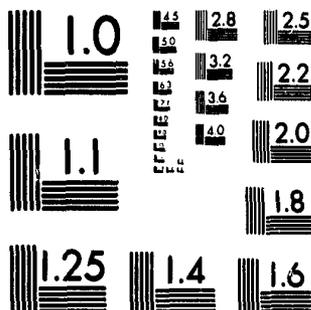


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POLICE AND FUTURE ISSUES

Australian Institute of Criminology  
PO Box 55  
WODEN ACT 2606

Bruce Swanton  
2 Apr 76

Tel: (062) 822111

65995

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ACQUISITIONS

This paper considers two issues that will undoubtedly affect the police service of the future. Specifically, it is a forecast considering the development of a new (or rather, revised) police ideology which for present purposes I shall equate with professionalism, and the potential that exists within the police service for conflict between professionalisation and unionism. Some of you with a deep commitment to the past will disagree with much of what I have to say. Others, less committed, will find what I have to say less disagreeable. Either way, I hope to stimulate your concern for the future of the police service and its union movement.

There is a variety of methods used for looking into the future, some 40 in all. There are considerable differences among these methods and they are employed according to the nature, purpose, and range of the forecast required. About the only thing they have in common is the fact that they aim to foretell future states; whether the states be precisely defined, alternatives,<sup>1</sup> or just general outlines of future situations. They all possess margins of error because perfect predictions are only possible in a perfectly static society.<sup>2</sup> And, whatever else is said about it, our present society cannot be said to be static.

A good deal of the literature in futures research uses combinations of methods. The results are often fleshed out by use of conjecture or speculation.<sup>3</sup> This paper is constructed in a

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1. McHale J. 1975. 'Forecasting and Futures Research'. Society, v12 #5 (Jul-Aug): 22.
  2. de Jouvenel B. 1967. The Art Of Conjecture. New York: Basic Books, p275.
  3. See for example, de Jouvenel, ibid; Kahn H & Wiener AJ. 1967. The Year 2000. New York: MacMillan.

similar way, in that it utilises at least three different forecasting techniques, combined with a liberal dose of speculation.

Looking into the future is not a simple matter. Quite recently, a senior British police officer claimed it is 'the height of arrogance and madness to forecast more than 12 months ahead . . . . To look further ahead to 25 years at the most can only be reasoned guesswork'.<sup>4</sup> The annual report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for 1921 contains the following passage:

'Motor patrols - An experiment was made to control moving traffic by use of motor patrols. Owing to the expense and the limited benefits derived it is not proposed to renew the experiment at present.'

The present Assistant Commissioner (Traffic) of the London Metropolitan Police has suggested that with such a background there is little wonder that forecasting is considered to be more guess-work than science.<sup>5</sup> In his annual report for 1975 the Commissioner of Police for Queensland comments on the difficulty 'of forecasting with any reliability the developments of the next twelve months . . .'.<sup>6</sup> True enough, but all these officers appear to, in a technical sense at least, be confusing the rather subtle distinction between planning and forecasting.<sup>7</sup> They also appear to fail to discern the difference between social and behavioral states, and technological states. In 1958, for

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4. Chief Constable A Armstrong, Bedfordshire Police, in a paper presented to the Autumn conference of ACPO(E,W&NI), Hutton, Lancs, 23-25 Sep 75.
  5. ACP PB Kavanagh, Metropolitan Police, in a paper presented to the Autumn conference of ACPO(E,W&NI), Hutton, Lancs, 23-25 Sep 75.
  6. Annual Report 1975. Brisbane: Queensland Police Department, p19.
  7. de Jouvenel, op cit, pp214-215.

example, Sir Ian Jacob, who at a later date was for a period deeply involved with the reorganisation of police in Britain, was asked to look 21 years ahead in the field of television. In so doing, he exercised his imagination as wildly as he could. And yet, you know, nine years later his wildest prognostications had been exceeded.<sup>8</sup> A United Nations paper dealing with the use of research in relation to crime prevention complains that in the fields of technology and the more exact sciences, the problem is the reverse of that complained of by police officers; that predicted events frequently occur before the expected date.<sup>9</sup> This can be quite inconvenient. The point is that technological, scientific, and economic forecasting is usually much simpler than social forecasting. In social forecasts, particularly those in which a great deal of detail is not available, researchers can often only provide scenarios, ie, pictures without clear details.

This paper is intended as a scenario. It identifies two general issues and outlines their relationship in a general way. It does not attempt to detail the combinations of possible states that could and may exist within the broad picture painted. This is because we are: (1) dealing essentially with a social situation, and (2) we are considering a fairly lengthy time span, from now until the turn of the century. It will be well for you to bear this point in mind because whilst some of you are more concerned with the probabilities of the future, all I am offering

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8. Jacob I. 1967. 'The Future of The Police Service'. Police Journal (UK), v40 #7 (Jul): 12.

9. 'Research For Action In Crime Prevention'. 1973, p19.

are possibilities. It also should be borne in mind that many social, economic, political, cultural, and military factors are ignored, any and all of which could and most probably will exert a considerable influence on the future development of police.

Despite these difficulties, forecasting is still a worthwhile exercise. Given present workloads and philosophies, police departments and unions have little time or inclination to forecast the future in any depth. And yet, many of the problems of today can be ascribed to our lack of foresight in 1950. 'We can prepare for change only if [we have] some idea, however vague, of what the future holds.'<sup>10</sup> Forecasting, in fact, can quite often provide us with sufficient detail about possible future states to permit us to take precautionary measures. Forecasting provides the necessary "lead time" in which to think and act.<sup>11</sup> And in these times of rapidly accelerating change, that is a valuable asset.

