History of Policing Theories

Topic 1
Policing theories. (Professor Finn)

Policing history
Community oriented policing
Problem oriented policing
Role of private actors e.g. security firms

Policing Theories

Readings
Richard Hill  *The colonial frontier tamed: New Zealand policing in transition, 1867–1886.* LONG AND BORING
Richard Hill *The iron hand in the velvet glove: the modernisation of policing in New Zealand, 1886–1917* LONG AND BORING
Hamish McCardle and Mike Webb “Inviting Public Conversations about Policing: Experiences from New Zealand” (2010) 4
*Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* 211-217 READ THIS ARTICLE

History

Note precedents

Early influences more from Irish Constabulary (IC) model than London Metropolitan (Metro) model.
IC essentially paramilitary style with officers isolated from community.
IC model also used in Australia

Early NZ 1840-1852

First NZ police were from NSW- came with Hobson in 1840.
Earliest forces were local to particular towns – constables supervised by Police Magistrates.
1846 – Armed Constabulary formed on IC model to fight Māori. Force included pakeha and Māori.
Some Māori communities had their own “police”
Some Māori communities had their own version of “police”
Some move to Metro policing in major towns and in South Island c 1850
Note until 1852 Governor is in full control of law and policing

The provincial period 1852-76
Responsibility for policing transferred to six (later more) provincial governments.
Recruiting often difficult.
Particular policing problems with gold rushes in Otago and South Island West Coast.
More complexity with national force “Armed Constabulary” set up in 1867.
Very much IC-model paramilitary force for use against Māori. Membership included Māori but in separate units.
In some areas the “Native Department” employed Māori constables.
More Metro policing in major towns

Native constable c 1870

Armed constable c 1850s

National policing 1876-1920
Provinces abolished 1876; policing solely a national function – “Constabulary Force” set up with both military and police functions.
Town police went to unarmed Metro policing 1878.
Constabulary force divided into Police and Army in 1886.
Strong remaining military culture in Police until mid-1890s – officers and recruiting only men with military background until 1896

1898 – appointment of Police Commissioner from London Police.
Organisational challenges – three Royal Commissions 1898-1909.

Policeman’s Paradise 1920s and 1930s
Largely stable society; low crime rate.
Metro style policing works well.
Traffic policing to Ministry transport 1930s-1992 – was taken away from the police. There is a body of opinion that says that keeping traffic away from the police because anger is generally deflected from enforcing traffic law and onto somebody else, therefore it works better. A way of not having negativity rubbing off on police.
“Security” function to SIS 1956 – mirrored England, from the beginning of there being policing in NZ from threats to security of the realm. Moving that function away form the police into a separate body created a sense of independence.
Police Force becomes “Service” 1958 – culturally significant, the change of title. The word force is a coercive model, the focus is on having the physical power, so dropping that for ‘service’, shows that are not just about using force.
Special juvenile section in 1950s – in 1968 – the Youth Aid Section, deliberate attempts to help families to turn the kids around instead of just locking them up.

Women in policing
19th Century no women police but police matrons from 1890s – saw to welfare of women prisoners, also did searches.
First women officers 1941 – attached to Detective branch, to deal with women and girls who are the victims of offending (anti prostitution) not frontline police officers.
Permanent appointments 1946, before this they were not permanent.
Front-line duties in 1950s

Equal pay 1966 – one of the first governent institutions to give equal pay to women
Actual equality ..... not really when looking at the statistics
Note 2015 numbers:
9048 sworn officers – 19% women
2,932 employees – 63% women, administrators, media personals... etc
316 commissioned officers -8.8% women – chief inspectators, chief constables

First uniformed policewomen 1952

Recent developments in NZ policing

Ethnic diversity /or not

Although Māori were vital to 19thC policing, numbers dwindle.
- and there is a perception that as Māori police numbers drop, the number of Māori offenders increases.

Recruiting initiatives for Māori in 1950s; other ethnic groups since.
– because of the perception of Māori offenders, not great success to this.

Over-representation of pakeha; some ethnic groups hardly represented.

noticeable in the number of asian police oficers is very small

ALWAYS BE SUSPICIOUS OF THE ‘PEACEFULNESS OF THE 1920’S/1930’S – IT WAS DUE TO A LACK OF REPORTING, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS SEEN NOT AS A PROBLEM BACK THEN. DIDN’T MEAN IT DIDN’T HAPPEN. IT DID. IT JUST WASN’T REPORTED/ OR WASN’T SEEN AS A ISSUE/ TAKEN SERIOUSLY. HUGE CULTURE OF TOLERATED VIOLENCE BACK THEN. CRIME RATES –WHAT WE ARE REPORTING CHANGE OVER TIME, THEREFORE FIGURES CHANGE.

