers is provided in the following extract from a report of the Colonial Finance Committee in 1843:

It appears from official records that during the past year, upwards of 2,000 convicts absconded and very nearly as many were apprehended and that the total number of offences recorded at the police offices throughout the Territory during the same period was 9,318, of which 8,858 were committed by convicts under coercion.<sup>48</sup>

A report in 1845 by Francis Burgess, the colony's chief police magistrate at the time, reveals that some new duties were assigned to the police at this period, duties which Burgess complained were not rightly functions of his Department.<sup>49</sup> Assisted by the constabulary, police magistrates were now required to prepare jury lists, gather agricultural and stock statistics for the annual "Blue Book", collect licence fees for the cutting of timber on Crown Land, and generally look after the interests of the Crown in matters connected with the Survey Department.<sup>50</sup>

As will become apparent later in this book, the complaints made by Burgess about carrying out these miscellaneous functions might readily be transferred from their setting in the nineteenth century to the latter half of the twentieth. For present-day policemen continue to resent being responsible for so many irksome and time-consuming activities which they regard as outside the scope of normal police duties. The range of activities currently undertaken by the police forces of Australia, if not by those of New Zealand, is the legacy of the period in which the police were the main agency of social as well as legal control, in the absence of effective local or state government. It has already been seen how under the Sydney Police Act of 1833 matters affecting public health and hygiene were regulated by the police. In each of the colonies, in succeeding years, the police were burdened by these and a host of other regulatory functions, and many have continued to be police responsibilities although the original justification for the allocation of such duties has long since disappeared.

Despite his complaints, Burgess was responsible for a most necessary further reorganization of the police in Van Diemen's Land to meet the needs of a growing population and the serious threat presented by bushrangers. In this reorganization, we can see the influence of English ideas of policing and also of those adopted in Ireland.

The former influence was evident in the introduction of the "metropolitan system".<sup>51</sup> In Hobart, constables were allotted to the four sections of the town in proportion to the importance of the

property to be protected. Each section was in the charge of a sergeant who assigned constables to their beats. At the main station there was a charge room and a watch house where a district constable or other superior officer was in attendance. Two district constables remained on duty for twenty-four hours every other day — one on outdoor duty in charge of the sergeants and constables, the other on indoor duty. Two-thirds of the force was allotted to night duty of nine hours per night, and one-third to day duty.

The influence of the Royal Irish Constabulary again emerged in Van Diemen's Land when Burgess required newly appointed constables to be drilled in the use of arms, and to be instructed in the art of acting cohesively, in small groups, in the bush.<sup>52</sup> These groups were used in dealing with bushrangers, and could be dispatched to outlying areas in the event of an emergency. Some one hundred and thirty police stations had been established in the colony by this time and the police were apparently within reach of most settlers.

### *Police Development in the Other Colonies*

If undue emphasis appears to have been given in the preceding discussion to the establishment of police forces in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, it is because it was in these two areas where settlement first took place that the guidelines for the development of police forces in the other colonies were laid down.

Van Diemen's Land was politically separated from New South Wales in 1825 and constituted a separate colony in June of that year. The colony of Western Australia, which was always distinct and independent of New South Wales, was constituted in June 1829.<sup>53</sup> South Australia was officially proclaimed a colony in December 1836, while New Zealand, formally declared by proclamation in 1840 to be a British colony, became a separate colony in 1852, as did Queensland in 1859.

Many of the same problems already described in relation to the formation of police forces in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land seem to have been encountered in the other colonies, although there is a dearth of published material concerning the development of police forces in Western Australia, South Australia, New Zealand, Victoria, and Queensland.<sup>54</sup>

#### *Western Australia*

In Western Australia, upon the establishment of the colony, the lieutenant-governor, James Stirling, appointed justices whose powers

included the supervision of constables.<sup>55</sup> But as was the case in the colonies in the east, this English idea of policing was not successfully transplanted and frequent public complaints were made about the conduct of constables.

One of the major problems faced by the first settlers in Western Australia was attacks by the natives, and the protection against these attacks afforded by the police and the military was most inadequate. Following strong protests from settlers, Stirling sought to remedy the situation in 1832 by establishing a more effective police force, drawing recruits mainly from the military. In a dispatch to London, Stirling stated that:

Unless a police force be established and maintained for the purpose of protecting, controlling, managing, and gradually civilizing the aboriginal race of this country, there will be a fearful struggle between the invaders and the invaded, which will not cease until the extermination of the latter be accomplished to the discredit of the British name.<sup>56</sup>

In Van Diemen's Land the extermination of the natives did eventually take place, and in Queensland the most dreadful massacres of aborigines were effected by the native police, "to the discredit of the British name" and the name of the police. However, in Western Australia, while killings of both white and black inhabitants were all too frequent, excesses such as were perpetrated by the police in the east apparently did not take place. Nonetheless, hostilities between the settlers and the natives continued throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup>

Following the organization of the police by Stirling in 1832, few developments took place in this field until 1850 when, to stimulate the growth of the colony, convicts began to be transported to Western Australia. Prior to their arrival, a small military guard had been sent from England in 1848 to assist with police duties, but in 1850 constables were appointed to various districts ranging from Albany in the south to Geraldton in the north.<sup>58</sup>

It is interesting to note that in 1851 the acting Colonial Secretary of Western Australia wrote to the governor of Van Diemen's Land requesting information about the methods adopted by the police in dealing with convicts, and also seeking the services of four constables for duty in Western Australia.<sup>59</sup> Burgess, the chief police magistrate, provided the information requested but recommended to the governor that no constables be transferred because the police were already shorthanded, having lost many men to the goldfields in Victoria.

In 1852, there were 87 policemen in Western Australia, divided into two forces. One force, the Native Police, numbered 24, of whom eleven were aborigines. The other force, the Convict Police,

had sixty-three members.<sup>60</sup> In the same year the governor, Charles Fitzgerald, amalgamated these forces and increased their strength. The new body, known as the "Enrolled Force", and composed largely of men who had served in the army or the Royal Irish Constabulary, had as its principal function the supervision of convicts, which duty included the pursuit of absconders.

A further reorganization of the force took place in 1861 with the passage of a Police Act providing for the appointment of a superintendent for the force, and of inspectors, sub-inspectors, sub-officers, and men. Prior to Federation, the size of the force was considerably expanded following the discovery of gold in Western Australia, patrols and escorts for gold convoys being supplied by the police, who also supervised the diggings.

### *South Australia*

When South Australia first became settled in 1836, the immediate need for a police force was not as great as it was in the other colonies at the time of their initial settlement. With no convicts to supervise and control, the lives of the first constables, who were appointed in 1837, must have been quite leisurely. However, peace was not to be maintained for long, as criminals from other colonies (the bane of present-day policemen, as well as of police in the 1830's) began to descend upon the "guileless" new settlers of South Australia.

As protection against this influx of rogues, a more effective police force was required, and in 1839 an ordinance authorizing the formation of such a force was approved by the governor of the colony.<sup>61</sup> Considerable foresight was shown by the authorities in providing from the outset for a permanent commissioner of police to exercise general control over the new force. The first commissioner, appointed in 1840, was a retired army officer, Major O'Halloran. O'Halloran appears to have placed the new force on a sound footing before retiring from his post in 1843. At this time the strength of the force was in excess of fifty men.

Under O'Halloran's successors, the size of the police force grew to keep pace with the increasing population of South Australia. In 1851, there were 134 officers and men in the force, and in 1855, 252.<sup>62</sup> Following this expansion, the South Australian legislature passed a consolidating statute to control the police force, in its session of 1869-1870.

More than one-third of the police in the South Australian force during this period were mounted. As with their counterparts in the other Australian colonies, their training as mounted police was of a semi-military nature, involving drilling and the use of firearms.

By 1884, the total strength of the South Australian force had further increased to 438, a level above which it was not to rise again for some years.

### *New Zealand*<sup>63</sup>

Prior to New Zealand's becoming a British colony in 1840, soldiers were used exclusively to maintain law and order, men being brought on occasions from New South Wales for this purpose.

After 1840 civilian constables were appointed by magistrates to keep the peace. These constables seem to have proved inadequate for this task, for in 1846 an ordinance was passed for the establishment and maintenance of a new constabulary force. The force was to be, in the words of the ordinance

... a sufficient number of fit and able men who would serve as an "armed force" for preserving the peace and preventing robberies and other felonies and apprehending offenders against the peace.

Further provincial police forces were established in Auckland, Wellington, and Canterbury following the formation of provincial councils in 1853. These local forces appear to have been effective in their operations, a newspaper report of 1857 noting that

Wellington and Auckland each have a smart police force of about twenty men . . . Theft and violence are particularly rare.

According to the same report, police duties consisted principally of keeping the peace among tipsy sailors, sawyers, and bush settlers, and occasionally capturing and incarcerating them.

Outside the towns, and particularly on the goldfields, the work of the police was more difficult and less effective, crimes of violence and theft being common as people flocked to make their fortunes from gold. Included among these fortune hunters were certain "undesirable" persons who had escaped across the Tasman from Australia.

In 1867, the first national police force was raised under the Armed Constabulary Ordinance, 1867. However, the force was engaged mainly in the task of fighting in the Maori Wars, rather than in maintaining civil order. It also performed various public works, the Minister of Defence reporting to Parliament in 1871 that officers and men of the Armed Constabulary were being "constantly and usefully employed on road and other works".

In 1877, following the abolition of the provinces, provincial police forces merged with the Armed Constabulary which then had two branches, a field force and police. There were still difficulties with the Maoris, and the field force was principally concerned with

these troubles. Both branches were commanded by army officers.

It was not until 1886 that New Zealand gained a national civil police force. The Police Force Act, 1886, provided for the establishment of such a force, which was only to be armed in times of emergency. However, one link with the military remained for a time, army officers being in charge of the force until 1898, when the first civilian police commissioner, J.B.Tunbridge, was appointed.

### *Victoria*<sup>64</sup>

The first successful official settlement at Port Phillip took place in 1836. In October of that year, Captain William Lonsdale arrived at Port Phillip in the brig "Stirling Shire" "to preserve law and order, to protect the natives, to collect revenue and to survey land to be sold".<sup>65</sup>

The need for some form of police "to preserve law and order" was made apparent to Lonsdale shortly after his disembarkation. He noted that:

One of the first persons who made himself known to me was Dr. Thompson, who, with a formidable brace of pistols in his belt, told me he was very glad I had arrived, as they were in a most lawless state, and always in dread of being assaulted, or something to that effect.<sup>66</sup>

To furnish protection to the settlers, Lonsdale had brought with him three constables, recruited in Sydney as the first police for the new colony. It is indicative of the quality of these constables that each had served previously with the Sydney Police but had been dismissed for drunkenness. Their reappointment for service at Port Phillip took place because no men could apparently be spared from within the Sydney Police, and of the outside applicants they were the best. It is not surprising to learn that one of these Sydney recruits was dismissed only a few months after his arrival at Port Phillip. His position was taken by Henry Batman, brother of the more famous John Batman, founder of the Port Phillip settlement. Batman was promoted in October 1837 to the rank of Chief Constable, a post remunerated at the rate of £100 a year. However, his term in office was less than one year, as he was dismissed in August 1838 for taking a bribe!

At the time of Batman's dismissal, the Port Phillip Police strength consisted of thirteen men, several of whom were mounted. There were also several constables at Geelong, supervised by a police magistrate. Their principal function was to deal with the numerous attacks on settlers made by aborigines in the Western District of Port Phillip. The activities of the natives had also resulted in the formation, in October 1837, of a Native Police Corps, but this was disbanded after only a short period of operation. It was subsequently

reformed in 1842 and performed useful service until 1852 when it was again disbanded.<sup>67</sup>

A section of the Mounted Police was also stationed in the Port Phillip district, their strength in 1840 being seven sergeants, twenty-one mounted troopers, and seven dismounted. Their main role was to act as a mobile force, capable of protecting settlers in outlying areas against attack by aborigines and bushrangers, and also of apprehending escaped convicts. However, their numbers were too small to permit them to function effectively, and many complaints were made by settlers in country areas about the inadequacy of the police.

Similar complaints were made in Melbourne and Geelong, where great difficulty was experienced not only in recruiting constables but also in providing them with uniforms. It was said to be a common experience to see constables dressed in plain clothes, with a broad leather belt around the waist dangling a baton, and with a badge or band upon the hat, bearing the words "Melbourne Police". Those who were persuaded to join the force were mainly ticket-of-leave men and refractory soldiers, and dismissals for drunkenness, taking bribes, and other forms of misconduct were frequent.

Victoria gained her independence from New South Wales in 1851, the year in which gold was discovered, and a year of crisis for the police in both colonies. The whole community was infected with gold fever and the greater part of Melbourne's male population rushed to the diggings. They were joined by a flock of immigrants arriving from the other colonies and from overseas.

The various bodies of police in Victoria, none of whom had been very effective even before the gold rush, were simply overwhelmed by events. Law and order rapidly broke down as the police joined the public in the search for gold. Of the fifty men in the Melbourne Town Police, forty resigned and proceeded to the goldfields, as did fifteen men of the Rural Police. In desperation, the rate of pay of constables was increased to six shillings a day, but still the exodus continued and more men resigned. It was then found necessary to engage 130 military pensioners from Van Diemen's Land to act as police.

Confronted by the crisis, a select committee was established by the colony's Legislative Council to investigate the state of the police. At the time there were no fewer than seven distinct bodies of police in Victoria, each acting independently and without communication with the others. They were known as the City Police (Melbourne achieving the status of a city in 1852), Geelong Police, Goldfields Police, Water Police, Rural Bench Constabulary, Mounted Police, and the Escort.

In July 1852 the committee tabled a report in which numerous recommendations were made for improving the general quality of the police. But by far the most important recommendation was that the various police forces of the colony should be brought under unified control. The committee recognized that diversified control of these forces was a barrier to the construction of an effective police force in Victoria. In recommending the removal of the barrier, the committee was to contribute to the development of the police not only in this colony but throughout Australasia. For with the establishment of unified control over the police in Victoria, an event which took place in 1853 with the passing by the Legislative Council of a Police Act, the pattern for the future organization and structure of police forces in Australia and New Zealand was directed towards central rather than local government.

In closely settled England, with a long tradition of relying upon the resources of the local community for the maintenance of law and order, it was both practical and expedient to vest responsibility for the police in local bodies. Thus, outside the metropolis of London, the pattern of police development after 1829 was based upon local rather than central government control. It was a pattern which assisted in alleviating fears that a "police state" would be created in England; but in the sparsely settled Australasian colonies, beset by such problems as attacks by aborigines and bushrangers, with a local community whose traditions were more likely to favour breaking than maintaining law and order, an effective police system could only be achieved if control were vested in the central government.

Another important recommendation made by the committee in 1852 was that the English government be requested to send out 200 selected and experienced men to form the nucleus of the force. This recommendation was followed, and, in response to a call for volunteers, an inspector, three sergeants, and fifty constables from the Metropolitan Police arrived in Melbourne in May 1853 to serve a term of ten years with the Victorian Police. The result of this importation of men was the implementation of many of the latest English ideas about policing, ideas which spread in turn from the Victorian force to other police forces in Australia and New Zealand.

An interesting experiment adopted in the Victorian force at this time was the appointment of police cadets. These cadets, after serving a period of probation, were commissioned as officers. Some three hundred were inducted between 1853 and 1856, but only fifty-five successfully completed the probation period and were commissioned.<sup>68</sup> This cadet scheme, which was certainly the first of its kind in Australia, was subsequently abandoned in favour, it would seem, of a promotion system based mainly on seniority. As will be



seen in a later chapter, seniority now forms the basis of promotion schemes in almost all Australasian police forces.

Little remains to be said about developments in the organization and structure of the Victorian police force after the establishment of unified control in 1853. Like other Australasian police forces it grew in size as the population expanded. By 1860, the strength of the force was 50 officers and 1,382 men, the population of Victoria at that time being 540,000. However, this growth was not sustained, and by 1892, when Victoria had a population of more than 1,000,000, there were only 1,528 police. The ratio of police to population at this time was 1:759, compared with 1:485 in Tasmania, 1:502 in Queensland, 1:687 in New South Wales, and 1:840 in South Australia.<sup>69</sup> Comparative figures for Western Australia are not available.

#### *Queensland*<sup>70</sup>

Until Queensland became a separate colony in 1859, it was policed as part of New South Wales. A convict settlement had been established at Moreton Bay as early as 1824, but free settlement did not begin in this area before 1842. Prior to the arrival of free settlers, the maintenance of law and order among the local convict population was the sole responsibility of the military.

In 1842, Captain J.C. Wickham, R.N., was appointed as the first police magistrate for the settlement, and he in turn appointed civilian constables to keep the peace among the populace.<sup>71</sup> However, it soon became apparent that a far more pressing problem than policing the new settlers was keeping the peace between them and the original settlers, the aborigines. For as the new settlers, with their flocks and herds, spread out into the pastoral lands of the north, they came into increasing conflict with the native population. After some initial protection from the military, a force of Native Mounted Police was raised in 1848 to provide security for the new settlers against the natives.

The native police were recruited and led until 1855 by Frederick Walker. In that year, Walker was relieved of his command, following an inquiry into charges of mistreatment of aborigines, and the force was reduced in strength. However, a resurgence of native violence led in 1857 to a fresh attempt to quell these outbreaks through use of the native police.

From their record, it appears that the native police were effective in the role allocated to them, but the methods they used to achieve order among their fellow aborigines were far from humane.

... An outrage committed by a black generally led to a wholesale slaughtering of the offender's tribe. The most terrible scenes were witnessed, the white officers of the corps being often active participators in the massacres or passive consenting parties ... <sup>72</sup>

In addition to the native police, two further special police forces were established in Queensland before it became independent of New South Wales. Both forces were provided for by statute in 1859, one to police the town of Brisbane, and the other the waters. As we have seen earlier, yet another force was already responsible for policing rural areas of New South Wales.

Once Queensland had achieved the status of a separate colony, an inspector-general of police, E.N.Vaux-Morisset, was appointed to control in theory, although not in practice, the four police forces, totalling some ninety-one men, which had been inherited from New South Wales. A further attempt to achieve unified control of the various forces was made in 1863, when a Police Act was passed by the Queensland Legislature providing for the appointment of one commissioner of police for all four forces, whose combined strength was by now almost three hundred men. Even this measure seems to have met with initial failure, for in 1869 a select committee appointed to inquire into the management of the force reported that police magistrates were still exercising control over police resident within their local areas.<sup>73</sup> The committee deprecated this practice, recommending that police be placed under the control of their own officers.

Eventually this recommendation was fulfilled and a unified police system established for Queensland, although the native police force was not finally disbanded until the turn of the century.

### *Unified Police Control in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*

Consideration of the development of police forces in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land was interrupted, earlier in this chapter, at a stage before either colony had achieved unified control over their respective forces.

#### *New South Wales*

It will be remembered that in New South Wales, a parliamentary committee had considered the state of the police in 1839. At the time the committee made its report, there were no fewer than five separate police forces in the colony — the Sydney Town Police, the Sydney Water Police, the Mounted Police, the Rural Police, and a force of Border Police established in 1839 to assist Crown Land Commissioners in preventing unauthorized occupation of Crown Lands.<sup>74</sup>

The committee expressed the view in their report that the lack

of any central control of police forces in the colony detracted from their efficiency. As a police magistrate stated in evidence before the committee:

I consider that the radical defect of the police of the colony is the want of union which arises from the absence of a head or central establishment, from which all directions should emanate, and to which all reports and police communications should be made . . . There should be some central office from which all information relative to police matters could be immediately obtained. Promptitude and secrecy are absolutely necessary to an efficient police force.<sup>75</sup>

The committee recommended, as had a predecessor in 1835, that a general superintendent of police be appointed

to be charged with the general supervision of all the stipendiary police, both mounted and dismounted; and through whom all correspondence connected with the police should pass, as well as all accounts and periodical reports and returns.<sup>76</sup>

Despite the committee's recommendation, no action was taken until 1851 to provide unified control of the police in New South Wales. In the interregnum, the individual forces operated, in the main, independently of one another. The only common source of information regarding the commission of robberies and other crimes was notices inserted in the *Government Gazette*.<sup>77</sup> Professional jealousies and bad feeling between members of the various forces, together with the physical problems of communication, resulted in very little intercommunication.<sup>78</sup>

Throughout the 1840's, the general inadequacy and inefficiency of the police were perhaps most apparent in Sydney. Civil disorders were frequent, and on occasions the police had to call for the support of troops to disperse crowds. Matters came to a head at New Year 1850-51 when celebrations in Sydney "turned to a riot, with destruction of property, and looting, which the police were unable to prevent . . .".<sup>79</sup>

Following the riots, a Board of Inquiry reported that the police in Sydney were unequal to their task of detecting and preventing crime, not only because their numbers were too small, but also because the quality of men in the force was very poor. Although as far as possible free men had been appointed as constables, there remained a convict element in the force and these men tended to collaborate with the offenders they were supposed to apprehend.<sup>80</sup>

In 1851, on the very eve of the gold discoveries in Victoria and New South Wales, the first substantial steps were at last taken to establish uniform control over police in New South Wales, steps which had been urged for more than fifteen years by various members of the Legislative Council and other influential citizens. It was decided to appoint an inspector-general of police responsible for the

supervision of police throughout the colony. At the same time, the governor, who had always retained ultimate executive control of the police, was provided with powers of appointment and dismissal of men in the force.

At the time of this refashioning of the police system in New South Wales, there were five separate police forces in the colony — the Sydney City Police, the Sydney Water Police, the Rural Constabulary controlled by the rural magistracy, the Border Police attached to the Commissioners of Crown Lands, and the Native Police. The military patrol of the Mounted Police had been discontinued at the end of 1850, and was replaced, upon unification, by a mounted patrol attached to the general police of the colony.<sup>81</sup>

While in theory unification was achieved in 1851, events soon revealed that central control of the police had yet to be achieved in practice. As was the case in Victoria, there were mass resignations from the force following the discovery of gold, and the resources of the police were stretched to breaking-point. In an attempt to achieve order on the goldfields, the Gold Commissioners, in whose hands control of mining matters was vested, raised a special goldfields police force. This force was supplemented by regular police who provided mounted escorts for gold trains, and foot police for the diggings.<sup>82</sup> However, despite these precautions, lawlessness and crime were widespread, largely because the police were still continuing to operate within the independent units which existed prior to 1851.

Crisis-point was reached in 1861 when, at Lambing Flat, outnumbered police were forced to call upon the military to quell a serious riot by miners, during the course of which the police station and other government buildings were destroyed. As one commentator said, the riot made it clear

that the existing police system was unsatisfactory, with its numerous sub-divisions that acted independently of each other and had no cohesion. The outbreak on the goldfields was to be responsible for a new order of things, for a statute which was to formulate a force that would meet all the varied requirements of the colony. In 1862, the present Police Act . . . passed into law.<sup>83</sup>

The 1862 Act gave statutory recognition to the process of unification commenced in 1851. Central control of the police was effected, and the first inspector-general, Captain J. McLerie, was appointed. New South Wales was split up into police divisions, each of which was under the supervision of a superintendent. Under this officer were inspectors and sub-inspectors, senior sergeants, sergeants, senior constables, constables, and supernumeraries.<sup>84</sup> The total strength of the force was about eight hundred men.

The structure and organization of the New South Wales Police

has remained substantially the same since 1862. At the time of unification, it was smaller in size than the Victorian force. However, the New South Wales police strength soon outstripped that of Victoria and by the 1880's it had become the largest of the Australasian police forces, a status it continues to hold at the present day.

### *Van Diemen's Land*

Police development in Van Diemen's Land was last considered at the point when effective central control had been secured over police throughout the colony. Indeed, Francis Burgess, chief police magistrate of the colony from 1843 until 1857, must be credited with the formation of the first truly unified police system in Australasia.

But as mentioned earlier, the principal function of the police system in Van Diemen's Land was to assist with the administration of the colony as a gaol. When transportation to Van Diemen's Land ceased in 1852, and an order-in-council making it a penal colony was revoked in 1853, the main reason for maintaining a large and expensive police force began to disappear. A Board of Inquiry, convened in 1854 to investigate the duties of the chief police magistrate, reported that Burgess was devoting much less time to convict matters, and much more time to general police duties.<sup>85</sup> While not recommending, as some witnesses before the Board had suggested, that Burgess's position be made redundant, the Board made certain suggestions for revision of the police system which tended to weaken the central system devised by Burgess. One of these suggestions was that some correspondence from police magistrates to other government departments should no longer be sent through the chief police magistrate's office.<sup>86</sup>

The death knell of Burgess's central police system in Tasmania, as the colony became known upon the establishment of responsible government in 1856, came in 1857 when a Municipal Police Act transferred the charge and control of police forces, Hobart and Launceston, to the respective local councils. The office of chief police magistrate was abolished and replaced by an inspector of police who was responsible, in theory, for the general supervision of both forces.<sup>87</sup>

A further proliferation of police forces took place in Tasmania with the passage in 1858 of the Rural Municipalities Act. Under this Act the control and charge of police in rural areas was vested in local councils. The Police Regulation Act, 1865, made it mandatory for each municipality to set up a police force, and by 1866 twenty-one municipalities had established forces, each of which was subject

to the overall supervision of the inspector of police. Many of these forces consisted of only four or five men.<sup>88</sup>

In addition to the various municipal police forces, there was also a force of territorial police that was responsible for policing those areas which were not included in any municipality. This force, too, was subject to the supervision of the inspector of police at Hobart.

It may be thought strange that Tasmania, after establishing a central police system, should then abandon this system in favour of one similar to that functioning in England. However, it seems likely that the move to diversify control of the police was a reaction against a system regarded as oppressive, and one which reminded Tasmanians too closely of the penal origins of their colony. It was, no doubt, for these same reasons that attempts to re-establish a central police system in Tasmania were to meet with failure for more than forty years.<sup>89</sup> It was not until 1890 that allegations that the municipal police were ineffective and inefficient were finally sufficient to sway support towards a police force under the direct control of the central government. By the Police Regulation Act, 1898, which became operative on 1 January 1899, the municipal and territorial police forces were amalgamated into a single force numbering 246 men.

### *Developments after Federation*

The present description of the more important stages in the development of Australian and New Zealand police forces really ends on 1 January 1901 with the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia. At the time of Federation, each of the new Australian states, and New Zealand, had police forces centrally controlled by their respective governments. Although in Australia some may have wished to amalgamate these state forces into a national police force under the new federal organization, general police powers remained vested in the states. Since Federation, all the states have continued with the police system evolved while they were colonies, and no serious attempt has been made to alter this system in favour of a national police force. Nonetheless, to cater for the police needs of the Commonwealth and its territories, several new police forces have been established which are independent of the states.

Almost certainly, the most important of the Commonwealth forces is the Australian Security and Intelligence Organization, whose principal function is that of combating subversive activities throughout the nation. However, the scope of this chapter, and of the book as a whole, does not extend to a consideration of this organization.

More routine police work for the Commonwealth is now performed

by the Commonwealth Police Force, formed in 1960 by amalgamating the Commonwealth Investigation Service and the Commonwealth Peace Officer Guard. The former body, first established in 1917, was mainly concerned with the enforcement of Commonwealth laws, while members of the latter body, first set up in 1925, acted principally as security officers for various Commonwealth establishments. Today, the Commonwealth Police Force

is the principal agency for the enforcement of the laws passed by the Commonwealth Parliament. It is also responsible for the protection of Commonwealth property and interests at various buildings and establishments under the control of the Commonwealth. This force co-ordinates the work of other Commonwealth investigation and law enforcement agencies and acts on behalf of the United Nations Organization for the suppressing of traffic in women, and the suppression of obscene literature.<sup>90</sup>

To police the territories of the Commonwealth, three separate forces have been established. In the Northern Territory, police work was performed in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century by the South Australian force.<sup>91</sup> Upon the formal transfer of the Territory to the Commonwealth by South Australia on 1 January 1911, the policing of the area became a Commonwealth responsibility and has remained so ever since.

The Australian Capital Territory was also formally transferred to the Commonwealth on 1 January 1911. Formerly part of New South Wales, it was policed by members of that state's force until 1927, when an independent police force was established for the Territory.

In Australia's main external territory of Papua and New Guinea, police work is performed by the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary.<sup>92</sup> This force resulted from the amalgamation in 1942 of the Royal Papuan Constabulary and the New Guinea Police Force. The former force originated in 1891 as the Armed Constabulary of Papua, and was maintained by the Commonwealth when administration of the Territory of Papua was transferred to it by Queensland in 1906. The prefix "Royal" was granted to the force in 1939 when the force had a strength of about three hundred men, and the name was changed to the Royal Papuan Constabulary.<sup>93</sup>

The New Guinea Police Force was taken over by the Australian Army from the German Administration in 1914, following the capture of German New Guinea by Australian forces. At that time the force had a strength of about a thousand men who had been trained by the Germans to act primarily as a paramilitary group.

During the 1920's, the New Guinea Police Force was reorganized, following the commencement in 1921 of Australian civil administration of the Territory under the mandate of the League of Nations.

Amalgamation with the Royal Papuan Constabulary took place at the time of the Japanese invasion, and throughout the war the force, expanded to a strength of almost three thousand men, performed a variety of military duties. Its present peacetime strength remains at about three thousand men.

### *The Police and the Public*

From the description, now completed, of the major stages in the development of Australasian police forces, it is clear that the crucial period in this development was the nineteenth century. It was during this century that each of the state forces, together with the New Zealand force, emerged as an effective instrument of social control, administered by the organs of central rather than local government. Influenced, but not dictated, by English ideas of policing, the pattern of Australasian police forces was virtually complete by the time of Federation. With the exception of the police forces of the Commonwealth and its territories, the organization and structure of contemporary police forces in Australia and New Zealand can be traced in origin directly to the nineteenth century.

It was mentioned in the Introduction to this book that commentators have also traced the origin of contemporary, and supposedly hostile, public attitudes towards the police in Australia to the nineteenth century. It has been suggested that resentment of the police bred in that period continues to dominate our attitudes in the twentieth century. This suggestion assumes, of course, that there is widespread antagonism between police and public in contemporary Australian society. Whether or not this assumption is justified is something which will be considered in succeeding chapters. However, to conclude the present chapter, and to provide an introduction to the next, it is sought in this final section to review the state of relations between the police and the public in that formative period for Australasian police forces, the nineteenth century.

Writing of the period, Russel Ward has said

It may be doubted whether the police force of any English speaking country, except Ireland, has ever been more thoroughly unpopular than were those of most Australian colonies in the last century.<sup>94</sup>

These are strong words, but, following what has already been described in this chapter, it is not difficult to see why public respect for the police was low. One of the major defects in the police system mentioned time and again in official reports and correspondence was the poor quality of the men available for this type of work. It has been seen how convicts were widely used as police in the early



days of settlement, in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, while in later times a large proportion of the police were ex-convicts. To quote Ward again:

From the point of view of the convicts, and of a great many other Australians who were strongly influenced by their outlook, those who became policemen and overseers were not the best prisoners but the worst. By consenting to act as constables they broke, in the most flagrant possible way, the first principle of "government men" and bush workers: that of loyalty to one's mates.<sup>95</sup>

There is little doubt that after the gold rushes of the 1850's the quality of men entering the police improved as the general labour market tightened and the conditions of service within the various police forces grew more attractive. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, far less is read of dismissals from the force for misconduct, whereas in earlier years the turnover of police manpower was extremely high.

Apart from the general quality of men in the force, there were a number of other factors which almost certainly created an unfavourable image of police among the community during much of the nineteenth century. These included the following:

#### *Poor leadership*

Hazel King has pointed to the poor quality of the men appointed to lead the Sydney Police between 1825 and 1851 as one of the main reasons for the lack of public acceptance of that force.<sup>96</sup> In contrast, the Metropolitan Police Force, which had gained widespread public support after initial setbacks, had at its head men of recognized integrity and stature who did much to mould the general character of the force.

Some idea of the kind of person who led the Sydney Police in the early days can be obtained from an account of the career of Colonel H.C. Wilson, who was in charge of the force between 1833 and 1839. Wilson was said to be bombastic and overbearing, and he made many enemies in the local society. Hazel King records that:

In 1838, Governor Gipps was forced to investigate charges against him for misconduct with a female convict. On two subsequent occasions he had to institute formal enquiries into his conduct in relation to violent personal quarrels with other public officers . . . Finally, in December, 1839, charges were proved that Wilson used policemen in his private service as carpenters and shoemakers, that there were three constables permanently employed as liveried servants in his house, and that others had worked as quarrymen, and had gathered shells for lime for a house he was building . . .<sup>97</sup>

The result of all this was that Wilson was dismissed from office, as were a number of earlier and later leaders of the Sydney Police, and leaders of forces in other colonies.

Once again, it must be stressed that after the 1850's the quality of leadership improved, and with it the image of the police.

### *Police powers*

Conflict between police and public was more to be expected in the early days of settlement of both Australia and New Zealand than in a developed society such as England, simply because the police were required to perform a wider range of duties in the newly formed colonies. It was mentioned earlier that, in the absence of effective local government, the police in Sydney and in other areas had to enforce many public health regulations and similar laws usually administered by separate government agencies. This police function brought the members of the constabulary into more frequent contact with the public in situations of potential conflict than would normally be the case.

Conflict between police and public was also likely to arise because of the breadth of powers granted to police for the maintenance of law and order. It has already been emphasized that, in a society consisting largely of convicts and ex-convicts, the task of keeping the peace was far from easy. Convicts and ex-convicts had little respect for the police at the best of times, and the methods used by the police to control this section of the population were not calculated to alter these attitudes. Escaped convicts were ruthlessly pursued, and on capture often treated with brutality. Floggings were numerous, and the police were obliged on many occasions to administer this particular punishment in person. One of the most detested members of the police forces in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Victoria in the early days was the scourger, the person responsible for inflicting the lash upon convicted offenders. Almost invariably a convict or ex-convict, the scourger was an integral component of police forces in the Australasian colonies until about 1850, and frequent use was made of his services. For example, in New South Wales in 1835, 7,103 floggings (332,810 lashes) were inflicted.<sup>98</sup> At the time there were 27,340 male convicts in the colony.

The use of terror to control the population was perhaps inevitable at the time, for the provision of an adequate police force to maintain law and order would have been inordinately expensive. These methods were less frequently used, and finally abandoned, as the quality of the population improved.

### *The gold rush days*

It has been suggested that public antagonism towards the police in Australia was considerably intensified by the conduct of the police

at the time of the gold rush, and in particular by their activities on the Victorian goldfields in enforcing the unpopular monthly licence fee imposed by the government.<sup>99</sup> Police methods used to collect this fee were often harsh.

A sight too frequently seen, and one that caused much resentment, was that of handcuffed miners chained to trees pending their examination for the non-production of licences.<sup>100</sup>

As is well known, the dispute between the Victorian government and the miners eventually erupted in a rebellion at Eureka in 1854. The rebellion was bloodily suppressed by troops, assisted by elements of mounted and foot police. This police involvement was remembered long after the events at Eureka, although the military formed the main body of men who routed the miners.

### *Bushrangers*

Police activities in dealing with the problem of bushranging in the nineteenth century formed yet another source of public antagonism towards the police. The romance of the bushranging era has been more than adequately described by many writers.<sup>101</sup> In many cases, the bushrangers have been portrayed as popular heroes, who enjoyed the sympathy of a majority of the inhabitants. They were said to have achieved added prestige because they represented the professional opponents of the police, and were for this reason sheltered against the authorities by the admiring public.

Most of these views seem to be based on myth rather than fact, since the truth is that the police were severely criticized, particularly in New South Wales during the 1860's, for their inability to cope with the bushranging menace. Far from supporting bushranging, most members of the public seem to have been alarmed by the threat these men presented to the security of lives and property, a threat which the police seemed powerless to prevent. For, despite the reorganization of the New South Wales police in 1862, it took time for the quality of men within the force to improve. Many of the new recruits were new to the colony and lacked police experience, and between 1862 and 1866 dismissals for misconduct were high, resulting in continued public mistrust of the force. Troopers were also poorly horsed and armed in comparison with the bushrangers, a state of affairs which did not make the police role of apprehending these offenders any easier.

Five main factors have now been mentioned which almost certainly contributed to the poor public image of police in Australia throughout much of the nineteenth century. The poor quality of men within the police force; the lack of effective and honest leaders;

the sweeping range and frequent abuse of police powers, particularly on the goldfields; and the failure of the police to control bushranging: all these were matters affecting the state of relations between the police and public in an unfavourable way.

Yet even if relations between the police and the public were bad in this period, the question remains whether the public image created of police in the nineteenth century has had any influence on present-day public attitudes towards the police. Certainly traditions within a society are developed over a long period, and it is not inconceivable that the supposed anti-police attitudes of Australians stem from the public experience of police in the early days of settlement. But it should be remembered that the factors which led to public resentment of the police in those days had begun to disappear long before the turn of the century. Even Ward, one of the severest of police critics, admits that "from the 1860's onwards there seems to have been a steady, if slight, improvement in police personnel . . ." <sup>102</sup> But he adds that "by that time the tradition had been firmly established, the dogs had been given many opprobrious names, and they continued sometimes to merit them". <sup>103</sup>

Testimony to the improved quality of police personnel in the latter part of the nineteenth century comes from a number of other sources, including Anthony Trollope, who visited Australia in the 1870's. He records a meeting with a Victorian country policeman who acted as his guide for a short time.

This man was, I believe, no more than an ordinary policeman. The rural policemen of the colonies, who have to pass over wide districts, are all mounted. But they carry themselves higher, and stand much higher among their fellow citizens, than do the men of the same class with us . . . He was a fine, powerful fellow, well mannered, able to talk on all subjects, extremely courteous . . . <sup>104</sup>

The better type of person entering the rank and file of Australian police forces was matched by an improvement in the quality of the men who led these forces. Coupled with the establishment of central control over police forces, these factors alone should have resulted not only in increased police efficiency, but also in a better public image of police in general.

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prove or disprove in objective terms the theory of Ward and others that the public image of the police in Australia has been permanently tainted by the events and experience of the nineteenth century. All that can really be done to refute the theory is to point to the countervailing factors which were likely to improve the general state of relations between the police and the public, and to suggest that public attitudes towards the police are more likely to be influenced by immediate contemporary issues than by historical events. The image which

any citizen has of the police will almost certainly be coloured, if not dictated, largely by any personal contact he has with members of the constabulary. If these contacts are unpleasant, then his respect for the police will probably be slight. Certainly in the earlier part of the nineteenth century it can be hypothesized that when a citizen came in contact with the police, it was not likely to be a very pleasant encounter. The same situation is not necessarily true in the latter half of the twentieth century.

But enough of hypothesizing. The next step is to consider the results of the survey of contemporary public attitudes towards the police — attitudes which are perhaps influenced by the unpleasant time our forefathers had with the police more than one hundred years ago, but which are certainly also influenced, as will be seen, by twentieth-century experiences like driving a motor car.