There has been a growing debate over the last decade and a half concerning the functions of police. The relevance of and emphasis on traditional police aims has come more and more into question. This questioning emanates not only from critics of police, but from serving and former police as well.<sup>12</sup> The general thrust of much of the criticism of the traditional, legalistic,

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10. Rao V. 1975. 'Police Futurology'. The Indian Police Journal, v22 #1 (Jul-Sep): 2.

11. 'Research For Action In Crime Prevention', op cit, p19.

12. See, for example: Berkley GE. 1969. The Democratic Policeman. Boston: Beacon Press; Chappell D & Wilson PR. 1969. The Police And The Public In Australia And New Zealand. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press; Cizanckas V. 1975. 'A Profile Of Tomorrow's Police Officer And His

crime and order oriented police ideology is that it needs re-ordering with a view to placing primary emphasis on "people" and an understanding of human behavior rather than "crime" and its repression. The body of literature that has developed in support of change, together with the increased use of strategies emphasising the needs of people and the need to maintain communication with the community, is in my opinion sufficient to indicate a trend,<sup>13</sup> diffuse though it may be. This particular trend does not exist in a vacuum but reflects a broader social trend in which community groups are calling for better and more relevant government services that will improve their quality of life. Examples that quickly spring to mind in this regard are continuing education, sport and leisure facilities, welfare amenities for mothers with young children and the elderly, housing and accommodation for groups with special needs, health, and so on.

If criticisms of past and present statements of police goals are valid, a fundamental question needs to be answered. Should police priorities be completely changed or merely reordered? JF Elliott, an American scientist with a great deal of experience in the application of police technology and computer-based patrol systems, strongly argues for a basic review. He

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Organisation'. The Police Chief, v42 #6 (Jun): 16, 18, 86; Fink J & Sealy LG. 1974. The Community And The Police - Conflict Or Cooperation? New York: John Wiley & Sons; German AC. 1971. 'Changing The Police: The Impossible Dream?' Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, And Police Science, v62 (Sep): 416-421; Mintz E & Sandler GB. 1974. 'Instituting A Full-Service Orientation To Policing' The Police Chief, v41 #6 (Jun) 46, 48 & 50.

13. For example: unit beat policing, team policing, community and neighborhood policing, police-citizen liaison groups and various similar programs. Cf June 1974 edition of The Police Chief (v41 #6).

argues that police should rid themselves of all the ancillary tasks they have acquired over the years and concentrate exclusively on fighting crime and maintaining the public peace.<sup>14</sup> His argument possesses a great deal of merit. But, it is doubtful if the community can afford or even desires such specialisation. I feel that a drastic re-organisation such as Elliott advocates will not be possible for the reasons suggested by Victor Cizanckas, the innovative Chief of the Menlo Park Police Department. He asserts that:

'We must . . . come to grips with the fact that we simply cannot afford another [government] agency with a 24-hour-a-day response capability to find lost children and lost adults, deliver babies, counsel families in crisis, and investigate accidents, fires, burned-out lights, and safety hazards. The police will continue to provide these services; our clients will have it no other way.'<sup>15</sup>

The question thus arises as to how priorities and emphases should be restated. By and large, proponents of the new people and behavior (ie, community) oriented police ideology are saying that whilst crime control is an important police responsibility, as are the protection of life and property and the maintenance of public order, these functions could be better dealt with if more closely integrated with other police functions. The reformers, that is those who support the trend for a change in police ideology, argue that improved police performance will flow from the reordering of program priorities and placing emphasis on police contributions to the quality of life. Not only will police social services improve,

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14. Elliott JF. 1973. The "New" Police. Springfield, Ill: CC Thomas.

15. Cizanckas, op cit, pl6.

they claim, but so will performance in the area of crime, in particular, improve. No doubt its progress will be slow and uneven and it will eventually plateau out as we find, partly by trial and error, the optimum volume and style of police-community services required. I doubt if we will ever return to the bad old days in which property was rated more important than human beings.

If police operations and programs predicated on a full-service ideology are to be implemented effectively, then police will need improved and reoriented training. A far greater emphasis on the behavioral and social sciences will be required. Again, changes in this direction are already taking place; slowly may be but, taking place they are. As befits the early stages of a trend, law is still paramount but the tide is turning. Eventually, the legally oriented training of today will disappear and law will 'find its proper place as only one of many tools at the disposal of the community oriented Constable'.<sup>16</sup> These occurrences are all part of the gradual emergence in Australia of the new police ideology. Because of the increased knowledge and expertise that will be demanded of police personnel in a people or community oriented police service, the status and prestige of the police occupation will rise. It is here that we will see the process of professionalisation emerging.

In criticising the police for not sufficiently

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16. Chief Constable JC Alderson, Devon & Cornwall Constabulary, in a paper presented to the Autumn conference of ACPO(E,W&NI), Hutton, Lancs, 23-25 Sep 75.

emphasising a behavioral approach a British barrister recently said:

'Is there any evidence of a serious attempt to teach the police recruits a scientific view of crime, to instil a philosophical recognition of crime as a behavioral deviation, often dangerous, no doubt, but requiring containment and treatment rather than confrontation and suppression. (Sic). For unless and until the police can come to regard themselves as a social therapeutic there can be little prospect of their ever discovering a truly modern ideology. This is not to devalue courage in the face of violent confrontation, not to pay tribute to those who make the supreme sacrifice, but to lift this courage and self-sacrifice to an altogether higher plane.'<sup>17</sup>

I have read this extract because it rather neatly sums up the point being made concerning the reordering of police emphases and policies and their relevance to a new police ideology. Unfortunately, it is couched in rather emotional language and is likely to produce resistance amongst some police for that reason. It certainly had that effect on me the first time I read it.