Policing strategies – see den Heyer.

A significant attempt to decernetalise police power and branch out to the smalle areas.
Project Blueprint in 1980s sought some decentralisation; greater emphasis on community oriented policing etc.

But this doesn’t last because...

These initiatives rolled back by and after 1992 Strategic Plan – cost- management driven.
Policing 2000 change management process unsuccessful.
Further review led to Policing Excellence programme in 2008.
Overtaken by “Prevention First” strategy – foci on drivers of crime and problem-solving policing – major culture shift which they are trying to make.

Police complaints process

Entirely internal process to 1989. – complain against the police is entirely an internal process, few complaints were successful.
Police Complaints Authority set up 1989; criticised because actual investigations done by police - problem was it had no investigative staff and so the police were asked to clarify and this didn’t work either
2003 – PCA moves to independent investigators
2007 Independent Police Conduct Authority.- now able to sit out to oneside and review from the outside.

Policing Act 2008

See McCardle & Webb.
Public consultation arrangements to identify perceived core roles:
Law enforcement – including detecting and bringing justice
Crime prevention – including policing in communities, reduce risks of victimisation, stopping the offending happening in the first place
Public order and safety – rapid response to emergencies, crowd control
Community support – locating missing people, contacting next of kin
Perceived needs for:
Independence and independence – not politically controlled
National body to avoid overlaps – to avoid conflicting authorities
Fair treatment of citizens essential – equality before the law
Respect for human rights
Police “neutrality” - and exceptions

In theory police have always been politically neutral.

Sometimes appears coercive force used to favour government agenda – can’t look at a story of NZ police without looking at cases where they haven’t acted independently or fairly, such as below:

1912 Waihi Miners’ strike
outside reinforcement
1913 Waterfront strike (police augmented by “specials”)
- went on strike for higher wages, police beat them up until they stopped.
1916 incursion into Tuhoe rohe
decided Ruakamana was a threat to the state so sent in a force of several hundred, several supporters were shot by the police. Warmly applauded by most Pakeha.
1930s protests by unemployed
massive protests against the governments lack of action for the unemployed. Police on horseback – people got trampled.
1951 Waterfront Strike
huge attempt by unions to force government to give unions greater power, police seen as acting on a highly political strike.
1981 Springbok tour
very ugly times and strong perception that police were being forced by the government to break up lawful protests. Disproportionate number of media people have been influential
2007 Urewera raids
armed police coming into Tuhoe area and holding hundreds of people a gunpoint while they make arrests.

1981 Springbok tour
Readings:
Peter Day et al “Close proximity to alcohol outlets is associated with increased serious violent crime in New Zealand”, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*; *Volume 36, Issue 1*, pp 48–54, February 2012

“High” and “Low” policing
High policing – all forms of conduct limiting or preventing resistance to dominance of political/economic elite. Concentrates upon the maintenance and promotion of the state and dominant political actors, reaching beyond the collection and dissemination of criminal intelligence into the realms of economics and politics.
Low policing – traditional police conduct aimed at preventing criminal offending and catching offenders. Low policing on the other hand, is concerned with the maintenance of order and the general suppression of crime through more recognizable policing forms.

Traditional Policing
Essentially reactive to offending:
Respond to offences and apprehend offenders
Patrol areas to assist on detection of offences and deter offenders
One of the key features is it was a reactive process. It is not aimed at trying to target particular types of offending or pre-empt offending. We are more focused on trying to limit future offending.
Why do we want to have these different models? So we can have better resources for cleaning up the offences that are committed. If there is a very busy police force then there is a high percentage of crime that goes unresolved. Clear up rates do not equal convictions. For example, they may know who did it but that person is going through diversion so it goes unconvicted. The witlessness may not be available, or the person may be going down for much worse charges already so police don’t bother to convict.
**Zero Tolerance Policing**

Aggressive policing based on theory that if even very minor crimes are prosecuted, overall offending will fall.


This used powers to stop and frisk young black males in particular (not available in NZ, cant do it unless under good grounds). There was a significant decline in offending, NY had much less in the way of reported crime.. the problem being, that the evidence only suggests that:

Changes in social factors (very similar reductions in crime offending even where there was no zero tolerance).

The 1960’s relocation of people from the slums to the cities. The 1980’s are depressed economic times. Was it zero tolerance or was it jobs?

