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Policing New Zealand: Perspectives of Rural and Urban Police Officers

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Corinne Elizabeth Fowler

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an exploration into rural and urban police officers' perceptions and experiences of their work in Northland, New Zealand. Although international research has already investigated police officers' rural and urban experiences, there is a lack of similar literature in New Zealand. The only studies conducted within the New Zealand Police (NZP) have resulted in contradictory data, creating a debate about whether there is a difference in policing rural and urban areas. A study by Winfree and Taylor (2004) into whether the perceptions of NZP staff differed in rural, small town or metropolitan areas found little difference between either the NZP personnel themselves, or their perceptions of policing. This contrasts with research by Jaeger (2002) and Goddard and Jaeger (2005), who explored not only policing but also the strategies utilised within the roles. Goddard and Jaeger proposed that there are significant differences between officers in rural and urban areas.

The current research attempts to resolve this debate, exploring both rural and urban perspectives through the use of Grounded Theory. Interviews with 16 police officers based in the Northland District were conducted to capture the essence of their experiences. Seven key categories emerged: community, job role, management, safety, the judicial system, police culture, and family and personal life. These were placed under the core category of 'Boundaries'. It emerged that rural officers found it difficult to implement boundaries due to their isolation and need for a working relationship with the community. Urban officers, however, described how the implementation of boundaries enabled them to work effectively in their environment. Consequently, this research found that there is a difference in the rural and urban policing experience, supporting the findings of Goddard and Jaeger (2005).

It is hoped that the individual themes and overall findings from this research will stimulate further investigation into the experience of policing. While it only explored one New Zealand Police District, the information contributes to a deeper understanding of police perspectives and experiences.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The primary aim of the present research is to explore the experience of police work, with particular reference to rural and urban policing. It explores what officers consider their role and experiences to be, with respect to their rural and urban New Zealand Police (NZP) placement. The proposed research attempts to resolve the debate about the NZP generated by Winfree and Taylor (2004), which stated there was no difference in the experience of policing in rural, urban or metropolitan areas; it also addresses the critical evaluation by Goddard and Jaeger (2005) of Winfree and Taylor's study. Using a qualitative perspective, the researcher hopes to address the criticisms of these two studies. The findings from this study should contribute to a deeper understanding of an area of policing that at present has only been researched to a modest extent. It will highlight comparisons and commonalities between rural and urban policing styles at a local level, and assist in analysing some potential areas of difficulty in the working life of a NZP officer.

The first part of this thesis is a review of the literature surrounding the area of rural and urban policing both in New Zealand and overseas. This is followed by the current New Zealand literature and includes the discussion surrounding the Winfree and Taylor (2004) and Goddard and Jaeger (2005) debate. Chapter Two sets the scene by describing the background to the NZP and the changes that have occurred or are presently underway. This is followed by a description of the Northland Police District, where the present study was undertaken. The research procedures, including ethical procedures, the gaining of participant information through access to the NZP, methodology and the procedures are described in Chapter Three. This leads on to the discussion and verbal illustrations of the research findings in Chapter Four. Finally, a discussion of these findings and conclusions of the research will be described in Chapter Five.

1.2 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter introduces the literature surrounding rural and urban policing, and the comparison between the two types of policing. In the first part of the chapter there is a general overview of police work, including the exploration of police culture, its purpose, and the roles of policing. It is important to note that this research is mainly urban based. This is followed by a discussion on the international research surrounding rural and urban policing. This research looks at community

policing, community programmes, rural job functions, rural daily activities, rural policing characteristics, police effectiveness, role conflict, public perception of the police, and comparative rural versus urban studies. The New Zealand research is then introduced, along with the Winfree and Taylor (2004) and Goddard and Jaeger (2005) debate, and finalised with the reasoning behind the proposed study.

1.3 THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

"Urban police are often portrayed as outsiders, while rural law enforcement officers are portrayed as more integrated into their communities" – Winfree and Taylor (2004, p. 242).

The police are sometimes described as public servants of a city, town, county or state, with the responsibility of maintaining law and order. Yet, in reality, the role of police officer encompasses a wide range of duties and responsibilities more akin to that of a social worker (Morgan & Newburn, 1997; Punch & Naylor, 1973; Reiner, 2000). For example, in New Zealand's cities, towns and districts, their roles include public reassurance, community liaison, crime prevention, bereavement counselling, victim support, search and rescue, forensics, traffic units and dog handlers (http://www.police.govt.nz). Indeed, the police have often been likened to a twenty-four hour emergency service for the numerous societal needs not strictly associated with law enforcement (Morgan & Newburn, 1997). While the multifaceted roles that the police have in society are recognised in the academic literature, there is often debate over which roles are emphasised in any given policing environment. This issue is particularly pertinent to the understanding of rural and urban policing.