Let us now look at the question of crime for a moment. It is a subject that tends to dominate the thinking of many police and it colors the image of police held by many citizens. One US analysis of police activity found that less than one third of police time is spent dealing with crime. This included the relevant activities of uniformed personnel as well as detectives and plain clothes members. About two thirds of police time was spent on administration and social service tasks.<sup>18</sup> I imagine in Australia we would shape up in a rather similar manner. We

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17. James L. 1975. 'The Police Service And The Future'. Justice Of The Peace, v139 #37 (13 Sep): 518. Reprinted in NSW Police News, 1976. v56 #2 (Feb): 56 & 57.

18. Webster JA. 1972. The Realities Of Police Work. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co, p100.

can reasonably adduce that something less than one third of police time is spent on what is generally considered to be the number one police priority. Only some 15 per cent of all sworn police in Australia are either detectives or plain clothes men.<sup>19</sup> This figure alone gives some idea of the true priority given to crime within the total police effort.

Crime, however defined, is an extremely important area of police activity. In terms of seriousness, if not volume, it is probably the most important. If one includes public order, then it certainly is, and if police are to make any serious contribution to the country's quality of life, then these areas have to be regulated better than at present. I say regulated advisedly, because it is not within the power of police to suppress crime completely. No society has yet succeeded in doing that. Crime, in some form, to some extent, like the poor, will always be with us; because crime is not just sordid happenings, it is human behavior.<sup>20</sup> Police activity can have some effect on the incidence of crime, but the evidence tends to suggest that their effect is limited<sup>21</sup> past a certain point. Because of the difficulties involved in compiling objective crime data, it is impossible to be absolutely sure if the crime rate is falling, constant, or rising. Even in the US, where every government source admits to a rapidly rising crime rate,

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19. Swanton B. 1976. 'The Police In Australia: A Critique'. In Chappell D & Wilson PR (eds) The Australian Criminal Justice System, 2d. Sydney: Butterworths (in press).
  20. Clark R. 1970. Crime in America. London: Cassell, p15.
  21. See for example, Kelling G, et al, 1975. The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment, Washington. DC: Police Foundation.

experts in crime measurement can only offer informed opinions that the rate is in fact rising.<sup>22</sup> So much for objective crime measurement. The best uniform crime data available in Australia are contained in the select crime reports. These reports show total crime reported as becoming known to police in selected categories. Over the eight calendar year period 1967 to 1973 inclusive, select crimes against property increased by approximately 70 per cent and crimes against the person by 66 per cent (see fig 1). Based on this evidence, I think it likely that crime in the community is increasing. A projection of these data suggests that rates will continue to increase for some years yet. Over the period 1966 to 1973, State police operative personnel strengths increased by 21 percent (see fig 2). This indicates a real police growth of nine per cent. Projections indicate a continued increase in the rate of police employed in the short term. However, in the longer term the increasing cost of the police service (net expenditure for State police forces in 1972/73 was \$162,287,000) will induce a levelling off. Over the period 1966/1967 to 1972/1973 the percentage increase in the cost of police was 205 per cent, and accelerating. The cost to the community during this time for each policeperson rose from \$4.42 to \$7.70 (see fig 3). During the period 1966/1967 to 1972/1973 prices as measured by the Consumer Price Index went up by 29.8 per cent. Despite the grossness of these data,<sup>23</sup> it can be concluded that the community is spending more money in real terms

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22. IACP. 1975. 'A Discussion With DA Biderman'. Agenda, 4-75:9.

23. Price increases do not exactly reflect cost increases and vice versa, costs cited are based on financial years, crime and personnel strength data are based on calendar years. It can be seen that for these reasons alone, and there are many other complicating factors, conclusions can only be stated in a very general way.

on more police, and getting a higher crime rate in return. This does not necessarily imply that the quality of policing has deteriorated. The brake to police growth will be eventually applied by placing a limit on police-public ratios. New Zealand already has a fixed ratio as a matter of course. With apparently increasing, for the time being at least, crime rates and other responsibilities, police authorities will be placed in a position of "taking up the slack" and formulating more effective policies and strategies if they are to retain credibility. Trends, as outlined previously, make it highly likely that these adjustments will be in the form of a service/community oriented approach to policing. This orientation includes crime control and crime prevention being more fully integrated within the total police effort. It is interesting to note that Queensland appears to be moving in this direction at the present time. The day of the generalist is returning. But the new police generalist will be far better trained and with a vastly different outlook from his predecessors, he will be the "professionalised generalist".<sup>24</sup> This situation is not peculiar to Australia. John Alderson, a former Commandant of Bramshill, and now Chief Constable of the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary has forecast a similar situation in England and Wales. He says, 'If the police are to realise their full potential in the improving but not expanding society, they will need to secure the bridgeheads of understanding of change and novelty and act accordingly. They should', he continues, 'begin by planning a futuristic training system now.'<sup>25</sup> Rather flowery language perhaps, but the message

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24. Chamelin NC et al. 1975. Introduction to Criminal Justice. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

25. Alderson, op cit.

is loud and clear.