It heightened tensions between the police and black citizens of NY as they saw themselves as targeted. Also an argument that the police only deal with the small fry and not catching the bigger ‘fish’.

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**Varieties of Pro-Active Policing**

**Targeting**

Targeting is a simple and logical process of devoting resources to most acute problems, (e.g. triaging domestic violence cases by reference to prior history). Long been used – e.g. drug squad – as variation on traditional; patrolling etc.

In NZ there is huge problems with domestic violence, the police look at where has the biggest risk of injury to the victim. More likely to go to the one who ended up in hospital or one with firearms registered at the house as opposed to not.

**Intelligence-based policing**

Variation on targeting- uses varied sources to prioritise key activities and groups of offenders. May involve targeting frequent offenders and groups likely to have higher offending rates. [ listen to recording for quote 31:00]

Note: intelligence- led policing has increasingly required police to draw on skills of scientific community – e.g. in forensic science. (In NZ largely done by ESR)

Effectiveness of DNA testing critical in this process. Fingerprinting is likely to be out sorce to DNA these days.
**Geographic Profiling**

Crime mapping and “hot-spots”

Well-known that some areas have high crime rates – e.g. Day et al’s findings about offending close to alcohol sources. Hot-spot policing may displace offending; evidence inconclusive.

Geographical profiling may be used to:

- Track activity of individual offenders
- Identify potential offense sites (e.g. using “journey to crime” theory). When looking at the report offending maps, major roads such as Riccarton Rd or Marshlands, have a high cluster of offences, this is because people travel down these roads more often and therefore are more likely to commit offences on their way to or from somewhere.
- Allows investigation and crime prevention to be targeted for best effect.

Listen to recording 47min about study to do with geographical distance to alcohol outlets.

**Problem-Orientated policing**

Strategy to reduce future offending. May involve “target-hardening”- for example places having signs saying “no cash on premises”, does not reduce the place of offending but does make it harder for them.

Fairly straight forward, reduces the prospect again for offenders that are thinking about it.

Also may involve changing physical/social conditions so as to discourage offending of that type/ at a particular site. (for example a car park in the UK used for hikers to leave their cars, instead of just using the car park for that, they changed the licence on the premises to include food trucks, meaning there was always someone at the site. Smart thinking but not using traditional policing techniques.

CCTV/surveillance cameras - work as a method of identifying the offender, may also act as a form of discouragement to the offender. The question is, do they not offend at all or od they simply move to softer targets? Can lead to the displacement effect, essentially street crime moves from the centre to the outskirts where there isn’t a large camera presence. End up shifting crime into socially deprived areas where people cannot afford security cameras.

Until the current generation of policing, police typically patrolled at random, waited for distress calls and responded accordingly when they came. Under this traditional reactive model, police responded to calls that were not only treated in isolation, but considered closed when the case was solved or filed.
Problem-solving policing, by contrast, de-emphasised random patrolling, and sought-out precipitating factors, which, if eliminated, had the tendency to stop or at least to limit the anti-social conduct that otherwise might have occurred.

Problem-solving policing, and the allied approach of intelligence-led policing, is consistent with the view that not all crime and disorder problems are the same, nor are the neighbourhoods and communities in which they occur the same. A problem-oriented strategy attempts to collate incidents together in order to describe the larger picture. This has the spin-off effect of police being able to avoid political pressure to task resources to certain crimes at the expense of others because the former may carry some emotional, but not material, community concern.

**Community Policing**

Community policing emphasizes values, skills, training, and practices not necessarily associated with traditional policing. The long-term success of community policing programs may require a "new breed of line officer," along with new programs, while acknowledging the need for "a certain level of cognitive and logical ability," are not convinced that effective community policing requires a college degree, as has been suggested.

It has been observed that changing the police work environment may help the community-police dyad; he defined the working environment as "the atmosphere and expectations that superiors set in related to their subordinates' asserted that police organizations managed in traditional ways, where "managers, supported by voluminous, detailed rules, tend to exercise a right, paramilitary top-down form of control," cannot effectively operate community-policing initiatives The key problem is the "failure to engage and elicit a commitment from those having management and supervisory responsibilities"

Community policing is somewhat of a chameleon concept. It can stand for:

- an alternative to rapid response, enforcement-oriented policing, involving long-term beat assignment so police are closer to the community;
- a process by which crime control is shared with the public, as in Neighbourhood Watch, or
- a means of developing communication with the public, for example, consultation meetings