### *Notes to Chapter 1*

1. Not included in this total are specialist bodies exercising police powers, such as the Australian Security and Intelligence Organization, or the various armed services' police groups.
2. There are currently more than 40,000 police agencies in the United States, operating at either the federal, state, or local level. See the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 1.
3. The development of police forces in the United Kingdom is examined in detail in a number of studies. See T.A. Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales 1900-1966* (London: Constable, 1967); J. Devlin Daniel, *Police Procedure, Administration and Organization* (London: Butterworth & Co., 1966); L. Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750*, Vols. I-IV (in particular Vols. III-IV) (London: Stevens & Son Ltd., 1948); *Royal Commission on the Police. Final Report* (London: H.M.S.O., May 1962), Cmnd. 1728, chap. 3, pp. 9-20.
4. Radzinowicz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 319.
5. *Royal Commission Report, op. cit.*, p. 12.
6. Critchley, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
8. H. King, "Some Aspects of Police Administration in New South Wales, 1825-1851", *Royal Australian Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings*, XLII, 215.
9. A.L. Heydon, *The Trooper Police of Australia* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1911), p. 8. The marines were subsequently charged with the offence.
10. King, *op. cit.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), p. 198.
13. *Ibid.*

14. R. Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 156.
15. A.K. Jackman, "Development of Police Administration in Tasmania, 1804-1960 (Unpublished Diploma of Public Administration thesis, University of Tasmania, 1966), p. 1.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
21. King, *op. cit.*, p. 210. It appears the choice of Rossi for this position was not an extremely happy one, there being many unpleasant rumours about his career prior to his coming to New South Wales.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 217. Rossi was also required to act as a Stipendiary Magistrate. By 1828 Sydney's population had increased to about 35,000, of whom more than 60 per cent were convicts or emancipists.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
28. Shaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99.
29. King, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 225-26.
31. P. Eldershaw, *An Outline of Police Administration in Tasmania, 1803-1900* (Unpublished paper, undated), p. 2; Jackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.
32. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
33. *Ibid.*
34. See in particular the two major studies by Charles Reith, *British Police and the Democratic Ideal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943) and *A Study of Police History* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1956); see also Radzinowicz, *op. cit.*, Vols. III and IV.
35. Critchley, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
37. King, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
39. In the force prior to 1833 the Assistant Chief Constable and several senior officers were unable to read the warrants. *Report of the Committee of the New South Wales Legislative Council on Police and Gaols*. The Committee was appointed 11 June 1839 and the *Report* was published 29 October 1839. *New South Wales, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council during the session 1839*.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. King, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
43. *Report of the Committee of the New South Wales Legislative Council on Police and Gaols*.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Jackman, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
49. *Ibid.*

50. Eldershaw, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
52. *Jackman, op. cit.*, p. 51.
53. With the exception of the settlement founded in 1827 at King George Sound in Western Australia, which remained under the jurisdiction of New South Wales until 1831.
54. The main source of reference in this area is G.M. O'Brien, *The Australian Police Forces* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1960). Regrettably, O'Brien does not supply a bibliography in his work, nor does he provide references to the source of much of his historical information. Without making a detailed search of documents held in archives and other repositories in each state, and in New Zealand, no other readily accessible information seems available in this field. The authors asked each police force in Australia and New Zealand for details of any historical data published about the force, but with the exception of the references already cited, and those listed in succeeding footnotes to this chapter, no new sources of historical information were discovered. There would, therefore, seem to be fruitful fields of study still open for Ph. D. and other students who wish to examine aspects of the historical development of Australasian police forces.
55. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
57. Heydon, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-16.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 311.
59. Jackman, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
60. Heydon, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
63. We are indebted to the New Zealand Police for providing us with the information contained in this section.
64. We are indebted to the Victorian Police for supplying much of the information included in this section.
65. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
66. Heydon, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
67. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
68. Heydon, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
69. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
70. We are indebted to the Queensland Police for providing us with much of the information contained in this section.
71. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
72. Heydon, *op. cit.*, p. 370.
73. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
74. *Report of the Committee of the New South Wales Legislative Council on Police and Gaols.*
75. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
77. King, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
81. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
82. Heydon, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.
84. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

85. Jackman, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
89. These attempts are described in detail by Jackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–101.
90. *Commonwealth Year Book*, 1967, p. 537.
91. See Heydon, *op. cit.*, chap. 15, p. 267 *et seq.*
92. We are most grateful to the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary for providing us with details of the development of the force.
93. The prefix “Royal” was granted to the amalgamated force shortly after the Second World War. As a matter of interest, only three other police forces in the world have this prefix, namely the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, and the Royal Malaysian Police Force.
94. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
96. King, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 219–20.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
99. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
100. Heydon, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
101. See, for instance, the four chapters devoted to the subject in Heydon, *op. cit.*, chaps. VIII–XI, and the extensive bibliography in Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–79.
102. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
103. *Ibid.*
104. Anthony Trollope, *Australia*, ed. P.D. Edwards and R.B. Joyce (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1968), pp. 419–20.



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## *Public Attitudes Towards The Police*

### *Introduction*

Most people at some time or other resent either the institutions that govern them or more often, the representatives of these institutions that they meet. But probably no government institution is more often the target of public resentment and criticism than the police. For the police, in the course of pursuing their task of law enforcement, are bound to come in contact with many members of the community. The fact that a large percentage of these contacts are likely to be of an unpleasant nature results in frequent conflict between the two groups, and often in substantial criticism of the police by the public.

Regardless of whether their criticism is justified or not, it is damaging for both the police and the public if relations between them become too strained. As the British Royal Commission on the Police stressed in their *Final Report*:

It is no exaggeration to say that the police cannot successfully carry out their task of maintaining law and order without the support and confidence of the people.<sup>1</sup>

It is well known that with public co-operation the policeman's task of preventing and detecting crime is made much easier. However, whether or not this public co-operation is forthcoming depends to a substantial degree on the level of respect for the police in the community at large.

It is the principal aim of this chapter to examine the level of public respect for the police in contemporary Australian and New Zealand society. This examination is based upon the findings of two large-scale surveys of public attitudes towards the police conducted by the authors in these two countries. The Australian public survey was conducted in October 1967, and the New Zealand one in April

1968. Details of the survey procedure are presented in Appendix I.

The public survey in Australia sampled opinions from 1,036 informants (544 males and 492 females) throughout the country. Interviewing was conducted by experienced interviewers, with the sample being selected on a strict probability basis, a method requiring interviewers to go to specified dwellings of people spread evenly over the population. It was stipulated that the sample should include only individuals over 16 years of age, and that the interviewing should be carried out at weekends so that men and women who work would be appropriately represented. It will be seen in Appendix I that proportions of informants living in each state agreed closely with the census data, as did the breakdown of the age and occupation of those interviewed.

In New Zealand essentially the same sampling procedure was used to interview 466 men and 303 females selected from the whole population. However, unlike the sample for the Australian survey, this sample was heavily weighted with young people aged from 16 to 25 years, and with university students. Weighting was made after a preliminary analysis of the Australian public data revealed that these two groups were particularly hostile towards the police. Because of this it seemed desirable to ensure that the New Zealand sample included sufficiently large numbers of respondents in these two groups to permit a detailed exploration of their attitudes. A comprehensive account of the opinions held by young people in general is presented in chapter 5.

Because the New Zealand sample was deliberately weighted with young people, it was subsequently adjusted for purposes of analysis so that the proportions of different age-groups in the sample closely approximated to the proportions of citizens belonging to these same age-groups in the New Zealand population as a whole. Consequently the tables in this chapter giving a total percentage for the New Zealand public are based on adjusted frequencies. A more detailed account of how closely the sample approximated to the total population in New Zealand in certain characteristics is to be found in Appendix I.

### *Public Respect for the Police*

Some measure of the general level of public respect for the police can be obtained from the answers given to the following survey question:

Considering everything about the way the police do their job, would you say that you had great respect for the police, little respect for them, or mixed feelings about them?

Table 1 compares the responses of New Zealand and Australian citizens to this question, tabulated according to the age of the respondents.

TABLE 1

**Public respect for the police — Classified by age of respondents**

Q. Considering everything about the way the police do their job, would you say that you have great respect for the police, little respect for them, or mixed feelings about them?

ANSWERS	AGE						TOTAL	
	16 – 25		26 – 45		46 and over		AUST.	N.Z.*
	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.		
Great respect	51	52	64	66	73	85	64	72
Little respect	4	10	0	8	3	1	2	6
Mixed feelings	41	35	32	22	20	13	29	19
Don't know	2	3	1	3	2	1	2	3
No answer	2	0	3	1	2	0	3	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	207	260	422	239	403	267	1032**	766**

\*New Zealand totals have been statistically weighted to approximate to age-groups in the population (See Appendix I).

\*\*Slightly fewer respondents than the total number surveyed are represented in this table since some failed to give their age. This applies to other tables in this chapter.

By far the highest proportion of informants in both countries had great respect for the police. However, when the results set out in Table 1 are compared with answers obtained from United Kingdom respondents in the Social Survey of 1960, it is apparent that New Zealand and Australian police are not held in such high regard as their British counterparts. In Britain 82.7 per cent of the public had great respect for the police, 15.9 per cent had mixed feelings, and only 0.5 per cent said they had little respect for them. Thus, when the community as a whole is considered, it is clear that people in the United Kingdom regarded their police more highly, at least in 1960, than Australians and New Zealanders regarded theirs in 1967. It is also important to note that the New Zealand public have a higher level of respect for police than the Australian public do, a point which will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter.

Another significant trend emerging from Table 1 is the marked difference between various age-groups in the amount of respect felt for the police. For example, in Australia only 51 per cent of those under the age of 25 said they had great respect, compared with 64

per cent of those aged between 26 and 45, and 73 per cent of those over 46. The same trend was evident in New Zealand, although the proportions of the public expressing great respect for the police were slightly higher in each age-category.

The fact that a substantial proportion of young people have little respect for the police must be a source of considerable concern to those who are interested in improving police-public relations. Present trends in population growth in both Australia and New Zealand suggest that in the future there is likely to be a continuing expansion in the proportion of youth in the general population. Thus if no steps are taken to increase young people's respect for the police, it would not seem too pessimistic to assume that relations between the police and the community could progressively deteriorate. Certain steps which might be taken to prevent this development are discussed in chapter 5.

Apart from the age variable, a strong inverse relationship was revealed between the level of education of the respondent and the degree of esteem held for the police. In Australia for example, only 45 per cent of those with or pursuing tertiary qualifications expressed great respect for the police, compared with 64 per cent of those with secondary education and 73 per cent with only primary school qualifications. The interviews with members of the public revealed clearly that at each age-level those with higher educational qualifications were far more cynical towards the police than were less educated members of the community. As will be seen in a later chapter, police reciprocate this feeling to the extent of expressing opinions with a strong anti-intellectual, anti-educational bias.

Public respect for the police also showed geographical variations, people living in smaller rural and provincial towns having slightly greater respect for the police than those residing in large conurbations. However, differences between rural and urban areas were not as marked as those found in the United Kingdom survey, although in Australia there were quite large interstate variations in levels of respect. South Australia had the highest percentage of its population expressing great respect for the police (76 per cent), and Queensland (56 per cent) the lowest. The proportions in New South Wales and Victoria were approximately the same (66 per cent).<sup>\*</sup> These differences between states did not appear to be due to variations in educational, occupational, or other similar characteristics of the population in each area, but rather, the authors suspect, to particular policies adopted by individual police forces. These policies will be considered in the next two chapters.

<sup>\*</sup>The number of people interviewed in Western Australia and Tasmania was too small to make reliable estimates of public attitudes in these states.

In New Zealand, attitudes towards the police showed quite wide variations in different parts of the country. For instance, in Wellington, the capital, only 58 per cent of the population expressed great respect for the police, compared with over 70 per cent of respondents in some other cities sampled. In part, the lower regard for the police in Wellington can be attributed to the higher proportion of young people in the sample of citizens interviewed in that city. The general low level of respect for the police among young people was possibly reinforced by a number of political demonstrations held in Wellington just prior to our survey. These demonstrations involved large numbers of young people who were protesting mainly against the Vietnam war. They frequently led to direct clashes with the police, increasing antagonism between the two groups.

When the amount of respect for the police was analyzed by occupation of the respondent, few significant differences emerged, although, generally, people in white-collar positions appeared slightly more resentful of police than manual workers did. Considering the small differences between occupational groups (2 or 3 per cent), and using occupation as a rough measure of social class, it appears that in Australasia public antagonism towards the police is not class-based. It is interesting to note that the United Kingdom survey also found few differences between social classes in attitudes towards the police.

### *Changes in Public Attitudes*

This completes the examination aimed at discovering the present level of public respect for the police in Australia and New Zealand. But has this level of respect changed, for better or for worse, over the years? In an attempt to get an answer to this question citizens in the two countries were asked:

Do you now feel more highly or less highly of the police than you did ten years ago?

For young informants "ten" was not specified when interviewers posed the question. In general, analysis of the replies revealed that opinion had not changed over the last decade. Of the population in Australia, 80 per cent said that they had not changed their opinion of the police, only 8 per cent saying that they now thought more highly of the police, and 6 per cent indicating that they now thought less highly of the police. In New Zealand, the great majority of respondents (72 per cent) also said that their opinion of the police had not changed over the years, but a substantial minority (23 per cent)

were willing to say that they thought more highly of the police than they had done a few years ago. Many of the respondents in both countries who said that they now thought less highly of the police were under 25 years of age. This result emphasizes again the poor state of relations between young people and the police and makes it hard to foresee any positive change in the situation.

Another method used to trace any change in the public's attitude towards the police was to ask the respondents whether they thought the standard of recruits entering the force had improved. The specific question put to respondents was:

Do you think the type of person going into the police force has changed for the better or the worse, over, say, the last ten years?

Again it was found that the great majority of informants thought there had been no change either way. Few respondents were willing to say that the type of person entering the police had become worse, but quite a large proportion in each country (20 per cent in Australia, 23 per cent in New Zealand) thought that the contemporary police recruit was better than his predecessors. So, considering the public's opinion of police now compared with that of ten years ago, and the community's views on how the type of person now entering the force compares with the recruit of the past, it appears that the level of public respect for the police has not changed significantly over the years.

### *Police Misconduct*

The extent to which the general public believe the police guilty of various misdemeanours is a yardstick of the respect they have for the police in general. Therefore members of the public were asked whether or not they thought police accepted bribes, used unfair methods to get information from people, twisted evidence to secure convictions, and used unnecessary force when making arrests.

It was initially intended, when asking these questions, to adopt the wording used in the United Kingdom survey. However, several pilot investigations revealed that the public in Australia and New Zealand found it difficult to understand the original British questions. As a result, the wording of each question and the appropriate response categories were changed in this survey to a form intelligible to the respondents. Table 2 summarizes the answers obtained from the Australian and New Zealand public to the questions dealing with police misconduct.

TABLE 2

## Public's view of whether the police were guilty of misconduct

QUESTIONS	NO ANSWER		SOME-TIMES*		NEVER*		DON'T KNOW	
	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.
Judging by what you have read and heard, do you think there is any truth in a suggestion that the police sometimes take bribes, or do you think it is unlikely that they would?	0	0	65	38	23	51	12	11
About the methods the police use to get information from people . . . do you think the police sometimes use unfair methods, such as questioning people for long hours, or tricking them into giving information, or do you think the police are always fair?	1	1	44	41	35	33	20	25
When the police are giving evidence in court, do you think they sometimes twist evidence to win the case, or do you think the police are always fair?	1	0	35	30	32	42	32	28
When the police have to use force to make an arrest, do you think they sometimes use too much, or never more than needed?	0	1	27	26	54	56	19	17

\*This category has been simplified for purposes of this table. See Appendix III for exact response categories.

A comparison of the proportion of informants in the two countries who considered there was some truth in the accusation that police take bribes shows that Australians are more likely than New Zealanders to believe their police indulge in this activity. In fact, with such a large percentage (65 per cent) of the public in the Australian sample believing there was some truth in the suggestion that

police sometimes take bribes, the inference is that it would be difficult in these circumstances to improve police-public relations. Most respondents did not claim personal knowledge of police accepting bribes. Instead, they thought it almost inevitable that the police would be offered bribes, and that they in all probability did accept them. One informant in the survey put it this way.

Of course some of the police some of the time take bribes. To an extent I suppose I can't blame them. After all if you are married with four kids and only drawing in \$50 a week, surely you would try to supplement your income in some way.

Many members of the Australian public had read in the newspapers about cases of the police accepting money from prostitutes, and from these fairly isolated reports had come to the conclusion that this activity was widespread. One young member of the community, not favourably disposed towards members of the force, said.

... you read about it the whole time. The cops come to knock off a pro and she offers him \$10 not to book her. It's in the papers every day.

It is important to note that few respondents admitted personal involvement in this type of situation or knew of some acquaintances who had given police money. But the significant point is that the Australian public *thought* this type of activity was fairly widespread. It was an integral part of their general stereotype of policeman. Consequently, regardless of the validity of their opinions, the fact that they hold them at all is detrimental to the public's confidence in members of the force.

Fewer respondents thought the police were guilty of other forms of misconduct. For example, only 44 per cent of the Australian public and 41 per cent of the New Zealand public were willing to say that the police sometimes used unfair methods in obtaining information from people. However, many respondents who thought this type of activity sometimes took place did not necessarily condemn it. The following is a fairly typical response in our interviews to this question:

I suppose they trick people into giving information. I can hardly blame them though considering the difficulty they have in getting sufficient evidence to obtain a conviction in court. I don't really mind if they use these methods. After all we've probably got too many criminals walking around free now that should be behind bars.

Approximately a third of the respondents in the two countries suspected the police of twisting evidence in court in order to win a case. Generally, the members of our sample who thought the police twisted evidence considered they were never justified in doing this. There were some citizens who sanctioned this type of police action in



court but a much smaller percentage thought the police might be more justified in distorting evidence than in using unfair methods to obtain information.

About one-quarter of those sampled in both countries said that the police sometimes used too much force when making an arrest. Many informants who gave this response also stated that they had personally seen the police use unnecessary aggression in various situations. As we will see, these people were mainly young and, quite often, university students.

Generally, young people in both countries were more inclined to believe the police guilty of misconduct than were people in the older age-groups. Again, these results emphasize the distrust of police by many young people, nearly half those under 25 in both countries believing police were guilty of all four types of misconduct mentioned.

Despite the general distrust of police among young people, more middle-aged respondents than young people said that the police sometimes took bribes. In Australia, 65 per cent of those aged between 16 and 25, compared with 73 per cent of respondents between 26 and 45, and 57 per cent of those over 46, gave a "sometimes" response to this question. The same response pattern was evident in New Zealand.

There were wide variations in responses to the questions on police misconduct, according to the different educational levels of informants. In all age-groups, informants with or pursuing tertiary qualifications were much more inclined to think the police took bribes, used unfair methods to obtain information, twisted evidence in court and, particularly, used too much force when making an arrest, than were those who had lower educational qualifications.

There was no difference in the proportions of males and females who thought the police were guilty of some form of misconduct, but it was interesting to find quite large differences between respondents living in various parts of Australia. For example, rural informants were less likely than their urban counterparts to think the police guilty of various types of misconduct, and respondents in New South Wales and Victoria were more likely to believe the police sometimes took bribes than were people in other states. This latter finding is perhaps not surprising when it is remembered that New South Wales and Victoria contain the two largest and most cosmopolitan cities in Australia, cities in which, respondents no doubt believed, there were far more opportunities and temptations for policemen to accept bribes. On the other hand, the Queensland public were more likely than their Southern counterparts to think that police in their state used an unnecessary amount of force in making an arrest, and also used unfair methods of obtaining information from

citizens. In part these results can be explained by events which took place prior to the survey, including numerous clashes between the Queensland police and university students during 1967, and considerable adverse police publicity in the press over a "fake-evidence" charge brought against one of the members of the Queensland force.

On examination of the overall situation in Australia in relation to the misconduct questions, it would appear that the public in South Australia are less likely than citizens in other states to think the police dishonest in some way. This finding again points to the relatively high amount of confidence the people in that state have in the members of their police force.

In New Zealand, few differences were observed between cities in the proportion of respondents who said the police were guilty of some form of misconduct. In Wellington, slightly more members of the public than in other areas thought the police used unnecessary force when making an arrest. Once again, student-police clashes in the capital prior to the survey probably explain this result.

To sum up, the information discussed in this section of the chapter indicates that although most members of the public in Australia and New Zealand did not in general consider the police to be guilty of twisting evidence, of employing unfair methods to obtain information, and of using too much force, the vast majority of citizens in Australia were willing to say that the police sometimes took bribes. In addition, it would appear that the public in South Australia and New Zealand have greater faith in the integrity of their policemen than do citizens living in other areas surveyed; and finally that young people judge the behaviour of police generally with more cynicism than do older members of the community.

### *Who Needs the Police ?*

Public confidence in and respect for the police will be largely related to the amount of satisfaction people obtain from police when they ask for help. Consequently, respondents were asked:

Apart from such things as asking the time or the way to a place, have you ever asked the police for help of any kind ?

It was found that approximately one-third of the public in each country (33 per cent in Australia, 38 per cent in New Zealand) had asked the police for help on some occasion which was not merely of a trivial nature. In both countries, one-half of those requesting assistance had done so in connection with offences against property, such as the breaking and entering of their homes or the theft of their cars. The next most frequently mentioned requests related to emergencies, such as requiring police help in floods or similar situations.

Approximately 20 per cent of the population in both countries had required police help for these reasons. Finally, a small minority of the public (4 per cent) had required the police in connection with motoring incidents, and an equal percentage had needed help in dealing with disturbances of various kinds, including those created by juveniles.

The overwhelming majority of those who had asked for police help were satisfied with the assistance provided by the police. Only a small minority (5 per cent in Australia, 7 per cent in New Zealand) were dissatisfied with the way in which police had handled their cases. The main type of criticism levelled against police in this respect was that the police had taken insufficient action, or no action at all. This criticism was made most frequently by those members of the public who had requested police assistance when their houses had been broken into. Police, these people said, seemed to show little concern about these offences.

To a considerable extent, members of the community are justified in levelling this complaint against police departments. In Queensland, for example, the successful detection rate for household burglaries is only about 25 per cent. In New South Wales, although the official police figures give a highly impressive detection rate for breaking and entering offences generally, thousands of cases a year are simply not investigated by them. The official police statistics refer only to those cases which are investigated, namely, those which are most likely to be cleared up. However, the police are often not to be blamed for their failure to investigate every breaking and entering offence or theft brought to their notice. As chapter 4 will point out, most Australian police forces have an enormous range of duties to perform, and they must therefore concentrate their limited resources for crime detection in the areas where they are most likely to be effective.

Even though only a third of the public had asked for police assistance at some time, it was desirable to find out what most people thought about the general manner of the police towards the community, and more specifically, to find out whether citizens in Australia and New Zealand considered that the police had improved over the years in their manner towards the public.

It appears from Table 3 that the major portion of the public in both countries considers there has been no change in the manner of the police towards the public in recent years. Few respondents were willing to say that the manner of the police had changed for the worse, the majority of those who said there had been a change indicating that it was one for the better. As would be expected, young people were less inclined to say there had been a change for the

TABLE 3

**Public's view of change in manner of the police towards the public**

Q. In recent years, do you think the police have changed for the better or the worse in their manner towards the public, or not changed at all ?

ANSWERS	AUSTRALIA	NEW ZEALAND
Better	19	26
Worse	6	9
Don't know	1	4
No change	74	61
Total percentage	100	100
Number of informants	1036	769

better than were those in older age categories, although, contrary to expectations, those with or pursuing tertiary qualifications were more inclined than those with lower educational qualifications to see a change for the better.

On the assumption that the vast majority of citizens are likely at some time in their lives to come in contact with the police, even if only to ask a policeman the time or the way to a place, the following question was put to informants in the two countries :

Have you personally always found the police polite and helpful, or have the police sometimes been impolite and unhelpful to you ?

TABLE 4

**Public's view of police politeness**

Q. Have you personally always found the police polite and helpful or have the police sometimes been impolite and unhelpful to you ?

ANSWERS	AUSTRALIA	NEW ZEALAND
Always polite	75	75
Sometimes impolite	12	11
No opinion	1	1
No dealings with police	12	13
No answer	0	0
Total percentage	100	100
Number of informants	1036	769

Table 4 shows that few members of the public have had no dealings with the police, the majority of those interviewed in both countries being willing to give an opinion in response to the question. It will be seen that eight out of ten people who had come in contact with the police found them always polite and helpful. In both

countries, respondents under 25 were more likely than others to think the police were sometimes impolite and unhelpful — 18 per cent aged between 16 and 25, 13 per cent between 26 and 45, and 7 per cent over 45 years of age gave this response.

It is perhaps relevant to note at this stage that a high proportion of motorists compared with non-motorists thought the police guilty of being impolite and unhelpful on some occasions. This particular point will be taken up in more detail in the section of chapter 6 dealing with police-motorist relations.

### *Public Assistance to the Police*

It has been seen how often the public request police help and that there is general satisfaction with police assistance. But what happens when the police are in trouble? Do the public feel that they assist the police enough when the latter are in difficult or unpleasant situations? In order to get an answer to this question, respondents were asked:

When a policeman is in difficulties, as with a violent drunk or teenage hoodlum, do you think bystanders help as much as they should?

Table 5 presents the results of this question, tabulated according to the age of the respondents.

**TABLE 5**

**The public's view of the assistance they give to police**

Q. When a policeman is in difficulties, as with a violent drunk or teenage hoodlum, do you think bystanders help as much as they should?

ANSWERS	AGE						TOTALS	
	16-25		26-45		46 and over		AUST.	N.Z.
	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.		
Yes	9	17	8	22	10	14	9	18
No	78	73	75	64	67	76	72	71
Don't know	13	10	16	14	23	10	18	11
No answer	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	207	260	422	239	403	267	1032	766

Obviously, as Table 5 shows, the public in Australia and New Zealand felt that bystanders did not help enough when policemen were in difficult situations. There was considerable agreement among

different age-groups on this question, young people being as likely as older members of the community to think that the public do not help the police enough, even though, as has been seen, young people are generally antagonistic towards the police. These results are similar to those obtained in other Western countries. For example, 60 per cent of the public in the United States and 75 per cent of citizens in the United Kingdom felt that the public were not sufficiently responsive when the police were in need of assistance.<sup>2</sup> As will be seen in the later chapters, the police themselves are in agreement with the public on this point. Although it might be concluded that there is limited co-operation between the public and the police, these findings may also reflect recognition by both the police and the public of the deterioration of relationships between them.

Respondents in rural areas were more likely than their urban counterparts to think they helped the police enough, but differences between the two groups were limited to a few per cent. Many comments made by the public to this question indicated that they did not, or would not, help the police in difficult situations because they were afraid of physical injury. One middle-aged informant put it like this:

I've seen policemen having trouble with young roughs and haven't helped. Occasionally I feel guilty about this, but what would anyone else do? After all, policemen get paid for taking physical risks and get looked after if they are badly hurt. But what would happen to me if I got seriously hurt through defending a cop against tough louts? I get put into hospital and would receive a heavy bill once I got out. I'd have to pay for it. As it is I can only just scrape together enough money to keep my wife and kids without sticking my neck out further.

Without a doubt, lack of public assistance to the police by many members of the community is due to this sort of reasoning. Compensation schemes for victims of crime in Australia are in general completely inadequate.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, there is something extremely disturbing about a policeman being beaten up by four or five youths, with a great crowd of people passively watching the spectacle. Though this type of situation occurs fairly infrequently in Australasia in comparison with other countries, the increasing number of policemen receiving inadequate public help in difficult situations is a matter of some concern.

Respondents in both countries were also asked the question:

Apart from helping in these situations (i.e. dealing with violent drunks and teenage hoodlums), in what other ways do you feel the public might be able to help the police more?

Virtually all people interviewed suggested one or more ways in which citizens could assist the police. Approximately half the sample in both countries (48 per cent in Australia, 59 per cent in New

Zealand) thought the public could help the police mainly by taking a co-operative attitude towards them. By this they meant that the public should report suspicious circumstances promptly to the police, provide information which might be of value to the police, and generally co-operate with the police in crime detection and prevention. When police were asked in what other ways the public might assist them, the great majority mentioned these same points.

A smaller proportion of the public in both countries suggested that they could help the police considerably by being more willing to act as witnesses in court when asked by the police. Safeguarding property by locking houses, cars, and buildings were other suggestions made by informants, although only a very small proportion (3 per cent) of the public in both countries mentioned these. A considerably greater proportion of police sampled (25 per cent) mentioned the safeguarding of private property, indicating that the police were more aware of the problems created by unlocked houses and cars. It is interesting to note that 5 per cent of the Australian public suggested that a more co-operative attitude by motorists towards the police would assist members of the police, although no New Zealand informants gave a similar reply. On the other hand, while no Australian informants mentioned that the public could assist the police by keeping out of their way when they were doing a job, 10 per cent of the New Zealand sample did. This result probably explains why a larger proportion of the New Zealand public, compared with the Australian public, thought the public did assist enough when policemen were in difficulties (see Table 5).

To summarize, most of the public in Australia and New Zealand agree that they do not help policemen enough when police are in difficult situations. Further, the public in both countries think there are a number of ways in which they could assist the police in their job. The main way in which citizens felt they could help the police was by reporting suspicious circumstances to the police as well as by generally adopting a more co-operative attitude towards police. Police, as will be seen, were in complete agreement with the view that they did not receive sufficient community support.

### *Suggestions for Improving Police-Public Relations*

It has been demonstrated in other parts of this chapter that police-public relations in Australia and New Zealand are not as satisfactory as they might be. To be sure, 65 per cent of the Australian public and 72 per cent of the New Zealand public expressed great respect for the police, but these levels of respect were significantly

lower than the 82 per cent of the United Kingdom public who said they had great respect for their police. There were also other indications from the survey data which suggested that police-public relations were far from satisfactory. As has been seen, a large percentage of the Australian public were willing to say that the police sometimes took bribes. Further, between a third and a quarter of the citizens in both countries thought the police sometimes twisted evidence in court to win a case, that they sometimes used unfair methods in obtaining information, and that they occasionally used unnecessary force when making an arrest. All these findings suggest that there is considerable room for improvement in police-public relations.

How then is the policeman's public image to be improved? In an attempt to get an answer to this question, members of the public, and also the police, were asked to suggest methods for improving police-public relations. To begin with, informants were asked:

Do you think anything should be done to try and improve relations between the police and the public?

In Australia, 56 per cent of the public said "yes", 26 per cent said "no" and 18 per cent had no opinion. The corresponding New Zealand figures were 58 per cent, 29 per cent, and 13 per cent. Thus, a substantial proportion of citizens in both countries perceive the need for taking steps to improve police-public relations. Significantly, the majority of respondents who were in favour of steps being taken to improve police-public relations were under 25 years of age. Fewer respondents in South Australia than in other states thought something should be done to improve relations between the police and the public. This result was not unexpected because, as has been seen, public respect for the police was higher in South Australia than in any other state. Again, not unexpectedly, more informants who saw the need to take steps to improve relations between the police and the public lived in the city than in provincial towns or rural areas.

When asked the question

What do you suggest is the main thing that should be done to improve relations between the police and the public?

citizens in Australia and New Zealand gave remarkably similar replies. In fact, their suggestions were the same as those given by the United Kingdom public in the United Kingdom survey. In all three countries, approximately one-half of all informants made at least one suggestion. An organized public relations programme was chosen as the main need, with improvement of police attitudes towards the public as the second choice. In relation to the first point, it was sug-



gested that the police should give talks on the radio as well as write articles for the press on many aspects of police work. In a similar fashion, the public suggested that the police should hold open days at police stations when any member of the community could be shown round a police department.

The second most popular suggestion for improving police-public relations was that the police themselves should change their manner towards the public. The public thought that the police, when interacting with the community, should display more courtesy than they had in the past. Further, the public considered that police departments in their training programmes should put more emphasis on public relations procedures.

It is remarkable and significant that, whereas in Britain a substantial proportion of the United Kingdom public suggested measures which should be taken by the public themselves or by non-police agencies to improve police-public relations, very few respondents in Australasia gave a similar kind of response. Thus, it appears that in Australasia the public consider the onus is entirely on the police to improve relations, whereas in Britain the community consider both the police and the public responsible for initiating steps to improve relations between them. This finding can perhaps be explained in part by the nature of the development of the police forces in the respective countries. As was seen in chapter 1, police forces in the United Kingdom have far stronger roots in the local community than the police in Australia and New Zealand have. Consequently, the community's sense of responsibility for the police is probably more highly developed in the United Kingdom than in Australasia.

Those under 25 were more likely than older informants to suggest that improved police attitudes would do most to improve relations between the police and the public. However, this trend did not hold when results were tabulated according to the level of education of the respondents. Generally, those with higher educational qualifications made *specific* and constructive suggestions for police-public relations programmes rather than general recommendations that police should change or improve their attitudes towards the public.

### *Summary and Conclusion*

Historically Australians, and to a lesser extent New Zealanders, have been accused of being generally anti-authoritarian and, specifically, anti-police. While the historical evidence would suggest that there is some truth in this assertion, our survey data revealed

that anti-police attitudes are not as virulent or widespread in the Antipodes as previous writers have suggested. A feeling of great respect for members of their police force is expressed by 65 per cent of the Australian public and 72 per cent of the New Zealand public. Further, few citizens in either country are prepared to say that they have little respect for the constabulary.

Even though the majority of Australians and New Zealanders are not violently anti-police, indications are that police-public relations in the two countries could be considerably improved. To begin with, the proportion of the public in Britain (82 per cent) who expressed great respect for the police force was far greater than in Australasia. To be sure, the British figures were based on a survey carried out in 1960, seven years earlier than the date of our studies. However, the United Kingdom survey was initiated at a time when there was a widespread feeling among police in Britain that police-public relations and police organization generally were not as good as they should be. Despite this feeling, eight out of ten citizen respondents in Britain expressed great respect for their police. Since the survey considerable police reforms have been instituted in the United Kingdom and it seems likely that if a similar survey were carried out in the United Kingdom today the level of respect expressed for the police would be just as high as it was in 1960. Therefore Australians and New Zealanders cannot be complacent about the present state of relations between the police and the public in their respective countries.

Anti-police attitudes varied significantly in the two countries and in different sections of the population in them. Generally, public respect for the police was higher in New Zealand than in Australia. However, within the latter country the public in South Australia appeared to have considerably greater respect for their force than did citizens in other states. This finding is an important one because, as later chapters will demonstrate, South Australia has, in the authors' opinion, the most progressive police department in Australia. In particular, the South Australian Police policies in dealing with the public appear to have gained considerable public respect for the force.

Young people, those under 25 years of age, were more antagonistic towards the police than were other age groups in the community. University students and motorists also showed strong anti-police feelings. Chapters five and six will examine in detail the reasons for the unsatisfactory relations between these groups and the police, and will also suggest possible measures for remedying the situation.

To the credit of the police, it must be stressed that the great majority of people who had asked for police assistance were satisfied

with the service they received. Further, most respondents who had come in contact with police had found them on all occasions to be polite and helpful.

The public in Australia and New Zealand considered that they did not help police enough when policemen were in difficult situations. They also realized there were a number of other ways in which they could assist the police in their task of preventing and detecting crime.

While suggestions made for improving relations between the police and the public were essentially of two types, those involving measures to be taken by the public or authorities outside the police, and those calling for action by the police themselves, few people in Australia and New Zealand, when asked to suggest methods for improving relations between the police and the public, implied that the initiation of such actions should come from the public. Nearly all respondents gave suggestions which recommended police action.

Finally, the study has made it abundantly clear that an individual's opinion of the police is in many cases the result of an isolated encounter with one police officer. The favourable or unfavourable impression made by the officer concerned will largely determine the individual's opinion of the force as a whole. As Brock so aptly put it: "...to the public every policeman is the police force."<sup>4</sup> Consequently the burden of improving police-public relations from the police side rests to a considerable extent with every individual policeman. On the public side it rests with each citizen to realize that policemen are present for the community's protection and well-being. Therefore citizens should actively assist the police wherever they can.

## *Notes to Chapter 2*

1. *Royal Commission on the Police. Final Report* (London: H.M.S.O., May 1962), p. 99.
2. J.P. Clark, "Isolation of the Police: A Comparison of the British and American Situations", *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. LVI, No. 3 (1965).
3. D. Chappell, "Compensating Australian Victims of Violent Crime", *Australian Law Journal*, Vol. XLI (1967).
4. Edwin Brock, "Idle and Silly Remarks Will Be Disregarded", in C.H. Rolph (ed.), *The Police and the Public* (London: Heinemann, 1962), p. 123.

# 3

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## *Police View of Their Public Image*

### *Introduction*

This chapter presents the police view of their public image. Unfortunately, lack of co-operation by some forces, as well as financial considerations, made it impossible to survey all ten police forces in Australia and its territories. However, we were able to obtain representative samples of policemen in New Zealand and in three Australian states — South Australia, Tasmania, and Queensland — which allowed us to make reasonable inferences as to just what Australian and New Zealand policemen thought their public image was. The samples of policemen surveyed were carefully selected to be representative of all ranks, age-groups, and areas within each force. Details of the sampling methods and analysis are presented in Appendix II.

The authors believe that a number of factors make it necessary to consider the police view of their public image as part of the wider study of relations between the police and the public. In the first place, it is possible to argue, as Banton<sup>1</sup> does, that police opinion of the state of their relations with the public is likely to be more accurate than public opinion on this subject. The police have more experience in dealing with the public than the public have in dealing with the police. Banton concludes therefore that police opinion is potentially a more reliable thermometer of police-public relations than public opinion. Banton's argument is, however, open to debate. As will later be apparent, police took an extremely pessimistic view of public criticism. It follows that they could equally have underestimated the level of respect that they felt the public had for them.

So there is an even more practical reason why police perceptions of their public image are important. If the majority of police have a distorted and unfavourable impression of their standing in the eyes of

the public, it is very likely that this will lead to a loss of confidence in themselves, which in turn can effect a deterioration in their manner of approach to the public. Finally, police morale is closely bound up with their perception of their public image. Like any other vocational group, police are concerned with their public image. If they consider that their public image is bad, then this is bound to affect the morale of the force.

Just what do Australasian police think of public attitudes towards them? Do they consider those attitudes have changed over the years? Are there variations, related to area, rank, and length of service, in their opinions? What methods do the police think might be used to improve police-public relations and consequently their public image? Do their views of the state of police-public relations agree with those of the public?

Before discussing these questions, it may be illuminating to present police reactions to the idea of being surveyed at all.

### *Police Reaction to the Survey*

Before the authors began the main surveys of both police and public in Australasia, a pilot study was conducted in the Australian Capital Territory in October 1966 to test the design of the questionnaire used in interviewing members of the public. The results of the pilot study were made public some two months after its completion. The reaction to these results was in itself interesting. Considerable publicity was given to the findings by newspapers, most emphasis being placed upon the disparity found between the level of respect for the police in the A.C.T. and United Kingdom surveys. The Australian press has a reputation for being particularly hostile towards the police, and certainly the use made of the pilot study findings tended to uphold this reputation. Headlines such as "Survey Finds Suspicion of the Police" were not uncommon.

The Commissioner of the Australian Capital Territory Police Force had, even before the pilot study was commenced, refused permission for the authors to administer questionnaires to members of his force. However, the police felt obliged to make a public statement about the survey findings. An official police spokesman claimed the survey questions were biased against the police and that in fact the level of respect for the police was certainly just as high in Canberra as in the United Kingdom.

After this police denial of the validity of the survey, the Australian Capital Territory Police Commissioner said, somewhat paradoxically, that on the basis of the survey findings he was proposing to

introduce breathalyser tests for persons suspected of drunken driving within his police area.

Despite the rebuff from the police in the Australian Capital Territory, permission was enthusiastically given by the South Australian Police Commissioner, Brigadier J.G. McKinna, to administer questionnaires to a random sample of members of his force to determine their attitudes towards the public and towards other matters. Similar permission was subsequently willingly granted by the New Zealand Police Commissioner, Mr. C. Urquhart, the Commissioner of Police for Tasmania, Mr. P.W. Fletcher, and the Queensland Police Commissioner, Mr. F.E. Bischof.

At the time of seeking permission, each of the forces mentioned was asked to indicate any changes they would like made to the questionnaire to be used, the authors being anxious to ensure that no questions were included which might be regarded as loaded or biased. In fact, none of the forces wanted changes made to the questionnaire on the grounds of bias, although all of the Commissioners made most helpful suggestions as to how questions could be modified to meet conditions in their state. These suggestions were, wherever possible, incorporated in the version of the questionnaire sent to the policemen surveyed.

Permission to interview a cross-section of policemen in Victoria, New South Wales, and Western Australia was requested, but refused. The general response from Commissioners of Police or Police Ministers in these states was that "the survey could be embarrassing for the force". New South Wales stated that they were "considering the request" but two years after the investigators sought permission, the Commissioner had not yet decided on whether the survey should go ahead. Reluctantly we decided not to pursue the matter further with police in that state.

The project has shown that Australian criminologists, and other social scientists, are confronted with serious difficulties in seeking to conduct any form of research involving police co-operation. Unlike British police, many members of the Australian forces have yet to be convinced of the benefits of criminological research. We hope that the excellent co-operation given us by three state forces, and the New Zealand police, will help to change this attitude.

### *Police View of Public Attitudes*

Let us begin examining how police view their public image by considering whether the police thought the general public's opinion

of them had changed for the better or for the worse in the past ten years. Table 6 compares Australian and New Zealand responses with those given by British police in their 1960 survey.

TABLE 6

**Police view of change in public opinion of the force: A comparison of Australian, New Zealand, and British results**

Q. Do you think the general public's opinion of the police has changed for the better or for the worse in the past ten years?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT.	N.Z.	U.K.
Changed for the better	36	31	55	41	52	2.3
Changed for the worse	25	32	18	23	20	68.8
Don't know	1	7	1	2	1	4.2
No answer	2	5	8	5	6	—
No change	36	25	18	29	21	24.7
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376	611

The table shows that Australian and New Zealand police forces obviously felt more strongly in 1967 that public opinion was changing for the better than their British colleagues did in 1960. South Australia and New Zealand stand out as having the highest percentage who felt that public opinion was changing for the better. These results suggest that an emphasis in police training on the need for good relations between the police and the public, the police and the press, and so on, has had a marked effect on the climate of police opinion. It is significant that, since taking office, Commissioner McKinna in South Australia and Commissioner Urquhart in New Zealand have emphasized the need for improving the image of the police in their respective communities. Both have translated their words into action and have put forward inventive and constructive programmes in this area.

In New Zealand, for example, until a few years ago, any conscious striving towards better public relations was the result of individual effort. There has been a change over recent years. The Commissioner himself initiated the move and continued to give it his wholehearted support. As would be expected, there has been no magic formula found which provided the solution. The first move was to drop the word "Force" from the formal title of the New Zealand Police — consequently we have the New Zealand Police (not Police Force). This was followed by not attempting, as had been done in the past, to hide members' misdemeanours. If a member committed an

offence (including minor traffic breaches) which would have brought him before the court had he been a civilian, he *was* taken before the court.

A Public Relations Officer was appointed in 1965 whose duties included preparing certain types of press releases, issuing an internal information bulletin and advising on the techniques of good public relations. The Public Relations Officer was, and still is, a civilian, a fact which appears to please both the police and the public.