Alderson's comment regarding a non-expanding society is interesting in view of Australia's present fertility rate which is just about at replacement level. Our population figure at 2000 AD is projected at about 17,000,000. Migration could account for some 2,000,000 more, giving us an approximate population total of 19,000,000 at the end of the century. This low rate of population increase is of great significance to police and the development and extension of its service role. The age group 15-24 years, will peak in 1980 and decline thereafter. In 1980, it is projected that 15-24 year old males will constitute just over nine per cent of our entire population or 18 per cent of the male population. From then on it will decline until by the year 2000, the 15-24 year old male element will amount to 7.7 per cent of the population or 15.39 per cent of the male population. This is good news for the police in one way, as the largest group of offenders in our society will be significantly reduced and thus, hopefully, the crime rate. The crime rate in the less serious categories will also improve in that some minor offences will be decriminalised between now and 2000 AD. Indeed, some already have been. The tendency to politicise crime, which may well extend into the new century,<sup>26</sup> is of considerable relevance to a community policing orientation, as far greater understanding of the phenomenon is required than is now available. The proportion of

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26. Quinney R. 1973. The Problem Of Crime. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

middle-aged and elderly in the community will increase significantly,<sup>27</sup> adding to the desirability of an expanded social role for police. On the other hand, of course, the police recruiting base will progressively reduce. Hopefully, by that time, the job will in general terms be so attractive that recruitment shortfalls will not occur.

It is claimed that a people centered approach to police work, based on an improved understanding of behavior, can be more effective than present orientations in both crime control and prevention. And, in case you feel that such a suggestion is mere academic theorising, I should tell you that a supporter of this view is Clarence Kelley, head of the FBI.<sup>28</sup> As you are no doubt aware, immediately prior to his taking over as FBI Director, Kelley was Chief of the Kansas City Police Department. The Kansas City Police Department is one of the most innovative and successful police departments in the United States, largely due to his influence. A number of senior Australian police officers have made it their business to visit Kansas City in order to observe his methods first hand. From this it should be gathered that I am not suggesting a milk and water police organisation, a sort of emasculated force of do-gooders. In fact I am forecasting 'a much more intellectually mature, and much more highly disciplined force altogether'.<sup>29</sup>

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27. Spencer G. 1975. 'Projecting Australia's Fertility - Postscript.' Australian Journal of Social Issues, v 10 #2 (May): 147.

28. Kelley CM. 1975. 'A View of Police Productivity'. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, v44 #6 (Jun): 9.

29. James, op cit, p518.

In particular, I am not recommending complete objectivity of police towards offenders. Understanding criminal behavior, for instance, does not mean you have to like or feel neutral toward criminals. I personally think disapproval of dishonesty is a good thing in a healthy community. In any case, I think it would be extremely difficult for any organisation such as police to do its job properly if it did not believe in what it was doing. As Herman Kahn,<sup>30</sup> a world renowned futures researcher, stated when he visited Australia last year, 'you have to be self-righteous to defend what you have'. The new police ideology, or professionalisation, that I am outlining here involves police having a strong commitment to worthwhile community values and the community good.

By placing greater emphasis in the future on police service to the public, policepersons will acquire a considerably greater knowledge and expertise in social matters than they possess at present. As the trend develops, operational police will need to become specialist generalists. Of course there will always be a need for support specialists such as evidence and identification technicians, systems analysts, communications and computer specialists, and so on. But, for operational personnel there will be a much greater emphasis on members possessing a wide range of skills amounting to professional knowledge. Over time they will meet and work with other professionals on a basis of occupational equality.

For that state of affairs to develop there will need

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30. The Australian, 13 Sep 75, pp21-22.

to be a considerable emphasis on police education. The leader of the New South Wales State Opposition, Mr Neville Wran recognised this point in an address he gave late last year to members attending an in-service training and education course at the NSW Police Academy.<sup>31</sup> At that time he remarked:

'In the future members of the police force will find themselves operating in roles far removed from the present.

The police officer of the future will work closely with sociologists, criminologists, welfare officers and social workers and he must be trained in these fields.'

The change of corporate attitude or philosophy necessary to bring about this future state will take time to evolve. It has started. I think many older members of the service would be surprised to learn the true extent of dissatisfaction and disillusionment of many young members in relation to the status quo.<sup>32</sup> Once you are out of your twenties, changes of attitude are not achieved easily, and a majority of police personnel aged thirty and over will not change their ideology significantly. But as they slowly leave the service and as more young persons join it, the balance will start to change. Eventually, their views and values will be reflected in departmental policies. I estimate that by the end of this century the new ideology will be fairly well entrenched.

For police personnel in the future, working at individually more responsible levels than at present, having

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31. New South Wales Police News. 1976. v56 #1 (Jan): 17.

32. cf Smith WHT & Sprecher DA. 1974. The Police Leader Looks At Unrest Within The Department. Falls Church, Va: Leadership Resources Inc.

to make important decisions, and employing a greater range of knowledge and skills, the present disciplinary/supervisory system will not be acceptable. In fact, in some areas in Australia, it is barely holding even now. Required levels of discipline will increasingly have to be maintained by positive means rather than the overwhelming emphasis on negative means as happens at the present time.<sup>33</sup> Members will increasingly demand increased autonomy and the opportunity for self-realisation. Planned changes to forestall this particular area of conflict are necessary. I am pleased to see that one State at least, Victoria, is already at work on the problem. It is becoming increasingly necessary in today's industrial climate to optimise motivation and job satisfaction, and basic structural and administrative changes will be necessary to permit this. I don't want to divert here into a discussion of the work of Abraham Maslow or Frederick Herzberg. Some of you will be acquainted with their theories, and the importance of those theories to these matters.<sup>34</sup> Let it suffice to say here that Maslow identified a hierarchy of human needs culminating with self-realisation, ie, the development of one's innate, positive potentialities.<sup>35</sup> Herzberg has pointed out important variations in the operation of different groups of needs; how some factors,

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33. Olmos RA. 1974. 'Some Effects Of Police Unionism On Discipline.' The Police Chief v41 #4 (Apr): 24.