There are three assumptions that can be made about the role of the police. Firstly, that these police roles are similar across all districts and therefore one policing style will fit into both rural and urban contexts. Secondly, that these roles will vary across different policing environments and therefore policing styles will differ in rural and urban situations accordingly. Thirdly, that the role of rural and urban police officers may be similar but that the strategies used to police these different localities may differ along with the consequences for police officers.

There has been little research into comparing rural and urban policing in the New Zealand context, with the majority of studies conducted in other jurisdictions. This study addresses the dearth of New Zealand focused literature and tries to resolve the ongoing debate in regarding whether there is a difference between rural and urban policing styles.

1.3.1 Defining the Countryside

In order to study policing in rural areas, it is important to define the definitions of 'rural' and 'urban', and to clarify their meaning in this research. These terms can be rather problematic, with differing variations stated in the research. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines rural in terms of the country, specifically agricultural or pastoral land and opposite to urban, while urban is defined as living or situated in a city. Interestingly there was no reference to urban being opposite to rural.

This dictionary definition of rural being non-urban has been observed and commented on in the policing literature (Buttle, 2006b; Weisheit & Wells, 1996). Buttle (2006b) reported that placing rural in the classification of everything non-urban assumes that all rural areas and rural communities are the same. Buttle described this as the "rural waste paper basket definition" (p. 7) because the use of such simplistic categories demonstrated bias regarding urban understandings towards crime and policing as social phenomena, while ignoring the complexity of rural issues. Weisheit and Wells (1996), supported by Liederbach and Frank (2003), were also concerned over the urban bias in the existing policing research, which categorises rural into 'non-urban'. It is important that rural stands independent from urban, and so a definition of rural being non-urban will not be used in this research.

Other definitions have involved a continuum scale from urban to rural, including a sliding scale of areas described as mainly urban, independent urban, or rural with low urban influences (Aust & Simmons, 2002). Yet, this still has an emphasis on urban and non-urban.

Several policing studies have based their definitions of rural, small town and urban on the actual number of individuals in the population (Oliver & Meier, 2004; McDonald, Wood & Pflug, 1996). However, this is not an appropriate method for New Zealand. As Goddard and Jaeger (2005) commented in their New Zealand-based research, the appropriateness of classifying a rural, small town or urban area as a numerical value is not recommended because compared with other jurisdictions New Zealand has a small population. Hence what might be considered a small town jurisdiction, less than 100,000 people, in the United States may well be a city in New Zealand.

Additionally, geographical descriptions have also been used for urban and rural areas, along with demographic, employment and living characteristics of the communities residing in the areas (Buttle, 2006b). An example of this is illustrated in Statistics New Zealand: An Urban/Rural Profile (Statistics New Zealand, 2008). The profile's aim was to differentiate between the different areas in the urban - rural spectrum. It was found that the population number alone did not represent the characteristics of the area. Unlike previous classifications, urban and rural areas are separated,

with Statistics New Zealand describing the rural areas with respect to the surrounding level of urban influence. Specifically, the rural definitions looked at the residential address and the individual's workplace address, using distance to amenities to define urban areas. Urban classifications were main urban areas, satellite urban communities and independent urban communities. Rural areas were separated into rural areas with high urban influence, rural areas with moderate urban influence, rural areas with low urban influence and highly rural/remote areas. It is interesting to note that both Statistics New Zealand and Yarwood (2001) report that there is no internationally accepted classification of a 'rural' area.

In summary, there are several ways to define rural and urban. For this study the author decided to define rural and urban from the officers own perception. As this research is based on subjective perceptions, the author believed that the most appropriate definition of what is considered 'rural' or 'urban' was to use the officer's own opinion. This choice of the officer's definition fits well with the Grounded Theory methodology, as it allows the definition of rurality to emerge from the understandings of the police officers that were interviewed.

1.4 POLICE: GENERAL OVERVIEW

To understand police officers, one must look at the culture and roles that underpin their job, and how this is linked into their identity and consequently into their experiences. Firstly, police culture will be discussed, along with the purpose of police culture. This will be followed by a look at general roles, which will lead onto the key research undertaken in rural and urban policing so far.