At the New Zealand National Headquarters in Wellington there is a Public Relations Committee chaired by the Assistant Commissioner. This committee has directed that similar committees be formed in each police district under the chairmanship of the officer-in-charge, and the great majority of police districts have in fact implemented this scheme. The headquarters committee steers the district committees, requiring them to examine the areas of bad public relations and possible remedies.

The present Police Commissioner has directed that training courses should in future emphasize more than ever the need to improve relations with the public. Practically every course, including junior courses, is visited by the Commissioner, who invariably speaks quite pointedly about the individual's responsibility in the matter of public relations. During recruits' basic training, lectures on public relations are included, but the main effect is produced during training in apparently unconnected subjects. For example, lessons on arresting a drunk, on deaths, stopping motorists, interviewing witnesses, using telephones and so on, all have some public relations content, and instructors never fail to touch on this as a side issue to the main subject. In-service training follows basic training. This includes further instructions on public relations, formalized monographs on the subject being used by both recruits and instructors. Recruits and men undergoing in-service courses are often presented with notes which list complaints the department has received from the public. The class is encouraged to discuss how these complaints could have been avoided and urged to avoid the mistakes made by others in dealing with the public.

There are many other parts of the New Zealand Police's public relations programme which, while not so important as the formal emphasis put on the subject in training courses, indicate the extent of the concern with public relations. The department encourages all its members to accept every invitation to address groups; its dog section puts on as many public displays as practicable; they attempt a high standard of letter writing in answer to letters received, avoiding as far as possible the cold official reply so common in most Australian forces. Members are encouraged to take part in



public activities and sports, and extensive police youth movements exist.

To a large extent the policy of the police in South Australia is similar to that of their New Zealand colleagues. Both in training and in day-to-day activities, public relations receives high priority. Unfortunately we could find no indication that equal emphasis was placed on public relations by other Australian forces. Commissioners in all other Australian forces, both those included in the survey and those who refused to take part, continue to discuss in press statements and official talks the need for an improvement in police relations with the public, but in practice little seems to be done to achieve this. Certainly the formal emphasis on public relations in the training courses of most Australian state forces falls far behind in both quantity and quality the New Zealand and South Australian schemes.

In an attempt to discover whether in fact police in South Australia and New Zealand, and in other states, considered improved public relations policies had caused the public's change of opinion towards them in the past ten years the question was posed:

What do you think is the reason for the public's change of opinion?

Table 7 presents the results.

One of the most interesting trends emerging from this table is the large percentage of policemen in South Australia and New Zealand who in fact regard improved public relations as the main reason why the public have changed their opinion of the police for the better. The 30 per cent of police in New Zealand and 29 per cent in South Australia who give "better public relations" as a reason for change is far in advance of the 7 per cent in Tasmania and 16 per cent in Queensland who stress this aspect. Many respondents in South Australia and New Zealand emphasized the contribution made by their Commissioners in improving public relations programmes. Replies such as "McKinna's public relations policies are the main reason why the public think more highly of us" were not uncommon, and similar types of answers came from the New Zealand Police. We feel these results confirm our original hypothesis that New Zealand and South Australian police have, over recent years, improved and refined their public relations policies to a far greater extent than other forces. Certainly this feeling appears to be widespread among policemen in these two forces.

Like their colleagues in Britain, police in Australia think that public resentment over the enforcement of petty traffic regulations is one of the main reasons why the public's image of the police has

TABLE 7

**Reasons given by police for change in public opinion: A comparison of Australian, New Zealand, and British results**

Q. What do you think is the reason for the public's change of opinion?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT.	N.Z.	U.K.
<b>REASONS FOR CHANGE FOR THE BETTER</b>						
1. Positive public attitude; public better educated and informed; public needs more protection; more crime generally; fewer old type policemen who instilled fear.	16	14	10	14	9	3.6
2. Better public relations	16	7	29	19	30	-
3. Police more efficient; better equipped to handle crime; more technical skill.	3	5	16	7	11	-
<b>REASONS FOR CHANGE FOR THE WORSE</b>						
4. Public resentment over enforcing petty traffic regulations	6	9	2	5	0	22.4
5. Unfavourable press reports	5	3	2	4	5	18.0
6. Loss of respect for the police generally; young people more antagonistic to authority	5	10	9	7	10	30.0
7. Status of police lower; low pay; low physical standards; numbers too few; young policemen not diplomatic; wrong approach; general deterioration in quality of the force	2	3	1	2	4	20.6
8. Other reasons	8	12	2	7	3	0.3
9. No answer; no change in public opinion	39	37	29	35	28	27.6
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	122.5*
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376	611

\*British informants were permitted to make more than one response here.

changed for the worse. New Zealand, which has separate organizations for dealing with traffic matters, did not give this as a reason for negative change, a point that will be considered again in chapter 6. As fewer police in Australasia than in Britain considered that their public image had changed for the worse, answers given in the United Kingdom survey and in the Australasian study differ quite considerably in the reasons given for such an alleged change for the worse. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the priority of reasons was similar between, say, Australia and Great Britain — loss of respect for the police first in both countries, then public resentment over the enforcement of petty traffic regulations, then unfavourable press reports.

Do the police think that they have changed for the better or the worse in their manner towards the public? When police were asked this question (see Table 8), the same trend appeared as with the question on whether police thought the public's opinion of the police had changed for the better or for the worse in the past ten years (see Table 6).

TABLE 8

**Police view of change in manner towards the public : A comparison of Australian, New Zealand and British results**

Q. Do you think the police have changed for the better or the worse in their manner towards members of the public in the last few years?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT.	N.Z.	U.K.
Changed for the better	49	55	67	56	68	13.7
Changed for the worse	11	12	7	10	8	32.3
Don't know	1	4	3	2	3	4.3
No answer	1	1	1	1	1	—
No change	38	28	22	31	20	49.7
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376	611

It is clear from Table 8 that there was the same difference between Australasian forces and United Kingdom police on this question as was shown in Table 6. In short, Australasian police, unlike their British colleagues, not only felt that public opinion of police had improved, but also were convinced that their own manner towards the public had changed for the better. Further, New Zealand and South Australia again emerged as the forces which were more convinced of a change for the better — 68 per cent and 67 per cent

respectively of police in those forces emphasized the change for the better. Again, it should be noted that many policemen in those forces, when asked the reasons for change, gave better public relations programmes as the important determinant of their improved manner.

When asked the question:

What do you suggest is the main thing that should be done to improve relations between the police and the public?

policemen in Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom gave remarkably similar replies. In all forces, an organized public relations programme was chosen as the main need, with improvement of police attitudes towards the public as second choice. Many suggestions were put forward for the implementation of a public relations programme. It was suggested that police should give talks on radio and write articles for the press on many aspects of police duties. Along the same lines were suggestions that the public be invited to attend open days at police stations to observe the running of the force. Police also thought they could put more emphasis on advising the public, wherever possible, on any problems they might have in regard to specific crimes.

In all forces surveyed, many police emphasized that individual policemen should show more concern for people, and try to make a better impression on those members of the public with whom they had personal contact. It was also suggested, particularly by senior Queensland police, that some of the younger men in the force were exhibiting very little of the tact in handling people that older officers thought necessary and had gained through experience. Further, senior police frequently emphasized how isolated incidents in which policemen were offensive or impolite to the public received damaging publicity from the mass media. Australian policemen in particular thought the press lacked balance when reporting police affairs, being especially adept at tracing and reporting incidents in which the police were at fault but often failing to record praiseworthy actions of the police. Consequently, many police surveyed felt that some or all aspects of press reporting of police-public relations should be improved. One of the ways in which the press could improve police-public relations, the police considered, was by reporting not only unpleasant police-public contacts but also presenting incidents where individual officers had gone out of their way to assist members of the community.

Unlike their British colleagues, Australasian policemen did not think the revising of outmoded laws was one way in which relations between the police and the public could be improved, despite the presence of many such laws on the statute books of Australia

and New Zealand. On the other hand policemen in all three countries emphasized the need for alteration of various police powers. One of the suggestions most frequently made by police in the Australian states surveyed was that police, particularly when dealing with motorists and teenagers, should be allowed to caution rather than charge them with an offence.

We have now examined the change in police-public relations in recent years, but the problem of ascertaining the current level of public respect for police still remains. To do this, policemen in Australia and New Zealand were asked:

Do you think that the general public in your state has great respect for the police, little respect for the police, or mixed feelings about them?

Unfortunately the 1960 British survey did not include this question, so Table 9 does not present United Kingdom figures.

TABLE 9

**Police view of public respect: A comparison of Australian and New Zealand results**

Q. Do you think that the general public in your state has great respect for the police, little respect for the police, or mixed feelings about them?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT	N.Z.
Great respect for the police	25	13	47	31	25
Little respect for the police	10	17	4	9	3
Mixed feelings about them	64	70	49	59	72
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0
No answer	1	0	0	1	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376

One of the most important points emerging from Table 9 is the relatively small percentage of police in all forces who considered that the public had great respect for them. A comparison of these results with those shown in Table 6 is rather illuminating. The proportion of police in all forces who considered that the public's attitude towards them had changed for the better was far larger than the group which thought the public had great respect for them. Tasmania is a case in point — 31 per cent of the Tasmanian police considered that the general public's opinion of the police had changed for the better, yet only 13 per cent said the general public had great respect for them. New Zealand had a similar pattern, 52 per cent saying that the public's image had changed for the better, but only 25

per cent claiming there was great respect for them. However, there is really no contradiction in these figures, for they seem to indicate that while policemen recognized that their public relations policies had improved over the years, they realized that there was still scope for improvement in these policies, and in the level of public respect for the police. A senior New Zealand police officer expressed this view to one of the authors when he said, before public or police survey results were released:

I don't expect our new public relations policies have given us massive support. After all, we've only had them in operation for five or six years. But wait another ten years and I'll guarantee they will have considerable effect. It takes a long time to change community attitudes, particularly one which has met with police discourtesy for sixty years or more.

Some of the more articulate replies to the question from policemen in other forces expressed similar views. Finally, it is interesting to note that policemen in all areas surveyed badly underestimated the public's actual respect for them, a point which will be discussed again towards the end of this chapter.

So far policemen in all forces have been treated as a single entity regardless of their rank, age, area, or length of service. But do policemen of varying backgrounds have the same opinion of their public image and their relations with the public? If not, what are some of the possible reasons for these varied opinions?

### *Variations in Police Attitudes*

In the villages, the policeman is perceived as an individual known for his personal characteristics. In the bigger towns, policemen are seen more as members of a social category.<sup>2</sup>

This statement, made by Banton about British police, is also true of those in Australia and New Zealand. Consequently, the survey was expected to show that where an attempt had been made to improve police relations with the public the effect would be noticed first in smaller communities, where the policeman has much more contact with civilians. In urban areas, where the policeman has little personal contact, it was expected that the change in attitude would be much slower.

Certainly in New Zealand, the survey results confirmed these expectations. For example, 49 per cent of New Zealand police in urban areas thought that the public's attitude had changed for the better, compared with 54 per cent in provincial towns and 63 per cent in rural areas. In other words, the smaller the community the more likely New Zealand police were to think that the public's

opinion of them was more favourable than it was ten years ago. However the situation in Australian police forces is more complex. South Australia showed a similar trend to that met with in New Zealand — 55 per cent in metropolitan areas as against 67 per cent in rural areas who considered that a change for the better had occurred. As these two forces were the ones which, as we have seen, deliberately attempted to change their public image, the results appear to support our original proposition — that police will be more aware of the effects of better police-public relations policies in small rural areas. On the other hand, no such relationship was found in Tasmania and Queensland, probably because these forces had not attempted over the years to change their public relations policies in the same way as South Australia and New Zealand had.

One of the most interesting variations in terms of police perceptions of their public image appears to be related to rank.

Table 10 indicates that higher-ranking officers are more inclined than lower-ranking men to believe that there has been a change in public opinion. Percentages of men who claimed there had been no change were much lower among the senior ranks as well. More specifically, proportionately more higher-ranking officers than lower ranks in all forces saw the changes as being for the better. There are a number of possible explanations for this pattern. Firstly, commissioned officers are increasingly involved in administration and policy and consequently are more concerned with public relations. Secondly, the pattern is perhaps affected by the fact that the higher the rank they attain, the more respect they personally command from members of the public. Consequently, the reason for the belief by sergeants and inspectors that public opinion of them has changed for the better is possibly that ten years ago, when they were on a lower rank (i.e. when the inspectors were sergeants and the sergeants were constables), public opinion of them would have been lower because of their inferior status. This is also evident from the fact that in all forces constables were much less likely to perceive an improvement in public opinion. Thirdly the fact that there are these big differences in opinion between ranks indicates a lack of communication and consensus in all forces.

The actual change in public opinion, however, was grossly over-estimated by all ranks. As the last chapter showed, 80 per cent of the Australian public had not recently changed their feelings towards the police. Since a lower proportion of constables thought that the public's attitude had changed, they were closer than their superior officers to a correct estimate of public opinion.

As was expected, when answers to the question concerning police views of change in public opinion were analyzed by the respondents'

TABLE 10  
Police views of change in public opinion of the force — Analyzed by rank

Q. Do you think the general public's opinion of the police has changed for the better or the worse in the past ten years?

ANSWERS	RANK												
	Inspector and above			Sergeant (all grades)			Constable (all grades)			N.Z.			
	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.
Changed for the better	57	62	73	77	43	47	55	57	32	27	53	48	
Changed for the worse	26	23	9	6	25	24	19	27	26	34	20	19	
Don't know	0	0	9	0	1	6	0	1	2	8	1	2	
No change	17	15	9	17	31	23	26	15	40	31	26	31	
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants*	45	13	11	18	117	17	42	89	124	157	274	269	

\*Total number of informants in each state does not always agree with total number sampled, since some respondents did not give their rank and were not included in the analysis.



years of service, the trend which showed up was similar to that revealed when responses were analyzed according to rank. In all forces surveyed, the longer a policeman had been in service, the more likely he was to think that the public's opinion of police had changed for the better. Because seniority is the main criterion of promotion in most Australian forces, the correlation between rank and length of service was very high. Consequently, the more optimistic view of public opinion held by men of longer service could be attributed to their increased status in the eyes of the public.

When responses to the question whether police thought they had changed in their manner towards members of the public were analyzed by area, rank, and length of service, trends similar to those previously outlined were revealed. For example, South Australian and New Zealand police in rural areas were more likely than their city and provincial-town counterparts to think that the police had changed for the better in their manner towards the public. On the other hand, no significant differences on this question were observed between rural and urban police in Tasmania and Queensland. In a similar fashion, in New Zealand as well as in Queensland and South Australia, high-ranking officers were more willing than sergeants and constables to say that police had changed for the better — much the same as the results obtained when rank was tabulated with the responses to the question concerning police views of changes in public opinion. Only in Tasmania was this trend reversed. While Tasmanian officers, like their counterparts in other states, were more willing than non-commissioned policemen to say that the public's attitude to them had changed for the better (see Table 10), this was not the case in relation to the question whether police thought their own manner towards the public had changed. Only 54 per cent of commissioned officers, compared with 76 per cent of sergeants and 34 per cent of constables, were willing to say that the police manner had changed for the better.

The Tasmanian results are hard to explain, although replies to questionnaires suggest that the high percentage of sergeants in Tasmania who see a change for the better are showing signs of some defensive feeling against the criticism of superiors and perhaps against lack of enthusiasm on the part of subordinates. Sergeants, not only in Tasmania but in every force, appear to be middle men — policies are set by those above them, but they are primarily responsible for executing these policies with the constables under their control. They are also responsible to their superiors for any lack of discipline or enthusiasm on the part of constables.

It is clear then that in Australia and New Zealand, high-ranking policemen and rural policemen are more likely to think that over

recent years the public's opinion of the police has improved, and at same time they also think that policemen have changed for the better in their manner towards members of the public. But do the same variations according to rank and age occur in answers to the question concerning the amount of respect policemen think the public have for them now? With some reservations the answer to this question appears to be "yes". Considering first the geographical location of policemen: 62 per cent of South Australian police in rural areas compared with only 45 per cent of respondents in city or metropolitan areas consider the public have great respect for them. A very similar trend is shown in New Zealand, but, as with replies to other questions, this pattern is not found in Tasmania and Queensland.

The relationship between rank and the amount of respect the police think the public have for them is also strong, as Table 11 shows. The table shows quite clearly that a greater proportion of commissioned officers than of lower ranks considered that the public had respect for the police. As with other questions, the table indicates that officers and the rest of the force were seldom in agreement over their conceived public images. Officers were generally more optimistic about their image, and their results consequently were nearer the actual level of public respect than were the sergeants' and constables'. In Australia, for example, 64 per cent of the population sampled expressed great respect for the police. Officers in all forces gave estimates of public respect which were much closer to the actual figure than the estimates made by the policemen of lower rank. A similar situation held for New Zealand.

The fact that Australasian and New Zealand policemen in the lower ranks felt they commanded less respect from the public is due largely to the increasing contact policemen in both countries are having with teenagers and, in the case of Australia, with motorists. As chapters 5 and 6 will explain more fully, the relationship between these two groups and the man on the beat, or on traffic duty, is becoming more and more unpleasant. An inspector is less likely than a constable to come into direct contact with jeering teenagers at a dance or with an irate motorist booked for speeding. These are situations which often confront constables on the beat or on point duty: they are also the situations which are most likely to make a constable feel that the community in general has little respect for him.

### *Police View of Public Assistance*

The police view of their public image has just been under discussion, and it has been shown that a policeman's view on this topic

**TABLE 11**

**Police view of public respect — Analyzed by rank**

Q. Do you think the general public in this state has great respect for the police, little respect for them, or mixed feelings about them ?

ANSWERS	RANK											
	Inspector and above				Sergeant (all grades)				Constable (all grades)			
	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.
Great respect	54	23	72	33	39	18	67	27	18	11	44	23
Little respect	9	15	0	0	8	6	0	2	11	18	5	4
Mixed feelings	37	62	28	67	52	76	33	71	69	71	51	73
Don't know - No answer	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	45	13	11	18	117	17	42	89	124	157	274	169

will differ according to the force he belongs to, the geographical area he works in, and his rank and length of service. But does a force's perception of its public image relate to whether members consider that they receive sufficient assistance from the public in difficult situations? In other words, do police who consider the public have a great deal of respect for them also consider that the same community helps them when they are in difficulties? In an attempt to answer this question, policemen in all forces were asked:

Do you think that, in general, bystanders help as much as they should when they see a policeman in difficulties, for example, in dealing with violent drunks or teenage gangs?

The question was similar to that asked of respondents in the British Home Office Survey and also in the Illinois study of police views.<sup>3</sup> Consequently Table 12 compares police views in Britain and America with those obtained in this study.

TABLE 12

**Police view of public assistance: A comparison of Australian, New Zealand, United States, and British results**

Q. Do you think that, in general, bystanders help as much as they should when they see a policeman in difficulties, for example, in dealing with violent drunks or teenage gangs?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT.	N.Z.	U.S.	U.K.
Yes	14	7	22	16	9	13	13
No	85	90	75	82	90	87	87
Don't know	0	2	3	1	1	0	0
No answer	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	188	191	405	884	376	313	611

The table shows that policemen in Australia, New Zealand, Britain, and the United States all felt the public did not help police as much as they should in incidents of this type. However, there is some relationship between amount of respect which the police think the public have for them and their assessment of the amount of help they get from the public. Looking at the three Australian forces represented in Table 12, it is apparent that South Australian police were more likely than Queensland and Tasmanian police to say that the public do give enough assistance when a policeman is in trouble. It has been pointed out that South Australian police lead the other forces in considering that the general public's opinion of them has changed for the better, that the police themselves have

changed for the better in their manner towards the public, and that the public have great respect for them. Thus, at least in the Australian forces sampled, it seems that when police have an optimistic view of their public image they are more likely to think the public support them in the execution of their duties. However, it must be remembered that even in South Australia the great majority of the force (75 per cent) considered the public did not assist policemen in difficulties.

When we look at what various ranks think of public assistance in difficult situations, large differences both between forces and between ranks emerge, as Table 13 shows.

The outstanding feature of this table is the high percentage (45 per cent) of commissioned officers in South Australia who felt that the public did help enough in situations where policemen were in difficulties. No other group returned anything like such a high percentage of "yes" answers to the public assistance question. In addition, sergeants and constables in South Australia were more willing than their counterparts in other forces to say that the public assisted sufficiently.

Nevertheless most Australian and New Zealand forces complained strongly about lack of public co-operation when a policeman was in a difficult situation. This opinion was expressed by the greater part of the South Australian force, yet, as was pointed out above, the table shows that nearly half (45 per cent) of the commissioned officers in this state considered that the public did help enough when a policeman was in trouble. What is the rationale behind these attitudes? An inspector in the South Australian police explains why the force does not encourage increased public help.

The answer may be that in this state we get far fewer difficult situations of this kind. They are in fact extremely rare, as the advent of radio communication does permit rapid reinforcement in potential situations of this nature. I think I can recall more instances in which a member of the public has helped policemen in dire circumstances than the opposite. This may not amount to physical intervention but may merely consist of making a phone call. In this context I am referring to members of the public outside the actual participants involved. In my experience most people not directly involved will remain passive onlookers rather than hinder the police.

I think most police officers are grateful if they can go about their duties without being hindered by the public and this is all they really expect. I don't think that in general we want public intervention in any but extreme cases where the police are in physical danger, and outside this we would definitely prefer the public not to intervene. This does not mean that we do not appreciate their assistance as witnesses or for information.

I consider that as a matter of operating principles, the police should make every endeavour to avoid a situation whereby they have to call upon the public for physical assistance. Whilst there may be occasions when this cannot be avoided, it is far better to pause and assess the situation and call for police

**TABLE 13**

**Police view of public assistance — Analyzed by rank**

Q. Do you think that in general, bystanders help as much as they should when they see a policeman in difficulties, for example, in dealing with violent drunks or teenage gangs?

ANSWERS	RANK																	
	Inspector and above						Sergeant (all grades)						Constable (all grades)					
	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.		
Yes	17	0	45	0	15	18	24	13	14	7	22	8	14	7	22	8		
No	83	100	55	100	83	82	76	87	85	90	73	91	85	90	73	91		
Don't know	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	0	2	4	1		
No answer	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0		
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
Number of informants	8	13	11	18	84	17	42	89	196	157	274	269	196	157	274	269		

reinforcements in any incipient situation of this kind, rather than rely upon public help.

When the public do give assistance of any kind whatsoever, it is vitally important that due recognition be given to the individual involved. We (in the South Australian force) have a policy that whenever possible such acts are reported and a letter of appreciation is always sent from the Department, usually signed by the Commissioner.

. . . I think if we gave more publicity within our organization to the positive acts of assistance by the public we would probably realize more help is forthcoming from them than is usually believed. This is probably true of other police forces as well.

The inspector in question, when asked why he thought there was such a significant difference between South Australian and other forces in terms of their replies to the public assistance question, said:

. . . I think they (the results) must have some relevance to a more relaxed and liberal attitude in this state between the police and the public.

### *Conclusions from the Police Surveys on Public Relations*

The surveys conducted among policemen in Australia and New Zealand showed that police generally felt that the public's opinion of them had changed for the better over recent years. This is in direct contrast to the view taken by British policemen in 1960. In the United Kingdom, the great majority of policemen, at least in 1960, considered that the community's attitude towards them had changed for the worse over the past decade.

The data also showed that South Australian and New Zealand policemen were, relative to other forces sampled, more optimistic about the public's change of opinion. There is considerable evidence to show that this result is related to the superior public relations programmes which have been instituted in recent years within each of these forces.

Policemen in South Australia and New Zealand, particularly, emphasized this point. On the other hand, the smaller proportion of policemen who thought that their public image had deteriorated placed the principal blame for the change upon police enforcement of minor traffic regulations (except in New Zealand), and upon the (in the police view) inaccurate and sensational press reporting of incidents in which they were involved. A general loss of respect for the police by young people was also thought by certain policemen to have led to a bad image of the police in recent years.

Policemen in Australia and New Zealand also felt that they had changed for the better in their manner towards members of the

public over the last few years. Again, improved public relations training and programmes were the main reason given by the police for this change.

As in Britain, policemen in Australasia considered improved and organized public relations policies the best way to uplift relations between the police and the public. More talks by police on the mass media, open days at police stations, and more formal training in public relations were some of the important suggestions made for improving public relations generally. Police also considered that a more favourable presentation by the press of police matters would contribute to improved community-police relations.

Even though New Zealand and Australian police considered that their public image had changed for the better, they did not think the level of public respect for them now was particularly high. The great majority of policemen considered that the public had mixed feelings about them, with only a minority of police willing to say that there was great respect for them in the community. The exception to this finding was South Australia, where nearly half the force considered the public held them in high regard.

In New Zealand there were marked differences between the opinions of police serving in large towns and of those in provincial and rural districts, with a higher proportion of the police in provincial and rural areas thinking there had been a change for the better in the attitudes not only of the public, but also of the police. New Zealand police living in rural areas were more likely than their urban colleagues to think that public respect for them was high. However, the rural-urban difference in Australian police attitudes was not as clear-cut. South Australia had a similar pattern to New Zealand's, but Tasmania and Queensland showed no marked differences between metropolitan and country police attitudes on public respect. It was tentatively suggested that country policemen are more likely to perceive the results of effective public relations policies because of the closer relations they have with members of the community.

There were also differences in the attitudes of police according to their length of service, with the longer-service police in general being more optimistic about their public image. Because of the high correlation between status in the force and length of service, high-ranking policemen were more likely than junior ranks to think that their public image over the years had changed for the better and that the level of public respect for them was high.

Finally, the survey revealed that Australian and New Zealand policemen, like their American and British colleagues, did not consider that the public helped enough when the police were in



difficulties. However, the evidence suggests that forces who thought the public had great respect for them were more likely than those who held the opposite opinion to consider that the public assisted enough in difficult situations.

### *Comparisons Between the Opinions of the Police and the Public*

In the British Home Office Survey of 1960 it was found that the police assessment of their public image fell far short of the actual level of respect shown by the community towards their police. This same phenomenon was found in Australia and New Zealand. In both countries, about two-thirds of the public reported that they had great respect for the police, while the police themselves estimated that only one-third of the public had great respect for them.

Again, police opinion differed widely from that of the public on the question of a change in public attitudes to the force. Between one-third and one-half of the police considered that public opinion of them had changed for the better over the past ten years, and a further 20 per cent or more thought there had been a change for the worse. However, less than one-fifth of the public reported any change in attitude at all.

Both the community and the police in Australia and New Zealand agreed that steps should be taken to improve relations between them. Both emphasized the need for more talks to trainees on the mass media and more emphasis on public relations in police training programmes. Police also suggested that they should have closer contact with children and teenagers.

One point on which police and public concurred was that the public did not provide sufficient support and assistance to members of the force. This consensus of opinion could provide a good starting-point for action aimed at an improvement in relations between the police and the public on a more general basis.

### *Notes to Chapter 3*

1. Michael Banton, *The Policeman in the Community* (London: Tavistock, 1964), p. 210.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
3. J.P. Clark, "Isolation of the Police: A Comparison of the British and American Situations", *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. LVI, No. 3 (1965).

# 4

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## *The Force — Seen from Inside*

### *Introduction*

Any discussion of police-public relations, police organization, and police efficiency must take into account the conditions under which the policeman now works. Suggestions for improving police efficiency and public relations cannot be made with any degree of validity unless we consider just what the policeman thinks of his working environment. It is clear that police-public relations will be affected to a considerable extent by a policeman's general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his job, which is, after all, mainly concerned with dealing with people in one role or another. He is likely to be irritated, for example, if the force doesn't offer him the things which, prior to joining, he expected he would get from it. In a similar fashion, he is likely to be disgruntled if the sort of duties he has to spend most of his time on are not those which he considers it his duty to perform. It would not be too far-fetched to suggest that if a policeman's working conditions lead to considerable frustration and annoyance he will not be in the right frame of mind to interact in a friendly fashion with members of the public. Police efficiency is also likely to be affected by a policeman's perception of his working environment. If a man has a working atmosphere which in mental and physical ways satisfies him he will be more likely to perform his duties to full capacity.

Therefore, as it seemed imperative to find out exactly what police thought of their employment conditions, a number of questions in the police surveys dealt with police reactions to their job. In this chapter, the first subject dealt with will be motives for joining the force, and this will be followed by a consideration of whether recruits changed their opinion of the force, either for better or worse, after they had joined it. Next will come a discussion of what the police think of the job itself — the things they most dislike doing and the

jobs they consider they should spend more and less of their time on. Their views on whether a better or worse type of person is entering the force now compared with ten years ago and their reasons for holding these views will then be examined. Finally, there will be a discussion of the results of questions which asked whether police would recommend to their children or other close relatives that they should join the force — perhaps the acid test of what police really think of their job. The results of the surveys presented in this chapter have strongly influenced a number of the authors' suggestions for improving police-public relations and general police efficiency. These suggestions are discussed in the last three chapters of the book.

### *Reasons for Joining*

Policemen in all four forces were asked the question:

When did you decide to enter the police force?

Only a very small proportion of Australian and New Zealand police, the results showed, really thought about joining the force when they were at primary school, or for that matter, at secondary school. Few police thought about joining the force immediately after the completion of their education. The majority (approximately 60 per cent in each country) first thought of becoming policemen after they had tried their hand at another occupation. Consequently they joined the force in an attempt to get better conditions than the ones obtaining in the last job they had. The large proportion of police in all forces who joined partly because of dissatisfaction with their previous employment must create concern among those who wish to give a professional character to the police force.

In an attempt to find out exactly why men become policemen, we asked respondents in all four forces the question:

Would you please list the three main reasons why you joined the police force in this state?

Table 14 summarizes the reason given.

In all Australian forces, the most important reason given for joining the force was personal security, something that was apparently missing in other occupations the men had before joining the police. In New Zealand, interest in the work was the most frequent reason given for joining the force, with personal security very close to it.

It is interesting to note that almost one-quarter of the New Zealand police respondents joined for what we will call idealistic reasons — i.e. an interest in the work or because of their admiration for police and a feeling that they were performing a worthwhile

TABLE 14\*

## Reasons for joining the force

Q. Would you please list the three main reasons why you joined the police force in this state? Please list them in order of importance.

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT.	N.Z.
1. Pay and conditions of work	14	10	12	12	14
2. Opportunities of advancement	12	9	6	10	7
3. Security (personal future)	27	26	25	27	22
4. Interest in the work	13	5	18	13	24
5. Admiration for police, worthwhile work, etc.	12	10	14	12	18
6. Status, prestige, power	1	4	2	2	2
7. Lifelong ambition, always wanted to join	4	8	4	5	-
8. Other reasons	13	16	13	13	9
9. No answer	4	12	6	6	4
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376

\*Table 14 is based on all three choices, statistically weighted for the order of importance in which they were given.

service to the community. South Australia ranked next highest in idealistic motivations, followed by Queensland, with Tasmania well behind. It would seem then that New Zealand and South Australia were having greater success in attracting people to the force for altruistic reasons. Certainly these forces had fewer men in them who admitted joining for reasons associated with personal gain.

Table 14 also reveals that nearly a third of all respondents became policemen for personal security and to a lesser extent, good pay and what they thought were attractive working conditions. Opportunity for advancement was also a reason given for joining the force, although this factor was not as important as others mentioned. Paradoxically, more policemen in Queensland, the state which most emphasizes seniority for promotion, gave this reason for joining than was the case in other forces.

As will be seen later in this chapter, pay, conditions of work, and the lack of opportunities for advancement feature strongly among reasons which police in both countries give for discontent. Thus a large proportion of recruits have an inaccurate view of what the force has to offer them.

There are no significant differences in the reasons given by various ranks for joining the police forces covered by the survey. Just as

many commissioned officers as constables decided to join because the job offered security or what they considered to be good pay. Many older officers became policemen because in the days of the depression little else was offering. As one Tasmanian officer put it:

I joined the force because there was nowhere else for me to go. I couldn't get any job and a police career at least offered me security and some pay. I suppose if I'd been living in more affluent times I would have become a public servant or something — I don't regret what I did though.

Generally, however, young men enter on a police career for the same sort of reasons as those which lead other people to become teachers, engineers, doctors, or even lawyers. Some are highly altruistic in their aims; others enter because they feel a police career offers them financial rewards; still others enter because there is no other vocational opening for them. Whether what they find in the forces matches their expectations is a subject to be looked at in the next few sections of this chapter.

### *What Do They Find?*

Any disillusionment with their job would be a factor likely to influence the police in their work. Consequently police were asked whether their opinion of the force had changed since they joined it. The question was phrased in a similar manner to the one asked of British policemen in the 1960 survey, so Table 15 presents United Kingdom results together with answers from Australian and New Zealand policemen.

**TABLE 15**

**Change in opinion of the force since joining: A comparison of Australian, New Zealand, and British results**

**Q. Would you say your own opinion of the force has changed since you joined it? In what way?**

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.	U.K.
Changed for the better	50	37	58	56	10.2
Changed for the worse	26	32	14	19	48.9
Don't know	1	2	4	3	1.8
No change	22	28	22	20	39.1
No answer	1	1	2	2	0.0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	376	611

It is apparent from the table that Australian and New Zealand respondents were far less likely than their British counterparts to say that their opinion of the force had changed for the worse since they joined it. In Britain nearly half of the members appeared to be considerably disillusioned with the force, with only a minority (10 per cent) willing to say that their opinion had changed for the better since joining. However the Australasian survey revealed that in all states except Tasmania 50 per cent or more of the police interviewed stated that their opinion of the force now was more favourable than when they first joined.

It is interesting to note that opinion of the force showed a more marked change for the better in South Australia and New Zealand, the two forces which showed the highest percentage of men who joined because of interest in and admiration for police work rather than for expressed reasons of personal gain. It was also found that people in these two forces who gave "idealistic reasons" for joining the force were more willing than those who gave "personal" reasons to say that their opinion of the force had changed for the better since they joined it. On the other hand no such relationship was found in Queensland and Tasmania, there being little difference between the idealists and those who joined for personal gain in their willingness to say that their opinion of the force had changed for the better. Apparently those in Queensland and Tasmania who became policemen for reasons other than security and good pay, that is who joined for what may be termed altruistic motives, found little in their police environment to reinforce their original reasons for joining. When area differences were investigated, it was found that, in all forces, policemen in provincial towns or rural areas were more willing than policemen in city or metropolitan areas to say that their opinion had changed for the better. In South Australia, for example, 54 per cent of policemen living in urban areas said that their opinion had changed for the better, as against 69 per cent of respondents in provincial towns and 62 per cent of those in rural areas. Conversely there was a larger proportion of police in urban areas than in rural areas whose opinion of the force had changed for the worse. These results closely approximate to those of the 1960 British police survey, which showed that in larger towns 53 per cent of informants thought less highly of the force than they did on joining it, compared with 39 per cent in other urban areas, and 49 per cent in rural districts.

When responses to this question were analyzed by length of service, clear-cut differences emerged. It was apparent that police opinion of the force in all states surveyed and also in New Zealand changed for the better with increasing length of service. It would seem that these results show that the longer an officer remains in the

force, the stronger the ties of loyalty become and, of course, the greater his chances of promotion. An officer who has given ten or fifteen years' service is less likely to feel discontented, or at least to voice his discontent to outsiders, than someone with only one or two years' service. Policemen with longer service tended to compare their conditions in the force with those existing when they first joined and pointed to the obvious improvements existing now. On the other hand those with shorter service quickly found that their expectations of life in the force did not coincide with what they actually found. Replies from policemen with only one or two years' service, particularly in Queensland and Tasmania, indicated a strong sense of disillusionment with their departments. Police in these two states quickly realized that their superiors in rank had acquired their status almost solely by seniority. They realized that men joining the force today must wait twenty years or more before reaching even a minor supervisory level. On the other hand, differences of opinion on this matter between policemen of short and long service in South Australia and New Zealand were not nearly as large as in the other two forces. For example, in South Australia 5 per cent of police with up to five years' service and exactly the same proportion of those with between six and ten years' service, had changed their opinion of the force for the better. As will be seen, the South Australian department offers better opportunities to its policemen than does any other Australian force. On the other hand, in Queensland, where the force is still heavily tied to a seniority system of promotion and suffers in a number of ways from bad police working conditions, large differences on this question were observed between policemen of short and long service. Only 29 per cent of men with up to five years' service, as compared with 41 per cent of those with six to ten years in the force, said that their opinion of the force had changed for the better since joining.

As would be expected, the pattern of relationship manifested between opinion and length of service was repeated when the data were correlated with the rank of the respondents. Constables constituted the smallest proportion of men in all forces who were willing to say that their opinion of the force had changed for the better since they joined it. Again, increasingly high status and pay, and better working conditions, are part of the prize of promotion and probably therefore lead the higher-ranking man to be happier with his job than those of lesser status are. It is interesting to observe, however, that the data revealed only very small differences of opinion on this question between sergeants and constables in South Australia and New Zealand.

One of the most frequent complaints levelled at Australian police

forces is that they fail to attract men with reasonably high levels of education. We decided to see whether men who went into the force with some tertiary or secondary education differed significantly in their opinion of the force from those with only primary education. Consequently we related the level of education reached by recruits before they joined the force to their opinions of whether the force had changed for the better or worse since they joined it. The data revealed that in all forces the higher the educational level reached by respondents before they joined the force, the smaller the percentage who said their opinion had changed for the better. Further, this result was independent of either the age or the length of service of the respondent. It is hardly surprising that people with higher education should find the force less satisfying than do those with fewer qualifications. The level of education required to enter the police force is very low, and few if any promotional benefits attach to educational qualifications, even the very highly educated receiving the same pay and advancing at the same rate as those without such qualifications. Naturally this situation would become less and less acceptable, the higher the educational level reached. No matter what a man's qualifications are before joining the force, he must still wait the prescribed length of time before being eligible for promotion, and he must join the force as a constable on the normal pay scale. Responses to the questionnaire showed that policemen who had matriculated from school or who had some tertiary educational qualifications soon learned to compare their present opportunities with those of the industrial situation, where equivalent qualifications receive financial and promotional recognition. It would seem that if Australian and New Zealand police forces are to attract youths of leaving and matriculation standards, then pay and promotion systems must take into account the level of education recruits have reached before they join as well as any further educational qualifications they may obtain while in the force.

What is the present state of morale in Australian and New Zealand police forces? While one cannot generalize with any degree of accuracy for all Australian forces, the data from the survey indicated that morale could be considerably improved.

While there was considerable variation between forces on whether they thought morale was good or poor, the majority of policemen in all states, and in New Zealand, were in substantial agreement in thinking that morale was no more than satisfactory. Generally police in South Australia and New Zealand felt that morale was higher than those in Queensland and Tasmania did. Reasons given for satisfactory and poor morale varied widely from force to force, as Table 16 shows. In Queensland, over half the force claimed



TABLE 16

## Morale in the force

Q. Do you think the present state of morale in the police force is good, satisfactory, or poor?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.
Good	20	14	33	31
Satisfactory	54	54	55	54
Poor	25	29	11	13
Don't know	0	2	1	2
No answer	1	1	0	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	376

Q. Which of the following factors do you think is at present weakening police morale?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.
Lack of effective leadership	28	48	16	30
Adverse publicity in press and other mass media	31	21	8	20
Inadequate pay	34	30	33	21
Present system of promotion	48	41	32	18
Sub-standard police stations and residences	32	40	15	24
Political intervention	30	41	24	2
Recent disciplinary actions against police	14	16	14	24
Long hours of work	4	15	8	17
Too much "red tape" and form-filling	51	0	2	0
Bad relations between superiors and subordinates	6	0	2	0
A combination of all these factors	0	2	5	5
Other factors	11	7	4	12
No answer	21	14	35	35
Don't know	0	0	2	0

Totals add to more than 100 because many informants made more than one choice.

there was too much "red tape", and just under half mentioned the present system of promotion. In Tasmania lack of effective leadership, the present system of promotion, sub-standard stations and residences, and political intervention were all widely mentioned. In South Australia and New Zealand there was much less agreement about the causes of low morale, inadequate pay and the present promotion system being the most frequent causes mentioned in South Australia, while a lack of effective leadership was most frequently stressed by New Zealand policemen. It should be pointed

out, though, that at the time of the survey leadership of the police in New Zealand had changed following the retirement of the Commissioner. Respondents would not have had time to form an opinion of the new hierarchy.

It is significant to note that far fewer respondents in New Zealand and South Australia than in other forces mentioned the present system of promotion as being a reason for poor or satisfactory morale. Political intervention, a major reason given by Australian policemen, was hardly ever mentioned by New Zealand respondents. Over half the Queensland sample gave too much "red tape" and form-filling as a factor leading to poor or only satisfactory morale. However, this was not an important reason given by the other three forces. Queensland, as the investigation showed, is probably the most form-riddled police organization in Australia. Men in the force complain bitterly about having to produce multiple copies of even the most trivial reports. For example, transcripts of traffic accidents, which already take an unwarranted amount of the policeman's time, must even include a copy for insurance companies.

Informants were also asked for ways of improving morale in the force. In Queensland and Tasmania, better leadership, better promotion systems, and better officers were the most frequent suggestions. On the other hand, respondents in South Australia and New Zealand said that morale would be substantially improved if pay was increased and conditions of work made more satisfactory.