34. See, for example: Gunzburg D (ed). 1975. Bringing Work To Life: The Australian Experience. Melbourne: Cheshire; Maslow AH. 1943. 'A Theory Of Human Motivation.' Psychological Review, v50: 370-396. Herzberg F. 1966. Work And The Nature Of Man. New York: World Publishing Co. Vroom Vli & Deci EL (eds). 1970. Management And Motivation. Harmondsworth, Mx: Penguin.

35. Wolman BB. 1973. Dictionary Of Behavioral Science. New York: MacMillan.

eg, pay and allowances, whilst capable of causing considerable dissatisfaction if considered insufficient, will not cause a corresponding degree of satisfaction if considered generous, and how other factors, called motivators, are capable of creating high levels of job satisfaction. Knowledge of this type is already being acquired by police, particularly younger members who are studying, who are thus becoming more aware of alternatives to present organisational structures. I've just finished reading Peter Maas' book Serpico. Some of you who have read it will recall Serpico's statement to the Knapp Commission. In it he said:

'A policeman's attitude about himself reflects in large measure the attitude of his superiors toward him. If they feel his job is important and has stature, so will he.'<sup>36</sup>

This was a most insightful statement and is of considerable significance to police unions. Strategies for incorporating such theories into job structures have not yet started, although at least one Commissioner has indicated his faith in Maslow's theory of needs. The increasing pressure from younger members for more enlightened administration and command will eventually make it essential for departments to consider such matters. Conflicts of this nature are the essence of industrial relations and I am sure you will have already appreciated how deeply the police unions will need to be involved in these matters. Because, if you, the unions, are not, then you will forego credibility in the eyes of many of your younger members. I'm not sure of the average age of your executive committee. I calculated South

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36. Maas P. 1973. Serpico. New York: Viking Press, p305.

Australia's executive committee average age a couple of years ago at 46. It would be little different with the present New South Wales executive, I imagine. So you can see, there is the possibility of a generation gap developing, caused by the lag between the aspirations of younger members and association policies and activities, determined largely by older members. The point is a serious one because a small generation gap already exists, as it must, in all associations and unions. My impression is that in the larger unions that gap is growing. Just as a police department that departs too far from the expectations of the public it serves, strikes problems, so, too, a union that departs too far from the expectations of its members may find trouble.

I think the NSW annual delegates' workshop is one excellent way for the association to keep its finger on the pulse of membership feelings.<sup>37</sup> I feel though that in the years immediately ahead this will not be sufficient. The majority of police take little interest in their associations and unions, provided pay rises are regularly obtained. There are large numbers of police who vent their job related frustrations in channels outside the associations. If these pressures build up too fast and too great a lag or gap develops, not only the department but the association will suffer, as well. My own immediate response would be to assign an executive member with specific responsibility for representing younger members of the association, say under age 28. These members represent

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37. See, for example: 'Branch Officials' Industrial Relations Seminar 1975'. New South Wales Police News, v55 #11 (Nov): 399-404; particularly remarks by Pat Ciocarelli.

a special group with their own special problems. Currently, (in a very general way) their aspirations far exceed the realities of their situation. The potential for frustration, given the present style of organisation and operation, is obvious. Associations will be wise to channel this frustration responsibly. It will mean police unions concerning themselves much more deeply than at present in areas of job satisfaction and job enrichment. Just as importantly, as indicated earlier, police administrators must do so as well. This is an extraordinarily complex area and there is still a lot of research to be done. South Australia is currently leading the Australian field in this regard. But, although job enrichment can reduce absenteeism and personnel turnover, and increase productivity, those very facts produce further complications in turn. Although enriched jobs can be psychologically gratifying for many people, 'they nevertheless expect to be compensated for increased responsibility, discretion, and complexity in their work'.<sup>38</sup> This situation, which will unfold slowly over time, will tax the wisdom and industrial acumen of the various associations and union executives to the fullest. Departments will naturally not be overly keen to implement service reforms that will oftentimes create applications for increased salaries and allowances. I think great strain will be placed on the Police Federation of Australia concerning this process; in fact it could be the "making" of the Federation by placing upon it the responsibility for having to provide effective occupation-wide industrial leadership, which is certainly not the case at the present time. It seems to me that a major

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38. Parke EL & Tausky C. 1975. 'The Mythology Of Job Employment: Self-Actualisation Revisited'. Personnel, v52 #5 (Sep-Oct): 12-13.

priority of the Federation is to develop its own vision of the police future and start working toward it.

Futures research in the United States has established two significant trends in police attitudes that will certainly carry through into the twenty-first century. The two trends are professionalisation and unionisation. They were identified by two panels of experts, one composed of veteran police officers and the other consisting of law enforcement educators, top echelon police administrators, attorneys and social ethicists'. The two trends or movements were considered to contain conflicting sets of occupationally-related values.<sup>39</sup> No one knowing the history of police unionism in Australia can doubt the continued existence of the movement. But, the form of professionalisation referred to in the American study is more one of command or managerial style. This is also becoming evident in Australia. It springs in part from a natural desire for improved occupational prestige and status. Also, though, police administrators are tending to adopt a business management model in running their police forces. As Clarence Kelley puts it:

'it is vitally important to us and to society that we properly define police productivity, develop reliable benchmarks to measure productivity, and set about improving our productivity.'<sup>40</sup>

In this model, which is a definite managerial trend, great emphasis is placed on quantitative data, productivity measurement, and accountability. Some Australian police departments'

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39. Cooper TL. 1974. 'Professionalisation And Unionisation' Of Police: A Delphi Forecast On Police Values'. Journal of Criminal Justice, v2 #1 (Spring): 27.