1.4.1 Police Culture

Police culture is observed through the worldview of the police themselves and also members of the public others. This creates a 'them versus us' distinction, with areas such as bravery, secrecy and autonomy becoming valued police qualities. It is also the case that police culture is scrutinized through concepts of cynicism, isolation and camaraderie. Skolnick's (1994) 'working personality' is based around the elements of danger and authority. He describes the danger factor as contributing to a defensive position for the officer, which influences their view of the world. Consequently, their use of authority becomes a vehicle to deal with these perceived threats. Increased danger, actual or perceived, combines with the demand to produce results to influence the illegal use of authority that creates a unique police working personality.

The bulk of research in police culture is based primarily on urban studies, with the concept originating from qualitative work focused on the day-to-day structure of working as a police officer. This has lead to many theories. Manning (1977), for example, described police culture as

involving cognitions, affect and base skills. He stated that officers had specific rules regarding practice and conduct, which accentuate shared rationales, values and beliefs (Manning, 1977; Reiner, 1992). Others mention the development of an unwritten "cop's code" (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983, p. 263), which consists of a set of shared understandings of acceptable behaviour comprehended by all officers, from management to new recruits, with an increasing degree of autonomy (Chatterton, 1979). However, too much autonomy can create a loss of organisational cohesion and protection. As Ruess-Ianni and Ianni (1983) noted, when the individual moves away from management, new groups are formed; unity decreases and conflicts can arise.

Reiner (1992) takes this concept one stage further, emphasising the cynical and machismo view officers demonstrate whilst maintaining camaraderie and solidarity. Skolnick (1994) stressed that the way officers see the world is very distinctive, and the two principles of their personality are danger and authority. It is this element of danger and use of authority, as noted previously, which isolates them from the community, and bonds them with other officers.

It has also been noted that as police levels of authority decline, internal solidarity becomes increasingly important. This solidarity has been connected negatively to secrecy (Goldsmith, 1990), and also positively to functionality among officers (Chan, 1996). It is interesting here to observe that there is a perceived negative and positive side to police culture, something that will be discussed later in the purpose of police culture.

Finally, Chan (1996), in her paper on 'changing police culture', explored new ways of defining police culture, and brought up some pertinent observations. She believed that some of the well-held definitions lacked specificity. Her criticisms included, firstly, the generalisation of police culture to all policing personnel, even though the evidence was based on frontline and street police officers. Secondly, she discussed the fact that acculturation was not a passive process, and that officers were active in constructing their experience of police culture. Thirdly, as apparent in other areas of research, nothing exists in a vacuum. She concluded that it is necessary to look at policing in its current political, social and legal framework. Chan's aim was to look at police culture in a positive way, where attitudes and behaviours could be placed in a balanced framework in her research.

So what purpose does police culture serve?

1.4.2 Purpose of Police Culture

1.4.2.1 Boundaries in the Police

Waddington (1999) stated that police culture exists because it provides meaning to officer's experiences and maintains occupational self-esteem. His exploration of police sub-culture found that the 'canteen' forum allowed officers to safely discuss their experiences. However it is important to observe that what officers say in the confines of the police canteen, to other officers, is not necessarily what they do or how they behave in the public (Holdaway 1983). This talk versus action allows an officer, to act tough rather than necessarily be tough (Uildriks & Van Mastrigt, 1991), to be an outlet for the underlying anxiety (Paoline, 2001), a "grapevine" (Kiely & Peek, 2002, p. 177) and to be used as a coping mechanism (Brown, 1988).

Boundaries, as previously noted, are not only linked to police versus community, but also to the differentiation in the policing hierarchy. For example, rural versus urban policing, management versus street police (Butler, 1992; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983), command versus middle management, and so forth (Waddington 1999). Therefore potential conflicts occur not only between the police and outside agencies and the community (external), but also in the police hierarchy (internal). However, while it is correct to imply that police culture is multifaceted, there are still aspects of police culture that are common to all levels of policing.

1.4.2.2 Solidarity

The common bonds and camaraderie in police culture also create general normality for officers, allowing them to cope with their daily tasks. These are important features in the life of an officer (Rowe, 2004). Tasks such as asking an individual to give accounts of their actions, being an authoritarian figure and invading an individual's personal space (Waddington, 1999) have been construed as a violation of the rules of conduct. It is these tasks, which make it difficult to create friendships outside the police (Skolnick, 1994). These friendship difficulties encourage solidarity in the ranks. The purpose of solidarity is to give officers, especially frontline officers, strength in numbers against the "'punishment-centred bureaucracy', in which officers are rarely praised for good practice", yet face draconian penalties for any misbehaviour (Waddington 1999, p. 301). As Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) stated, what once was a family is now a factory, with management viewing officers as variables rather than as individuals.