As with other questions, what policemen thought of morale was tabulated by area, rank, length of service, and other factors. Considering area first, morale in New Zealand appeared to be significantly higher in provincial and rural areas, but no such trend was observed in Australian forces. Replies on morale, analyzed according to the rank of the respondent, produced some interesting differences. In Queensland, South Australia, and New Zealand, lower-ranking police generally said that morale was only satisfactory or even poor, with only a few willing to say that it was good. Higher-ranking policemen in these states (sergeants and officers) were more likely than constables to say that morale was good. However, in Tasmania, those who perceived the force as having relatively low morale were the sergeants, a finding obtained when other questions were analyzed by rank (see Table 3, for example). It is relevant to note here that a high proportion of Tasmanian police said morale was poor because of poor leadership and a poor promotion system. Once again, these results would seem to indicate some dissent between sergeants and men of higher rank, rather than between sergeants and constables.

As indicated earlier, the reasons most commonly given for joining the force were also the ones most frequently judged to cause poor or

merely unsatisfactory morale. These were the rate of pay, working conditions, and, to a lesser extent, opportunities for advancement. Police soon realized that their original picture of the force, conceived before joining, was an unrealistic one. After only a short time in the force they found that their pay was not commensurate with their difficult job, that their chances of advancement depended more on their ability to be around for a long period of time than on their initiative, and that their general working conditions were not what they expected. Again the higher the educational level reached by the policeman before he joined, the more he considered these factors led to poor morale. These results suggest that Australian police forces will have to provide better pay, better promotional opportunities, and better working conditions if they are to attract (and hold) recruits with reasonably high educational qualifications. If in fact these conditions are fulfilled, then morale will undoubtedly improve and with it, predictably, general police efficiency.

### *The Job Itself*

We have looked so far at the motives men have for becoming policemen and whether their expectations of life in the force are met once they join. It is evident from the answers to the questions dealing with reasons for joining, and from answers to the questions on police morale, that a large proportion of police in Australia and New Zealand are concerned about various aspects of their duties. Clearly their relations with the public and their general efficiency are likely to be adversely affected if the sort of duties they have to spend most of their time on are not what they consider to be the prime function of the police. Consequently, it was decided to look at the type of work which police disliked most, at the things they thought they should spend more of their time on, and the duties which they thought they should spend less of their time on. It was hoped that answers to these questions would give some idea of what policemen considered their roles were, and whether in fact Australian and New Zealand police forces were providing the conditions necessary to enable their members to fulfil these conceived roles.

Respondents were asked the question:

Apart from things such as unpopular hours of work, which police work do you dislike most?

The two aspects of work which were disliked by the largest number of informants were informing relatives of deaths, illnesses, and accidents (approximately one-third of police in all forces said this),

and office and clerical duties. The next most unpopular task with Australian policemen, but not with New Zealanders, was traffic duties, including anything to do with control of motorists. These points were exactly the same as those mentioned by United Kingdom policemen. However, whereas only 7.9 per cent of British policemen mentioned office and clerical duties as being unpleasant tasks, over 30 per cent of police in Queensland, South Australia, and New Zealand mentioned this factor. In Tasmania 14 per cent of police also cited office and clerical work as an unpleasant duty which they had to perform. Obviously the amount of time which policemen in Australia and New Zealand feel they spend on clerical tasks is a source of some resentment to them.

Even though a large percentage of policemen dislike the unpleasant tasks of informing relatives of deaths, illnesses, and accidents, and dealing with bodies, they appear to realize that these are tasks they should perform. Not one respondent in the surveys suggested that other agencies should, for example, break the news of a husband's accidental or sudden death to his wife. They disliked tasks of this type, but at the same time considered them an integral part of a policeman's duties.

Asked for their views on the amount of time spent by the police on various duties, approximately 80 per cent of Australian policemen and 90 per cent from New Zealand thought there were aspects of their work that they should spend more time on. Substantially the same proportion of police in Britain and the United States also considered that they should spend more time on certain jobs. These data suggest that in the view of many policemen a large number of duties are either over-emphasized or neglected.

What exactly do Australian and New Zealand police consider they should spend more time on? Table 17 presents the results from the surveys.

There is a remarkable agreement among policemen in all forces as to what they think should be areas of extended activity on the part of the police. Crime prevention and detection are the most frequently mentioned activities in both countries, followed by traffic duties and, in Australia, education in road safety. New Zealand policemen, it will be noticed, made no mention of this latter point, indicating that they did not see traffic enforcement as one of their roles. Foot patrols, and improvement of relations with the public were two further areas in which the police felt their activities could be extended. Police therefore, have fairly similar views on exactly how their duties should be developed. On the other hand, even though a big proportion of the public in both countries (in Australia 62 per cent) thought the police should spend more of their time on

TABLE 17

## Things on which police should spend more time

Q. What is the main thing police should spend more of their time on?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST.	TOT.	N.Z.
Crime prevention and detection	44	33	30	37	53	
Patrol on foot, on the beat	11	8	11	11	23	
Improvement of relations with the public	13	18	11	13	11	
Traffic duties, education in road safety	13	21	25	18	0	
Other activities	5	5	2	4	3	
Don't know	1	1	0	1	0	
No answer	1	3	5	3	3	
Nothing they should spend more time on	12	11	16	13	7	
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376	

certain activities, there was little agreement on just what they should spend the time on, only a small percentage mentioning the same type of activities as the police had done.

These results indicate that there are considerable discrepancies between the public conception of proper police operations and the ideas of the police themselves. Obviously it is not realistic to expect the public to exhibit expertise on the allocation of police resources. Yet, however misinformed it may be, public opinion plays a large part in determining the actual activities performed by policemen. To a certain extent, alienation of the police occurs when discrepancies exist between police and public expectations of policing. If the public do not agree with what the police are doing, the police must in a sense work in an atmosphere of public disapproval or even non-cooperation.

There was considerable agreement between policemen living in different areas, of different ranks, and with varying numbers of years in the force on where police activity should be extended. The only exception was that policemen living in rural areas and provincial towns did not consider that more time should be spent by police on foot patrols. In more sparsely populated rural areas, social control is more frequently exerted through shared community values, and the need for visible indications of police authority is not great. The same is not true of populous urban areas, where the maintenance of law and order often depends upon readily observed signs of a police presence.

As with the Home Office Survey, policemen were asked:

Are there any things you think the police should spend less of their time on than they do now?

Those respondents who thought there were things police should spend less time on were asked to stipulate what duties police should not perform as frequently as they had in the past.

There was agreement amongst policemen in all forces that police activity should be reduced in particular areas. However, while approximately 90 per cent of the respondents in the Australasian surveys said less time should be spent on certain duties, it is interesting to note that only 75 per cent of United Kingdom police and 53 per cent of Illinois officers gave the same type of response.

What were the duties on which police felt less time should be spent? Table 18 summarizes responses to this question given by informants.

TABLE 18

**Things on which police should spend less time**

Q. What is the main thing police should spend less time on ?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST.	TOT.	N.Z.
Office work, writing reports	55	10	40	44	55	
Enforcing liquor laws	1	1	5	2	10	
Checking security of shops, offices	2	0	2	2	2	
Duties in connection with public functions, state occasions, etc.	7	10	8	8	5	
Serving summonses and similar documents	12	53	14	19	19	
Traffic law enforcement	0	2	1	0	0	
Conducting work for other government departments	0	0	11	4	0	
Other activities	14	19	1	10	5	
Don't know	0	1	0	0	0	
No answer	0	0	3	1	0	
Nothing they should spend more time on	9	4	.15	10	4	
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376	

In all forces, except in Tasmania, 49-50 per cent of police agreed that far too much time was spent on office work, such as writing reports on crimes reported or detected. Many respondents spoke bitterly about the countless hours they had spent typing out multiple copies of reports. As one constable pertinently put it:

When I joined the police force I never thought I'd become a bloody third-rate clerk. Don't believe that policemen catch crooks all day. We spend most of our time filling in long unnecessary reports – most of them never get read anyway. It took me half a day once to fill in particulars of a fellow who reversed down a main street without due care and attention. Half a day! That's the last time I ever book anyone for that offence. Our job is to protect the public and catch criminals. Why don't we get the opportunity to do this?

New Zealand and Australian police forces have made no real attempt to streamline their clerical procedures. Forms for reporting cases are unnecessarily complicated, and the number of copies required (many of which have to be done as originals, carbon copies not being allowed) is ridiculously large. The situation is perhaps not as bad as in New York, where, for example, 100 copies of drug offence reports are needed, but Australasian forces are not far behind in inefficiency in this respect. Certainly our survey data indicated that policemen themselves feel that reporting procedures are badly out of date. Obviously there is a limit on just how far police can reduce clerical tasks and details required in forms. However, our contention is that procedures in this area can be improved considerably.

New Zealand and South Australian policemen, as Table 18 shows, felt that enforcing liquor laws was one task on which they spent too much time. In recent years considerable publicity has been given to the six-o'clock-closing drinking laws of New Zealand and South Australia, and without a doubt police felt that having to enforce these laws led to a deterioration in their public image. Country policemen in particular mentioned this activity as one which not only damaged public relations, but also took an unnecessary amount of their time and energy. Subsequent to the survey, legislators in both New Zealand and South Australia have bowed to public opinion, and the drinking hours have been extended to ten o'clock. Interviews which the authors held with police just prior to publication of this book suggested that the enforcement of liquor laws was no longer such a source of irritation to New Zealand and South Australian policemen.

There were a number of related activities which both Australian and New Zealand informants thought they spent far too much time on. These tasks, policemen felt, should be handled by other agencies, and not by members of a police force. Such activities included serving summonses and similar documents, conducting work for other government departments, and carrying out duties in connection with public functions. Australian police forces must lead the world in the number of duties they require their men to carry out. For example, in Queensland Senior Sergeant Bright, the Police Union Secretary, has recently complained that police were being "hamstrung" in combating crime by work required for other state departments and outside agencies.

For the Commonwealth, he said, they had to serve summonses for radio and television licence breaches (at a rate of fifty to sixty a day in Brisbane alone) and make taxation department inquiries, a task that included delivering questionnaires and serving

summonses. For the Brisbane City Council, police had to serve summonses for breaches of parking, hosing, and other ordinances.

For other state departments, police had to serve Main Roads and Transport Department summonses, compile Primary Industry Department stock returns, and make "unnecessary" adoption inquiries for the State Children's Department. The adoption inquiries were "unnecessary", Senior Sergeant Bright said, because police invariably found that a State Children's Department inspector had been before them and had asked all the questions the police were supposed to ask.

During 1968 considerable publicity was given in the Queensland press to the fact that crime was increasing in the state while the detection rate was going down. Police generally did not deny that crime was increasing but claimed, it seems justifiably, that there was little they could do about it until they were relieved of more mundane duties.

In all other Australian forces, and in New Zealand, a similar situation exists. In South Australia the number of agencies which the police have to work for has grown to the point of absurdity. They are responsible, among other things, for the registration of bulls, bees, and dairy cattle. They are also required to perform bailiff duties for clerks of local courts; to assist the Transport Department with driver testing; and to act as escorts for money carried by staff in most State Government departments. Their obligations do not end there: there is still the work they carry out for the Harbour Master; for the registrar of births, deaths and marriages; the registrar of dogs; the collector of statistics; and the Mines Department. The list could be extended ad infinitum.

It is clear from the survey data that Australasian policemen particularly resent performing these types of activities and working for such a variety of agencies. Not only are these duties a source of considerable police resentment, but police themselves realize that they substantially impair their efficiency in the fields of crime prevention and detection. One high-ranking officer put it:

The Press are always complaining about the fact that the crime rate's soaring. Whenever somebody's television set gets stolen and we can't get it back for them they write to the papers about our inefficiency. Often the newspapers blow the incident into a full-scale attack on just how inefficient our police force is. But, how the hell can we attempt to recover stolen goods when we just haven't got the men or the time to do it? The men are too busy finding out whether someone is on the electoral roll or not to look into cases of household theft. We don't like doing this . . . but we have no choice. We are only obeying government orders. What we have to do is to concentrate our resources. If you are murdered, then your widow can be consoled by the fact that we are almost certain to catch the murderer. If a bank is robbed we've got a good chance of getting the money back. But, if your house is broken into and money taken, or if your car is stolen,



your chances of getting your property back are slim – often your complaint won't be investigated. Don't blame us; we haven't got the men, and the ones we have we don't deploy as much as we would like to on crime detection. Blame the Government – they give us our orders.

Finally, answers to the question on what police should spend less time on showed that, unlike British officers, Australasian policemen do not consider that they spend too much time on traffic enforcement. In the United Kingdom survey, 45 per cent of informants mentioned traffic law enforcement as an activity they would like to spend less time on, as against only 1 or 2 per cent of Australian policemen and no New Zealand respondents. Police in New Zealand, of course, do not concern themselves with minor breaches of traffic regulations; consequently the amount of time they spend on this activity is minimal. However, in Australia traffic enforcement falls at present squarely on the policeman's shoulders, and apparently Australian policemen are content that this should be so. In fact, as Table 17 shows, police considered that they should spend more time on the enforcement of traffic laws and also on traffic education and general road safety work. But as will be seen later, policemen do not particularly like carrying out their traffic duties, putting up with them only because they form part of their conceived role.

### *Recruiting: How Successful?*

A policeman's view of his job and his force will undoubtedly be affected by his opinion of the men around him. If the men who are now becoming policemen are considered to be inferior to those entering the force ten years ago, then obviously a policeman's view of his force is going to deteriorate. If, on the other hand, recruits are seen to be of better quality than they were in the past, then the prognosis for improvement in the efficiency and general morale of the force is very favourable.

The respondents were asked the question:

Do you think there has been any change in the type of person coming into the police force, say over the last ten years?

Table 19 summarizes the results of this question.

Of those who thought there had been a change, by far the largest proportion of informants in all forces thought the change had been for the better. These results are in direct contrast to the findings of the United Kingdom survey, where the majority of British policemen thought that the change in the type of person coming into the force in recent years had been for the worse. It is interesting to note that, as with other results, South Australian and New Zealand policemen

TABLE 19

## Change in type of person entering the force

Q. Do you think there has been any change in the type of person coming into the police force, say over the last ten years. Have they changed for the better or for the worse?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT	N.Z.	U.K.
No change	27	13	12	20	11	23.4
Changed for the better	48	38	62	52	57	12.6
Changed for the worse	21	37	12	20	22	51.9
No answer	2	5	11	5	2	-
Don't know	2	7	3	3	8	12.1
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376	611

were more optimistic than their colleagues in the other two forces about the calibre of new recruits.

Opinion on this issue was strongly related to both the rank and length of service of the policeman. In Queensland and Tasmania, constables and those with up to five years' service were more likely than respondents of higher rank and longer period of service to say that recent recruits were better. The man just joining the force, in effect, was saying that he was a better type of person than were his superiors, men who became policemen many years before he did. This trend was also found with British policemen. On the other hand, South Australian and New Zealand policemen's responses showed the opposite pattern. For example, 91 per cent of inspectors and higher ranks in South Australia said that present-day recruits were better types than those of ten years ago, compared with 71 per cent of sergeants and 60 per cent of constables who gave a similar response. A similar pattern was evident in New Zealand.

These results, together with answers to other questions (e.g. on morale) suggest that senior men in the South Australian and New Zealand forces have considerable faith in the men under them. This cannot be said of senior ranks in the other two forces surveyed.

Why are Australasian policemen in general optimistic about their present recruits? Is it because the job offers more than it did in the past? Or is it because the image of the force has improved over the years, thus attracting a better-quality recruit? We asked respondents the reason why they said the type of person coming into the force was better than in the past, and found that the majority of police in all forces thought the higher educational standards of present-day recruits were responsible for this trend. They also felt that higher standards of training contributed significantly

to this development in the standard of entrants to the force. Only 1 per cent of police in all forces attributed the improvement in today's type of recruit to higher pay or more congenial working conditions. In short, it was a combination of better-educated recruits and improved training that police considered responsible for better-finished products.

On the other hand, those policemen who thought present-day recruits were of inferior stock to those of the past blamed the change on the low pay and unattractive working conditions, together with the unpleasant duties a policeman had to perform. However, it should be remembered that only a minority of police in all forces thought contemporary recruits were of a worse type than their predecessors.

There was considerable agreement between different ranks on what they thought were the reasons for change in the type of person wanting to become policemen. However, there were variations between forces. For instance, more police in South Australia than in other forces attributed the improvement in the standard of recruit to a higher level of education. In Queensland, the change for the better was attributed more frequently to higher-quality training. Similarly, although no South Australian and New Zealand policemen suggested that recruits were of a worse type now because of a bad public image of the force, many Tasmanian and Queensland respondents did.

These results suggest two important factors in relation to the policeman's view of his conditions. Firstly, even though the majority of policemen are willing to say that recruits are better now than they were in the past, they are convinced that this is not because of better pay and more pleasant working conditions. The evidence suggests that not only are policemen seriously concerned with their present financial and environmental conditions but they are also sure that the existing conditions are not sufficient to attract top-quality people into the vocation. Secondly, in at least two Australian forces, those of Queensland and Tasmania, commissioned officers lack faith in the quality of men who are now joining the force. It is suspected that the same situation exists in other Australian forces, although it is doubtful whether those in authority would openly admit it.

Finally, it is interesting to note that, while most policemen who admit that a better type of recruit is now entering the force believe this to be a product of the higher educational levels achieved by contemporary applicants, they somewhat paradoxically deny, as will be seen in chapter 7, the value of raising police educational qualifications.

*A Family Career*

Although answers by policemen to the question whether they would like their sons to become policemen are perhaps not quite as illuminating as their views on whether they would like to see their daughters marry aborigines, their response to the former question does give some indication as to the sort of satisfaction they obtain from their vocation. It is not unreasonable to suspect that if a policeman obtained considerable satisfaction from his job he would, if asked, advise others to enter the force. Consequently informants were asked:

Would you advise your children or other relatives or close friends to choose the police as a career?

Those who said they would, or would not, were then asked to give the main reasons for their choice.

TABLE 20

**Advice on whether son, or relative or friend should join force**

Q. Would you advise your children or other relatives or close friends to choose the police as a career?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOT.	N.Z.
Yes	47	34	62	50	63
No	44	60	29	41	29
No answer	1	1	0	1	1
Don't know	8	5	9	8	7
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376

It is significant that policemen in South Australia and New Zealand, the forces which have already been shown to have the most satisfied members, have the highest proportion of men in them who would advise their sons or relatives to join the force.

When asked to say why they would advise relatives or friends to join the force, Australian policemen gave personal security as their main reason. On the other hand, New Zealand respondents said that they would advise the choice because their own career had been satisfying. Those policemen in Australia who would not advise their relatives or close friends to choose the police as a career gave as their main reason the poor pay and unfavourable working conditions. The fact that policemen are cut off from social contacts, and that their promotion prospects are poor, were other reasons given. Only a minority of informants in all forces (approximately 8 per cent in Australia and 10 per cent in New Zealand) said that they

would not advise any particular career because it was the person's own decision. In short, it appeared that the majority of policemen in the surveys were willing to say whether or not they would recommend a police career to relatives or friends, and further, would base their opinions on the amount of satisfaction they had personally found in being policemen. This question then, is probably a valid indication of job satisfaction.

In an attempt to discover the characteristics of men who would or would not advise relatives or friends to join the force, answers to the question were correlated with the rank, work-area, length of service, and educational level of respondents.

Taking area first, it was found that rural policemen in Queensland and New Zealand were more inclined to recommend a police career than were their urban colleagues, but this relationship did not hold for Tasmania and South Australia. However, in all forces surveyed the proportion of police who said they would advise their children to join the force was directly related to rank. The higher the rank, the more likely they were to advise others to join. The probable reason for this relationship is that higher-ranking officers with more professional status, receiving higher pay, and with relatively interesting jobs, are more satisfied with their vocation than are other ranks. Certainly answers given by high-ranking officers supported this contention. As was suspected, a similar relationship was found when answers to this question were related to length of service — the longer a man had been in the police force, the more likely he was to advise a police career. Further, within each rank (i.e. officers, sergeants, and constables) the less-educated men were more inclined than the more highly educated to say they would suggest a police career to others. The exception was the New Zealand force where at each status level, those with, for example, secondary education were just as likely as those with only primary education to advise this choice of career.

Indications are that in Australia, with the exception of South Australia, policemen with a reasonably good education realized that their qualifications contributed little to advancement in their career. In New Zealand and South Australia, however, where promotion is not entirely based on seniority and where educational qualifications help a man advance up the hierarchy, the "educated" policeman did not feel as frustrated with his job.

### *Summary and Conclusion*

This chapter has looked into the motives men have for becoming policemen, their opinions of life in the force, and their attitudes

towards present-day police recruits. It seems that most policemen entered the force for one of two reasons: either they became policemen because they felt the job offered them good pay and vocational security, or they entered because of admiration for the force and considerable interest in police work. However, most recruits did not have a lifelong ambition to become policemen — instead, they entered after one or more years of working in another occupation.

Although about half the policemen surveyed found life in the force better than they expected, a considerable percentage had become disillusioned with police work as a vocation. They found that the pay was not as good as they had expected and they found promotional opportunities lacking. There also appears to be strong evidence that policemen themselves considered that morale in the force was not as good as it should be.

As happened in Britain, the Australian and New Zealand surveys showed that, in the main, Australasian policemen considered their principal function to be the prevention and detection of crime, a function to which they felt they were devoting insufficient time. In association with this view the police, and to a lesser extent the public, considered that more police should be engaged on foot patrols.

The great majority of police in Australia and New Zealand thought there were certain duties on which the police should spend less time. Most policemen complained bitterly about the enormous amount of office and clerical work they had to perform. This, they said, lowered their efficiency and increased their frustration. Policemen in Australasia also thought far too much time was taken up working for government agencies or performing relatively trivial tasks. They felt that duties such as checking electoral rolls or issuing dog licences could easily be handled by other government departments. Again, police realized that their efficiency in the crime prevention and detection area was heavily reduced by the burden imposed by these other tasks.

In all forces, the greatest proportion of informants thought the type of person coming into the force was better now than the recruit of ten years ago. Policemen considered that the reason for this change was not so much higher pay and better conditions, as that the higher educational standards of society in general were producing a better type of applicant. Respondents also felt that higher-quality police training was responsible for better policemen. As was made clear in chapter 2, however, the public were not nearly as optimistic as the police concerning the quality of present police recruits. The great majority of both New Zealand and Australian citizens thought there had been no change in the type of person entering the police force compared with the situation ten years ago.

Except for the Tasmanian force, the majority of policemen in the survey said they would advise their relatives or close friends to choose the police as a career. Most advised this choice because of the security offered by the job. In New Zealand, however, the majority of informants who said they would tell their relatives and friends to join the force did so because they had found their own police career satisfying. On the other hand, a substantial minority of policemen (approximately 40 per cent in Australia, 30 per cent in New Zealand) would not advise other people to choose service in the police force as a vocation. A police career, this group argued, did not offer sufficiently attractive working conditions.

This survey evidence suggested strongly that policemen in the South Australian and New Zealand forces were far more contented with their job than were police in Queensland and Tasmania. The study of other Australian police organizations indicates that forces not surveyed (i.e. New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia) would probably fall behind South Australia and New Zealand in the proportion of police who were satisfied with their career and general conditions within the force.

The study also suggests that until Australian and New Zealand police organizations radically alter their pay and promotional systems, men with tertiary or matriculation qualifications will not be attracted to a police career. Further, policemen with relatively high educational qualifications will be dissatisfied with their life in the force until changes are made. As will be suggested in chapter 7, there is need for a drastic change in the criteria for promotion, so that individual merit and ability, and not seniority, become the main yardstick. Pay scales will also have to be changed so that police with educational qualifications receive substantial bonuses. Only if these two conditions are met will police forces be able to attract recruits with considerable ability and initiative.

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## *Areas of Conflict: Youth and the Police*

### *Introduction*

Throughout the three years of the study, it has become apparent to the authors that considerable conflict exists between certain groups in the community and the police. As will be seen, both the police and the public agreed that the relationship between teenagers and the police, for example, was one of tension and conflict. Further, it seems that the conflicts existing between certain sections of the community and the constabulary are likely to get worse rather than better in future years. Consequently, this chapter and the next are devoted to a discussion of the groups who are particularly hostile to the police.

The public in Australia and New Zealand were asked the question:

Do you think any particular sections of the community are now against the police or resentful of the police?

The great majority of respondents in both countries (approximately 75 per cent) thought that some groups were particularly anti-police. Respondents were then asked to name specific groups which they considered to be against the police. This was done by presenting people interviewed with a card listing those groups within the community which had been mentioned most frequently in a similar open-end question in our Canberra pilot study. Respondents were also given the opportunity of mentioning other sections of the public not listed on the card. Table 21 summarizes the responses given by both Australian and New Zealand respondents to this question.

In brief, it appears from Table 21 that the public in both countries are in substantial agreement as to which sections of the community are resentful of the police. Criminals are by far the most frequently mentioned group, referred to by nearly half the informants in each country. The group ranked second in resentment was teenagers,



TABLE 21

**Sections of the community which the public think  
are against the police**

Q. Do you think any particular sections of the community are now against the police or resentful of the police? (If yes) In your opinion, are any of those sections against the police or resentful of the police?

[Cards were used in the presentation of this question]

RESPONSES	AUSTRALIA	NEW ZEALAND
Criminals	44	53
Journalists	1	2
Lawyers	1	2
Middle class	1	1
Migrants	4	7
Maoris	—	11
Motorists	15	8
Politicians	1	1
Students	21	19
Teenagers	37	49
Upper class	1	0
Working class	5	8
Others	4	4
Total percentage*	135	165
Number of informants	1,036	769

\*Total percentages exceed 100 percent since informants were allowed to make more than one choice.

followed by students. Motorists were mentioned twice as frequently in Australia as in New Zealand. Other groups that appeared among responses were the working class, migrants, and, in New Zealand, Maoris. It is interesting to note that Aborigines were very rarely mentioned in Australia, although they were listed on the response cards given to interviewees.

Policemen in the four forces surveyed were asked, in a question framed on similar lines, which sections of the public they considered to be particularly against them or resentful of them as policemen. The questionnaires sent out contained a list of groups which could be added to by individual officers if they so desired. Police results are given in Table 22.

Teenagers and criminals were the two sections of the community which police thought were most hostile to them. Well over 50 per cent of informants in all forces except the Queensland police thought that teenagers showed antagonism towards them. Exactly the same situation existed for criminals, with approximately 55 per cent of all policemen surveyed suggesting that this group was resentful of

the police. Third among sections of the public mentioned by the police in Australia as being hostile to them were motorists, with between 25 and 30 per cent of informants in each of the three states giving this response. It should be noted that only 3 per cent of the New Zealand police sampled gave this answer. Obviously motorists were seen as a problem group by Australian policemen, but in New Zealand, where police do not deal with minor breaches of traffic regulations, no such conflict between the two groups was evident.

In Queensland and Tasmania, but not in South Australia or New Zealand, students were singled out by police as being resentful of their authority.\* Migrants from the United Kingdom and from other parts of Europe were widely mentioned only in South Australia. In all forces the upper class was listed as resentful more frequently than any other social class. The Tasmanian force contained the highest proportion of officers who said that lawyers and politicians were against them. In New Zealand, police named Pacific Islanders as a problem group (but not Maoris), while some Queenslanders mentioned Aborigines. Finally, a small proportion of all forces said journalists were resentful of them. These differences between forces will be dealt with at greater length later in this and the following chapter.

It is apparent then that there is considerable agreement between the police and public as to which groups are against the police, particularly with regard to criminals, teenagers, students, and motorists. In most cases, the percentage of police who gave a certain response was slightly higher than the percentage of the public. This would seem to indicate that the police are more sensitive to conflicts of this type, and have more experience with them, than the average citizen. This is further demonstrated by the fact that certain groups,

\*The original questionnaires given first to the South Australian and New Zealand forces did not include students as a category, but initial examination of the results showed "student" to be fairly frequently mentioned in the open-end section. The category was subsequently included in the Queensland and Tasmanian surveys.

The enormous disparity found between results in Tasmania and Queensland on the one hand, and South Australia and New Zealand on the other, could be due in part to the omission of this category in the latter questionnaires. However, a number of interviews held by the authors with members of the various forces also made it abundantly clear that feeling against students in Queensland and Tasmania is inordinately strong.

This conclusion is further reinforced by the responses to the category, "pressure groups", which appeared in all four questionnaires. While the response from South Australia (1 per cent) and New Zealand (0 per cent) was negligible, a significant 34 per cent of the Queensland police and a much lower but still significant 7 per cent of Tasmanian respondents answered "yes" to this category.

TABLE 22

**Sections of the community the police think  
are against them**

Q. Which sections of the community do you feel are particularly against you or resentful of you as a policeman ?

RESPONSES	QLD.	S.A.	TAS.	N.Z.
Aborigines	14	0	0	—
Criminals	56	56	56	53
Journalists	12	4	10	5
Lawyers	10	7	12	4
Middle classes	4	3	6	3
Migrants from the U.K.	6	23	2	3
Migrants from other parts of Europe	0	22	5	0
Motorists	27	26	29	3
Pacific Islanders	—	—	—	11
Politicians	7	6	16	2
Pressure groups	36	1	7	0
Students	37	1	36	4
Teenagers	45	59	66	65
Upper classes	10	16	19	8
Working classes	6	5	4	12
Others	10	1	0	1
Total percentage*	280	230	268	174
Number of informants	288	405	191	376

\*Total percentages exceed 100 per cent since respondents were permitted to make more than one choice.

which were quite frequently mentioned by police, were very rarely referred to by members of the public. Among these were journalists, upper classes, lawyers, and politicians. These discrepancies are not unexpected, indicating that the public do not fully understand the social conflicts confronting the police.

While migrants and people of other races generally were regarded by both police and public as being against the force, different specific groups were mentioned by each. Maoris were selected by a substantial portion of the New Zealand public but barely mentioned by the police, who instead listed Pacific Islanders as a particularly hostile group. One-third of the Queensland police force considered that "pressure groups" were anti-police. This was by far the highest figure obtained from any force or, for that matter, from either of the public samples. Those who mentioned specific pressure groups usually spoke of anti-Vietnam organizations, left-wing militants, and certain elements within the University.

Considering both the survey material and probable social developments in the next few years, the authors have isolated several groups which they feel will constitute an increasing danger to good police-public relations. The first groups in the list, recognized by both police and public as being in conflict with the police, are teenagers and students. Other groups which the survey material and other sources indicate to be worthy of detailed discussion include motorists, immigrants, the press, and specific occupational groups. These groups will be examined in the next chapter.

### *Teenagers and the Police*

Chapter 2 has already demonstrated that people under 25 years of age had much less respect for the police than did older informants. In the first table in that chapter it is revealed that, in both Australia and New Zealand, only about half of the younger age-group had great respect for the police, compared with approximately two-thirds to three-quarters of the older age-groups. In addition, chapter 2 shows that a high proportion of young people now thought less highly of the police than they had previously done, and that they were more likely than older respondents to think that the police were sometimes impolite.

Now this chapter has made it clear that both the police and the public in the two countries surveyed consider teenagers to be a group in conflict with the police. Thus the survey evidence clearly shows that the state of relations between teenagers and the police is far from satisfactory. For example, in Australasia more crime is committed by those under the age of 24 than by any other age-group, and persons in this age-category represent about half the total number of persons convicted of crime. Some Australian criminologists suggest that in the future this trend will if anything increase.

The growing number of young motorists is another source of potential conflict. The police are often obliged to check cars driven by young people, for they know that this age-group is responsible for a considerable percentage of car thefts committed. They are also aware that many cars driven by youngsters are not roadworthy, and that the percentage of fatal and other serious automobile accidents involving persons under 25 years of age is considerably greater than that involving older age-groups. The police therefore have a duty to the community to supervise young drivers and their cars. However, as the next chapter will show, there are a number of ways in which the police can make the inevitable contact between themselves and the young driver more acceptable to both parties involved.

The increasing tendency for young people in Australia and New Zealand to form gangs is a further indication of police-youth antagonisms. Voelcker, for example, in his study of British teenage groups, found that only a small minority of teenagers expressed disrespect for the police when interviewed individually. It was when they were participating in group discussions that most were openly hostile toward the police. Voelcker points out that the youths he interviewed related many untrue and exaggerated stories about the activities of the police. More importantly though, Voelcker found that:

... the youths who relate and believe these stories have absolutely no wish to doubt their authenticity. To them the police are a bad lot and the stories go towards confirming this conviction. And to complete the circulatory, these stories are likely to be true *because* the police are a bad lot! This pattern of thought provides a classic example of how prejudice works and how powerful a force it is. It is something the police, both as a minority group and as an authority figure, must face.<sup>1</sup>

Voelcker's study shows clearly the danger of groups creating hostile opinions about the police in the minds of their individual members. Certainly a reduction in the number of teenage gangs would make teenage opinion of the police less vitriolic than it is at present.

The causes of increasing juvenile crime, of the development of teenage gangs, and of juvenile irresponsibility on the road, are complex and beyond the scope of this book. These developments are related in part to the growing urbanization of our society, to less rigid parental control, to the breakdown of traditional religious and social values, to young people's greater freedom to participate in adult activities without at the same time having to assume responsibility for their actions, and to numerous other factors.<sup>2</sup> However, what is very much within the scope of this book is the outlining of procedures which the authors consider police forces in Australasia should follow in order to reduce anti-police attitudes and juvenile crime.

The authors believe that one of the most important ways police can help to reduce crime and delinquency is by active participation in delinquency prevention programmes through the media of special youth divisions in each police force.

Police officers and criminologists in a number of countries have argued the merits and demerits of police participation in delinquency prevention programmes.<sup>3</sup> Orlando Wilson, the well-known criminologist and former chief of the Chicago Police, has effectively summarized the arguments for police-participation in these programmes.<sup>4</sup> Wilson points to five factors which justify police action in this area:

1. The police are the only agency created to prevent the commission of crime. Other agencies (i.e. the church, school, etc.) may attempt to cure it when it occurs, but unlike police departments they do not have as their specific duty the prevention of crime.

2. The police are usually the first group of people to notice persons, situations, and conditions that lead to crime. If the police do not take action to stop such people turning to crime, and do not attempt to alter conditions conducive to crime, frequently no other agency will take on the job.

3. Police forces are in a strategic position to obtain the necessary co-operation from welfare agencies and other groups interested in preventing juvenile delinquency and crime. Because police departments are designed primarily to prevent and detect crime, they are in the best position to lead and co-ordinate the efforts of other agencies.

4. Police should attempt to establish good relations with children precisely because today's children will be tomorrow's citizens. The co-operation of citizens with the police and their degree of respect for members of the force will be primarily conditioned by the kind of relationship which police establish with them during childhood and adolescence. This is particularly important with problem children. When the police deal directly and well with these children, the likelihood of the teenager's becoming an adult offender is considerably reduced.

5. Police should attempt to keep teenagers out of penal institutions. If they at all times prosecute teenagers for offences, major or minor, the penalties imposed could create what Wilson has called "... an unwholesome attitude that may arouse dormant criminality".<sup>5</sup>

The authors fully concur with Wilson in the five reasons he gives in support of police participation in delinquency prevention programmes. They also agree with Wilson that the best way in which police can contribute to the prevention of delinquency is to set up their own youth divisions. The main aim of these divisions should be to counsel, rather than prosecute, juvenile offenders brought to the attention of the police.

In Australia and New Zealand there is a growing realization among policemen that there is a need for police participation in delinquency prevention programmes. However, few forces have attempted to create a well-staffed, well-trained, and efficient youth division. The exception to this rule is Queensland, which has without a doubt the best police juvenile aid division in Australasia. Because we feel that this division should serve as a model for similar departments in all Australian and New Zealand forces, its operational procedures and policies will be described in detail.

The Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau (as it is officially designated) was established in May 1963, following an overseas tour by the Queensland Commissioner of Police, Mr. Bischof, who was particularly impressed by a number of juvenile aid squads he saw in operation in England.

The Queensland Bureau was inaugurated with a staff of one detective and one policewoman. Its staff has since increased to five male officers and three policewomen. The main object of the Bureau is declared to be that of turning potential delinquents into law-abiding citizens and to prevent them from incurring a conviction. The orientation of the Bureau is essentially therapeutic, and its officers play little if any part in apprehending and prosecuting delinquents. They do not deal with children after they have been convicted or otherwise dealt with in a children's court, or if court action is pending against them. Nor does the Bureau deal with children who are under the care or control of the Department of Children's Services. In all but a few cases, sixteen years is the maximum age of children handled by the Bureau. One of the main reasons for this age limit is that at seventeen years a child becomes an adult in the eyes of the criminal law in Queensland. Another reason is that there is a strong belief among policemen in the Bureau, based on experience, that contemporary 17- or 18-year-olds are not receptive to counseling and advice and that police time is much more profitably spent with younger children who are.

Wherever possible, Bureau officers have established liaison with and sought the co-operation of all individuals and organizations interested in the welfare of children, including school principals, youth employers, church organizations, and so on. Further, they have sought to co-operate with other government departments and organizations in a way which does not usurp the functions of these agencies. For example, when the police see that a particular case requires the services of a trained social worker, they refer the child concerned to such a worker without attempting to perform the social worker's role themselves. Where necessary, officers of the Bureau also refer parents and children to places where specialist treatment can be obtained from psychiatrists, psychologists, and other experts.

How each individual case is handled in the initial stages usually depends upon the manner in which it comes to the attention of the Bureau's officers. Although it is difficult to generalize, the following example cited by the head of the Bureau, Sergeant T. Lewis, indicates the broad lines of operation of the organization.

A lad has been detained after stealing from a city department store. Our office is contacted and we go to the store and interview the lad. We then convey him

to our office and question him as to his misdemeanour. The possible consequences of his acts are outlined to him and we seek an assurance that he will not commit any further offences. He is then conveyed to his home and the parents are acquainted with all of the circumstances. It is here that we have the difficult task of allaying the fears and suspicions of the parents, but rarely do we fail to gain their confidence and co-operation. We obtain all the information required for our report on a juvenile form. Our next step is to take the matter up with the principal or head teacher of the school which the lad is attending and apprise him of the incident and ascertain the conduct of the lad at school.

The children are visited at home after school or work depending upon the offender, at regular intervals over a six-month period. A detailed report is kept of the child's progress during this time. The child is also seen again twelve months after the initial encounter. There are of course cases which require attention for a number of years, while others require only a very brief period of supervision.

Finally, it should be mentioned that all Bureau officers wear plain clothes and all files on the teenagers are confidential.

The offences committed by juveniles requiring the Bureau's services vary considerably, as illustrated in Table 23 (supplied by the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau).

TABLE 23

**Type of offences most commonly handled by Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau officers. Offences most prevalent given first, least prevalent last**

ORDER OF MOST PREVALENT OFFENCES	TYPE OF OFFENCE
1	Stealing
2	Uncontrollable
3	Habitually truant from school
4	Sexual promiscuity
5	Associating with undesirables
6	Breaking and entering offences
7	Running away from home
8	Writing obscene literature
9	Likely to lapse into a career of vice or crime
10	Neglected
11	Wilful damage to property
12	Making obscene telephone calls
13	Refusing to work
14	False pretences
15	Wilful exposure

Table 24 (also supplied by the Juvenile Aid Bureau) shows from what sources cases came to the notice of the Juvenile Aid Bureau. As can be seen from the table, the Juvenile Aid squad has received considerable co-operation from a variety of different groups in the community.



TABLE 24

Sources most commonly referring cases to the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau, listed in descending order from those giving most referrals to those giving least

ORDER OF MOST FREQUENT SOURCES	SOURCES OF REFERRAL
1	School principals
2	Retail stores
3	Parents
4	Members of Juvenile Aid Bureau
5	Uniform police
6	C.I.B.
7	Welfare and Guidance Clinic
8	Friend or neighbour
9	Relatives
10	Social workers
11	Guidance and Special Education Branch
12	Commonwealth Government Departments
13	Department of Children's Services
14	Solicitors
15	Minister of religion
16	Doctors

Since the Bureau's formation in 1963, it has handled well over two thousand cases. Figures released by the Queensland Police Department show an overall success rate of 90 per cent. Even allowing for the fact that cases handled by the Bureau are to a certain extent selected (e.g. they do not handle cases where parents will not co-operate, or cases where children are convicted of an offence), the success rate is still most encouraging. However, success or failure is measured at the end of a twelve-month period, and it is likely that some of the successes become failures after that time; only a full-scale research project would find out whether this was so.

Despite the authors' enthusiasm for the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau, it must be admitted that there are a number of objections to police participation in youth programmes. The more important of these can be summarized as follows:

1. Police are not professionally qualified to deal in a therapeutic manner with teenagers, and treatment is better left to experts. While some policemen are, of course, not qualified by training or personality to do delinquency prevention work, nevertheless many members of the force, because of their background, their sympathetic personalities, and their non-punitive attitudes, are admirably suited to this type of work. But those selected for this role should be adequately trained, preferably at the university level, in the techniques of counselling and dealing with problem children. Unfortunately, the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau, for all its other admirable qualities,

relies more on its staff's experience and intuition than on specialized educational qualifications. The same situation exists with other Australian police departments and with the New Zealand police.