40. Kelley, op cit, p7.

annual reports show evidence of this trend.<sup>41</sup> The pressures on police administrators for this particular command perspective are great and probably beyond resistance at the present time. In bidding for limited public funds, the most compelling arguments are quantitatively based. Politicians, pressure groups, police theorists, planners, and police themselves are continually concerned to measure and evaluate performance for a variety of purposes. This measurement is conducted from formation level down to the individual policeperson.

This emphasis is in fundamental conflict with the concept of a new police ideology and the concept of professionalism that derives from it. You can't have wide personal autonomy and tight individual controls. This conflict is already, to a limited extent, apparent in Australia. In view of the growing emphasis on education within the police service, it cannot but continue to grow. The American experience, in which the process is more apparent than in Australia as yet, is summed up by one writer in the following words:

'Apparently, the greater participation in problem solving and decision making expected by "professionalising" officers not only runs counter to the hierarchical nature of police departments, but is not compatible with the the chief's need to streamline those processes for the sake of efficiency and productivity. Broader participation in decision making is time consumptive and therefore, costly. Demonstrable efficiency seems to be more easily achieved through cost-effective decision-making processes and accountability systems managed from the top.'<sup>42</sup>

One thing is for sure, if those police who have high aspirations for the future of the police service and are educationally equipping themselves to participate in that future, are denied

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41. See in particular, Victoria and Queensland.

42. Cooper, op cit, p29.

the opportunity to exercise their competence free from inhibitingly close supervision and to achieve positions of responsibility within a reasonable period of time, they will become a grave source of dissatisfaction within the service. Nowhere more so I feel, because of its size and promotion system, than in New South Wales. Developments of this nature will evolve over the next decade, I predict. We have a scenario here for serious conflicts within the police service. One, a conflict between those favoring a version of the new ideology as outlined here and those committed to the status quo. Such a conflict, if permitted to develop to a significant degree, could effectively weaken the police union movement. Two, a conflict between members trying to professionalise according to the new ideology and those pursuing the managerial model. There is a great deal of overlap in these two potential conflicts. In the absence of well formulated and clearly enunciated policies and great success in pursuing them, unions will be placed in the position of supporting one faction or the other, or perhaps being torn apart in the process. At some future stage, when and if factions are fairly closely balanced, this could be disastrous. It could mean one faction deserting the union to pursue its own course, may be even the formation of a breakaway organisation. Some of you will know the case of Baltimore in which competing police unions reduced each other to impotence.<sup>43</sup> This would be fatal to the police service in Australia. The police union movement here, which is highly responsible, plays almost as important a part in the processes of the police service as do

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43. Halpern SC. 1974. Police Association and Department Leaders. Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books.

the various police administrations. It is their complementary activities that make the police service what it is. If one party were to become inept, the remaining party would be severely disadvantaged, rather like a government without a strong opposition. The administration-union relationship is a truly symbiotic one, each being necessary to the other. It is essential that the police union movement of the future not permit itself to be manoeuvred into a position: (1) where their memberships polarise, or (2) they obstruct the trend to professionalisation. The paradox here, of course, is that if professionalisation is successful, members may feel less dependent upon their unions.

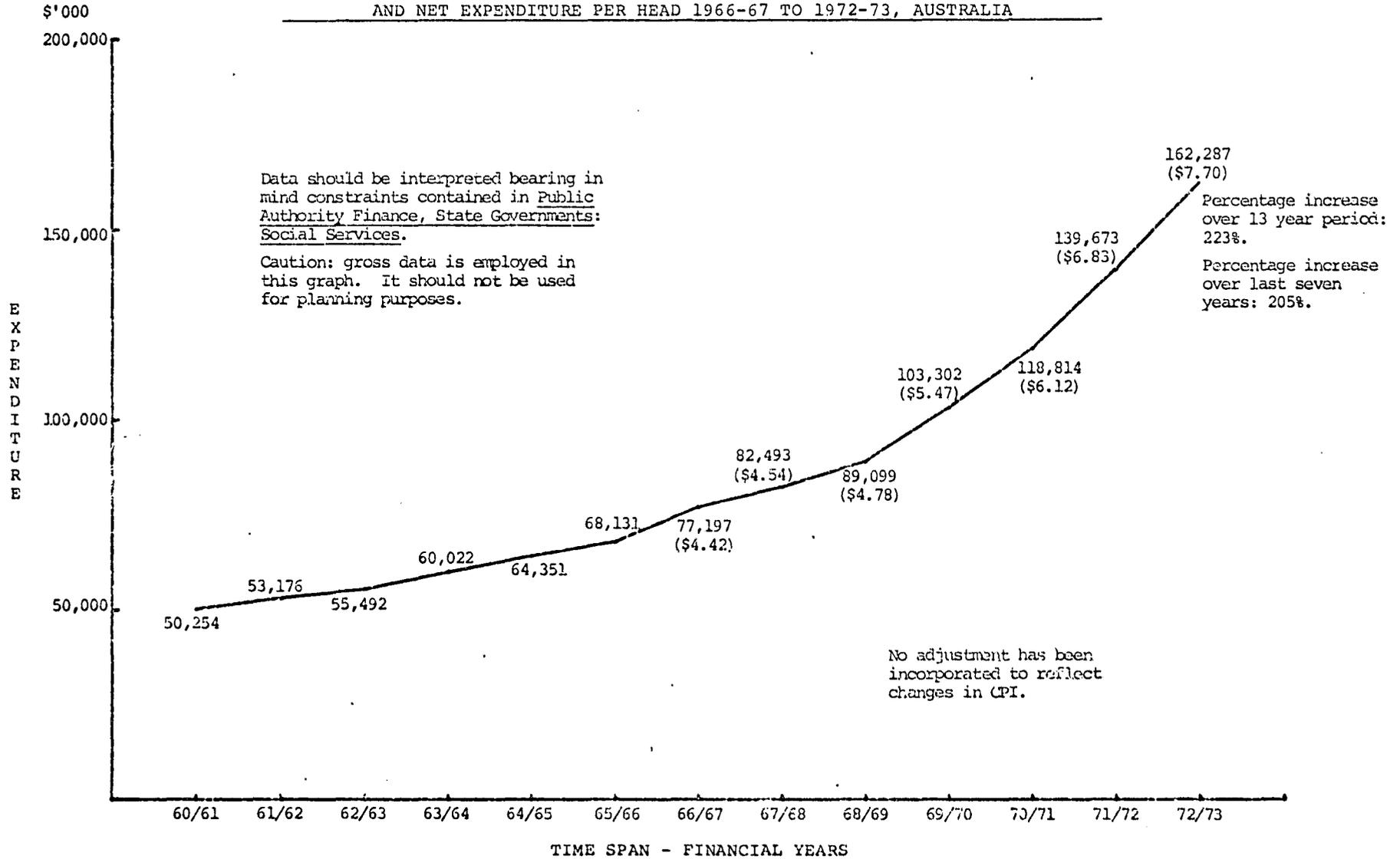
In concluding, I wish merely to summarise the main points I have made in this paper concerning police and future issues. Two major issues, as I forecast them, are the development of a new police ideology, which is closely interwoven with the development of police professionalisation. This ideology involves the introduction of a full-service orientation to policing; the approach is based on an increased knowledge of and concern with human and community behavior. Economic and demographic projections tend to support such an orientation. Crime will not be treated as an isolated category but will be placed in its community perspective. In order to operate at this level of responsibility, individual policepersons will need to acquire a wider range of knowledge and skills. This will eventually result in their being perceived as professionals.