1.4.2.3 'Real' Policing

Garcia (2005) explored the distinction between crime fighting officers and the stigma of community police officers engaged in social service work. Garcia found that by constructing an antithesis in social service policing, the norm becomes crime fighting police work, and this is perceived as 'real' policing and becomes an internalized part of police culture. Sadd and Grinc's (1993) investigation into Innovative Neighbourhood-Oriented Policing supports this view. Community police units were viewed as lacking the legitimacy of policing, with emphasis on community relations rather than response to 911 calls. Holdaway (1983) also found that work time that did not involve action, for example vehicle or foot patrol with no specified task or destination was not perceived as real police work. Action in their job equated to real policing.

1.4.2.4 Women and the Police

Linked into the police culture of policing are the embedded machismo and patriarchal attitudes that occur in the role of an officer. The impact of the patriarchal attitude is illustrated in the way that female officers are perceived and treated by male officers. Although Waddington (1999) reported that female officers valued the same aspects of law enforcement as their male counterparts, he noted that many male officers still held the belief that authority and fighting were male qualities. Hence the presence of female officers undermines the traditional male role and they are perceived as a threat (Fielding & Fielding, 1992). Young (1991) suggested that the male based values in policing encourage sexist behaviour. Research by Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe and Jordan (2008), based on barriers to recruitment in the NZP, found that for women the minority effect, police organisational culture and discrimination were the main obstacles to wanting to be a police officer. There was a concern about being accepted into the male culture, sexism, scrutiny and having to perform better than male colleagues to gain the same level of respect (Scott, 2001) and the lack of female mentors in the police. The perceived level of sexism expressed by Mossman et al. (2008) supports the work of Texeira (2002) who found that hostility and harassment of peers and middle management were the most challenging part of a police woman's job. As Foster (2003) suggested, there are two choices for female officers: either embrace the male police culture and attempt for acceptance or maintain the female role and associated expectations, which could in turn lead to isolation and limited job progression.

1.4.2.5 Boundaries outside the Police

Externally, the 'them versus us' or community versus the police attitude has been attributed to the protection of officers attempting to secure solidarity, loyalty and support in their working team. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) illustrated this in the "cop's code" (p. 263). Codes included watching

out for your partner and section, not backing down, not slacking off at work, not trusting a new officer until you have checked him out, and protecting your back. Additional codes incorporated not making waves, not trusting management to look after your interests, and only volunteering necessary information. These codes were observed to strengthen team relationships. Further research by Herbert (1998) concluded that law, safety, competence, bureaucratic control, morality, adventure and machismo were the central structural elements of policing and police culture. Kiely and Peek (2002) put forward supplementary elements of risk avoidance and accountability.

Yet, as we have seen recently in the media through the allegations made against the New Zealand Police by Louise Nicholas and Judith Garrett, and the subsequent Commission of Inquiry lead by Dame Margaret Bazley into historical sexual assault complaints made against the police, these traits often have negative consequences. The suggestion from the report was that police officers had purposely undermined or mismanaged complaints of sexual assault made against other police officers. The back-up system, so essential to officers in the area of trust and support, has been used to safeguard themselves (Van Maanen, 1978; Manning, 1977) and to cover up behaviours that have broken the law, rather than help protect it.

1.4.2.6 Labelling

With reference to police versus community, Paoline (2001) commented on the use of categorisation of individuals, and why officers incorporate this into their working life. He talked about police seeing most people and situations as potential threats (Skolnick, 1994). In relation to this, Van Maanen's (1978) research labelled people into "suspicious people, assholes and know-nothings" (p. 305). 'Suspicious' citizens are those whom officers believe have committed an offence, 'assholes' are those citizens that do not accept the police explanation of the situation and lastly, 'know nothings' do not fit into the other categories, but are not police and thus have no idea what the police are about. Labelling citizens allows for social distance between officer and citizen. It describes and prescribes treatment (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983), which supplies an expressive outlet and further solidifies relationships in the police force.