2. A second objection to the creation of departments within police forces to deal with young people is that contact with the police environment may result in "an unwholesome experience for children".<sup>6</sup> Critics have pointed to the dangers of contamination of children by more hardened adult offenders, and to the unpleasant and hostile environment of police stations where a child may be taken for interview. But these criticisms can readily be overcome by careful planning. For instance, risks of contamination and unpleasantness could largely be removed by siting a police children's department in a building separate from the normal police station.

3. Finally, police entering into a counselling relationship with children and teenagers can, the critics argue, usurp or duplicate the functions of other social service agencies. There is always this possibility that police will duplicate the duties of other agencies and deal with cases which they are not qualified to handle. But this type of conflict can be avoided by making sure that the powers of any delinquency prevention agency instituted by the police are clearly defined relative to other community social welfare agencies. The Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau has successfully related itself to other agencies and the authors can find no evidence of conflict between the Bureau and other social welfare departments. Further, personnel in the Bureau do not hesitate to refer difficult cases to specialists in child problems.

The creation in other Australian and New Zealand police forces of juvenile aid bureaus similar to the one already functioning in Queensland would, we believe, considerably improve police-youth relations, as well as assist in the reduction of juvenile delinquency and perhaps adult crime. However, there are a number of other ways in which police forces could improve their image with teenagers. For example, the system of police boys' clubs currently operating in several Australian and New Zealand police forces could be extended to all forces.

Police should also overlook no opportunity to speak in schools and before other groups of children, an activity which is already highly developed in some Australasian police forces.

The authors believe that police might also encourage neighbourhood councils for delinquency prevention and control, instituted along the following lines. Councils should preferably be organized suburb by suburb, with responsible men and women on each suburban community council. It requires police co-operation to seek

out in each suburb parents, ministers, teachers, social workers, and recreation club organizers who might be interested in joining such a group. The council should be a democratic organization, open to all persons in the community interested in delinquency prevention. As an initial step, the council should survey its neighbourhood to determine the extent of the problem — the number of delinquents, their age and sex, and the type, location, and severity of offences. This step should be followed by an action programme designed to reduce delinquency and crime. Some of the ways of doing this include enlarging community welfare facilities, especially for recreation; stimulating an awareness of the need for delinquency prevention among welfare agencies, teachers, and parents generally; and interpreting to the community, through city and neighbourhood papers, the purposes of delinquency prevention programmes.

In Australia, youth organizations exist but often only at state or city level. In New Zealand, the Auckland Police Juvenile Prevention Section has, as an experiment, instituted neighbourhood councils in high delinquency areas. There is some evidence to suggest that in these areas there has been a notable drop in the number of teenage offences. Generally, however, youth councils would be better organized on a suburban basis. Cities in Australasia are developing at such a rate that it is impractical to organize city-wide delinquency prevention programmes with any degree of success. Most people are more involved with their suburb than with their city, so a programme based on the neighbourhood would almost certainly have greater attraction for them. There can always be city and state councils consisting of representatives from the suburban organizations. The city council would be primarily concerned with negotiating with state and federal governments for finance, which it would in turn distribute to local councils. Actual action programmes would be made at neighbourhood level according to the delinquency problems existing in the particular area.<sup>7</sup> The authors believe the police should take the initiative in organizing neighbourhood delinquency prevention councils, and that once these have come into being police should actively participate in, and to a considerable extent direct, the policies of the councils.

In addition to neighbourhood councils, formal institutions such as the church, the mass media, and perhaps most importantly the school, might also do more to foster a feeling of trust and respect between young people and the police. One senior Australian police officer interviewed in our survey suggested that schools could assist in this task in the following way:

My observations are that while civil and social studies cover such diverse things as health and hygiene, the growth of the Parliamentary system, etc., little is

taught of the law and its purpose in modern society, apart from some incidental comment on its historical evolution.

What is needed is an inculcating, in the words of Aristotle, that "Law is a form of order and that good law necessarily means good order", and further, that police are not a necessary evil but a productive agency which permits the community to flourish and function in a civilized manner best for the comfort and protection of the majority – that civil liberties do not mean civil or industrial licence.

I do not mean that students should be taught that police are infallible – but rather that they are people serving the community. In short, straighten out some "crooked thinking" at an early stage – point out what a "police state" means under a totalitarian regime, e.g. as opposed to the form of police in western type communities. Teach the students the positive and social aspects of police work – how they do in fact often help the underprivileged, the aged and infirm, the mentally defective, the aborigines, etc. Tell the student that in reducing the road toll the police are making a contribution to the community both in terms of the good health of the individual and the economy as a whole. This should not be taught in schools by the police – or the school chaplain – but by the educationists themselves as part of social studies.

It does seem that law in general, and the role of the police in particular, are subjects which do not receive sufficient attention in the school curricula of Australia and New Zealand. A child's general knowledge of law enforcement agencies like the police is all too often gained from sources which may be distorted or biased. Instead of receiving an objective appraisal of the problems of maintaining law and order in the community from a school teacher, children are usually forced to rely upon subjective impressions of these problems portrayed by the press and other mass media.

### *Universities, Students, and the Police*

Recent violent and well-publicized demonstrations by university students in Australia and New Zealand have served to emphasize the conflict which exists between this particular category of young people and the police. Attention has already been drawn to this conflict in earlier chapters. For instance, in chapter 2 it was indicated that people with a tertiary education expressed far less respect for the police than did those with a secondary or a primary school education. This lack of respect existed among both graduates and students of universities. In Australia, only 45 per cent of those with or pursuing tertiary qualifications expressed great respect for the police, compared with 64 per cent of those with a secondary education and 73 per cent with primary school qualifications. In New Zealand the same trend was evident, the corresponding figures being 53 per cent, 68 per cent and 83 per cent. Even when respect for the police was analyzed by educational level with age held constant, the same results occurred.

It was also found that people of higher educational levels, including students, were more likely than their less educated fellows to suspect the police of taking bribes, using unfair methods of obtaining information, twisting evidence, and using too much force.

In particular the police are well aware of the hostile attitude of students towards them. As has been seen, members of the Queensland and Tasmanian forces suspect that students constitute one of the groups most strongly resentful of police. New Zealand and South Australian policemen did not mention students nearly as frequently as did policemen in these other states, probably because students were not one of the specific categories presented to interviewers in the New Zealand and South Australian questionnaires. However, members of both forces were given the opportunity to list students in the open-end category contained in the questionnaires.

Australian police hostility towards university students and academics in general is widespread and often expressed through the mass media. For instance, in a recent newspaper article, ex-Superintendent Jardine, previously of the New South Wales police, when discussing the role of the police and academics in censorship cases said:

... It takes neither a university education, nor a degree, to detect pure filth and pornography.

And from experience, I haven't a great deal of respect for the opinions given in evidence on oath by some who have high educational qualifications.

History has shown us men who have reached the highest pinnacles of learning, yet wallowed in the lowest depths of depravity.<sup>8</sup>

It may be interesting at this stage to compare this fairly typical opinion of a senior Australian police officer with that of the former Commissioner of the Chicago Police, Orlando Wilson. Writing of the role which university qualifications should play in the selection and promotion of police officers, he has said:

While university training will not make a competent person of one who is intellectually inferior or otherwise deficient, when all other factors are equal the university-trained man is better qualified for police service than one who has graduated only from high school. He has had broader experience with people and their situation; his adaptability has been tested; he has had the opportunity to meet students of many different nationalities, cultural backgrounds, and racial characteristics and consequently should have lost much of any previous bias or prejudice he may have held. His studies will have given him a new perspective on the problems and aspirations common to all men, and he will have learned to some degree to withhold judgment and to restrain his actions and impulses in favour of calm consideration and analysis. Instead, he will already have begun to prepare for the future position of leadership which it is hoped each new recruit will strive to attain. Such men will contribute a great deal to the true professionalization of police service.

The next chapter will discuss in some detail the ways in which university training could assist members of Australian and New Zealand police forces. However, it is relevant at this juncture to ask why many police are distrustful of university qualifications? In part, their attitudes may simply reflect the hostility they feel for students and academics in general. It is very difficult to feel sympathetic towards the ideas and training of those who have little respect for you. But it would seem that there are deeper reasons for the attitudes expressed by senior officers about university training. In most Australian states, and to a lesser extent in New Zealand, commissioned officers in the police forces have gained their present rank primarily as a result of seniority and not because of formal educational qualifications. Intellects of officers are unequal, the seniority system ensuring that the dull as well as the bright reach commissioned rank. Because those who are at present in this rank usually entered the force with only minimal educational qualifications, they often fail to appreciate the advantages higher educational qualifications would give either them or their successors. As one commissioned officer interviewed in our survey put it,

I only had four years of schooling and look where I am now – a superintendent. I’ve done all right without having had to waste my time at the university. Education doesn’t make for a policeman if he’s intelligent enough. We don’t want any of these varsity whiz kids in the force – good sound common sense is all that is needed in a cop today.

Unfortunately, as the next chapter will demonstrate, “good sound common sense” is not sufficient, by itself, to deal with twentieth-century crime.

The spate of recent student-police clashes, not only in Australasia but also in other countries, indicates that conflict between the two groups will, if anything, increase in future years. Students in most countries of the world today are challenging the traditional values and institutions of society, and the police are inevitably involved in defending these values and institutions because of their role as the main guardians of the status quo. But to the students, the police are the most obvious and accessible representatives of beliefs and values which must be destroyed. Consequently police are one of the first targets of attack by students, verbally or physically.

If, as seems inevitable, these attacks are going to become more frequent, the question remains: What steps can the police take to reduce the intensity of their encounters with students? We feel that there are three areas in which the police can take the initiative in improving their relations with students.

### 1. *Demonstration organization and control:*

Police-student conflict reaches its height when students demonstrate against political and social conditions existing in society. The task of the police in these situations is to ensure that the demonstrations are conducted in an orderly fashion within the framework of the law. This involves not only controlling crowds but in many cases physically restraining the movements of large numbers of students and other demonstrators. There are, however, efficient and inefficient methods of controlling and, if necessary, containing demonstrators. A comparison of the philosophy and experience of the Queensland and South Australian police in this respect will serve to illustrate two radically different approaches to a cause of much of the current ill-feeling between students and police, namely, the right to demonstrate.

In June 1967, five thousand students and staff from the University of Queensland marched towards the centre of Brisbane protesting against current traffic regulations.<sup>9</sup> These regulations, among other things, grant the police superintendent of traffic the right to prohibit the holding of religious, political, or other meetings on any footpath. In addition, the traffic superintendent has an absolute discretion as to whether a permit should be issued to any group wishing to hold a procession in the city. Any person who holds or takes part in a procession for which there is no permit is guilty of an offence. While the term "procession" is not defined, it would seem that a body of persons or a number of vehicles going along a road in an organized way would constitute a procession. In addition, an application for a procession permit must be made at least fourteen days prior to the date selected for this meeting.

The demonstrators were given a permit to march into town but were stopped by police in one of the major thoroughfares leading into the centre of the city. The demonstrators promptly sat down, much to the amazement of the police, and refused to move. Police were then ordered to disband the students by removing them forcibly from the centre of the road. This was done with considerable zeal by members of the force, who at times used extreme physical force. Unfortunately for the police, television channels recorded enthusiastic policemen dragging students by the hair, pulling screaming girls onto the footpath, and attempting to smash the cameras of some reporters.

What emerged more clearly than anything else from this demonstration was the complete incompetence of the police when faced with the task of controlling large numbers of people demonstrating. The unimaginative methods used to break up the disturbance pointed not only to short-sighted policies on the part of the police

in such situations but also to a lack of police training in methods of controlling demonstrators.

In South Australia, police play a different role in student demonstrations. Particularly relevant here is the fact that they play no part in the issuing of traffic permits. A senior officer in that state expressed the police philosophy in dealing with student demonstrations in the following way:

... we have endeavoured to prevent direct confrontation between police and demonstrators. Our technique is to go to the organizations, confer with them, and *assist* them to conduct an orderly protest. Of course they understand that no disorders will be permitted; our part is fundamentally traffic control, and by and large this has succeeded. One gets the impression in Queensland at least, rightly or wrongly, that police oppose demonstrations of any kind. As an observer I feel a basic mistake was made in making police responsible for issuing permits to demonstrate, as this is a discretionary power which the police should not have to decide and then enforce. The essential difference here I feel is that in this state parties *including the police themselves* would not want the police to have this prerogative. Local government authorities issue the permit in this state, and rightly so.

The relatively good police-student relations in South Australia and the unsatisfactory situation in Queensland (as witnessed by the 1967 encounter and numerous other incidents) would suggest, among other things, that decisions on whether a demonstration is to be allowed or not should be left to authorities other than the police. Further, a comparison of the practices and experiences of the two forces reveals that if police take a more permissive and less punitive attitude towards demonstrators, much friction between students and police can be avoided.

Even so, it is almost inevitable that some demonstrations will break out into riots or, at the very best, severely strain police patience. This is not a book on riot control, and no attempt will be made to discuss methods which police should adopt in dealing with disturbances which threaten life and property. Suffice it to say that police should be thoroughly trained in methods of controlling crowds, demonstrations, and riots. The authors' observations lead them to the conclusion that Australian and New Zealand forces have seriously neglected this type of training in the past.

## *2. Increased contact with students and university staff*

Police can assist in breaking down the barrier between themselves and university personnel by meeting more frequently with students and staff for informal discussion of mutual problems.

High-ranking officers can also assist police-university relations by, whenever possible, assisting bona fide research workers to pursue



criminological investigations. As mentioned elsewhere in this book, police in Australasia, unlike their colleagues in other Western countries, tend to place insuperable barriers in the way of persons who in the course of criminological research wish to use data possessed by the police. It is rare for police forces to allow university personnel to look at even the most innocuous police files. Researchers in Australia and New Zealand urgently require information concerning the state of crime in both countries in order to plan measures to combat criminality. Much of this information can only be obtained from the police, and without their help criminological research in the two countries will inevitably be severely restricted. As the Cambridge Institute of Criminology in England has shown, university personnel thoroughly schooled in social science techniques and procedures can provide police departments with valuable information which they would otherwise lack.

### *3. Increasing the number of policemen pursuing university courses*

Perhaps the most satisfactory way to reduce friction between the police and the universities is to encourage police to undertake university courses. Not only would this benefit the individual policeman in the ways Orlando Wilson has suggested, but it would also demonstrate to many policemen that the great majority of students are not long-haired, lazy, useless people contributing little to society. The student in turn would come to realize that not all policemen are flatfooted, uneducated, ignorant bullies — a stereotype almost certainly held by a large number of those in tertiary institutions. The specific courses at the university which would be of particular assistance in police work will be discussed in the next chapter.

## *Conclusions*

This chapter has drawn attention to the principal sections of the community in conflict with the police in Australia and New Zealand. These groups include teenagers, students, motorists, the mass media, immigrants, and indigenous ethnic groups.

Evidence has been presented to suggest that antagonism between police and young people will increase rather than diminish in future years. In order to reduce this conflict, and at the same time to halt increasing delinquency and crime, police must take effective counter-measures. It has been suggested that one of the ways in which this might be done would be for the police to play an active role in delinquency prevention programmes. Police forces are the principal

agencies created by society to prevent the commission of crimes, and they should therefore devote much of their time to the prevention of delinquency. It was indicated that one of the main ways in which police could contribute to delinquency control was to create youth divisions within police departments. The main aim of these divisions should be to rehabilitate problem children and attempt, as far as possible, to prevent their incurring a juvenile or criminal conviction. In this respect the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau serves as an excellent model for other Australasian police forces. Police working in youth divisions should become social practitioners and students of social and psychological phenomena. This requires them to pursue appropriate courses at universities or other tertiary institutions. Police youth divisions, upon their inception, should also confer with other social welfare agencies and carefully define their role in youth work with these agencies. In this way they will avoid usurping or duplicating the functions of other institutions dealing with teenagers.

It was also suggested that police-youth relations would be considerably improved, and delinquency reduced, if police initiated moves for neighbourhood youth councils. These councils, composed of parents, teachers, and other interested citizens, would plan for their neighbourhoods action programmes designed to reduce juvenile crime. Police should play a major part in the creation and functioning of such councils. To be successful, they would have to be organized and run at neighbourhood level rather than at city or state level. Only in this way would citizens be sufficiently motivated to take an active part in the programmes.

Parents and schools could also actively assist the police in improving relations between police and young people, by teaching children more about the role of the police.

This chapter has also shown that considerable conflict exists between police forces and university students and staff. Police and students have comparatively little respect for each other and many police exhibit a strong anti-educational bias. It is suggested that one way in which many police forces could reduce tension between themselves and students would be to hand over to local government authorities the right to decide whether permission should be given for demonstrators to hold protest meetings and marches. Police should also be thoroughly trained in riot and crowd control, as large-scale protest movements are likely to occur more frequently in the future in Australia and New Zealand. However, perhaps the best method of breaking down university-police barriers is for policemen to pursue courses at universities and other tertiary institutions. Police should also more actively encourage and assist university personnel to pursue research into crime.

### *Notes to Chapter 5*

1. P.M.W. Voelcker, "The Teenage Slant", in C.H. Rolph (ed.), *The Police and the Public* (London: Heinemann, 1962), p. 82.
2. O.W. Wilson, *Police Administration* (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw Hill, 1963).
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
7. See Wilson, *op. cit.*, for detailed information on delinquency control programming.
8. *Sun Herald* (Sydney), 23 June 1968.
9. The Queensland Traffic Acts have since been slightly amended.

# 6

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## *Other Areas of Conflict Between the Police and the Public*

### *Introduction*

The previous chapter examined the conflict existing between young people and the police and suggested procedures for reducing the intensity of this conflict. This chapter explores the relationship between other groups in the community and the police — groups which, like youth, appear to be in a state of tension with police forces. Specifically the relationship between the police and motorists, the press, and certain other groups will be examined, and suggestions will be made as to procedures which would improve the rapport between these groups and law enforcement agencies. Let us begin by looking at what motorists and the police think of each other.

### *Motorists and the Police*

The report of the British Home Office Survey highlighted the fact that resentment towards the police is particularly strong among members of the motoring public, with 10 per cent of the public and 36 per cent of the police naming motorists as one of the groups they considered to be resentful of the police. The same situation appears to exist in Australasia. Eight per cent of the public in New Zealand, compared with 15 per cent in Australia, said motorists were antagonistic to the police. However, only 3 per cent of the New Zealand police considered that motorists were against them, as against 28 per cent of police respondents interviewed in Australia. This result, the authors believe, is due to the fact that New Zealand police do have to enforce minor breaches of traffic regulations — a point that will be discussed later in this chapter.

With the number of motorists continually increasing and more people becoming car-owners, this conflict could become one of major importance to police and public alike. In the Australasian survey, 65 per cent of the Australians and 71 per cent of the New Zealanders were licensed to drive motor vehicles, so it is obvious that the problem of police-motorist relations affects a large portion of the adult community. In addition, the rates of automobile ownership in Australia and New Zealand are among the highest in the world.

Differences between motorists and non-motorists in the amount of respect they have for the police are presented in Table 25.

**TABLE 25**  
**Respect for the police:**  
**Motorists and non-motorists**

Q. Considering everything about the way the police do their job, would you say you have great respect for the police, little respect for them, or mixed feelings about them?

ANSWERS	MOTORISTS		NON-MOTORISTS	
	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.
Great respect	63	72	69	73
Little respect	1	3	3	4
Mixed feelings	33	23	22	19
Don't know	1	2	3	3
No answer	2	0	3	1
Total percentage	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	681	544	354	219

From this table, it can be seen that in Australia, but not in New Zealand, there was a difference in the number of motorists and non-motorists who claimed that they had great respect for the police. Further analysis was conducted to find out whether the amount of respect a motorist had for the police depended on the length of time he had held a licence, or on the number of miles he drove per year, or on whether he used his car mainly for business or private purposes. The only one of these three variables which was found to affect respect was the number of miles driven per year. Results of this analysis appear in Table 26.

As this table shows quite clearly, particularly for Australia, lack of respect for the police increases with the number of miles driven per year. This trend held for all age-groups and regardless of the period a licence was held. Those motorists who drove over 12,000 miles per year could be expected to have the most contact with

TABLE 26

**Respect for the police — Classified by miles driven per year**

Q. Considering everything about the way the police do their job, would you say you have great respect for the police, little respect for them, or mixed feelings about them?

ANSWERS	MILES DRIVEN PER YEAR					
	0-8,000 MILES		8,000-12,000 MILES		OVER 12,000 MILES	
	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.
Great respect	71	74	58	69	54	67
Little respect	1	2	3	4	1	8
Mixed feelings	25	22	33	24	43	24
Don't know	1	2	2	3	1	1
No answer	2	0	4	0	1	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	302	309	193	108	143	79

N.B. This table is based only on motorists in the sample.

policemen on traffic control and point duty, and these were the people who showed the least respect for the police. This would support the view expressed by some police and certain members of the public that alteration of police traffic powers could result in an improvement in mutual relations. In New Zealand, where police participation in traffic enforcement is much less than in Australia, overall respect was higher, although the relationship between respect and miles driven per year was still marked. Thus the animosity still exists but, as Table 25 shows, it is not nearly as marked as in Australia.

It is also worthy of mention that in both countries motorists tended to have a slightly lower opinion of police probity than did non-motorists. The differences were small in both countries, but since they occurred in all four questions in both societies it is probably indicative of the general animosity motorists feel towards police, and supports the findings of Tables 25 and 26.

In Australia, slightly fewer motorists than non-motorists thought the police were "very efficient" in their handling of traffic matters. Considering the fact that many non-motorists felt they did not have sufficient experience to express an opinion on this question, this probably again indicates a generally critical attitude on the part of the motoring public.

Police-community relationships, it is suggested, suffer because

of frequent and unpleasant encounters with police officers over traffic breaches. Motorists who are booked by police for what they consider to be trivial offences feel that the police should be spending their time on much more serious crimes such as burglary and theft. It is one thing when a motorist is stopped by a policeman for dangerous driving which is obviously jeopardizing the life of the driver and perhaps of others, but it is quite another matter, at least in the eyes of the motorist, when a policeman stops him for exceeding the speed limit by three miles an hour or for briefly pulling over in a no-standing zone. He feels that he should not have to suffer the indignity of police action against him for such a minor infringement while "murderers and thieves go undetected". This attitude, which our survey data showed to be particularly prevalent amongst Australian drivers, is probably partly responsible for the overall difference between the amount of respect our Australian sample had for the police and that indicated by the New Zealand sample.

In New Zealand, traffic duties are not exclusively the responsibility of the police. Since the authors feel strongly that the New Zealand system of dividing traffic duties among several bodies has many advantages over Australian traffic control methods, this chapter will take a closer look at the New Zealand situation before turning to the detailed survey data which were obtained concerning it.\*

Prior to 1935 in New Zealand, traffic control was in the hands of two bodies — the police and local municipal organizations. At this time all duties were left to the police, with the exception of licensing and registration. Gradually, as the population expanded, large municipalities began to employ traffic officers on field duties such as point duty, and for dealing with parking offences, minor accidents not involving personal injury, speeding and careless driving offences. Dealing with injury was, and still is, the duty of the police alone.

With the passage of time, and the expansion of the traffic departments in the larger towns, police began to find their duties overlapping, and so, without any conscious plan, began to leave parking and speeding offences to the Traffic Department officers. Police, however, did not lose any jurisdiction over traffic matters, and still report blatant breaches of parking or speeding laws. With the advent of parking meters, which earn revenue for the municipality, police left parking control entirely to the municipal traffic departments. This department's officers were given the power to arrest drunken drivers, but were obliged to take them to police stations

\*The authors would like to express their thanks to Commissioner G.C. Urquhart of the New Zealand Police for his excellent co-operation in supplying information on handling of traffic matters in New Zealand.

for medical examinations arranged by the police; in these cases, prosecution was in the hands of the police, with the arresting officer from the Traffic Department acting as a witness. In other cases, Traffic Department officers prosecuted their own reported traffic breaches.

Municipal Traffic Departments are still in existence, and are financed by the City Councils involved. Although traffic laws are national, city councils can and do make their own by-laws regarding such things as one-way streets and parking zones. They also introduce traffic lights and roundabouts where necessary.

Police still attend to all traffic accidents involving personal injury and to all breaches coming to their direct notice or which are the subject of complaint. The public, however, now report minor complaints to local Traffic Departments. Police do not go out of their way to detect minor breaches, but should examples of excessive speed or careless driving come to their notice they are promptly dealt with by policemen. But police do not use radar speed equipment or other speed traps, and minor cases of speeding are not normally reported to them. Co-operation between the two bodies is good, and Traffic Inspectors often aid police in the detection of crime.

It is necessary now to go back to 1935 to trace the development of the third body concerned with traffic control. At that time police were not endowed with much in the way of a traffic fleet, so highways between towns and cities were virtually unpatrolled, even though traffic on these routes was beginning to increase rapidly. In view of this, the Government instituted another agency called the Transport Department. Originally, its sole function was to control the highways linking towns and cities, its jurisdiction ceasing at town boundaries. It was concerned with traffic control and the inspection of over-weight trucks, but later expanded into traffic engineering and the compilation of statistics. It also had the power to arrest drunken drivers within its jurisdiction, but arrestees were taken to police stations. The Transport Department was, and still is, a national body under one Commissioner of Transport, with power to administer traffic laws except in municipally-controlled areas.

Soon, however, this jurisdiction began to expand. Smaller townships began to ask the Transport Department to take over their traffic control, and they were never refused. This trend continued, and at the present time most cities up to 60,000 population have the Transport Department looking after their traffic.

Recently, a further step has been taken. The Transport Department has offered its services to *all* municipalities. This is a big attraction to ratepayers, who otherwise have to pay their Traffic



Department, while the Transport Department is a government body financed by government funds. Four main centres, with large and efficient Traffic Departments, have so far refused this offer, but only time will tell whether the increasing pressure from ratepayers will eventually place control solely in the hands of Police and Transport Departments.

Although this system may seem involved and perhaps cumbersome, in practice very little overlapping occurs between departments. Any tendency to overlap is dealt with at the source by the application of commonsense or, occasionally, by statutory directions. For example, if a speeding motorist receives attention from more than one agency, at the end of the incident only one agency proceeds with the case. Further, while an officer from the Transport or Municipal Traffic Department may begin to deal with an accident involving injury, this must be reported to the police, and once the latter arrive they assume responsibility with no interference from other officers present. In the case of public events, such as royal visits, all three agencies co-operate both in the planning and at the event. There are some quite sharp divisions to avoid duplication. Police do not perform point duty, report meter offences, arrange or control parking at race meetings and public gatherings, or control traffic congestion at fires. Neither do they handle registration of vehicles or licensing, testing of drivers, or road engineering. As stated, police, and only police, investigate accidents involving personal injury. Police attend non-injury accidents if they come to their notice but, if a traffic officer is present, police take no action other than to assist the traffic officer if necessary.

As Commissioner Urquhart of the New Zealand Police pointed out to us, "the utmost co-operation and harmony exists" between the three agencies involved in the control and patrol of traffic. The system may sound involved, but in practice and to quote the Commissioner again "it leaves police free to concentrate on crime and serious traffic offences which come under notice".

But does this trichotomy of traffic control cause any confusion in the minds of the New Zealand public? To find this out, four types of traffic offences were listed, and informants were asked to say which agency they thought was mainly responsible for dealing with each. The first type was parking offences, and a large majority of the sample agreed, quite correctly, that these came under the jurisdiction of Municipal Traffic Department. Some of the respondents from smaller towns considered, again correctly under the circumstances, that dealing with parking offences was a function of the Transport Department. Only 5 per cent of the total sample associated this duty with the police! Similarly, the sample divided the control of speeding

offences between the Transport Department and Municipal Traffic Departments. Most respondents considered that the police were responsible for dealing with drunken driving breaches, but between 10 and 20 per cent ascribed this duty to the other two agencies. Again, this is quite accurate, since all drunken driving offenders, although they may be arrested by other officers, must be referred to and charged by the police. The majority of the public said the police were responsible for handling accidents in which people suffered injury. Thus it is evident that the public have a clear understanding of the duties of the Police, the Transport Department, and the Municipal Traffic Departments where traffic matters are concerned.

We also asked members of the New Zealand sample to evaluate each agency in terms of the amount of respect held for it in its performance of traffic duties. Results of this question are shown in Table 27.

TABLE 27

**Respect by the New Zealand public for traffic control agencies**

Q. Considering everything about the way each of these three organizations handles traffic matters, would you say that you had great respect, little respect, or mixed feelings about it? (Interviewees had been given a card listing the three organizations by name.)

ANSWERS	AGENCY		
	THE POLICE	TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPAL TRAFFIC DEPARTMENTS
Great respect	51	47	38
Little respect	4	10	14
Mixed feelings	17	22	23
Don't know	27	20	23
No answer	1	1	2
Total percentage	100	100	100
Number of informants	769	769	769

It can be seen from this table that the degree of respect for the police with reference to traffic matters is slightly higher than for the other two agencies. The fact that the overall public respect for the police in all aspects of their work appears to be higher (see chapter 2, Table 1) is due partly to the large percentage of people, mostly non-drivers, who did not feel qualified to answer this question. It is also evident that the public have less respect for the Municipal Traffic Departments than they have for the Transport Department,

probably because the Traffic Departments take prime responsibility for enforcing parking regulations.

Since many citizens only come in contact with the police through traffic incidents of some sort, and since such contacts are usually unpleasant for both parties, but particularly for the citizen, a great deal of goodwill between the police and the public is lost through these situations. The loss of goodwill, though arising from a traffic incident, could well be generalized in the mind of the citizen involved and lead to his lack of co-operation with the police at a later time on a matter of much greater importance. Whitaker points out that "people who consider themselves law-abiding reveal unexpected characteristics when driving".<sup>1</sup> These same people do not consider that their breach of a traffic regulation makes them law-breakers, and so they are resentful at the interference of a police officer.

Apart from the damage done to police-public relations through incidents of this type, traffic duties consume time that could be much better utilized by members of the police force. Traffic violators tend to feel that they are being persecuted while much more serious crimes remain unsolved because police do not have the time to spend on crime detection. Again Whitaker gives us the motorists' refrain: "Why don't you catch criminals instead of persecuting us?"<sup>2</sup>

Releasing the police from the increasing burden of traffic duties, many of which are a waste of their skills and training, would benefit both the force and the community as a whole. There are at least five reasons why this would be so.

1. The survey data show clearly that one of the main factors contributing to lack of public respect for the police is motorists' resentment towards police handling of minor traffic regulations. The motorists' resentment appears to overflow to the police force generally. If a separate traffic organization was established, as in New Zealand, public respect for the police would improve significantly.

2. Police in Australia and New Zealand are heavily overburdened with a range of activities that severely restricts the amount of time and effort which they can devote to crime prevention and detection. Enforcement of traffic regulations, particularly, uses up an enormous amount of their resources.

3. A separate organization to deal with traffic matters, which was independent of the police force, would allow its employees to specialize in their training, public relations, and general organization in traffic matters. This would almost certainly lead to increased efficiency in the way in which traffic regulations are policed.

4. Entry into most Australasian police forces can only be achieved after the potential recruit has met fairly rigorous physical requirements. These requirements are thought necessary so that policemen will not be at a physical disadvantage in dealing with criminals. A large percentage of applicants for police jobs fail these physical tests and thus are refused admittance to the force. As traffic control presumably does not require the physical capacity which police work does, many of those who fail police entrance tests but are otherwise thoroughly capable could be placed in a traffic control organization.

5. Finally, placing certain traffic duties under the supervision of a non-police agency, as in New Zealand, works effectively in practice. Our survey material shows that the police themselves are happy with the arrangement and do not want to go back to enforcing traffic regulations entirely by themselves. Further, the public in New Zealand are not confused by three agencies controlling traffic matters. In fact citizens correctly define the role each department plays in traffic enforcement.

For these reasons we believe that Australian police forces should relieve their members of the burden of having to enforce minor traffic regulations. The pattern has already been set in New Zealand and there is no reason why it would not work in Australian states. Obviously the departments that would control traffic matters would vary from state to state according to the administrative organizations already in existence in each public service. Fortunately a move in this direction is already under way. In Queensland, over the next year (1969), the Transport Department is to relieve the police of some duties in regard to traffic control. The exact traffic duties which the Transport Department is going to be responsible for have not yet been defined, but it is expected that they will include parking control and general traffic direction in the inner city areas of the major cities in Queensland. It is hoped that this trend will be repeated in other Australian states.

### *The Mass Media and the Police*

Police relationships with the mass media are of the utmost importance. People will generally accept, with a certain naiveté, what they see, hear, and read as correct. This gives all media a tremendous power to influence and perhaps change the attitudes of the society as a whole. This is of particular relevance to attitudes towards the police, since most items involving the police are of general interest to the community. It is possible therefore for the media to influence considerably the public view of the police.

The British Royal Commission Report of 1962 points out that, prior to the war, members of the public derived their opinion of the police at first-hand from their encounters with members of the force. Today, however, their opinions appear to be largely dependent on what they see on television and read in the press. This is due not only to the greater emphasis placed on these media but also to the fact that the average citizen is increasingly unlikely to have any real contact with members of police departments. Beat patrol is fast disappearing and thus an important link between the individual citizen and members of the force is being destroyed.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the British Royal Commission showed some concern over police-press relations, particularly as 50 per cent of the police surveyed in Britain claimed that press reports concerning them were unfair. However, only small numbers of police thought television, books, and magazines were detrimental to their image and to police-public relations generally.

It is the press, then, which at least in the eyes of the British police seems to be the source of considerable discord between the police and the public. In some instances police "red tape" served to promote bad press-police relations. In the case of Podola,<sup>3</sup> public allegations were made in the press that the police had used unnecessary violence in making the arrest. The police were unable to defend themselves against these attacks because the circumstances of the arrest became an issue in the subsequent trial. In this case the police were unfairly treated by the press, since by the time they were able to clear themselves of the allegations public interest had waned and the damage was done.

It is precisely this sort of misunderstanding between the police and the press that can severely damage relations between the two groups. It also creates an unfavourable public image of the police force. This type of incident is not confined to Britain. In Australia and New Zealand numerous examples occur of press hostility towards the police, many of which, it will be seen, are based on wrong premises.

Both the police and the public in our Australasian survey were asked to evaluate press reports concerning the police. Results of questions asked of both groups are presented in Table 28.

The table shows clearly that more police in South Australia and New Zealand than in Tasmania and Queensland felt that press reports were fair. Tasmanian police had a very poor opinion of press reports, with 26 per cent of the force considering them unfair. In the case of the public in Australia and New Zealand, differences of opinion were not as marked. It is also of interest to note that larger percentages of police than of the public detected some criticism, whether

TABLE 28

**Police and public views on the fairness  
of press reports on the police**

Q. Over the past two years, do you remember reading any newspaper reports of incidents or cases in which the police have been involved? As far as you can remember, did the reports seem to be generally fair to the police, generally unfair to the police, sometimes fair and sometimes unfair, or just descriptive?

ANSWERS	POLICE				PUBLIC	
	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.	AUST.	N.Z.
Generally fair to the police	12	10	29	23	35	41
Generally unfair to the police	18	26	9	15	9	9
Sometimes fair,* sometimes unfair	59	53	42	51		
Neither fair nor unfair; just descriptive	10	7	15	11	29	31
No answer; have not read any reports	1	4	5	0	16	9
Don't know	0	0	0	0	11	10
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	376	1036	769

\*This category was not provided in Public Questionnaires, as pilot interviews revealed that it created confusion for many respondents.

positive or negative, in press reports. Consequently fewer police answered that reports were "just descriptive". This would indicate that the police themselves were more sensitive to either praise or condemnation of the force than were members of the public. In all forces surveyed the proportion of police who considered press reports to be generally unfair was far lower than in the British survey, where half of the police interviewed gave this response. It appears then that the problem of a hostile press is much less severe in Australasia now than it was in the United Kingdom in 1960.

From the survey results it is also clear that the two forces which in previous chapters have been shown to have a better public image appear to have better relations with the press as well.

In order to investigate further the problems concerned in police-press relations the authors interviewed twenty Sydney journalists, plus about the same number in other towns throughout Australia. What follows mainly concerns the situation in New South Wales, where traditionally poor police-press relations exist.

First, let us examine the system initiated by the New South Wales Police Commissioner, Mr. Norman Allan, for releasing

information to the press. In 1965 Mr. Allan issued instructions to his department that the only officers authorized to speak to the press were the heads of various departments. All other policemen in New South Wales were banned from talking to the press in an official capacity. Under existing arrangements three conferences are held daily in Sydney at the Criminal Investigation Branch headquarters, at 7 a.m., 9 a.m., and 5 p.m., when a senior police officer briefs journalists on the events of the day. Although pressmen are then able to ask questions of the officer, in many cases these questions are not answered and all that is obtained is an official and often colourless report of activities in the criminal field.

Most of the regular police roundsmen have acquired unofficial contacts within the force from whom they obtain additional information and "hot" tips on criminal matters. Most of these contacts are developed round a few beers and have often taken many years to establish on a firm basis. However, the journalists see dangers in being accepted by police in this way, since very often they cannot use the material obtained from their police contact for fear that its source may be traced by police officials.

Journalists interviewed voiced complaints not only about the lack of official police information given to them but also about the recent move by the police to remove them from a room which had been allocated to them at C.I.B. headquarters. Although the reason given for this was the acute accommodation shortage at the New South Wales Police Headquarters, the move created new antagonisms.

The press are not provided with police radios or given the use of police communication facilities. This likewise has created antagonism towards the police on the part of the journalists. All city roundsmen carry police radios in their cars. This is illegal but police, though they are aware of the practice, take no action to suppress it.

In Victoria a number of more senior pressmen praised the relationship between the press and the police. In that state the press have their own centrally located office at Police Headquarters and are supplied with radios. They are able to talk to detectives who are investigating a particular crime and facilities are offered to them for taking pictures of crime weapons and criminals.

Senior journalists throughout Australia are quick to point out that they themselves are not entirely blameless where any conflict that exists between the press and the police is concerned. In an infamous incident two years ago, a pressman published material which had been told to him in confidence by a policeman. This type of action is contrary to the Australian Journalists' Association code of ethics which is, fortunately, followed by most pressmen. This

incident, as would be expected, seriously prejudiced police-press relations for a considerable time afterwards.

Further, most journalists were prepared to admit that their papers had been guilty not only of publishing confidential information, but also, at one time or another, of misreporting police statements. They excused this on the grounds that police did not provide them with sufficient information, which meant filling in the story with some guesswork in order to make it readable.

In New Zealand, press-police relations appear to be at a high level — a fact that the survey data confirmed. Journalists are generally happy with the access they have to police officers and the co-operation given by police to pressmen during major cases. However, some journalists complained about the lack of regular police-press conferences, which they thought should be held at least weekly in all cities throughout the country.

This section of the study, particularly the interviews with senior journalists, leads the authors to suggest a number of procedures for improving police-press relations. First, the police should hold regular press conferences and release much more information than they do at the moment. In this respect it is worth quoting the words of a Sydney journalist who told us:

Press reporting is undoubtedly more hostile in New South Wales than in other states. The press do, on occasions, write stories which are half correct, which show police in a bad light. But the reason for this is that police do not tell them enough. The chain can only be broken from the top.

This reporter's comments on the situation in New South Wales reflect also what occurs in other states. Police are reluctant to release full details of cases to the press, and this leads to many press stories being a mixture of truths and half-truths. Orlando Wilson,<sup>4</sup> however, provides an interesting view of the problem from the police side. He points out that although it is disastrous to attempt to restrict the release of information to the press, certain things such as matters of national security and vice investigations must be kept secret in order to facilitate the investigations. He also points out that restrictions must be placed on press contacts with individual officers to avoid excessive interference with duty and to ensure the validity of the releases.

A second suggestion emerging from our investigation is that conferences should be held by the Commissioner himself when at all possible. This not only helps to promote the Commissioner's own image but also gives the interview an aura of authority it would otherwise lack.

Thirdly, public relations policies, particularly those which involve releasing police information to media, should be in the hands of



trained public relations men. These people need not necessarily be members of the police force. Regardless of whether they are policemen or not, however, they should have had considerable experience in the public relations field. It would also be a considerable asset to the force if the men selected had a good "television image" for interview work.

Fourthly, police must learn to respect the confidence of the press. Sometimes it is necessary for a feature writer to enlist the aid of members of the force in gaining relevant information and perhaps tell them of the article he is writing. In such cases any officer concerned should avoid telling opposition journalists of the forthcoming story. In all other instances, care should be taken by the police to release news bulletins to representatives of all mass media agencies simultaneously, thus avoiding favouritism.

Police should also attempt to release news to media as soon as possible. Unfortunately there has been a tendency in Australia and New Zealand for police forces to suppress news unnecessarily for such a long period that when it is finally released it is no longer of immediate interest and consequently loses its value as "instant news".