The emergence of professionalism in the police service will be protracted and will place strains upon both departments and unions, each of which is necessary to the effective operation of the other. Police unions may well find themselves in the position where they will be forced into supporting opposing factions, those proposing maintenance of the status quo or, conversely, professionalisation. Even more importantly, unions may find themselves in a position where they oppose professionalisation. In such an event, unions could incur the active opposition of a significant proportion of their members, which in turn could lead to a breakaway movement. Such an event would be disastrous for the entire police service. To obviate such an eventuality, I suggest, the Police Federation of Australia, in conjunction with its individual unions, needs to carefully formulate its own vision of the most desirable future state of the police service, and work toward implementing it. Failure to do this will in the long run be a disservice not only to the police union movement, the police occupation, and the police service, but also to the community to whom the police are ultimately responsible.

Thank you for listening to me.

FIGURE 3

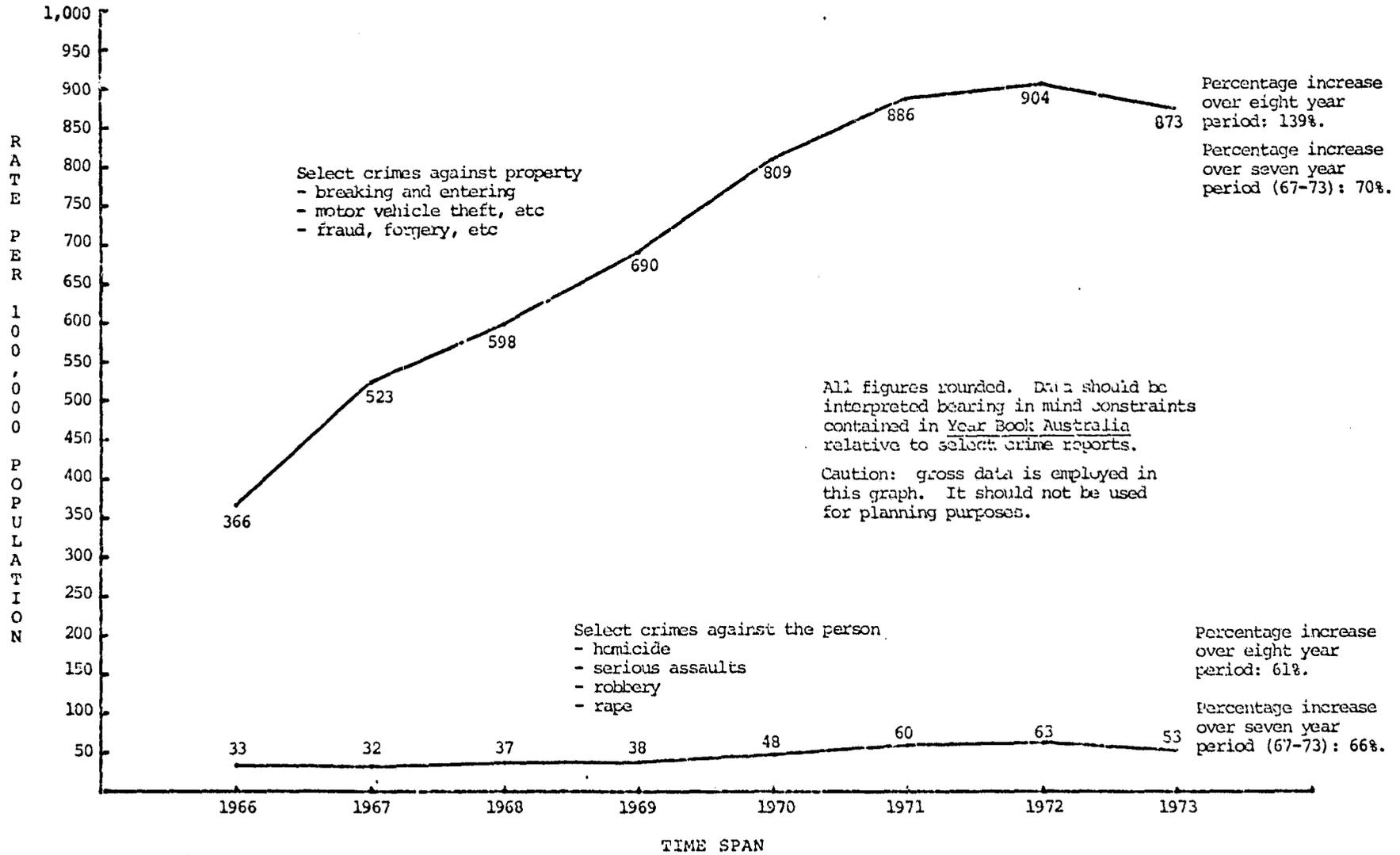
STATE POLICE FORCE EXPENDITURE: ANNUAL NET EXPENDITURE 1960-61 TO 1972-73  
AND NET EXPENDITURE PER HEAD 1966-67 TO 1972-73, AUSTRALIA