The onus, however, is also on the press to improve their relations with the police. They should refrain from such practices as, for example, conducting "witch hunts" to find grounds for unjustly attacking the force and its members — a frequent occurrence in New South Wales, and to a lesser extent in other states. Feature and news stories on police activities should not emphasize dramatic events at the cost of objectivity, a situation which, it seems, occurs all too often in Australasian newspapers. Newspaper editors should also attempt to isolate the grounds of present police discontent with newspaper coverage of police activities and, together with police officials, devise ways of overcoming them to the satisfaction of both parties. Considering the interdependence between police and press, it would seem that any move towards better relations would be of the greatest value to both parties and, as well, would lead to more satisfactory relations between the police and the public.

### *Other Groups and the Police*

The survey results show that, in addition to those already mentioned, there are several other distinct groups seen by both the police and the public as being in conflict with the police. Foremost among these groups would probably be criminals and people with criminal records. In all three Australian forces, and in New Zealand, over 50 per cent of those surveyed said that criminals were antagonistic

to them. In addition 44 per cent of the Australian public and 53 per cent of the New Zealand public agreed that criminals were resentful of the police. It is obvious therefore, that in the police and public eye the battle between criminals and law enforcement personnel is intense and serious.

Migrants were also reported by some informants as being resentful of the police. This applied particularly to South Australia, where 23 per cent of the police reported that migrants from the United Kingdom were antagonistic to them, and 22 per cent named migrants from other parts of Europe as being hostile. In all other forces only very small proportions of police named those groups as being particularly anti-police. One possible explanation for this surprising result was provided by a South Australian senior policeman. He pointed out that South Australia has by far the highest proportion of migrants, per head of population, of any state in which the survey was conducted. South Australia also has the highest proportion, per head of population, of migrants coming from Britain on the assisted passage scheme. In the opinion of this policeman many of the migrants have arrived in South Australia with little capital, having left their homes in an attempt to escape financial and other difficulties. The shift, far from solving their problems, often tends to aggravate them. The policeman in question then developed his argument by pointing to public attitudes towards migrants. He says:

Deservedly or not, the English migrants have acquired a reputation among South Australians as being "whingers". This is probably no more justified than, for example, the reputation Australians have in London of being brash, aggressive, and uncouth. In this connection, I think the police attitude only reflects the general community attitude.

In police circles, the U.K. migrant has the reputation of being the most likely to complain about the police. It seems to have become almost normal for them to behave aggressively to the police when they are spoken to by a member of the force for a breach of the law.

I don't think that is because the police handle them differently to other classes of people. In point of fact, I think, because of their reputation, special care is taken in dealing with them. It does seem, though, that they are particularly sensitive to any police approach, although, as with any generalization of this nature, there are exceptions.

I think there is adequate justification for this impression by the police. Certainly, in my own experience, the U.K. migrant is more prone to complain about the police; so much so that it has become something of a wry comment within the Department. There is no doubt that the preponderance of complaints against the police come from U.K. migrants. One of the problems with them is that they tend to equate everything within the context of their experience in the U.K., to the detriment of practices here.

In relation to migrants from other parts of Europe, there is some substance for believing they are more prone to make mistakes than indigenous Australians. On the other hand, most of these new arrivals settle in very well in our community, with a determination to stay and make good. In many cases they are motivated

by the fact that they can improve their lot in South Australia, whereas this is not always the case with British migrants who have perhaps come from similar urbanized backgrounds. A classic example of this is Whyalla, which tends not to keep United Kingdom migrants, whereas migrants from less well-endowed countries than the United Kingdom settle quite happily there. On the other hand, at Elizabeth, which is predominantly an English "colony", there is widespread disenchantment amongst the English migrants.

I reiterate that I consider the police attitude towards the United Kingdom migrants is merely a reflection of the overall community reaction. In the case of the migrants from other parts of Europe, I feel that the survey figure is not deserved by them and might result from an association with the general attitude towards British migrants.

The Inspector concerned made it clear to the authors that the opinions he expressed in this statement were purely personal and did not reflect any official stand taken by the Department in South Australia. He also pointed out that he was not personally biased against British migrants but had merely tried to give a factual account of the situation as he saw it. Whether in fact his views are a valid interpretation of the opinion expressed by such a high proportion of policemen in South Australia, that migrants as a group are against the police, is hard to say. However, it does give one possible explanation of the results which are somewhat surprising in view of the fact that the overall standard of police-public relations in South Australia is very high.

The public survey results both in Australia and New Zealand revealed that in terms of the general level of respect they held for the police no difference existed between Australian-born respondents and those born overseas. However, the small numbers of respondents born in other countries made it impossible to investigate the amount of respect felt for the police by people of any individual national group, and for this reason further research is needed to discover whether specific immigrant groups are particularly hostile towards the police. While a separate project recently begun by one of the authors suggests that the level of respect felt by Dutch and Italian immigrants for the police is lower than that of Australian-born citizens,<sup>5</sup> further work on immigrant attitudes is needed before any firm conclusions can be reached.

In all Australian forces, between 10 and 20 per cent of those surveyed thought that the upper classes were particularly resentful of them. In New Zealand, 8 per cent of police held this view. There are probably two reasons for this result. To begin with, those in the upper classes are more likely to have important and influential friends, and when they are guilty of breaches of the law the police may think it difficult to deal with them. Secondly, a policeman cautioning or "booking" someone whom he considers to be "upper class" is placed in a difficult situation and experiences a conflict of

roles. He is exercising his authority over someone who, under different circumstances, would almost certainly be his superior in terms of social power and position. Possibly it would be found, if comparative data were available, that approximately the same percentage of any occupational group of the same status as policemen would also feel that the upper classes were against them. New Zealand police, on the other hand, had a slightly higher proportion of informants who thought that the working classes resented them (see Table 21). This could indicate that the New Zealand police have a slightly different conception of their status in relation to other strata of society. Only a small percentage of men in any force said that they felt they were resented by the middle class.

Lawyers were thought to be a particularly hostile group by about 4 per cent of police surveyed in New Zealand and 10 per cent of those surveyed in Australia. This is probably due to the fact that, in court, counsel for the defence is often obliged to check the evidence given by police witnesses very closely. This, in many cases, would antagonize the officers involved and give them the impression that they were being unnecessarily persecuted. There is probably little doubt that some lawyers do enjoy badgering police witnesses on the stand, but at the same time, police testimony is usually very important to the case and evidence presented by the police should be accurate and able to withstand cross-examination. Also, police witnesses probably have more experience in court-room procedures than do most other witnesses and thus perhaps provide a challenge to lawyers.

In New Zealand, a small percentage of police (11 per cent) thought that Pacific Islanders were resentful of them, and 14 per cent of Queensland police thought the aborigines were against them. Again, as with the migrants in South Australia, this is probably a reflection of the opinions of the population as a whole towards aborigines and Pacific Islanders, rather than something peculiar to the police forces involved.

### *Summary and Conclusion*

The survey data provided evidence that certain sections of the community are considered by the public and the police to be, and in reality often are, more hostile to the police than other groups. Foremost among these groups were young people, discussed in detail in the preceding chapter. The present chapter has paid most attention to relations between the police and motorists, and between the police and the press, although reference has been made to criminals, immigrants, and certain ethnic, occupational, and social

groups. The list of various groups considered by the police as being against them would be much longer if all responses given by individual policemen were included here. The survey showed that many informants had, at some time, come in contact with hostile members of some organization or group and thus had come to feel that the groups as a whole were anti-police. Police, our study shows, are very sensitive to criticism of the body to which they belong, and at times probably interpret adverse criticism of some aspect of the force, or of the behaviour of some of its members, as an indication of hostility to the force as a whole.

Here however, an attempt has been made to isolate those groups considered by a reasonable percentage of the police force to be antagonistic, and to analyze the grounds for this attitude. Since motorists and the press constitute two of the main areas of conflict, these groups received the most detailed treatment. As far as motorists were concerned, their relationship with the police raised the interesting question of whether or not the police should handle traffic matters. It was possible to compare not only the attitudes of the Australian and New Zealand police but also of the public in both countries. It was found that there are quite sound grounds for adopting the New Zealand system of placing traffic matters in the hands of a body independent of the police — a plan which not only appears to improve police-public relations but also has the practical advantage of freeing the police from many duties which at present prevent Australian police from devoting a sufficient portion of their time to the more important problem of crime prevention and detection.

The press and other mass media also constitute a major problem in the eyes of many police officers. To investigate this problem further, a number of journalists representing all news media were interviewed and asked for their views on the situation as it is at present, and on possible ways of improving it. Again, it was found that the causes for hostility did not arise wholly from either party, and that increased co-operation on the part of both the police and the press would serve to reduce friction. This in turn would benefit police relations with the public, since the media are to a considerable extent responsible for the formation of public attitudes towards the police. At present, there are some news organizations whose members freely admitted persecuting police and conducting so-called "witch hunts", and it is obvious that attitudes such as this can do nothing but harm the public opinion of the police.

On the whole, the public and the police agreed on the groups that were particularly antagonistic to law enforcement officers, although immigrants from Europe and Britain were mentioned by a large

proportion of South Australian policemen but not by any substantial numbers of the Australian or New Zealand public.

In short, the evidence available indicates that alteration of the traffic enforcement system along lines already existing in New Zealand, together with increased attention by both the press and the police to their general relations, would considerably improve the general standard of respect which the people of Australasia feel for their police forces.

### *Notes to Chapter 6*

1. B. Whitaker, *The Police* (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1964).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Royal Commission on the Police. Final Report* (London: H.M.S.O., 1962), p. 120.
4. O.W. Wilson, *Police Administration* (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw Hill, 1963), p. 205.
5. P.R. Wilson, "Immigrant Political Attitudes", unpublished paper, University of Queensland, 1968.

# 7

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## *The Quantity and Quality of Police*

### *Present Strength of Police Forces*

In a society whose population is rapidly expanding and becoming ever more mobile, a society in which increasing prosperity appears to be matched by increasing crime, the need to strengthen the forces of the principal guardians of the law, the police, is constantly apparent. In Australia and New Zealand alike, governments and their political opponents, almost as a matter of course, include promises to recruit more police in their election manifestoes. At the same time, police urge politicians to promise less and to act more to relieve the intolerable pressures of work cast upon them.

On occasions political promises are fulfilled. In New South Wales, for example, in response to pledges made when it first came to office, the present government increased the strength of the police force by 1,000 men over a three-year period between 1965 and 1968. The present strength of the New South Wales force is about 7,000 men, making it by far the largest police force in Australasia. Comparative strengths of Australasian police forces as at 30 June 1966 are shown in Table 29.

Comparing the ratio of police to population in the same table, it can be seen that there are considerable disparities between the various regions. The most favourable ratio is to be found in the Northern Territory (1:237), and the least favourable in Victoria (1:710).

In a questionnaire dealing with the organization and structure of Australasian police forces, distributed to all police commissioners and police associations, respondents were asked for opinions about the ideal ratio of police to population in the area policed by each force. The responses to this particular query indicated, as the authors had anticipated, that the question could not be readily answered. Police commissioners were in general reluctant to commit themselves

**TABLE 29**  
**Strength of Police Forces†**

	STRENGTH	POPULATION TO EACH OFFICER	NUMBER OF POLICE- WOMEN††	ANCILLARY AND CIVILIAN STAFF, FULL AND PART TIME*
N.S.W.	6,517	649	70	670
VIC.	4,529	710	61	612
QLD.	2,975	558	15	263
S.A.	1,994	547	46	82
W.A.	1,319	633	19	161
TAS.	619	600	11	72
N.T.	157	237	8	11
A.C.T.	186	516	4	22
AUST.	18,296	631	234	1,893
N.Z.	2,723**	1,000	—	—
PAPUA/N.G.	3,031	660***	—	—

†Based on information obtained from individual police forces and from the *Commonwealth Year Book*, 1967.

††Included in strength

\*Not included in strength

\*\*Strength as at 31 March 1967.

\*\*\*Estimate only.

on this particular question. In Victoria, for example, the Commissioner said that “consideration had never been given to the establishment of such a ratio”, while the Western Australian Commissioner said that the “ratio must vary as between urban and rural areas, but an average over the whole state of 630 — 600 people to one policeman would be reasonable”. In South Australia, the Commissioner expressed the opinion that a suitable ratio would be one policeman to 550 people.

The lack of agreement among commissioners is not shared by police associations who have discussed this question at some length. The following extract is from a reply to the questionnaire, received from the secretary of the police association of South Australia.

There is a common policy laid down by police associations in all states in respect to a ratio of police to population that should be adhered to. The policy is one police officer to 530 persons in country areas and one to 400 in metropolitan areas. These figures were arrived at after discussion took place in conference between representatives of all police associations throughout Australia.

We do not claim this to be an ideal ratio, for we are well aware that it is difficult to say that this ratio would meet the requirements of every state. They are the nearest figures we could arrive at to meet most situations.



To explain some of the difficulties arising out of a generalization of this nature, I would point out the difference between the geography of Victoria and South Australia. It is not difficult to see that South Australia with its sparsely populated areas in the northern part of the state would in many instances have a ratio of less than one policeman to 530 persons.

This situation cannot be avoided because it is necessary to have a police officer available to the community even though it is a small community.

Victoria on the other hand does not have quite the same situation on the same scale.

In some urban areas at the present time we would have as many as 800 people to one policeman, and this of course is a very poor situation.

In South Australia at the present time we have a ratio of one police officer to 637 persons and this is in the opinion of our association far too high.

Clearly it is meaningless to establish ideal police-population ratios for Australian and New Zealand forces unless these ratios are based upon a detailed analysis of the needs of each force. Forces who are required to police a population largely resident in cities such as Sydney and Melbourne may well need a greater overall strength than forces operating in areas where the population is sparsely distributed, as is the case in Western Australia. Urban crime rates are generally far higher than rural crime rates, and the task of detecting and preventing offences in urban areas necessitates the use of considerable manpower. The Australian police role of enforcing traffic laws and regulations also means that the ratio of police to population must be higher in that country than it is in New Zealand, where police strength at present is governed by an official formula of one policeman to each 950 of population.

Whatever the ideal ratios of police to population may be, all the evidence from the survey suggests that police forces throughout Australia and New Zealand are currently suffering from a lack of manpower. The authors believe that, unless urgent consideration is given to the problem of recruiting more police, the present state of affairs, in which police are just holding ground against the mounting tide of crime, will rapidly deteriorate. While accurate and reliable statistics of crime are not yet available in Australia and New Zealand, such objective information as does exist points to a continuing increase in the incidence of crime in both communities in recent years.<sup>1</sup> Such factors as the expansion and growth of cities, the disproportionate increase in the population group under the age of 21, and the ever increasing mobility of the population as a whole all contribute to a rise in crime in the community. These and other crime-producing factors will become more and more dominant as we progress through the last half of this century. In addition, in both countries, the tensions and pressures produced by increased population will in themselves create new problems in the maintenance of law and order.

If Australasian police forces are to meet effectively the demands, both present and future, made upon them by society, they undoubtedly require more men. But more men will not by themselves solve all police problems. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice said on the subject of manpower needs of United States police forces,

... the police personnel need that the Commission has found to be almost universal is improved *quality* ... The Commission believes that substantially raising the quality of police personnel would inject into police work knowledge, expertise, initiative, and integrity that would contribute importantly to improved crime control.<sup>2</sup>

The Commission's words are particularly apposite to Australia and New Zealand. While, in general, present members of Australasian police forces carry out their difficult duties efficiently and effectively, there is no doubt that the overall quality of police personnel is not as high as it could or should be. Existing recruiting, training, and promotion policies within Australasian police forces are such that people with more than a minimal level of education are likely to be deterred from embarking upon a police career. Certainly people with a tertiary education will discover few, if any, incentives to join the police, while those with a matriculation or leaving certificate will almost certainly seek more attractive prospects than those offered by a career in the police force. Yet

a policeman today is poorly equipped for his job if he does not understand the legal issues involved in his everyday work, the motive of the social problems he constantly encounters, the psychology of those people whose attitudes toward the law differ from his. Such understanding is not easy to acquire without the kind of broad general knowledge that higher education imparts, and without such understanding a policeman's response to many of the situations he meets is likely to be impulsive or doctrinaire.<sup>3</sup>

In the balance of this chapter the present recruiting, training, and promotion policies of Australasian police forces will be critically examined, and a number of recommendations made for reform. All the recommendations are aimed at raising the quality of police personnel, and contributing to an improved system of crime control.

### *Recruitment Standards*

Candidates for entry to Australian and New Zealand police forces must meet a number of requirements, most of which do not vary to any great extent from force to force.

(i) *Physical requirements*

Considerable emphasis is placed by all forces upon physical standards. Candidates must comply with detailed specifications relating to such factors as height, weight, vision, and chest expansion. In New South Wales, for instance, recruiting literature states that candidates for adult entry to the force (those over 19 and under 30 years of age) must be:

Minimum height:	5 feet 9 inches (bare feet)
Minimum weight (naked):	Mounted police – 11 stone Foot police – 11 stone 7 pounds
Chest measurement: (expanded on bare skin)	Mounted police – Minimum of 39 inches Foot police – Minimum of 39½ inches (to be in proportion to height and weight).

It would appear that other police forces in Australia and New Zealand do not require such heavy policemen as does New South Wales, the “minimum weight (naked)” being in most forces about 10½ stone. But the general effect of the physical standards for entry to all forces is that anyone who is not at least 5 feet 9 inches in height (5 feet 8 inches in New Zealand), who does not weigh at least 10½ stone, who does not have 6/6 vision in each eye, who does not have a chest expansion of at least 35 inches, and who is not in all other ways physically fit, cannot become a policeman. Since a substantial percentage of the population do not meet the height requirement, let alone the other standards mentioned, it is clear that the present physical specifications for becoming a policeman automatically exclude many people from the police force.

External critics of police have long questioned the need to retain rigorous height standards. These critics have stressed that a man’s height is not in any way related to his intelligence, and that people of considerable ability are prevented from joining the police simply because they are an inch or two short. Within police forces, these criticisms have usually been ignored, or dismissed as the fulminations of fools. In most cases, police associations with whom we discussed the height question were bitterly opposed to any reduction. Their opposition was usually based on the view that a policeman of good physique and height had a psychological advantage in his dealings with the public. It was, said for example, that a smaller man was at a disadvantage if he had to handle people in a crowd, and also in dealing with difficult or ugly situations.

The only police association which did not oppose a reduction in the height requirements was the Victorian body, which is at present campaigning to have the minimum height reduced from 5 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 8 inches. This campaign is based, in part, upon the

need to attract more recruits to the force. It would appear that currently some 5 per cent of applicants to join the Victorian force are turned away because they do not meet the physical standards of height. The number who simply do not apply for membership of the force because they realize they are below the minimum height requirement is probably considerable.

The authors believe that the present height requirements, and also other physical standards required of police recruits, are unduly restrictive. While a policeman, in order to carry out his duties effectively, must be physically fit, it is surely not necessary that he should be a Hercules. It is suggested that a more flexible approach should be adopted in relation to physical standards. A more flexible approach would take into account each disability a candidate for entry to the force possessed, and would determine whether or not it would impinge upon the effective execution of his work as a police officer. Such an approach is now being adopted by overseas police forces, and particularly by those in the United States and the United Kingdom. In the latter country, height standards have in some forces been lowered still further, to 5 feet 7 inches. Nor is there such strict insistence, as there is in Australia and New Zealand, upon perfect sight. It has been pointed out that other occupations, in which excellent vision is of equal necessity, have less stringent standards than obtain in Australasian police forces.

For example, the Federal aviation agency will licence commercial pilots whose vision is 20/100 as long as the vision is correctable to 20/20. Professional athletes, who participate in body contact sport such as basketball or football, often wear corrective contact lenses, and this does not adversely affect their ability to perform.<sup>4</sup>

Australian and New Zealand police forces would be well advised to take account of these overseas developments and relax their physical requirements to realistic levels. By so doing, they would be able to attract recruits from a much broader segment of the community, thereby alleviating many of the difficulties which currently confront most police forces in getting sufficient recruits with suitable qualifications.

#### (ii) *Educational standards*

The educational standards required of adult recruits for entry to police forces in Australia and New Zealand are not high. No formal educational qualification is required by any force, and normally the minimum standard is that of one or two years' secondary schooling. Most forces also insist that a candidate sit for a special entrance examination. However, this examination tends to

be no more than an elementary test of reading, writing, and mathematical abilities. Thus in New South Wales, which appears to have the lowest educational requirements of any Australasian police force, candidates have only to pass a "dictation test equal to the standard of a leading newspaper article", and an "elementary arithmetic test up to simple proportion". Just what constitutes a "leading newspaper article" is not made clear in the New South Wales recruiting literature. Whether the standard set is that of a morning or afternoon paper remains a matter for conjecture!

The educational standards set for candidates desiring to enter the Victorian police force are probably more typical of those applying in Australasian forces. In Victoria, candidates must not only pass tests in reading, spelling, dictation, elementary arithmetic, English, and general knowledge, but must also have successfully completed two years' secondary schooling. The actual requirements in the educational field specified by the forces surveyed are mentioned in more detail shortly.

In addition to passing some entrance examinations, candidates for entry to several Australasian forces must also sit for an intelligence test. For instance, in Western Australia candidates must complete an Otis Higher Test Form C. Upon completion, this form is forwarded to the Western Australian Education Department's Counselling Service for assessment. The Commissioner of Police in Western Australia informed us that it was

the usual practice for a person who is recorded as below average to be not accepted as a member of the police force, but occasionally recruits of this standard are accepted if it is felt that the applicant has the ability, with training, to raise the standard of his education.

In a society in which aptitude and intelligence tests are now widely accepted and used as routine indicators of ability, it is both surprising and disturbing that these tests are not used by all Australasian police forces in selecting their recruits. Because the educational standards required of police candidates are so low, they cannot be expected to provide an effective screening test of ability. It is therefore suggested as a matter of urgency that all Australasian forces should insist that candidates sit for an intelligence test at the very least. Where the cut-off point for candidates who take such a test should be is perhaps a matter for further discussion. But in the authors' view, to ensure that police are able to deal successfully with their multifarious and increasingly complex duties, candidates of below average intelligence should be rejected as a matter of course. Yet it is believed that at present several Australasian forces, including the Commonwealth Police Force, accept recruits with intelligence quotients as low as 80!

It seems obvious that if the overall quality of Australasian police forces is to be improved, fundamental changes are required in current police educational standards. With a few notable exceptions, contemporary members of police forces in both Australia and New Zealand have had at the best only a few years of secondary schooling, and at the worst have not completed their primary schooling. The highest level of education achieved by respondents in the four forces surveyed is shown in Table 30. It will be seen that a not unsubstantial proportion of respondents in all forces had only a primary education of some description. Indeed, in Queensland, this proportion amounted to no less than 45 per cent of respondents.

**TABLE 30**  
**Highest Educational Level Attained by Respondents**

LEVEL	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.
University (need not have degree)	1	2	0	2
Higher Leaving (post-matriculation)	—	—	—	6
Matriculation	6	3	3	6
Completed secondary (Leaving)	—	18	14	—
Intermediate (2 or 3 years' secondary)	28	31	54	24
Some secondary (no public exams)	17	22	13	31
Completed primary	24)	)	)	
	)	)	)	
Some primary (not completed)	21)	16)	15)	27
Other	1	5	1	2
No answer	2	3	0	2
Total percentage	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	376

Among those members of each force who had advanced beyond primary school, the great majority had left before completing their Leaving Certificate (after four years of secondary school). It will be seen, however, that in South Australia, a larger proportion had obtained their Intermediate Certificate (54 per cent) than was the case in other forces. Also, with the exception of Tasmania, South Australia was ahead of all other states in the number of police who had progressed beyond Intermediate level and completed four years of secondary schooling for their Leaving Certificate. A few stalwarts in all four forces had gone even further and matriculated. In this respect, the New Zealand force had the largest proportion of members with matriculation or post-matriculation qualifications.

The need to insist upon some more stringent minimum educational qualifications for entry to Australasian police forces would seem to be recognized by the police themselves. In the survey of the four forces, respondents were asked the following question:

In your opinion, which one of the following educational qualifications should be the minimum qualification required for persons joining the police force in this state (country) ?

The answers obtained from respondents in each force to this particular question are shown in Table 31. However, a list of the minimum educational requirements currently prevailing in each of the four forces surveyed should precede comment on these results. The requirements are as follows:

- Queensland* — candidates must pass an entrance examination the equivalent of second-year secondary school.
- Tasmania* — candidates must pass an entrance examination set at the level of first-year secondary school.
- South Australia* — candidates must have a good secondary education. This means in substance that they must have reached their Intermediate level.
- New Zealand* — candidates must pass an entrance examination set at about the standard of second-year secondary schooling.

TABLE 31

**Qualifications for Entry into the Force**

Q. In your opinion, which one of the following educational qualifications should be the minimum qualification required for persons joining the police force in this state (country) ?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOTAL	N.Z. TOTAL
University degree or diploma	0	0	0	0	0
Matriculation or Higher Leaving	6	25	14	11	6
Intermediate, Junior (3 years of secondary schooling)	53	23	78	57	53
Some secondary education	30	5	2	17	17
Primary school	7	5	4	6	13
Police entrance examinations	3	42	2	8	8
Other	0	0	0	0	3
No answer	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	1	0	0	1	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376

It is apparent from Table 31 that the most commonly accepted minimum level for entry to the force is that of the Intermediate Certificate, or the completion of three years' secondary schooling. As mentioned above, this is already the minimum standard set in

South Australia, and it would appear that the great majority of members of that force are satisfied with that standard. In the other forces, members obviously wish to raise the level of the educational qualifications required for entry into the force. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents felt that a university degree or diploma should be set as the minimum standard, although some were prepared to require matriculation or a Leaving Certificate as the minimum qualification. It was noticeable that in Tasmania the proportion favouring this as the minimum qualification was substantially higher than in other states and New Zealand.

Having regard to the general standard of education of the Australian and New Zealand communities at large, and to the contemporary role of police, the authors believe that the ultimate aim of all police forces should be to insist upon matriculation as the minimum educational qualification for all members of the force. Clearly it would take many years to achieve this ideal, but in a society which is demanding ever higher standards of education, and in which the school leaving age is rising to 15 or 16 years, it would not seem to be an ideal which is incapable of achievement. In fact, one police force, that of South Australia, is already moving towards this particular educational level through the medium of its Cadet Training Scheme, a scheme which is considered in some detail below. But first, brief mention must be made of certain additional requirements to be met by potential recruits to Australasian police forces.

### (iii) *Character*

All forces require candidates to be natural-born or naturalized British subjects of excellent character. Methods used to assess character are not specified in the recruiting literature, but it would appear that in general reliance is placed upon references supplied by persons who know applicants, and upon personal interviews with candidates by selection boards.

### *Cadet Training Schemes*

So far our discussion has related only to the entrance requirements for adult recruits to Australasian police forces. In general, an adult entry can be made by a candidate who has reached the age of 19 years and who is not over the age of 30 years. There are, however, certain variations between forces in this regard. In Victoria, for example, the minimum age for applicants for adult entry is 18½ and the maximum age is 35, while in Western Australia applications will



be received from male persons between the ages of 20½ and 30 years.

In addition to their adult entry, most Australasian forces also have provision for the recruitment of cadets.<sup>5</sup> Recruiting requirements relating to cadets, so far as age and physical standards are concerned, do not vary greatly between forces — cadet entrants must usually be between the ages of 15 and 18 and must comply with certain physical standards which at a later age will bring them within the adult entry requirements of the particular force. However, there are considerable differences between the cadet schemes in the various forces in relation to the educational standard which cadets must attain before they will be accepted into the force. In the case of New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania, the educational requirements are the same as those for adult entry. But in Victoria, and to a certain degree in South Australia, a higher level of education is insisted upon than is the case with adult entrants. In Victoria, the cadet must have qualified in at least four subjects, including English expression, at fourth-year secondary school level. In South Australia, the cadet must have obtained an Intermediate Certificate and must also pass various pre-entry tests.

There is little doubt that the quality of the cadet schemes within Australasian police forces varies enormously. Those forces which do not insist upon high educational qualifications for cadet entrants in general seem to have no specialized training course for cadets. In Queensland, for instance, cadet training appears to be haphazard, covering the usual police subjects but without any attempt to further the cadets' academic educational qualifications. Members of the police association in that state claimed that cadets did not have an adequate practical training, not going out on patrol with police nor accompanying detectives investigating crimes. It was also claimed that on many occasions they did little more than "act as cabin boys for senior officers". They appeared to be cast in a role as low-cost servants who were required to do a heavy load of clerical work without really receiving the form of training which would make them efficient and effective police officers.

While the situation may not be as bad in the other states mentioned, their cadet training schemes are not nearly as highly developed as are those of Victoria and South Australia. From their own personal observations, the authors believe the South Australian Cadet Scheme to be an extremely good one, and one which might well be adopted by all Australasian forces. To provide some indication of the nature of the scheme we outline in some detail, from material supplied by the South Australian police force, the nature of the phases through which cadets pass before they ultimately become fully fledged police officers.

The South Australian Cadet Scheme was inaugurated as long ago as 1932. In that year South Australia, like other states, was suffering from the effects of an industrial depression, and young men who were leaving school found suitable employment hard to obtain. The Commissioner of Police at the time decided to take advantage of this situation by inducting into the police force a small number of youths with sound educational qualifications. This was a new venture in police recruitment in the state, as prior to this only adults were enlisted.

The young men recruited in this way were employed in various offices at police headquarters, and their work was found to be so satisfactory that the scheme was enlarged in 1934. A training depot was established, and several times a year groups of twenty to thirty youths with an average age of about 18 years commenced a course involving the study of law and police practice, as well as various forms of physical education. Trainees were not vested with police authority until they graduated at the age of 21 years. Since that time, the age of graduation has been reduced to 20 years. Up until 1962, cadets were inducted into courses which varied in length from 27 to 39 weeks. Having completed the course, cadets were attached to various sections of the police force, where they observed the performance of general police duties. Six months before reaching graduation age they returned to the training school to join adult recruit courses for final training.

In a major policy change instituted in 1962, the present Commissioner of Police in South Australia, Brigadier J.G. McKinna, decided to rely primarily on cadet recruitment to maintain the strength of the force. A three-year course for police cadets was inaugurated. The aim of the course was to provide each cadet with:

1. A sound basic knowledge of law and police practice;
2. An appreciation of, and an intention to personally apply, the moral and ethical standards required of a good citizen;
3. The broad general knowledge of conditions in an ever changing world, in order that, by being knowledgeable, intensely alert, and adaptable, he may adequately discharge the duties and responsibilities which are attached to the role of the modern police officer.<sup>6</sup>

Recruitment to the cadet course since 1962 has been principally from young men leaving school at between the ages of 16 and 17 years. Some latitude has been extended to youths over the age of 17 years if they have a sound academic and personal record. At the age of recruitment, each youth has had at least three years of secondary education.

The recruiting process involves a thorough screening of the applicant, his family, and associates by checking all departmental

records. His school record is also checked, and he is given a preliminary education or intelligence test. This test serves the purpose of eliminating those applicants who are considered unsuitable for presentation to a recruit selection panel. Applicants who survive this procedure are then called before the panel for further testing in intelligence and for personal interviews and medical examinations. In addition to this, the names of all applicants are printed in the police gazette in order that any police officer who has knowledge which may affect enlistment can report on a potential recruit before final acceptance.

Once applicants have passed all tests and have been accepted for appointment as cadets, they join a reserve pool at the academy where they reside. They receive weekend and one night's leave per week, and in addition to preliminary training in general and physical education they assist with the administration of the establishment.

From the reserve pool at the academy, four courses, each of an approximate strength of 24 cadets, are formed in a year — one course each thirteen weeks entering what is termed phase 1 of the training scheme.

Phase 1 is in fact an academic phase and is regarded as an orientation or settling-in period for cadets. It is aimed at preparing them mentally, physically, and morally for later phases. It continues for a period of 39 weeks of full-time residence at the police academy. The curriculum includes general education, studies of the history of police forces and of police procedures in general, instruction in basic law, and considerable emphasis on physical education. In addition to formal lectures and discussion groups, visits are also paid to various departmental and government facilities to supplement classroom instruction, and also to business organizations which may have an educational and broadening influence on cadets. Visiting experts are also brought in to lecture on a variety of subjects.

Phase 2 is again a 39-week phase. During this period cadets, where possible, return to their homes, it being felt that the change of environment and the return to parental control is an important aspect of the cadets' development. At the same time, each cadet is posted to sections of the police department and is rotated through as many as possible, giving him the opportunity to observe the function and operation of each in turn. During this period also, opportunities are presented for cadets to engage in activities which take them out among the public.

At the conclusion of phase 2, the cadets return to reside at the Police Academy for a further 39 weeks. By this time they have had the opportunity to observe in person many aspects of police work. They are also older and better equipped for a deeper study of various

aspects of law and police procedure. Apart from their academic subjects, during this third phase cadets spend a period out in the field in rugged country testing emergency operation procedures. They also learn the methods of handling fire-arms.

The fourth phase consists of a 26-week non-residential period and is essentially a practical phase. By now cadets have reached the age of about 19 years and have undergone a period of more than two years' controlled training. This training should have provided them with detailed knowledge of the organization and operation of the force and a broad theoretical or academic background. During phase 4 cadets spend a period of 9 weeks at a selected country police station and then return to postings at selected suburban stations in the Adelaide metropolitan area.

In the final phase, phase 5, cadets again return to the Police Academy for a 13-week period. The object of this final period is to consolidate the features of law and police practice which have been covered in the earlier phases and to introduce new material which will allow cadets to commence their adult service with efficiency and confidence. At the age of 20 years they are finally ready for appointment to active duty in the South Australian police force. They become probationary constables and, after a satisfactory service as such for 35 weeks, they are eligible for permanent appointment as constables.

It is interesting to note that the overall wastage from the three-year cadet course is on the average about 24 per cent. Of this figure, approximately 85 per cent of the separations are induced by the directing staff at the Academy. The remaining 15 per cent of separations result from voluntary resignations on the part of cadets.

From their own observations of the South Australian police force, and from the survey results, the authors have no doubt that the cadet scheme operating in that state is one of the principal contributors to the excellent image which the South Australian police force has in the eyes of the public. Considerable emphasis is placed in the cadet training scheme upon the need for good public relations, and lectures are also given in various aspects of psychology and sociology which enable cadets to have a broad understanding of human behaviour.

### *Police Attitudes to Recruiting Policies*

It was mentioned above that in South Australia almost the entire recruitment is now at the cadet level. The influence of this recruiting policy can be seen in Table 32, which sets out the results of an

examination of the attitudes to recruiting policies of members of the various forces surveyed.

TABLE 32

Attitudes to Recruitment Policies

Q. In your opinion, should recruitment to the police force in this state be through:

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOTAL	N.Z. TOTAL
Adult entry only?	25	29	10	21	24
25 per cent or less cadet entry?	36	40	8	27	37
50 per cent or less cadet entry?	30	14	32	28	30
75 per cent or less cadet entry?	2	3	23	9	5
Over 75 per cent cadet entry?	2	5	6	4	1
Cadet entry only?	2	7	20	9	1
Don't know	2	2	0	1	0
No answer	1	0	1	1	2
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376

It will be seen from Table 32 that a much smaller proportion of the South Australian police in the survey favoured recruitment at the adult entry level only. Furthermore, a substantial majority of police in that state were in favour of 50 per cent or more of the entry being at the cadet level. Twenty per cent of the members of the force were in fact prepared to have entirely cadet entry — the present policy in substance. In other forces the cadet system is not nearly as firmly established as it is in South Australia, and this fact is portrayed in the table. Most police in Queensland, Tasmania, and New Zealand seem to favour about a 25 per cent cadet entry, with the remainder made up of adult recruits. The survey did reveal opposition among these forces to the cadet system, this opposition being based principally upon the view that young people were much more likely to be tactless with the public than were older people. This criticism might be justified if the training given cadets did not assist them to meet the public in a manner which created for them a favourable image. In South Australia this type of training is certainly provided, and during the survey no complaints were forthcoming from older policemen about the quality of cadets who were emerging from the South Australian Police Academy. In those states which do not provide such schemes it is quite likely that the boredom and frustration of the work performed by young recruits could lead them into situations in which they might provoke criticism in their handling of the public.

A more substantial criticism which was made by one or two senior police officers, and which the authors themselves feel requires consideration, is that cadets are less likely to have the broad experience of life which may be regarded as a requisite for producing an effective and efficient policeman. To be thrust from school immediately into the disciplined environment of a police life is an experience which, unless the matter is carefully handled, is likely to produce in a cadet a somewhat distorted image of the world at large. But again, the instructional staff at the South Australian Police Academy are well aware of the dangers of producing a narrow doctrinaire policeman. They therefore attempt wherever possible to second cadets to private industry during a portion of phase 1 of their training, and also to maintain the cadet's contact with his parents and former friends. In this way they do not become entirely divorced from the community at large and participate in most of the broader experiences enjoyed by their peers outside the force.

### *Adult Recruit Training*

Anyone doubting the value of the system of cadet entry as it applies in South Australia needs only to compare this system with the training scheme for adult entrants to the force in other states to realize the merits of the Cadet Scheme.

Training programmes for adult recruits tend to vary somewhat between forces, according to such factors as the length of the course, and the breadth of the subject matter dealt with in it. In Queensland, for example, an adult recruit undergoes a residential probationary training course of from three to four months' duration before being sworn in as a constable. Tuition is given in various aspects of police work including law, civil defence, first aid, lifesaving, foot and rifle drill, judo, and pistol shooting. Tests are also conducted to determine trainees' confidence with respect to car driving, motor cycle driving, boat handling, and horsemanship.

The Victorian course for adult recruits appears to the authors to be the most comprehensive of those of which they have knowledge in Australasian police forces. It is of some twenty weeks' duration and during this time trainees are required to sit for two examinations based on subjects in which they have been instructed. Considerable emphasis is placed in the course syllabus upon broad educational subjects and also upon legal subjects, typing, finger printing, administrative practices within the force, drill, physical training, and pistol shooting. Upon completion of the course the new recruits are placed on probation for one year. Prior to the completion of the probationary

period, they return to the police barracks for six weeks' additional training on police subjects. They must then pass a further examination before being appointed as full constables in the Victorian police force.

In New Zealand, the adult recruit has an initial thirteen-week training course which is in many respects similar to the Victorian training scheme. There follows another twenty-one months' in-service training during which the recruit carries out a variety of police duties under supervision at one of the larger towns in New Zealand. He subsequently returns for a residential in-service training course and must then pass a final examination before he is appointed on a permanent basis to the New Zealand force.

There is little doubt that the general quality of the training given to police recruits affects substantially the public image of any force, and determines to a large degree the overall efficiency of the force. For this reason, it is most important that the initial training scheme for both adult and cadet recruits should be as thorough and comprehensive as possible. In the authors' opinion, the absolute minimum period for intensive course training of an adult recruit should be twenty weeks. At present, a number of Australian forces have courses which do not meet this minimum requirement, and the quality of their recruit training programmes is not as high as it should be. Therefore it would seem to be desirable for a uniform training scheme to be devised for policemen throughout Australasia. Such a scheme would contribute to an overall improvement in the standard of police work.

### *Non-Executive In-Service Training*

Just as there are considerable variations in the quantity and also in the quality of initial recruit training schemes in Australasian forces, so there are wide disparities in the quality and quantity of in-service training courses provided by the same forces.

With a few limited exceptions, to obtain promotion beyond the initial rank of constable in all Australasian forces, it is necessary to pass certain qualifying examinations. For instance, in Victoria written examinations are held in theoretical law for constables who wish to be promoted to the rank of first-class constable. To sit for this examination, the applicant must have completed two years' service but, if successful, he is not eligible for promotion until he has completed five years' service. A constable who has not passed this examination may, after ten years' service, be promoted to first-class constable if the Commissioner of Police is of the opinion that

his conduct and efficiency warrant such promotion. However, a further examination must be passed before an applicant can be promoted to the rank of senior constable. A similar examination in the duties of a sergeant must be passed by a senior constable before becoming eligible for promotion to that higher rank. To assist members of the force to prepare themselves for the promotional examinations to non-commissioned rank, the Victorian force conducts free courses of instruction each year. Evening courses are provided, and those who are unable to attend may obtain assistance through a correspondence course.

In addition to the Victorian police educational scheme to assist members to pass promotional examinations, the force also runs a ten-week course for all members who are about to be promoted to the rank of senior constable. This course is designed primarily to develop the capacity for efficient leadership in this particular rank. The Victorian police force has also established a number of further specialist training courses — a twelve-week detective training course is provided, and also a five-week motor driving course, a two-week vehicle safety testing course, and a two-week traffic control course.

The Victorian non-executive training schemes have been dealt with at some length because in the authors' opinion they are the most extensive and highly developed of all such courses in Australian police forces. One of the substantial complaints made by police in the forces surveyed was that they were often given insufficient help in the preparation for promotional examinations. They were required to study in off-duty hours and they had no guidance, in general, to the way in which they should approach the examinations. Although the New South Wales force was not surveyed, from interviews with individual members of the force it was found that this was a major complaint amongst the rank and file in that state also. New South Wales appears to have lagged behind all other forces in instituting in-service training schemes for its police. This deficiency is now being slowly remedied, but the present members of the force have obviously suffered because of the lack of such courses in the past.

In New Zealand, the in-service training for non-executive personnel is very highly developed. Considerable emphasis is placed upon the need to keep members of the force up to date in the latest techniques of crime control and prevention, and also to ensure that they are well versed in legal and general educational subjects. To this end, an exhaustive syllabus has been established by the police training section of the New Zealand police force which ensures that policemen are well prepared for the various promotional examinations they must take at various states of their career.

Those forces who have as yet failed to provide adequate in-service



training and education for their members, and at present they are probably the majority of Australasian police forces, could profitably consider the words of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. As the Commission emphasized, training needs to continue throughout a policeman's career. Law and procedures change. Policies are redefined. Techniques are improved. These developments must be brought to policemen at all levels of responsibility . . . Every general enforcement officer should have at least one week of intensive in-service training a year. Every officer should be given incentives to continue his general education or acquire special skills outside his department.<sup>7</sup>

To bring such officers to a central point for training means that they must disrupt their normal duties, and usually another officer must stand in for them during their absence. However, the authors believe that the value of training far outweighs any inconvenience which may be caused by these particular factors, and they thoroughly endorse the view of the President's Crime Commission that in-service training should be provided for all enforcement officers for at least one week of each year, and preferably for a longer period.

### *Executive In-Service Training*

If in-service training is essential for the lower echelons of the police force, it is even more important for those members of the force who are to be promoted to the commissioned ranks. Recognition of the need to provide executive training for officers of Australasian police forces has been rather slow to develop. Only since 1962, with the establishment by the Commonwealth Police of the Australian Police College, has there been a central training scheme for executives of Australasian police forces. A six-months residential course is now provided by the Australian Police College for Australian and New Zealand police force officers, and also for selected officers of various South-East Asian police forces. The syllabus for the course is an extensive one, involving an in-depth consideration of police administration and procedure, together with a survey of various subjects such as criminology, psychology, psychiatry, and sociology. Members of these courses are exposed not only to internal police lecturers but also to external lecturers from a wide range of institutions. They are required to prepare a substantial thesis during the course and this is a major factor in assessing the potential capabilities of the particular course member.

One of the authors has had the advantage of participating in an executive course and observing the general quality of the work performed by members. In general, the scope and breadth of the material

dealt with in the executive course are impressive, but there is reason to doubt the wisdom of the policies of individual forces with regard to the personnel they send to the College for instruction. As has been stressed earlier, and will be stressed again, promotion in Australasian police forces is largely determined on the basis of seniority. The result is that those who attend the executive course are in the main officers of some thirty years' or more service within the police force. They are men approaching the end of their police careers, men whose views and ideas about police work in particular, and life in general, are firmly fixed. In many cases, exposure to the executive course is the first confrontation they have had with any form of academic work since their initial recruit training period some thirty years or so earlier. For many, this exposure produces considerable tensions and conflicts. It is difficult enough for anyone to adjust to academic studies after only a short period away from them, and it must be even more difficult for police officers who have been engaged in practical work for so many years. While most manage largely to overcome these disadvantages by the end of the six-months course, there is still serious doubt whether the full advantage of the instructional courses can be obtained by these older men.

If the recommendation were adopted that in-service training should be a regular part of every policeman's life, most of the objections raised by the authors to the executive course would be removed. But they also believe that far younger members of police forces should be sent to the Police College for exposure to what can be, and should be, a challenging intellectual exercise. They recognize that, if younger men are to be sent, there will have to be a dramatic change in the promotional policies of Australasian police forces. Certain suggestions will be made as to these promotion policies, but the discussion of them will be postponed until later in the chapter.

It should be mentioned that in addition to the executive course at the Australian Police College, the Victorian police also conduct a six-months course for their officers who are about to be promoted to the rank of inspector. Because the course is similar in many ways to that of the Australian Police College, the Victorian police do not attend the Commonwealth college.

The resources, both human and economic, available within Australasian police forces for the training of police of all ranks are so restricted that it appears wasteful to provide two similar executive courses for the relatively small number of police promoted each year to executive rank. While they appreciate the desire of the Victorian police to ensure that their officers receive training appropriate to the particular needs of their force, the authors believe that these needs can be met quite adequately by the Australian Police College

executive course. Nor are the merits of a single Australasian course for executives solely those of conserving valuable human and economic resources. Such a course assists in breaking down the insularity which is so easily bred within police forces. A residential course, whose members come not only from Australasian police forces but also from the forces of our South-East Asian neighbours, provides a unique opportunity to exchange ideas and views about police problems. Local problems are found to be common problems, while the exposure of course members' ideas and views to critical comment may result in the modification of rigid beliefs.

### *University Training for Police*

Reference was made above to police insularity. As is often the case with authoritarian and disciplined bodies, the police tend to shelter from external criticism and influences behind a structured barrier of formal regulations and attitudes. Their attitudes towards their job are often moulded at an early stage in their training, and by the time they have served a number of years in the force the ability to question the correctness or otherwise of police practices and procedures is often stifled by conformity. By the time they eventually reach executive rank, their willingness to question and to adapt to new ideas is likely to be minimal.

In contemporary society, both at government and non-government levels, the training of those who are designed ultimately to occupy a professional executive post usually commences at university. Here it is sought to develop the critical faculties of students as well as provide them with formal qualifications for their future profession. It is now accepted almost as a matter of course that a university degree is a prerequisite for a professional career of any note. If a career in the police force is to be regarded as a profession, and there seems to be no reason why it should not be, it seems essential that certain police should also have the opportunity to obtain university training and qualifications.

It is not suggested that a university degree should be a prerequisite for membership of the police force, nor that a degree is an automatic indicator of ability to be a policeman. What is suggested is that without university training the quality of our police executives in particular will continue to be suspect. In chapter 6 Orlando Wilson's views on the benefits of a university training for police are cited, and earlier in this chapter a passage is quoted from the President's Commission, in which the members of the Commission speak of the need for university graduates in the police force. Indeed, the President's Commission recommended that the ultimate aim of all

police departments should be that all personnel with general enforcement powers should have baccalaureate degrees.<sup>8</sup> Immediately, the Commission recommended, all departments should establish a minimum requirement of a baccalaureate degree for all supervisory and executive positions. The commission said that "the long range objective for high ranking officers should be advanced degrees in Law, Sociology, Criminology, Police or Public Administration, Business Management, or some other appropriate speciality".<sup>9</sup>

In Australia and New Zealand the authors believe it should also be a minimum requirement for appointment to an executive rank within the police force that a candidate have a university qualification. At present, only a handful of senior policemen have such qualifications, and no force insists upon a university degree or diploma as a prerequisite to an executive appointment. In this respect, police forces must be almost unique among government agencies, for most now employ only graduates in the higher echelons. Certainly it would be difficult to find a government or non-government agency employing between 1,000 and 7,000 men, the personnel range of the majority of our police forces, without a university graduate at its head. Yet in Australia and New Zealand, only two police commissioners have degree qualifications, and one of these commissioners was appointed from outside the police force.

It is rare for a person outside the force to be appointed to an executive position within the Australasian police forces. When such an event has occurred in the past, it has usually resulted in a former high-ranking service officer being appointed to the position of commissioner. But in general, governments are not prepared to incur the wrath of serving policemen by making external appointments to executive ranks. It is unlikely that this attitude will be changed in the future to permit the appointment of university graduates directly to senior positions within the force. Therefore it seems clear that if, ultimately, only university graduates can be appointed to executive ranks, schemes will have to be implemented within police forces to enable members of suitable ability to attend university, or graduates will have to be recruited into the lower ranks of the force. Both possibilities present considerable problems which will be considered in a moment. But first, it may well be asked what do the present members of Australasian police forces believe would be the benefits to them of a university degree or diploma?

Having regard to the hostile attitudes, noted earlier, of policemen to university personnel, it might perhaps have been anticipated that the majority of policemen would not regard a university qualification as of much assistance to them. However, as Table 33 indicates, a substantial majority of all policemen in the four forces surveyed

did believe that a university degree or diploma would be of some assistance. It will be noticed that Queensland had the largest proportion of respondents claiming such a qualification would be of assistance, and South Australia the lowest proportion. About a third or less of all respondents felt that university qualifications would not be of any assistance.

TABLE 33

Attitudes to University Training

Q. Do you think that university training leading to some degree or diploma would be of assistance to members of the police force in this state ?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	AUST. TOTAL	N.Z. TOTAL
Yes	70	61	57	65	66
No	27	35	34	30	30
Don't know	2	3	0	1	4
No answer	1	1	9	4	0
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	884	376

When attitudes towards university training were analyzed according to rank, it was found that in New Zealand and South Australia higher-ranking officers were more inclined than police in the lower ranks of both forces to believe that a university education would benefit some members of the force. In Queensland, all ranks were in favour of university training, while in Tasmania opinion was reversed, with more low-ranking officers thinking it would be of benefit. A further analysis of attitudes towards university training, according to the highest educational level which respondents had attained, showed, perhaps not surprisingly, that those respondents who had in fact had some university education all thought that it would be of some assistance to members of the force. In Queensland and Tasmania, among those who thought university training would be useful to them, there were slightly more with secondary education than with primary education only. In South Australia and New Zealand, among those with secondary and primary qualifications only, there were not any significant differences in attitudes towards university education.

When asked which degree or diploma would be of the greatest assistance to police, respondents in all forces surveyed revealed a marked preference for legal qualifications, as Table 34 indicates. This preference may be, in part, a reflection of the desire of police to achieve professional status within the community, as well as a recognition of the assistance which legal training may be in police work.

TABLE 34

## Recommendations Concerning University Courses

Q. Which degree or diploma do you think would be of the greatest assistance to members of the force?

ANSWERS	QLD.	TAS.	S.A.	N.Z.
Arts degree	2	0	5	10
Science degree	7	5	15	2
Commerce degree	0	2	0	0
Law degree	34	47	20	28
Criminology diploma	—	21	2	20
Other	21	2	0	0
No answer — No degree	36	23	58	40
Total percentage	100	100	100	100
Number of informants	288	191	405	376

Certainly a law degree would be of direct assistance to those police who are required to conduct prosecutions. But legal training is not, in the authors' view, necessarily the most suitable for those police who are not required to undertake the specialist role of prosecutors. Current courses in Australasian law schools tend to be orientated towards the needs of the professional lawyer, and these needs seldom impinge upon police work.

The question of which university degree or diploma would be of the greatest assistance to police in non-specialist roles cannot be easily answered. But as much police work consists of dealing daily with members of the public and becoming involved in their personal problems at a number of levels, an understanding of psychology and sociology would be valuable. So too would an understanding of social work techniques. These are all subjects which are normally available as part of an arts course at an Australian or New Zealand university, and it may well be that an arts degree would be of the greatest general benefit to the police at the present time. If certain legal units, such as criminal law and criminology, could be included in this degree, it would provide a substantial background qualification for police work at the executive and non-executive stages.

No Australasian university has at present a degree or diploma course tailored directly to the needs of police forces. This is in direct contrast to the situation in the United States, where degree or diploma courses in police science are available at a wide range of institutions. While the quality of these degrees or diplomas varies considerably, the best of them provide a policeman with professional qualifications suited to his specific career requirements. The authors believe that consideration should be given to the establishment of some similar police science course at an Australian or New Zealand

university to cater for the needs of Australasian policemen. The nucleus of such a course already exists at the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney, both of which have postgraduate diploma courses in criminology. It would not require a great deal of planning and organization to extend the courses at one of these institutions to include additional subjects which are normally associated with the police science courses at American universities.

A number of policemen in Victoria and New South Wales have already completed one of the diploma courses offered at Melbourne and Sydney universities, but at present their qualifications receive no recognition from their police forces. Indeed, the failure to provide any recognition of university degree or diploma qualifications represents one of the principal barriers to the induction of graduates into Australasian police forces. At present, a university graduate within one of the forces receives on the average an extra twenty cents pay per day. His university qualifications do not enable him to receive promotion beyond the level to which he is entitled on the basis of seniority, and in most instances little if any encouragement is given to members of the force to engage in university studies.

Even when official encouragement has been given to police to gain university qualifications, the results have not been very satisfactory. In Victoria, for instance, the Commissioner of Police noted, in response to a question regarding the official attitude of the force towards university training for members, that

in an endeavour to staff the forensic science laboratory with members of the force who were graduates, the tuition fees, etc, for members to attend the University of Melbourne were paid by the Department. However, only one member graduated to Bachelor of Science and he has since resigned to take up duty with another government department. The laboratory now has civilian graduates to carry out the required duties.

Other forces have had experiences similar to those in Victoria, and it is likely that these experiences will be repeated in the future if the police continue to take no account of university qualifications in terms of salary and promotion. Any ambitious graduate would, as a matter of course, seek a higher remuneration and better promotional prospects outside the force once he had gained his professional qualifications.

### *Salaries and Promotions*

There is no doubt that unless a sweeping review is made of current salary scales and promotion policies operating within Australasian police forces, most of the recommendations made so

far in this chapter which are aimed at improving the quality of the police will have little if any effect. For it is not only the university graduate who fails to receive promotional or salaried recognition within the various forces. Ability in general, whether displayed in academic or practical terms, plays only a small part in determining the salary an individual policeman receives, and the rapidity of his promotion.

Basic salary scales differ little between forces in Australia. In New Zealand, the basic salary scales of police are lower than for police in equivalent ranks in Australia, reflecting the generally lower wage standards applying in that country. As an example of Australian pay scales, Table 35 lists the scale operating in Victoria at the present time. In addition to their basic pay, police also receive a variety of special allowances. For instance, members of the criminal investigation branch in Victoria below officer rank receive an allowance for duty they may perform in excess of eight hours on any day, or an excess of eighty hours in any fortnight, at the rate of \$286 per year for sergeants and senior constables and \$228 per year for first constables and constables. Other members of the force who perform overtime duty which is duly authorized may, if the exigencies of the service permit it, be given an equivalent amount of time off in lieu. If time off cannot be given within three months, the member is entitled to be paid for the overtime which is worked. Members of the force also receive a housing allowance, or in certain cases may be provided with police accommodation.

If one compares basic police salaries with those of other occupations, it will be found that a bus driver or an ambulance driver earns more than a police constable. Even an unskilled labourer, with overtime, can earn far more than the police officer. It is therefore not surprising that police recruiting campaigns in more affluent urban areas of Australia often fail to attract recruits of suitable ability and quality. As a result, police recruiting campaigns in Australasian forces tend to be concentrated in country areas where economic conditions, and wages in general, are not as favourable as those prevailing in the city. For this reason, in the Australian Capital Territory, for instance, most recruits are drawn from country districts of New South Wales. But recruits from these country districts soon discover that their salary is not sufficient to maintain a suitable standard of living, and in many cases they have to take a second job to supplement their income, or resign from the force to seek more lucrative employment elsewhere.

Officially, members of Australasian police forces are not permitted to have second jobs. Unofficially, this rule seems to be ignored in many forces, administrators recognizing that without further



**TABLE 35**  
**Scale of Police Salaries in Victoria**

<b>OFFICERS</b>	
RANK	SALARY PER ANNUM \$
Superintendent, grade I.	7,274
Superintendent, grade II.	6,446
Chief Inspector	5,786
Inspector, grade I.	5,410
Inspector, grade II.	5,215
Station officer	4,599
<b>SUB-OFFICERS</b>	
RANK	SALARY PER ANNUM \$
Sergeant	4,190
Senior constable	3,786
<b>FIRST CONSTABLES AND CONSTABLES</b>	
RANK	SALARY PER ANNUM \$
<i>First constable –</i>	
During twelfth year of service and after	3,422
During eleventh, tenth, ninth, eighth, and seventh years of service	3,335
During sixth and fifth years of service	3,283
During fourth and third years of service	3,232
During second and first years of service	3,180
<i>Constable, 21 years of age and over –</i>	
During seventh year of service and after	3,021
During sixth and fifth years of service	2,975
During fourth and third years of service	2,896
During second year of service	2,766
During first year of service	2,685
<i>Constable, under 21 years of age –</i>	
During third year of service	2,720
During second year of service	2,610
During first year of service	2,542

employment the wastage rate would be much higher. But there are obvious objections to police working at outside jobs, not the least of which is that they may well be placed in a compromising situation through their civilian employment.

In the authors' view, police should be paid a salary which not only makes it unnecessary for them to seek additional employment, but also remunerates them adequately for the exacting nature of police work. The commencing salary for police and the subsequent

increments they receive should be high enough to attract and hold men of ability. In the case of university graduates within the force, the salary they receive should as far as possible be comparable with what they could be earning outside the police service. In the opinion of the authors, current police salaries do not in any way fulfil these various aims.

Any improvement in the quality of the police is dependent not only upon the payment of adequate salaries, but also upon the establishment of a rational promotions policy within the forces. As mentioned earlier, subject to passing certain examinations at the various levels of rank, promotion within Australasian police forces depends almost entirely upon seniority. Upon entering the force, any individual policeman can determine with a reasonable degree of accuracy the precise rank, and position in that rank, he will occupy at the termination of his police career. Premature resignations and deaths may add an element of doubt and luck to his calculations, but, providing he enters and passes the requisite examinations, his future promotion is secure if slow.

Commissioners in each of the forces surveyed were asked to indicate the average period spent by members in each rank before they were promoted. Regrettably, not all forces could provide this information, but of those who did Victoria may probably be regarded as fairly representative of the promotional situation. The Victorian Commissioner stated that, on an average, promotion to senior constable came after twelve years' service in the force, to sergeant after eighteen years, to inspector after twenty-seven years, and to superintendent after thirty-three years. In theory, ability as well as seniority may be taken into account when promoting men within each of the forces. In Victoria, for example, the regulations state that in the promotion of any member of the force, consideration may be given to relative efficiency and, in the event of equality of efficiency, then to relative seniority. Efficiency is regarded as meaning special qualifications, fitness (including physical fitness), aptitude and potential ability to discharge the responsibilities of the higher rank, together with merit, diligence, and good conduct. In the case of promotion to the rank of chief inspector or superintendent, special qualifications and fitness in relation to efficiency are regarded as including the possession of executive ability and those traits and aptitudes essential for leadership and management in a senior executive position. Despite these references to ability, in practice any attempt by the Victorian Commissioner, or the commissioners in other forces, to escape from the deadening mediocrity of the seniority rule is as a matter of course ruthlessly opposed by the associations. In most cases this opposition is justified on appeal to the relevant

police industrial tribunal. With very few exceptions, these tribunals have usually granted the appeals made by officers who have been passed over by junior colleagues regarded as having superior abilities.

The then Commissioner of Police for Queensland, Mr. Bischof, was reported recently to have said that "seniority as a basis for police promotion should have gone out with kerosine lanterns".<sup>10</sup> No doubt Mr. Bischof's fellow commissioners in Australia and New Zealand would endorse his view, but until steps are taken by the external forces of government it seems most unlikely that Australasian police forces will be able to overcome the opposition of the police unions to any change in the promotion system. In any case, while the seniority rule remains, attempts to encourage graduates to enter the police force, or to stimulate serving officers to obtain university qualifications, will be to no avail.

In the United Kingdom, the system of promotion by seniority has been considerably modified within police forces as a result of both external and internal pressures. The aim has been to enable the police to produce their own leaders by providing early training for those within the force who have demonstrated suitability for higher rank, and also to offer attractive prospects in terms of promotion for recruits of good quality so that they will be given the opportunity to use their talents to the best advantage. To achieve this aim, a small number of university graduates are now being recruited directly into United Kingdom police forces at the level of constable, with a guarantee of accelerated promotion to the rank of sergeant. In addition, a limited number of normal police recruits are being granted scholarships to attend a university to obtain degree qualifications. Upon completion of their degree course, these men also are guaranteed accelerated promotion. Yet another scheme in the United Kingdom offers selected young constables the opportunity of participating in a special course at the police college which will result, if successfully completed, in their promotion to the rank of sergeant.<sup>11</sup>

These United Kingdom developments clearly indicate the desire of the police in that country to raise the status of the police in the eyes of the community, and to attract men of suitable capabilities to lead the force in the future. They are developments which in Australia and New Zealand should be studied closely, and where possible emulated. If the movement for reform in the field of promotion cannot gain momentum from within the forces themselves, it will be necessary for governments to act to ensure that the police of the future are both capable and qualified to undertake the very considerable task of crime control and prevention.

## *Conclusions*

In the opening pages of this chapter it was suggested that, while Australian and New Zealand police forces are currently suffering from a lack of manpower, it is not so much the quantity of police but their quality which requires consideration. The substance of what followed this assertion has been directed towards this end. By way of conclusion the major recommendations made for improving the quality of police personnel are now repeated in summary form.

1. The present height requirements and other physical standards required of police recruits are unduly restrictive. A more flexible approach to these standards should be adopted, taking into account each disability a candidate for entry to the force possesses, and determining whether or not this disability would impinge upon the effective execution of his work as a police officer.

2. To provide an effective screening test of ability, all candidates for entry to Australasian police forces should be required to sit for an intelligence or aptitude test of some description.

3. A more stringent minimum educational qualification for entry to police forces in Australia and New Zealand should be adopted. Having regard to the general standard of education of both communities, and to the contemporary role of police, the ultimate aim of all forces should be to insist upon matriculation as this minimum qualification.

4. Using the South Australian cadet training system as a model, all Australasian police forces should introduce or extend programmes to recruit and train cadet entrants.

5. The absolute minimum period of intensive course training for an adult recruit should be twenty weeks. It would be desirable for a uniform training scheme for this category of recruit to be devised for policemen throughout Australasia.

6. Considerable scope exists among Australasian police forces for implementing and extending in-service training programmes. While Victoria and New Zealand already have highly developed in-service training programmes, other forces are not, as yet, as competent and thorough in this field of activity. As a minimum, in-service training should be provided for all enforcement officers for at least one week of each year.

7. While the standard of executive in-service training provided at the Australian Police College is high, it is suggested that those who attend this course should be far younger than at present.

8. Officers in executive positions within Australasian forces should hold some university qualification.

9. The question of which university qualification would be of the greatest assistance to members of police forces who are not obliged to perform some specialist role remains a matter for discussion. However, despite a preference amongst police for legal qualifications, it is believed that law is not necessarily the most suitable degree course for police. A combination of subjects at present provided in arts courses, together with the subjects of criminal law and criminology, would provide an excellent background training for police work. Consideration should be given to the establishment at some Australian university of a police science course designed specifically to meet the needs of police in Australia and New Zealand.

10. To induce present members of police forces to acquire university qualifications and to attract graduates into the force, it will be necessary to revise drastically existing salary and promotion policies.

11. The police should be paid a salary which not only makes it unnecessary for them to seek additional employment but also remunerates them adequately for the exacting nature of police work. Commencing salary for police, and subsequent increments, should be high enough to attract and hold men of ability within the force. In the case of university graduates within the force, their salaries should, as far as possible, relate to salaries paid to graduates with similar qualifications outside the force.

12. Promotion policies based primarily upon seniority should be abandoned in favour of a system in which ability plays the principal part in determining the rate of advancement of an individual officer. Consideration should be given to the introduction of specialist schemes within Australasian police forces, akin to those already in existence in the United Kingdom, whereby young men of ability are selected for special training and accelerated promotion. Scholarships should be awarded to members of police forces to enable them to attend a university to obtain degree qualifications, and graduates should be recruited directly from the universities. To encourage such schemes, offers should be made of accelerated promotion to at least the rank of sergeant for graduates who have the requisite abilities and qualities for police work.

### *Notes to Chapter 7*

1. For a discussion of the problems of obtaining and interpreting statistics of crime in Australia see G.J. Hawkins, and D. Chappell, "The Need for Criminology in Australia", *Australian Law Journal*, Vol. XL (1967).

2. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 107.
3. *Ibid.*
4. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 130.
5. The only forces which do not provide for some form of cadet entry appear to be those of the Commonwealth and its territories.
6. South Australian Police Force, *The Police Academy* (1967) (recruiting information).
7. *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, p. 113.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 28 August 1968.
11. Home Office, *Working Parties on the Police. Reports of Three Working Parties on Police Manpower Equipment and Efficiency* (London: H.M.S.O., 1967).

# 8

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## *The Policeman and the Future*

The analysis of relations between the police and the public in Australia and New Zealand has now been completed. It is an analysis which dispels to a large degree the more pessimistic views expressed about the state of these relations by earlier commentators. Whilst specific levels of public respect for the police vary considerably from state to state, the survey results show quite clearly that both in Australia and New Zealand the majority of citizens have substantial respect for the police.

But although there may not be widespread antagonism between the police and public in Australasian society, the survey has also shown that there are specific areas of conflict between the two groups, and these, as the authors have sought to demonstrate, are likely to grow rather than diminish in the future, unless remedial action is taken by both police and public alike. It is hoped that the authors' suggestions about the form which this action should take will stimulate community discussion and debate about the present and future role of the policeman in society in Australia and New Zealand. In the past, far too little attention has been devoted to defining this role. Too often duties and responsibilities have been cast upon the police without considering their impact upon the general efficiency and effectiveness of the service provided by our main law enforcement agency. There is little doubt that at present many of the tasks which police are required to perform do hinder their major function of preventing and detecting crime. In the future, police duties and responsibilities will certainly become much more complex, and the need has become pressing to determine the nature of the role to be played by the police in the latter half of the twentieth century. Should the police, for instance, be obliged to undertake enforcement of traffic laws? Should the police engage in various forms of social welfare work with juveniles? These and very many other questions require careful consideration by both experts and laymen. So, too,

does the subject of how the police can best be equipped to carry out their appointed tasks.

In the opinion of the authors, the provision of expert advice concerning many aspects of the future role of our police must come from the police themselves. Where the police force is concerned, planning for the future should not be a haphazard and unco-ordinated affair. Yet apart from deficiencies in the quality of existing police personnel noted in chapter 7, perhaps the most serious defect discovered in Australasian police forces during the course of the survey was the absence among them of positive planning for the future. Indeed, it was found that many forces had no specialized unit to provide for their immediate research and planning needs, let alone those of the future.

The authors believe that each Australasian police force should have a research and planning unit of some description. They recognize that the size and precise work to be performed by such a unit must depend to a certain degree upon the individual requirements of each force. However, general problems which might well be examined by the research and planning unit of any force could include present and future manpower needs, methods of distributing available manpower to provide the most effective protection to the community, ways of improving relations between the police and public, and assessment and appraisal of the latest techniques and equipment for detecting and preventing crime.

As this book has indicated, many of the problems currently confronting Australasian police forces are common to them all. Thus research and planning conducted by one force may be of direct or indirect relevance to all other forces in Australia and New Zealand. In the authors' view, to avoid unnecessary duplication of research and planning among police forces in Australia and New Zealand, and to foster and initiate investigations which have a national or international significance, there is a very real need for an Australasian research and planning unit. No such unit exists at present, although the Federal Government in Australia is said to be investigating the possibility of establishing some form of Commonwealth criminological unit which could fulfil many of the research and planning needs not only of the police but also of other law enforcement agencies such as the courts and prisons. When resources for criminological research are limited, both in terms of manpower and finance, there are obvious advantages in providing a central research organization of this type for all law enforcement agencies. But whatever the eventual outcome of the Australian Commonwealth Government's deliberations may be, it is essential that the police in Australia and New Zealand should have co-ordinated research and planning



facilities at the earliest opportunity. Current co-ordination between forces is spasmodic, consisting principally of the annual Commissioners' Conference and a conference of criminal investigation branch superintendents. These conferences are no doubt valuable venues for the exchange of ideas and information, but they certainly do not provide sufficiently frequent contact or liaison between forces to ensure effective research and planning for the future.

Inter-force, interstate, and inter-dominion conflicts and rivalries exist among police in Australia and New Zealand, just as they do among the members of other groups and organizations. These conflicts and rivalries on occasions make it difficult to secure agreement on co-ordinating policies for police. For instance, it has already been mentioned that Victoria insists on conducting its own officer training course, despite the presence of a similar course at the Australian Police College. It is to be hoped that these conflicts and rivalries will not prevent the formation of an Australasian police research and planning unit or prejudice its operation. Clearly, such a unit would frequently require access to confidential information from all forces throughout both countries. Failure by any one force to provide such information could render the workings of the unit largely ineffective. It is known, for example, that attempts to establish a system of uniform crime statistics for Australia were for a long time blocked by the lack of agreement between Australian police forces as to the information which should be provided to form the basis of the published statistics. Differences in crime recording practices between various police forces can readily lead to embarrassing disparities in the apparent incidence of crime in particular communities.<sup>1</sup> Other embarrassing disparities could well be revealed by a central research and planning unit. For this reason the authors anticipate opposition from some police quarters to the establishment of any unit of this type for operation in Australia and New Zealand.

What are some of the matters which might be investigated by an Australasian police research and planning unit? With no order of priority specified, the following are mentioned as five possible topics for study.

### *1. The Use of Computers in Police Work in Australia and New Zealand*

In both the United States and the United Kingdom, extensive research is currently being undertaken into the uses to which computers may be put in the law enforcement field. The authors know of no such research being conducted in Australia or New

Zealand, and the use of computers by law enforcement agencies in both countries is limited to relatively rudimentary tasks such as the recording of information about salaries and wages, or the registration and licensing of motor vehicles. When police commissioners were questioned about their plans for the future use of computers, most expressed keen interest in their application to police work at a more sophisticated level, but saw little possibility of any immediate developments in this field. The President's Crime Commission reported in their Task Force survey of police work that

the technical development potentially most profoundly affecting criminal justice operations is the advent of computer-based information systems . . . Such systems can aid the police in the following functions:

*Police patrol.* – Enabling a police officer to check the identification of people and property against a central “wanted” file in a few minutes.

*Crime investigation.* – Providing a police officer or investigative agent with supporting information files such as crime patterns, modus operandi, criminal associates and personal appearance and, hopefully in the future, matching latent fingerprints from a crime scene against a central fingerprint file. The latter process, when it is developed, would constitute a major breakthrough in the war on crime.

*Manpower deployment.* – Altering police deployment in response to changing patterns of crime on an hourly or daily basis.

*Individual protection.* – Completing arrest records to include court disposition, presenting a fairer picture to the police and judges.

*Federal, State, and local budgeting.* – Collecting uniform statistics on agency operations and workloads, providing a basis for estimating personnel needs and for optimum allocation of men and dollars.<sup>2</sup>

Already in the United States some pioneering computer information installations have been established, and Australian and New Zealand police should be studying these developments closely through the medium of a central research and planning unit.

## *2. Police Equipment and Civilian Personnel Needs*

We have already commented earlier upon certain time-consuming and wasteful operations which are performed by police as part of their routine duties. For instance, most police are obliged to spend valuable man-hours typing out a host of reports, varying from a description of a stolen bicycle to a brief for a complex fraud case. Many of these labours could be reduced or dispensed with entirely by the intelligent use of dictation machines and the employment of civilians as typists. Yet dictation machines are virtually non-existent in police departments throughout Australasian forces, while civilian

typists are far too sparsely spread to cater for the needs of most policemen.

It may seem somewhat out of place in a book of this type to discuss matters which are really aspects of business administration and organization. Such discussion is justified on the grounds that many of the Australasian police forces are not organized and administered as efficiently and effectively as they should be. Far too much paper work is performed which is unnecessary. Far too many trained police officers are carrying out office jobs which could be undertaken by civilian staff. By utilizing the services of external management consultants and the specialized knowledge of a police research and planning unit, problems of this type could be readily overcome and the general efficiency of the police service improved.

### ***3. Standardized Crime Reporting and Recording Procedures***

Related to the question of general police efficiency in the administrative field is the subject of standardized crime reporting and recording practices. With the limited exception of uniform recording practices adopted for the indexed crimes in the uniform crime statistics, each police force has devised and uses its own crime recording and reporting procedures. No doubt each force believes it has discovered and implemented the most effective and efficient system. However, a study by a central police research and planning unit could rapidly determine the relative merits of each force's procedures and devise a unified system which could be used by all forces. With a unified system, general research into all aspects of crime would be facilitated and the exchange of information, and personnel, between forces would be simplified.

### ***4. Police Traffic Law Enforcement***

In chapter 6 it was suggested that there was considerable merit in segregating general traffic law enforcement from normal police duties and vesting these powers in a special body attached to a motor transport department. It was stated that the authors' views on this subject were formulated after observing the successful operation in New Zealand of such a segregated traffic law enforcement scheme. However, to implement a scheme of this type in the various Australian police forces would require a major re-organization of their existing structures, and it may be that, instead of this major change, some more

limited solution to the traffic law enforcement problem could be found. In the United Kingdom, for example, many police have been relieved of routine traffic duties by the appointment of traffic wardens. The United Kingdom scheme could readily be studied by a central police research and planning unit, together with the New Zealand scheme, and any other schemes which might assist in the difficult task of improving relations between the police and the motoring public.

### *5. The Police and Young People*

Just as an Australasian police research and planning unit could study traffic law enforcement problems as they affect the police and public, so it could also examine methods of improving relations between the police and young people. A number of the proposals made on this subject in chapter 5 warrant further investigation, including the suggestion that neighbourhood delinquency prevention councils be established. It would not require great effort on the part of a central police research and planning unit to undertake a pilot study in a number of different areas of Australia and New Zealand to determine the most suitable size and composition of such neighbourhood councils, and to formulate a working model for councils of this type throughout both countries.

The five topics suggested for study by a central police research and planning unit are ones which spring to mind from the authors' own investigations, and they are not intended to be in any way exhaustive. For example, in the United Kingdom the Home Office Police Research and Planning Unit which undertakes research for all police forces has at present more than forty ongoing projects, many being of a highly technical and specialized nature involving collaboration with universities and other research bodies.<sup>3</sup> Research collaboration of this type can be particularly valuable, not only for the specific results it may provide, but also for the effect it has in breaking down barriers between the police and external agencies such as universities. As stated in chapter 5, research collaboration between universities and the police in Australia and New Zealand is still in its infancy. The establishment of a new Australasian police research and planning unit, or of a criminological institute jointly sponsored by the governments of Australia and New Zealand, could do much to break down the distrust which exists between police and academics and to stimulate fruitful criminological research of benefit to both groups.

To conclude these speculations about the future of the police in Australia and New Zealand, it may be timely to turn for a moment to

the past to remind ourselves of the progress already made in the development of police forces in these two countries. It has been seen how, from a motley group of convicts, emancipists, and freemen who were appointed constables in the eighteenth century, there has emerged a police system which in general provides an efficient and effective service to the Australian and New Zealand communities. For long an organization which commanded little if any public respect, the police have now acquired a secure position in Australasian society and are held in substantial regard by a majority of members of the public. Responsible to the public through the democratic processes of government, the police are no longer tainted, as they were during much of the nineteenth century, with overtones of militarism and totalitarianism.

Despite these achievements, neither the police nor the public can be complacent about the contemporary status of the police in Australasian society. If, as seems highly desirable, this status is to be raised still further, the police must acquire professional qualities which they at present lack. Achievement of these qualities will require fundamental changes in existing recruiting, training, and promotional policies within police forces. But the responsibility for raising the status of the police does not lie with the police alone. For as has recently been said:

It is the responsibility of every citizen to see that there is a good police service recruited from men and women who bring to it a sense of high calling and vocation comparable with what we should expect to find in a doctor, teacher, social worker or anyone else whose work was directly for the welfare and happiness of human society as a whole.<sup>4</sup>

### *Notes to Chapter 8*

1. G.J. Hawkins and D. Chappell, "The Need for Criminology in Australia", *Australian Law Journal*, XL (1967), 307; "The Statistical Shroud", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, I (1968), 197 (editorial).
2. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).
3. See B.N. Bebbington, "The Home Office Police Research and Planning Branch", *British Journal of Criminology*, VIII (1967), 55.
4. Church Information Office, *Police - A Social Study* (Oxford: Church Army Press, 1967), p. 61.



## APPENDIX ONE

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# *Sampling Procedures: Public Surveys*

### *Description of Sampling Technique*

On behalf of the authors, 1,036 interviews were conducted throughout Australia by the Roy Morgan Research Centre. The sampling method used was as follows.

Addresses were chosen from the electoral roll to represent all states in their correct proportions and to obtain a representative sample of socio-economic districts and rural and urban communities. Only trained interviewers were used. Each was given a starting address and was asked to commence interviewing at the house next door to this address and progress clockwise around the block, calling at every dwelling until ten interviews were obtained. The only dwellings omitted from the survey were those where all persons over 16 were too old, too sick, or spoke insufficient English to understand the questions. Where the address given to the interviewer fell in an unsuitable industrial or commercial area, e.g. a factory, interviewers were asked to go to the nearest suitable block and begin interviewing there. Only one interview was conducted at each dwelling, and it was estimated that ten interviews should be obtained in less than fifteen dwellings to maintain the accuracy of the survey. All interviews were conducted in the evenings or at week-ends, when most people are at home. This also ensured that workers were sufficiently represented in the sample.

To balance age and sex, interviewers were given a card on which, at the conclusion of the interview, they recorded the age and sex of the respondent. They were instructed to include five or six males in each ten interviews. If they found that they were getting a predominance of one particular age-group, or of one sex, in their interviews, they were told to vary the introduction at the beginning of the interview sheet to rectify this. For example, if an interviewer had already interviewed four males under 21 in his first five interviews, he would then ask for the youngest female under 21 to balance the proportion in his ten interviews.

When an interviewer had called at ten dwellings with the above requirements without obtaining ten interviews, he was instructed to go back to any dwellings where no one was at home before making his next call. Records were kept by each interviewer of the number of calls he made, the addresses of these calls, and, where applicable, reasons for not obtaining interviews, as well as a list of the names and addresses of all interviewees. This enabled checks to be made to ascertain that all interviews were valid.

It is clear from the tables that follow that the sample closely approximated the total population in terms of age and state distribution. It was also accurate for occupation and sex, and the distribution of interviewees into rural, provincial, and city classifications was also accurate. All population figures for Australia were taken from the *Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 52, 1966, published by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The age-categories used in the survey differed slightly from those used by the Bureau of Census and Statistics, but an approximate comparison can be made.

TABLE 36

## Australian Public

## Comparison of Age Distribution of Sample and Population

SURVEY AGE-CATEGORIES*	SAMPLE (%)	POPULATION (%)	CENSUS AGE-CATEGORIES*
16-21	12	13	15-19
22-25	9	11	20-24
26-35	20	19	25-34
36-45	20	20	35-44
46-55	15	17	45-54
56-65	12	12	55-64
66 and over	12	8	65 and over

\*Age-categories of this survey and the Commonwealth Census differed slightly. All population figures for Australia in this and other tables were obtained from the *Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 52, 1966, published by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.

TABLE 37

## Australian Public

## Comparison of State Distribution of Sample and Population

STATE	SAMPLE (%)	POPULATION (%)
New South Wales	35	38
Victoria	30	29
Queensland	16	14
South Australia	10	9
Western Australia	6	7
Tasmania	3	3

A similar sampling technique was used for the survey of the New Zealand public, which was conducted by Sanford Associates. Samples were drawn from the four main centres in New Zealand: Christchurch, Auckland, Wellington, and Dunedin. Two provincial centres were selected, Ashburton and Palmerston North, and samples were also drawn from these, by the same method as used in Australia.



**TABLE 38**  
**New Zealand Public**

Comparison of Age Distribution of Sample and Population

SURVEY AGE-CATEGORIES	SAMPLE (%)	POPULATION (%)	DEPT. OF STATISTICS AGE-CATEGORIES
16-21	20	14	15-19
22-25	12	11	20-24
26-35	17	18	25-34
36-45	15	19	35-44
46-55	14	17	45-54
56-65	13	13	55-64
66 and over	8	8	65 and over

**TABLE 39**  
**New Zealand Public**

Comparison of Unweighted and Weighted Age Distribution of Sample and Population

SURVEY AGE-CATEGORIES (CONDENSED)	ACTUAL SAMPLE (BEFORE WEIGHTING) (%)	WEIGHTED SAMPLE (%)	POPULATION (%)
16-25	32	25	25
26-45	32	37	37
46 and over	35	38	38

**TABLE 40**  
**New Zealand Public**

Comparison of percentages of the New Zealand sample drawn from each centre and percentages of the total population of the six centres

CENTRE	SAMPLE (%)	POPULATION (%)
Christchurch	26	28
Auckland	26	26
Wellington	24	23
Dunedin	13	13
Palmerston North	4	8
Ashburton*	7	2
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100	100

\*A slightly larger percentage of the sample was drawn from Ashburton than exists in the population to ensure that the rural population was adequately represented in the sample.

At the time when the New Zealand survey was being planned, preliminary results of the Australian survey were already available. Since young people emerged as being particularly hostile to the police, it was decided to over-represent the 16-25 age-group in the New Zealand sample to obtain more detailed information on their views. Consequently, percentages of the sample falling into this age-group were considerably higher than corresponding percentages of the total population (see Table 38). However, for purposes of expressing the views of the New Zealand public as a whole, weighting ratios were used to reduce this group to correct proportions according to population figures (see Table 39). The same method of weighting was employed as was previously used for the Queensland police survey (see Appendix II).

It is clear from Tables 38-40 that the sample approximates to the population in terms of age-groups and areas lived in. Percentages for the population are based on the total number of people living in the six cities concerned, not on the total population of New Zealand.

All population figures for New Zealand were obtained from the *Monthly Abstract of Statistics* (November-December, 1967), published by the Department of Statistics, Wellington. As with Australia, there were slight differences in age-categories, but an approximate comparison can still be made.