Data Source: ABS  
Data Compilation: A Kononewsky

FIGURE 1

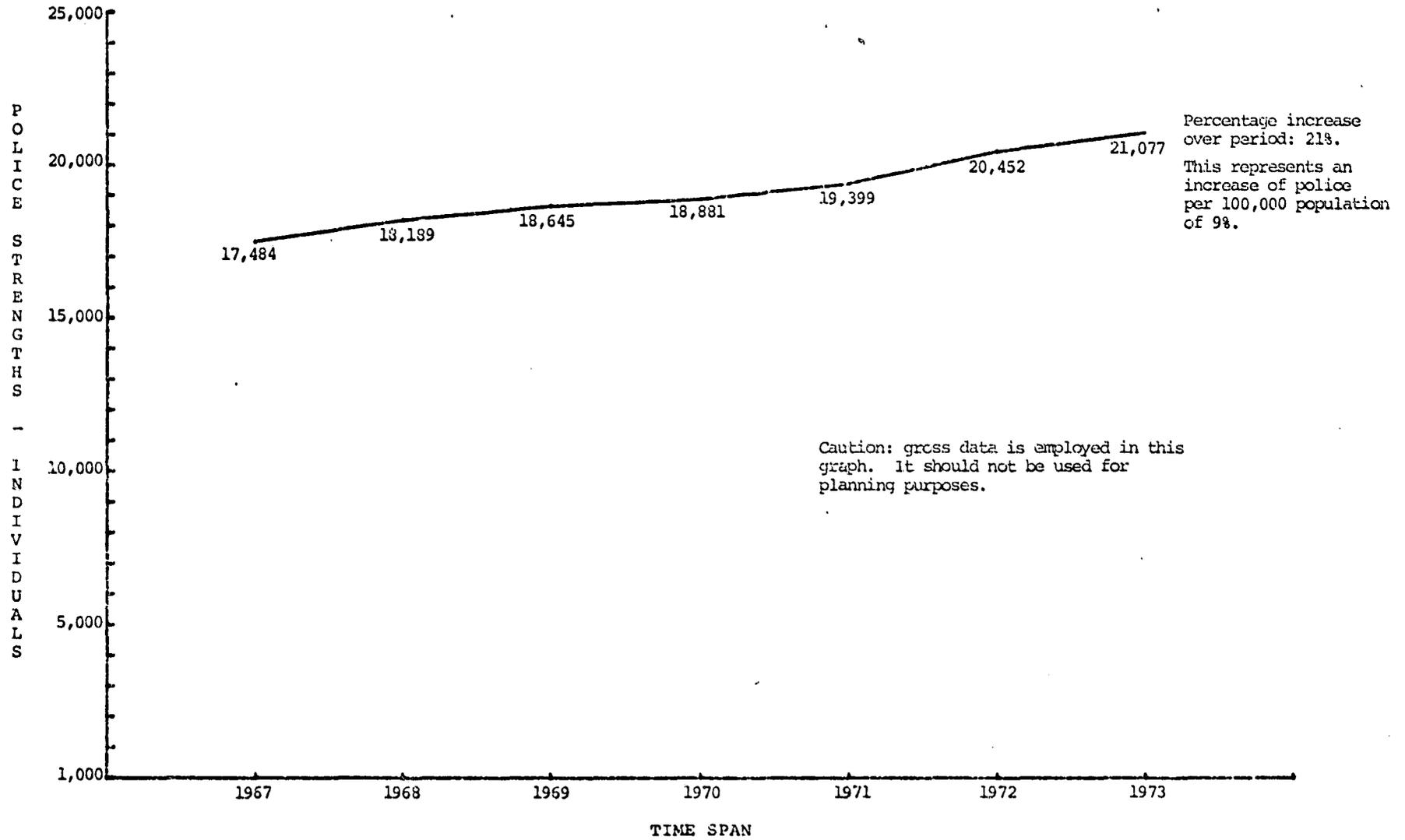
CRIME RATES: SELECT CRIMES, MAJOR GROUPINGS, BY RATE PER  
100,000 MEAN POPULATION, AUSTRALIA, 1966-73



Data Source: ABS  
Data Compilation: A Kononewsky

FIGURE 2

POLICE GROWTH: OPERATIVE POLICE STRENGTHS (EXCL TERRITORIES), AUSTRALIA, 1967-73



Data Source: ABS  
Data Compilation: S Millington

**END**