## APPENDIX TWO

### *Sampling Procedures: Police Surveys*

The police samples were chosen by rank, so that the percentage of each rank in each sample was approximately the same as the percentage in the force as a whole. Within each rank, informants were chosen randomly from the police roll. Questionnaires were sent by mail, with a stamped and addressed envelope enclosed in each. Covering letters from both the commissioner of the force concerned and the authors were attached to each questionnaire, requesting co-operation in answering and returning the questionnaire.

The refusal rate varied between 10 and 20 per cent for all forces, an acceptable rate for mailed questionnaires.

Cadets were only included in the sample in South Australia. They were excluded from tables analyzing opinion by rank, but included in the opinions of the force as a whole. In general, their opinions did not differ significantly from those of the constables in South Australia.

In Queensland, higher-ranking men were deliberately over-represented in the sample to get more detailed information on their opinions and attitudes. This meant that, for tables expressing the opinion of the force as a whole, a weighting technique had to be used to reduce this group to its correct proportion of the total. For purposes of weighting, the rank-categories were reduced from those shown in Table 23 to three major divisions: "inspector and above" (which included sub-inspectors), "sergeant (all grades)", and "constable (all grades)". The weighting ratio for the "inspector and above" category was obtained by the following formula:

$$\text{Weighting ratio} = \frac{\text{Total number in sample} \times \text{Number of Inspectors and higher ranks in force}}{\text{Number of Inspectors and higher ranks in sample} \times \text{Total number in force}}$$

Ratios thus obtained for each of the three rank-categories were as follows:

Weighting ratio for "inspector and above"	0.1687
Weighting ratio for "sergeant (all grades)"	0.7184
Weighting ratio for "constable (all grades)"	1.5788.

A computer programme was then used to analyze the results of each question on the questionnaire by rank, thus producing a series of two-way matrices. In the example given, A, B, C, and D are the response-categories for a hypothetical question, and 1 refers to the rank-category "inspector and above", 2 to "sergeant (all grades)", and 3 to "constable (all grades)".

1A	2A	3A
1B	2B	3B
1C	2C	3C
1D	2D	3D

The next step taken was to multiply each number in column 1 (inspector and above) by the appropriate weighting ratio, 0.1687. This was also done for columns 2 and 3, using the relevant ratios. The totals thus obtained were then added across to give a weighted total for each of the response categories A, B, C, and D. Further computer analysis then reduced the new weighted totals to a percentage distribution for each question.

Table 41 presents a comparison of the percentage distributions of different ranks for the actual sample (prior to weighting) and the Queensland force as a whole. Table 42 shows the comparison after the sample had been weighted by rank.

A comparison of the sample of police officers in all other forces surveyed with their respective population is presented in Tables 43, 44, and 45.

TABLE 41

**Queensland Police: The Uncorrected Sample**

Comparison of percentages of each rank in the sample before weighting and percentages of each rank in the whole force

RANK	UNCORRECTED SAMPLE (%)	TOTAL FORCE (%)
Inspector and above	8	1
Sub-inspector	8	1
Senior sergeant	9	4
Sergeant (first class)	10	9
Sergeant (second class)	22	17
Senior constable	26	22
Constable (first class)	9	17
Constable	8	29
Total percentage	100	100

TABLE 42

**Queensland Police: The Corrected Sample**

Comparison of percentages of each rank in weighted sample and percentages of each rank in the whole force

RANK*	CORRECTED SAMPLE (%)	TOTAL FORCE (%)
Inspector and above	2	2
Sergeant (all grades)	30	30
Constable (all grades)	68	68
Total percentage	100	100

\*For convenience in data processing, only three categories of rank were used in analysis.

**TABLE 43****Tasmanian Police: The Sample**

Comparison of percentages of each rank in the sample and corresponding percentages for the force as a whole

RANK	SAMPLE (%)	TOTAL FORCE (%)
Superintendent	2	1
Inspector	4	5
Sergeant	9	11
Constable (all grades)*	80	80
Junior Constable	3	3
No answer	2	-
Total percentage	100	100

\*In order to get a direct comparison with population figures available from the Tasmanian force, constables, constables l/c and senior constables are included in one category.

**TABLE 44****South Australian Police: The Sample**

Comparison of percentages of each rank in the sample and percentages of each rank in the whole force

RANK	SAMPLE (%)	TOTAL FORCE (%)
Inspector and above	3	2
Sergeant (all grades)	10	10
Senior constable	18	17
First class constable	15	14
Constable	30	33
Probationary constable	5	7
Cadet	18	17
No answer	1	-
Total percentage	100	100

**TABLE 45****New Zealand Police: The Sample**

Comparison of percentages of each rank in the sample and percentages of each rank in the whole force

RANK	SAMPLE (%)	TOTAL FORCE (%)
Inspector and above	5	4
Senior sergeant	6	5
Sergeant	18	15
Constable	63	58
Probationary constable	8	18
Total percentage	100	100

## APPENDIX THREE

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### *The Questionnaires*

The questionnaires used for police surveys in Australia and New Zealand were essentially the same. The Queensland Police Questionnaire is presented here since it is the most recent. Some police questionnaires in other forces differed from this one in that certain questions were added as the questionnaire developed from use in each police survey.

The New Zealand Public Questionnaire is included here, being similarly an example of the latest form of the questionnaire given to the public. Differences from the Australian Public Sheet are mainly in the questions concerning traffic matters, since several questions were necessarily added here in order to fully investigate the New Zealand traffic control system.

#### *The Queensland Police Questionnaire*

POLICE HEADQUARTERS,  
BRISBANE  
5th December, 1967

Dear Sir/Madam,

The Institutes of Criminology at the University of Sydney and the University of Brisbane are jointly conducting an Australasian-wide survey on police-public relations and it is expected that the results of the survey will receive wide publicity. This survey will be on lines similar to that conducted in the United Kingdom in connection with the Royal Commission on Police 1962.

A questionnaire has already been prepared for distribution to members of the general public seeking their attitudes towards police. In order to obtain balanced statistics, the police viewpoint is being sought by means of the enclosed questionnaire. This is a rare opportunity for Police Officers to participate in an exercise in which they can voice their opinions. The exercise is a voluntary one but it has my full support and I ask for your co-operation in giving the questionnaire full and serious attention.

Mr. P. Wilson of the University of Queensland has selected 500 members of the Queensland force whom he desires to take part in the research. You are one member selected. Mr. Wilson of course does not know you. His selection was made to give him a representative cross-section of ranks, ages, location, and service. This cross-section will be fully achieved if each selected member completes

and returns the questionnaire. The South Australian and New Zealand police had a 90% return and I feel we can better even that high figure. Our Department has had no say in selecting names, nor will it take any part in the collation of results, which I understand will be done through a computer in Brisbane.

Your name is NOT required on the questionnaire, nor is any covering report required. When you have completed the questionnaire, enclose it in an envelope and send it to the Public Relations Officer, Police Headquarters, Brisbane. Returns should reach this office as soon as possible.

F.E.Bischof  
(Commissioner Queensland Police Force)

### STUDY OF POLICE ATTITUDES

Questionnaires similar to this are being answered by other policemen in Australia as well as in New Zealand.

The questions ask about your attitudes towards the force, towards members of the public, your background, reasons for entering the force, and so on.

The majority of questions can be answered by circling a number corresponding to one of several alternative answers. Some questions require you to answer in your own words or to put a tick in a box.

The word "police" and "public" occur a number of times in the questionnaire. Each time it refers to the police and the public in Queensland.

You may not see the point of some of the questions but it would be appreciated if you could answer to the best of your ability. The information you give will be of the utmost value. Please do not discuss the questionnaire with your colleagues until you have completed it.

*The questionnaire is completely confidential.*

The information you provide will be reported only in the form of statistical summaries and your individual identity will not be revealed in any way. Thank you for your co-operation.

Mr. P.R.Wilson,  
Department of Government,  
University of Queensland.

Dr. D.Chappell,  
Institute of Criminology,  
University of Sydney.

For each question, please circle the number which corresponds to the category most appropriate to you, and where necessary supply the details required. E.g., if you were a senior constable, you would answer question 3, section D as follows:

3. Rank:

Inspector and above . . . . .	1	Senior constable . . . . .	⑥
Sub-inspector . . . . .	2	Constable 1st class . . . . .	7
Senior sergeant . . . . .	3	Constable . . . . .	8
Sergeant 1st class . . . . .	4	Cadet . . . . .	9
Sergeant 2nd class . . . . .	5		

Instructions for some questions are slightly different, but those questions are all marked. In these questions, follow the instructions included in the question.

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**SECTION A.** For each question please put a circle around the number corresponding to the category most appropriate to you. Where no categories are provided, please answer in your own words.

1. Do you think the general public in Queensland has:
  - Great respect for the police? ..... 1
  - Little respect for the police? ..... 2
  - Mixed feelings about them? ..... 3
  - Don't know ..... 4
  
2. Do you think that the general public's opinion of the police has changed, say, in the past ten years?
  - Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
  
- 2(i). *IF YES:* Do you think the general public's opinion:
  - Has changed for the better? ..... 1
  - Has changed for the worse? ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
  
- 2(ii). What do you think is the reason for the public's change of opinion?
  - .....
  - .....
  - .....
  
3. Do you think the police have changed in their manner towards members of the public in the last few years?
  - Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
  
- 3(i). *IF YES:* In what way do you think the police have changed in their manner towards members of the public?
  - Changed for the better ..... 1
  - Changed for the worse ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
  
4. Are there any sections of the community that you feel are particularly against you or resentful of you as a policeman?
  - Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
  
- 4(i). *IF YES:* Which sections of the community do you feel are particularly against you or resentful of you as a policeman?  
 (PUT A TICK IN THE BOXES OPPOSITE THOSE SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY)
  - Motorists .....
  - Teenagers .....
  - Lawyers .....



- Migrants from the United Kingdom .....
- Working classes generally .....
- Criminals, people with records .....
- Upper classes generally .....
- Aborigines .....
- Politicians .....
- Middle classes generally .....
- Journalists .....
- Pressure groups .....
- Students .....
- Other sections of the community (Please specify)  
.....
- Don't know .....

5. Do you think that in general, bystanders help as much as they should when they see a policeman in difficulties, for example, in dealing with violent drunks or teenage gangs?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3

6. Apart from helping in those sorts of incidents, do you think there is anything the public should do to help the police more to prevent crime or enforce the law?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3

6(i). *IF YES:* What is the main thing you suggest the public should do to help the police more? (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

7. Over the past two years, do you remember reading any newspaper reports of incidents or cases in which the police have been involved?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2

7(i). *IF YES:* As far as you can remember, did the reports seem to be:  
 Generally fair to the police? ..... 1  
 Generally unfair to the police? ..... 2  
 Sometimes fair, sometimes unfair? ..... 3  
 Neither fair nor unfair but just descriptive? .. 4

8. Do you think anything could be done to try and improve relations between the police and the public?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3

8(i). *IF YES:* What do you suggest is the main thing that should be done?  
(GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

*SECTION B*

9. Did you join the police force in Queensland

- As a cadet? ..... 1
- By direct adult entry? ..... 2

10. Would you please list the three main reasons why you joined the police force in Queensland? Put them in order of importance, with the most important reason written under (1), the least important written under (3).

- (1) .....
- (2) .....
- (3) .....

11. Would you say that your own opinion of the force has changed since you joined it?

- Yes ..... 1
- No ..... 2
- Don't know ..... 3

11(i). *IF YES:* In what way?

- Changed for the better .... 1
- Changed for the worse .... 2
- Don't know ..... 3

12. Apart from such things as unpopular hours of work, which police work do you dislike most? (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

- Beat duties ..... 1
- Informing relatives of deaths, illness, accidents.. 2
- Office and clerical work ..... 3
- Other forms of work (Please specify)  
.....  
.....  
.....
- Don't know ..... 4

13. Are there any things you think the police should spend more of their time on duty on than they do now?

- Yes ..... 1
- No ..... 2
- Don't know ..... 3

13(i). *IF YES:* What is the main thing they should spend more of their time on? (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

- Crime prevention and detection ..... 1
- Patrol on foot, on the beat ..... 2
- Improvement of relations with the public .... 3
- Traffic duties ..... 4
- Other activities (Please specify)  
.....  
.....
- Don't know ..... 5

14. Are there any things you think the police should spend less of their time on duty on than they do now?

- Yes ..... 1
- No ..... 2
- Don't know ..... 3

14(i). *IF YES:* What is the main thing they should spend less of their time on? (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

- Office work, writing reports ..... 1
- Enforcing liquor laws ..... 2
- Checking security of shops, offices, etc. .... 3
- Duties in connection with public functions,  
state occasions, processions, etc. .... 4
- Serving summonses and similar documents ... 5
- Other activities (Please specify)  
.....
- Don't know ..... 6

15. Do you think there has been any change in the type of person coming into the police force, say, over the past ten years?

- Yes ..... 1
- No ..... 2
- Don't know ..... 3

15(i). *IF YES:* Have they changed for the better or the worse?

- Changed for the better .... 1
- Changed for the worse .... 2
- Don't know ..... 3

15(ii). If you think the type of person coming into the force is better now, do you think the main thing that makes them better is: (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

- Their higher standard of education? ..... 1
- Their higher standard of training? ..... 2
- Both these things? ..... 3
- Something else? (Please specify)  
.....  
.....
- Don't know ..... 4

- 15(iii). If you think the type of person coming into the force is worse now, do you think the main thing that keeps the right type of person from joining the force is: (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)
- The pay? ..... 1
  - The job itself? ..... 2
  - What the public thinks about the job? ..... 3
  - All these things? ..... 4
  - Something else? (Please specify)  
.....  
.....
  - Don't know ..... 5
16. In your opinion, should recruitment to the police force in Queensland be through:
- Cadet entry only? ..... 1
  - Direct adult entry only? ..... 2
  - Partly cadet entry, partly adult entry? ..... 3
  - Some other way? (Please specify)  
.....
  - Don't know ..... 4
- 16(i). If you answered partly cadet entry, partly adult entry in Q. 16, do you think the cadet entry should be:
- 25 per cent or less of total recruitment? ..... 1
  - 50 per cent or less of total recruitment? ..... 2
  - 75 per cent or less of total recruitment? ..... 3
  - Over 75 per cent of total recruitment? ..... 4
17. In your opinion, which one of the following educational qualifications should be the minimum qualification required for persons joining the police force in Queensland?
- University degree or diploma ..... 1
  - Senior Public Examination ..... 2
  - Junior Public Examination ..... 3
  - Some secondary education ..... 4
  - Primary school ..... 5
  - Other (Please specify)  
.....
  - Don't know ..... 6
- 17(i). Do you think that University training leading to some degree or diploma would be of assistance to members of the police force in Queensland?
- Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
- 17(ii). *IF YES*: Do you think such university training would be of assistance to:
- All members of the force? ..... 1
  - Only members of the force above a certain rank? 2
  - Only members in specialized fields? ..... 3
  - Only members who want a high education and  
have the necessary ability? ..... 4
  - Don't know ..... 5
  - Other? (Please specify)  
.....

17(iii). Which university degree or diploma do you think would be of the greatest assistance to members of the force?  
 .....

18. Would you advise your children or other relations or close friends to choose the police as a career?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3

18(i). *IF YES:* What is the main reason that you would advise this choice?  
 (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)  
 .....  
 .....

18(ii). *IF NO:* What is the main reason that you would not advise this choice?  
 (GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER)  
 .....  
 .....

19. Listed below are some of the qualities which might go towards making an efficient policeman. Would you please indicate in order what you think are the most important qualities for a policeman to have? Put a 1 in the box opposite the quality you consider most important, a 6 in the box opposite the quality you consider least important with the others in between. If you answer *all equal to one another* or *don't know*, then do not indicate an order, (i.e. leave categories (a) to (f) blank).

(a) Polite, courteous .....	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Good physique, strong .....	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Sympathetic, understanding .....	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Intelligent .....	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) Well educated .....	<input type="checkbox"/>
(f) Good character, strong sense of duty .....	<input type="checkbox"/>
All equal to one another .....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know .....	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Do you yourself feel that you belong to a definite social class (e.g. upper class, middle class, working class, lower class)?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3

20(i). *IF YES:* To which social class do you feel that you belong?  
 Upper class ..... 1  
 Middle class ..... 2  
 Working class ..... 3  
 Lower class ..... 4  
 Don't know ..... 5  
 Other (Please specify)  
 .....

21. Apart from difficulties such as shift work, would you say that being a policeman makes friendship with people who are not in the police rather difficult, or doesn't it make any difference?

- Makes a difference ..... 1
- Makes no difference ..... 2
- Don't know ..... 3

21(i). *If it does make a difference, in what way?*

.....  
.....  
.....

21(ii). Are most of your close friends:

- Fellow members of the police force? ..... 1
- People outside the force? ..... 2

22. Do you think the present state of morale in the police force is:

- Good? ..... 1
- Satisfactory? ..... 2
- Poor? ..... 3
- Don't know ..... 4

22(i). *If you answered satisfactory or poor to Q. 21, which of the following factors do you think is at present weakening police morale?*

**(PUT A TICK IN THE BOXES OPPOSITE THOSE FACTORS)**

- Lack of effective leadership .....
- Adverse publicity in the press and other mass media .....
- Inadequate pay .....
- Present system of promotion .....
- Sub-standard police stations and residences .....
- Political intervention .....
- Long hours of work .....
- Recent disciplinary actions against members of the police .....
- Too much "red tape" .....
- A combination of all these factors .....

None of these factors – morale is good .....

Don't know .....

Other factors (Please specify)

.....  
.....

22(ii). *If you answered satisfactory or poor to Q. 21, how best do you think police morale could be improved?*

**(GIVE NO MORE THAN THREE SUGGESTIONS)**

- (1) .....
- (2) .....
- (3) .....

SECTION C

23. Do you think:
- All members of the police force should be armed? .... 1
  - Some members of the police force should be armed? .. 2
  - No members of the police force should be armed? .... 3
  - Don't know ..... 4
- 23(i). If you answered "some" to Q. 23, what members of the police force should, in your opinion, be armed?  
**(PUT A TICK IN THE BOXES OPPOSITE THOSE SECTIONS YOU THINK SHOULD BE ARMED)**
- Detectives .....
  - Vice-squad .....
  - Mobile police .....
  - Water police .....
  - The man on the beat .....
  - Those in dangerous circumstances .....
  - Night shift .....
  - Escorts .....
  - All those on duty outside stations .....
  - Other (Please specify) .....
  - .....
  - .....
  - Don't know .....
24. In your opinion, should the taking of breathalyser tests by those suspected of drunken driving be compulsory or not?
- Compulsory ..... 1
  - Not compulsory ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
- 24(i). If you think it should be compulsory, at which minimum blood alcohol level should it be illegal for persons to be in charge of motor vehicles?
- .05 ..... 1
  - .06 ..... 2
  - .1 ..... 3
  - Don't know ..... 4
  - Other (Please specify) .....
  - .....
  - .....
25. Do you think that a person convicted of murdering a policeman should be hanged?
- Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3
26. Should capital punishment be retained for any other offences?
- Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
  - Don't know ..... 3

- 26(i). *IF YES: In what circumstances should capital punishment be retained?*  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....
27. Drug addicts should be treated as people who are ill, rather than as criminals.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
28. Abortions should not be legal under any circumstances.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
29. If you disagreed with Q. 28, answer the next four questions.  
 (a) Abortion should be legal if the mother has been raped.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3  
 (b) Abortion should be legal if the mother's life is in danger.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3  
 (c) It should be legal when there is a danger that the child will be mentally or physically deformed.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3  
 (d) It should be legal when, for economic reasons, the mother would be unable to support the child.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
30. Homosexual acts in private by consenting males should be made legal.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
31. Prostitution should not be permitted under any circumstances.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
32. If you disagreed with Q. 31, answer this question. Prostitution should be carried on:  
 Only as a government enterprise? ..... 1  
 Only by private enterprise? ..... 2  
 Only by private enterprise under government supervision? ..... 3  
 Don't know ..... 4



33. Mutual incompatibility should be sufficient grounds for a divorce.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
34. A person should be free to take his own life if he wishes to, with no interference from society.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
35. Young people should not have too easy access to books which are likely to confuse them.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
36. While not condoning censorship of the press, radio, or television, it seems clear that the mass media must be subject to some form of government supervision. Otherwise the national security may be endangered or our allies misrepresented.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
37. No matter what the modern trend is, young people should be discouraged from having sexual relations before marriage.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
38. While internal censorship may not be desirable, there should be government regulations prohibiting the importation of obscene and pornographic books and materials.  
 Agree ..... 1  
 Disagree ..... 2  
 Don't know ..... 3
39. What in your opinion is the relative status or prestige of the following professional groups? Rank the groups by placing 1 against the highest status, 2 against the next highest, 3 against the next highest, and so on through to 10.  
**PLEASE READ THE ENTIRE LIST BEFORE COMMENCING YOUR RANKINGS.**  
 Scientists .....  
 Engineers .....  
 Lawyers .....  
 Dentists .....  
 Architects .....  
 Policemen .....  
 School teachers .....  
 University teachers .....  
 Diplomats .....  
 Doctors .....

40. If a policeman has reason to believe that one of his colleagues is seriously incompetent in his work, he should:
- Attempt to demonstrate this colleague's shortcomings to him . . . . 1
  - Alert the public to this fact so that policemen generally will not come into disrepute . . . . . 2
  - Take little or no action, since variations in competence among the members of any occupational group is one of the features of any job . . . . . 3
  - Write a report to his superior officer . . . . . 4
  - Attempt to handle the matter through his local police association so that the public does not learn of this state of affairs . . . . . 5
  - Take little or no action since independence of action is one of the features of most jobs . . . . . 6
  - Don't know . . . . . 7

*SECTION D*

1. Is the police station to which you are attached situated in a:
  - City or metropolitan area? . . . . . 1
  - Town with a population of 10,000 or more persons? . . . . . 2
  - Town or place with a population of between 1,000 and 10,000 persons? . . . . . 3
  - Town or place with a population of less than 1,000 persons? . . . . 4
  
2. Branch of police to which you are attached.
  - C.I.B. . . . . 1
  - Vice, licensing, scientific, or finger printing . . . . . 2
  - Training officer . . . . . 3
  - Uniformed . . . . . 4
  - Traffic . . . . . 5
  - Water police . . . . . 6
  - Cadet . . . . . 7
  - Other (Please specify) . . . . .
  
3. Rank:
 

Inspector and above . . . . . 1	Senior constable . . . . . 6
Sub-inspector . . . . . 2	Constable 1st class . . . . . 7
Senior sergeant . . . . . 3	Constable . . . . . 8
Sergeant 1st class . . . . . 4	Cadet . . . . . 9
Sergeant 2nd class . . . . . 5	
  
4. Sex:
  - Male . . . . . 1
  - Female . . . . . 2
  
5. Number of years service in the police force of this state:
  - Less than 1 year . . . . . 1
  - 1 - 5 years . . . . . 2
  - 6 - 10 years . . . . . 3
  - 11 - 15 years . . . . . 4
  - 16 - 20 years . . . . . 5
  - 20 years and over . . . . . 6

6. Have you served in any overseas police force?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2
- 6(i) *IF YES:* In which force or forces besides that in Queensland have you spent the longest period?  
 .....  
 .....
7. Age:  
 16 – 21 ..... 1      40 – 44 ..... 6  
 22 – 24 ..... 2      45 – 49 ..... 7  
 25 – 29 ..... 3      50 – 54 ..... 8  
 30 – 34 ..... 4      55 and over ..... 9  
 35 – 39 ..... 5
8. On which of the duties listed below have you spent the most time in the past twelve months? (*GIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER*)  
 Traffic patrol or control ..... 1  
 Uniform patrol ..... 2  
 Plain clothes patrol ..... 3  
 Station officer ..... 4  
 Supervisory ..... 5  
 Uniform enquiries ..... 6  
 Clerical duties ..... 7  
 Plain clothes enquiries, detective duties ..... 8  
 Cadet in training ..... 9  
 Other (Please specify)  
 .....  
 .....
9. Off duty, do you drive a car or other vehicle?  
 Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2
10. Are you:  
 Married? ..... 1  
 Single? ..... 2  
 Divorced or separated? .... 3  
 Widowed? ..... 4
11. Describe the last main occupation you had before joining the police force. If you had none, write “no other”. Please be as precise and detailed as possible, stating both the grade and nature of the occupation.  
 Industry .....  
 .....  
 Position .....  
 .....  
 Grade .....  
 .....  
 Approximate salary .....  
 .....

12. Describe the present or last main occupation of your father or male guardian. Please be just as precise as in Q. 11.  
 Try to answer all sections of the question.
- Industry .....
  - Position .....
  - Grade .....
  - Approximate salary .....
13. Education: Circle the highest education level achieved.
- University degree or diploma ..... 1  
 (Please specify which degree, etc.)
  - University, no degree or diploma ..... 2
  - Post-Senior technical diploma, etc. .... 3
  - Senior Public Examination ..... 4
  - Post-Junior technical diploma ..... 5
  - Junior Public Examination ..... 6
  - Some secondary education, not to Junior level .. 7
  - Scholarship Examination ..... 8
  - Primary school, not to Scholarship level ..... 9
  - Other (Please specify)
14. Have you obtained any police education qualifications?
- Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
- 14(i). IF YES: Please state what they are .....
15. Are you at present studying for further education qualifications? (Include police qualifications).
- Yes ..... 1
  - No ..... 2
- 15(i). IF YES: Please state what they are. Include police qualifications.
16. Please indicate the highest education level achieved by your father or male guardian.
- Some primary school ..... 1
  - Completed primary school ..... 2
  - Some secondary education ..... 3
  - Completed secondary school ..... 4
  - Completed post-secondary diploma and certificate training ..... 5
  - Attended university, no degree ..... 6
  - Completed university degree ..... 7
  - Other (Please specify)

17. When did you first decide to become a policeman?
- While in the primary school ..... 1
  - In the first few years of secondary school ..... 2
  - In the last year or two of secondary school ..... 3
  - After being unable to get into field of first choice ..... 4
  - After one or more years' working ..... 5
  - Another time in my life (Please specify) ..... 6
  - Don't know ..... 6

Thank you for your co-operation. If there are any additional points you would like to make, or if you wish to expand on any of your answers please do so, as this is of great value to this survey.

*The New Zealand Public Questionnaire*

**POLICE-PUBLIC RELATIONS SURVEY:  
NEW ZEALAND**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*INTRODUCTION:* Good (morning). I'm (NAME) from Sanford Associates Limited. We are conducting a survey for the University of Queensland on relations between the police and the public. May I speak to the youngest man over 16 who is at home? (IF NO MEN, ASK FOR THE YOUNGEST WOMAN OVER 16.) *IF INFORMANT IS REPLACED, REPEAT INTRODUCTION.*

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| 1.    | Have you, personally, always found the police polite and helpful, <i>or</i> have the police sometimes been impolite and unhelpful to you?               | ALWAYS POLITE ..... 1<br>SOMETIMES IMPOLITE ... 2<br>NO OPINION ..... 3<br>NO DEALINGS WITH POLICE ..... 4 |
| <hr/> |   |  |
| 2a.   | Apart from such things as asking the time or the way to a place, have you ever asked the police for help of any kind? (About an accident or a robbery?) | YES ..... 1 (Ask b-d)<br>NO ..... 2 (Go to 3)  |
| <hr/> |   |  |
| 2b.   | Would you mind telling me the most serious thing you have ever needed the police for?   | .....<br>.....   |
| <hr/> |   |  |
| 2c.   | Were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the police then helped you?   | SATISFIED .... 1 (Go to 3)<br>DISSATISFIED 2 (Ask d)   |
| <hr/> |   |  |
| 2d.   | <i>IF DISSATISFIED:</i> Why, especially, were you dissatisfied?   | .....<br>.....   |

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3. Considering everything about the way the police do their job, would you say that you have great respect for the police, little respect for them, or mixed feelings about them?

GREAT RESPECT ..... 1  
 LITTLE RESPECT ..... 2  
 MIXED FEELINGS ..... 3  
 NO OPINION ..... 4

4a. HAND CARDS, PINK ON TOP  
 In New Zealand, there are three organizations which handle traffic offences; the police, the Transport Department, and the Municipal Traffic Departments. Which *one* of these do you think has the main responsibility?

POLICE ..... 1  
 TRANSPORT DEPT. .... 2  
 MUN. TRAFFIC DEPT. .... 3  
 DON'T KNOW ..... 4

4b. Considering everything about the way each of these three organizations handle traffic matters, would you say that you had great respect, little respect or mixed feelings towards it?  
 (ASK ABOUT EACH ORGANIZATION SEPARATELY)

The police?	The Transport Dept.?	The Municipal Traffic Dept.?
GREAT RESPECT . 1	GREAT RESPECT 1	GREAT RESPECT 1
LITTLE RESPECT . 2	LITTLE RESPECT 2	LITTLE RESPECT 2
MIXED FEELINGS 3	MIXED FEELINGS 3	MIXED FEELINGS 3
DON'T KNOW .... 4	DON'T KNOW ... 4	DON'T KNOW ... 4

4c. Of these three organizations, which *one* do you think is mainly responsible for each of the following situations? (WRITE ON LINE PROVIDED.)

a) parking offences .....  
 b) speeding .....  
 c) accidents in which people suffer injury .....  
 d) drunken driving .....

5. When a policeman is in difficulties, as with a violent drunk or teenage hoodlum, do you think bystanders help as much as they should?

YES ..... 1  
 NO ..... 2  
 CAN'T SAY ..... 3

6a. Apart from helping in those situations, in what other ways do you feel the public might be able to help the police more?

.....  
 .....

6b. Anything else?

7a.	Have your feelings toward the police changed in the last (ten) years?	YES ..... 1 (Ask b) NO ..... 2 CAN'T SAY ..... 3 (Go to 8) NO EXPERIENCE 4
<hr/>		
7b.	<i>IF YES:</i> Do you now feel more highly, or less highly, of the police than you did (ten) years ago?	MORE HIGHLY ..... 1 LESS HIGHLY ..... 2 CAN'T SAY ..... 3
<hr/>		
8a.	Do you think any particular sections of the community are now against the police, or resentful of the police?	YES ..... 1 (Ask b) NO ..... 2 (Go to 9) CAN'T SAY ..... 3
<hr/>		
8b.	Looking at the next card, WHITE (please do not look at the other cards yet) ... in your opinion, are any of those sections against the police or resentful of the police?	CRIMINALS .....01 JOURNALISTS .....02 LAWYERS .....03 MIDDLE CLASS .....04 MIGRANTS .....05 MAORIS .....06 MOTORISTS .....07 POLITICIANS .....08 STUDENTS .....09 TEENAGERS .....10 UPPER CLASS .....11 WORKING CLASS .....12
<hr/>		
8c.	Any others? ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... .....	
CIRCLE AFTER ALL NAMED. PRINT ALL OTHERS.		
<hr/>		
9a.	Do you think anything should be done to try to improve relations between the police and the public?	YES ..... 1 (Ask b) NO ..... 2 (Go to 10) CAN'T SAY ..... 3
<hr/>		
9b.	<i>IF YES:</i> What, in particular, would you suggest might be done to improve relations between the police and the public?	..... .....
<hr/>		
9c.	Anything else? .....	
<hr/>		
10.	Judging by what you have read and heard, do you think there is any truth in a suggestion that the police sometimes take bribes, or do you think it is unlikely they would?	SOME TRUTH ..... 1 UNLIKELY ..... 2 NO OPINION ..... 3

11.	About the methods the police use to get information from people . . . do you think the police sometimes use unfair methods, such as questioning people for long hours, or tricking them into giving information, <i>or</i> , do you think the police are always fair? (Judging by what you have read and heard.)	SOMETIMES UNFAIR . . . . . 1 ALWAYS FAIR . . . . . 2 NO OPINION . . . . . 3
12.	When the police are giving evidence in court, do you think they sometimes twist evidence to win the case, or do you think the police are always fair?	SOMETIMES TWIST . . . . . 1 ALWAYS FAIR . . . . . 2 NO OPINION . . . . . 3
13.	When the police have to use force to make an arrest, do you think they sometimes use too much, or never more than needed?	SOMETIMES TOO MUCH .. 1 NEVER MORE THAN NEEDED . . . . . 2 NO OPINION . . . . . 3
14.	In your opinion, should the taking of breathalyser tests by those suspected of drunken driving be compulsory or not?	COMPULSORY . . . . . 1 NOT COMPULSORY . . . . . 2 NO OPINION . . . . . 3
15a.	Do you think firearms should always be carried by all members of the police force, or only by some members, or by none at all?	ALL . . . . . 1 (Go to 16) SOME . . . . . 2 (Ask b) NONE . . . . . 3 (Go to 16) NO OPINION . . . . . 4
15b.	<i>IF SOME</i> : Which sections of the police force do you think should always be armed when on duty?	. . . . . . . . . .
15c.	Any others? . . . . .	
16a.	Do you read any morning or evening newspapers at least 5 days a week?	YES . . . . . 1 (Ask b) NO . . . . . 2 (Go to 17)
16b.	<i>IF YES</i> : Which do you read at least 5 days a week?	MORNING . . . . . EVENING . . . . .
16c.	As far as you can remember, have the reports in the newspapers you have read seemed to be generally fair to the police, or generally unfair to them, or just descriptive?	FAIR . . . . . 1 UNFAIR . . . . . 2 DESCRIPTIVE . . . . . 3 UNDECIDED . . . . . 4
17a.	Do you think there has been any change in the type of person going into the police force over, say, the last (ten) years?	YES . . . . . 1 (Ask b) NO . . . . . 2 (Go to 18) DON'T KNOW . . . . . 3



17b.	<i>IF YES:</i> Have they changed for the better or for the worse?	BETTER ..... 1 WORSE ..... 2 DON'T KNOW ..... 3
18a.	Are there any things you think the police should spend more of their time on than they do now?	YES ..... 1 (Ask b) NO ..... 2 (Go to 19) DON'T KNOW ... 3
18b.	<i>IF YES:</i> What is the main thing they should spend more time on? (WRITE ONLY ONE)	..... .....
19a.	In recent years, do you think the police have changed in their manner toward the public or not?	CHANGED ..... 1 (Ask b) UNCHANGED ... 2 (Go to 20) DON'T KNOW ... 3
19b.	<i>IF YES:</i> Is their manner toward the public generally better or generally worse than it was?	BETTER ..... 1 WORSE ..... 2 UNDECIDED ..... 3
20a.	Speaking generally, would you say the policeman's job of enforcing the law has become easier or harder in recent years?	EASIER ..... 1 (Ask b) HARDER ..... 2 NO DIFFERENT . 3 (Go to 21) CAN'T SAY ..... 4
20b.	<i>IF EASIER OR HARDER:</i> In what ways would you say it was (easier) (harder)?	..... .....
21.	On the next card, BLUE, are some qualities which might go toward making an efficient policeman. Would you please read right through the list and then number those qualities one to six, to place them in their order of importance to you? (WRITE 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 AFTER THE QUALITIES)	CHARACTER ..... EDUCATED ..... INTELLIGENT ..... GOOD PHYSIQUE ..... POLITE ..... SYMPATHETIC ..... ALL EQUAL? CAN'T SAY ....

WITH VERY YOUNG AND VERY OLD PEOPLE, YOU MAY REGAIN THE CARDS AFTER 21, AND SKIP 22 AND 23. HOWEVER, JUDGING BY EXPERIENCE IN AUSTRALIAN INTERVIEWS, THERE SHOULD BE NO NEED TO DO THAT. IF YOU REGAIN THE CARDS HERE, YOU WILL HAVE TO REISSUE THEM AT 25, WITH THE WHITE CARD ON TOP.

I'm now going to ask you about some of the most difficult crimes the police have to cope with. They are difficult because some people say these things should not be illegal.

Looking at the next card, PINK, as I say the number before each statement, would you please say whether you agree or disagree with it?

22a.	<i>STATEMENT 1.</i> Do you agree or disagree with that?	AGREE ..... 1 DISAGREE ..... 2 UNSURE ..... 3
------	---	---

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22b.	<i>STATEMENT 2.</i> Do you agree or disagree with that?	AGREE ..... 1 (Ask c-f) DISAGREE ..... 2 (Go to 23) UNSURE ..... 3 (Ask c-f)
	<i>IF DISAGREE, SAY:</i> Then you'll disagree with the other statements on that pink card, so please turn to the next card, GREEN. <i>IF AGREE OR UNSURE, ASK c-f.</i>	
<hr/>		
22c.	Then, as I say the other four numbers, would you please say whether you agree or disagree with that statement? <i>STATEMENT 3.</i> Do you agree or disagree with that?	AGREE ..... 1 DISAGREE ..... 2 UNSURE ..... 3
<hr/>		
22d.	<i>STATEMENT 4.</i> Do you agree or disagree with that?	AGREE ..... 1 DISAGREE ..... 2 UNSURE ..... 3
<hr/>		
22e.	<i>STATEMENT 5.</i> Do you agree or disagree with that?	AGREE ..... 1 DISAGREE ..... 2 UNSURE ..... 3
<hr/>		
22f.	<i>STATEMENT 6.</i> Do you agree or disagree with that?	AGREE ..... 1 DISAGREE ..... 2 UNSURE ..... 3
<hr/>		
23a.	<i>TURNING TO THE NEXT CARD, GREEN</i> Do you agree or disagree with the first statement on that card?	AGREE ..... 1 DISAGREE ..... 2 UNSURE ..... 3
<hr/>		
23b.	Do you agree or disagree with the second statement?	AGREE ..... 1 DISAGREE ..... 2 UNSURE ..... 3
<hr/>		
23c.	<i>IF AGREE, SAY:</i> Then you won't agree with statements 3, 4 or 5. (GO TO 24) <i>IF DISAGREE OR UNSURE:</i> Then do you agree with statements 3, 4, or 5, or with none of them?	AGREES WITH 3 ..... 1 AGREES WITH 4 ..... 2 AGREES WITH 5 ..... 3 CAN'T SAY ..... 4
<hr/>		
24a.	Sex of person interviewed.	MALE ..... 1 FEMALE ..... 2
<hr/>		
24b.	Thank you. To make sure we have a true cross-section of people, would you mind telling me your approximate age?	16-21 ..... 1    46-55 ..... 5 22-25 ..... 2    56-65 ..... 6 26-35 ..... 3    66 ..... 7 36-45 ..... 4
<hr/>		

24c.	And may I have your own occupation, please? (RECORD OCCUPATION IN DETAIL, WITH GRADE.)	INDUSTRY .....	
		POSITION .....	
24d.	<i>IF DEPENDENT:</i> May I also have your (husband's) (father's) occupation?	INDUSTRY .....	
		POSITION .....	
25a.	Looking at the last card, WHITE, would you please tell me how much education you had? <i>REGAIN CARDS</i>	UNI. DEGREE .....	01
		SOME UNI. ....	02
		MATRIC. ....	03
		FIN. TECH. ....	04
		HIGHER LEAVING .....	05
		SCHOOL CERT. ....	06
		INTER. ....	07
		SOME TECH. ....	08
		SECONDARY .....	09
		FIN. PRIMARY .....	10
		SOME PRIMARY .....	11
25b.	At what time did your full-time education end?	AGE .....	
26a.	Are you licensed to drive a car (or motor cycle)?	YES .....	1 (Ask b)
		NO .....	2 (Go to 27)
26b.	<i>IF YES:</i> For how long have you held a driving licence of any type (just roughly)?	0-2 years .....	1
		OVER 2 - 5 YEARS .....	2
		OVER 5 - 10 YEARS .....	3
		OVER 10 YEARS .....	4
26c.	Do you drive a motor vehicle as part of your work, or mainly for private purposes?	FOR WORK .....	1
		MAINLY PRIVATE .....	2
26d.	About how many miles do you drive each year (roughly)?	MILES .....	
27a.	To help classify answers to some of the questions, would you mind telling me your religion?	CATHOLIC .....	1
		ANGLICAN .....	2
		PRESBYTERIAN .....	3
		METHODIST .....	4
		BAPTIST .....	5
		LUTHERAN .....	6
	PRINT OTHER .....		
27b.	Would you describe yourself as a strong church-goer, a moderate church-goer, or don't you go very often?	STRONG .....	1
		MODERATE .....	2
		NOT OFTEN .....	3
		NEVER GO .....	4
		NO ANSWER .....	5

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28. May I have your name, please (definitely not for publication, but only to show it is a genuine interview)?  
Mr./Mrs./Miss .....  
Number and street .....  
Town/suburb .....  
Marital status .....  
PRINT CHRISTIAN NAME  
AND SURNAME.

---

29. In which country were you born? NEW ZEALAND ..... 1  
ENGLAND ..... 2  
PRINT OTHER .....

---

30. Approximate population of the city (including suburbs) or town where you are interviewing. ....

---

31. Name or town or province. ....

---

**FINALLY: AGAIN EXPRESS YOUR THANKS. CHECK RIGHT THROUGH THE FORM, TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT *ALL QUESTIONS ARE ANSWERED*. AND SHUT THE GATE!**

I hereby certify this to be an honest interview with the person mentioned above, conducted by me in accordance with the instructions given.

Interviewer's signature ..... Time ..... a.m./p.m.  
Date ..... / ..... / 1968.

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