Waddington (1999) supports this observation by commenting that if officers can see the individual in a negative light, then moral dilemmas regarding their treatment of him/her will not be experienced. To see someone as unworthy allows for increased importance of self, and as such, the police. To be the "valiant defenders of the good" or moralistic "warrior" (Herbert, 1998, p. 360) enables the police to justify the use of harsher treatment. Sykes and Matza (1957) described this as a neutralisation technique, whereby part of the policing belief is to believe that the individual

deserved the hasher treatment, which in effect neutralises any negative connotations attached to a more aggressive police attitude. This also encourages further use of the code of silence in police peers (Stoddard, 1968; Reiss, 1971).

1.4.2.7 Ethnic Minorities and the Police

These attitudes towards others in the community have also been explored in the context of racist behaviour. Earlier work in this area found that although racist remarks were expressed by officers in the canteen area, this did not always eventuate to racist behaviour on the streets (Black, 1971). This was supported by Smith and Gray (1983) who also found that while officers verbalised racist remarks, this was not seen in their actions and treatment of individuals.

Nevertheless, in the United Kingdom, two reports conducted in 1981 and 1999 found that racist behaviour was evident in the police. The two key reports mentioned by Foster (2003) were the Scarman Report (1981) and the Macpherson Report (1999). Both of these inquiries looked into racism in the police, with the Scarman report advocating the "bad apple" (Foster, 2003, p. 216) syndrome, specifying that individual officers were racist rather than the organisation, recommending that the police should include more individuals from different cultures in the police force. Twenty years later, and with only a 2% increase in ethnic minority officers; the Macpherson report reiterated the same recommendation (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). However, the 'bad apple' syndrome was discarded and "institutionalised racism" (Foster, 2003, p. 216) was highlighted as the problem instead. This problem not only affects the relationship between police and the ethnic minority communities, but also ethnic minority officers in the job and potential ethnic minority applicants (Rowe, 2004). Previous work by Holdaway (1996) conveyed that racism was entrenched in the areas of police culture through banter and jokes, and its presence serves to exclude ethnic minorities from joining the police and hold back those in the police. In support of this view, Mossman et al. (2008) reported that there was a cultural bias in the NZP. This bias was found in the training procedure and related to a lack of amenities for religious practices. Chan (1997) and Rowe (2004) argue that ethnic minority officers are subjected to racism and prejudice, and this becomes a subsequent barrier to recruitment, highlighted by the limited number of ethnic minority officers in police management.

1.4.2.8 Positive Police Culture

Exploring the literature, it is noted that there has been limited research into the positive aspects of police culture. Many academics have explored police culture focussing on the negative impact, such as authority and danger (Skolnick, 1994) and the categorisation of self and others (Van Maanen, 1978; Waddington, 1999; Herbert, 1998). By focusing on negative features, the positive

aspects of police culture can easily be overlooked. In response to the generalisation of negative police culture, Newburn (2005) suggested that just because there may be common characteristics in the police, this not equate to a fixed trait. Hence, just because a number of officers exhibit racist or sexist traits this does not mean all police are racist and sexist (Rowe, 2004). Newburn also questioned 'who' was the comparison group, suggesting that there was perhaps less sub culture and more overlap with the community and others (Newburn, 2005; Punch, 1985). An example is found in Trojanowiczs' (1971) work, which found that when comparing police to social workers, police were less aggressive, and no more likely than a member of the public to counterattack someone acting aggressively towards them. In addition, the purpose of police culture can be to give officers safe boundaries into which they can express their concerns or angst, which may evolve into a coping strategy (Paoline, 2001, Brown, 1988). Hence, the talk in the canteen may have more to offer researchers than negative traits, and if investigated further may provide transferable beneficial group strategies.

The characteristics of police culture are components that make up the social organisation of the police, and have eventually developed into a tradition and shaped police views (Herbert, 1998). This tradition underlies part of what is required to be an officer, which leads us onto another pertinent area in policing, their role.

1.4.3 Police Roles

Before looking at the research into rural and urban policing, a general overview of police roles will be described, demonstrating what has been deemed as important in the role of a police officer. Paoline (2001) and Oliver (2004a) commented on the role of policing as involving law enforcement and order maintenance, with Paoline further adding service to this list. Law enforcement is probably the most recognized, rewarded and researched, with this role connecting to the traditional role of crime-fighting. In contrast, order maintenance relates to policies, interventions and public work, and is key to public order (Dixon, 1999).

There are roles linked to policing that range from reactive policing such as arresting offenders, community patrol and responding to the telephone, to aspects of proactive policing such as keeping the peace and attending community group meetings. The variety of roles is supported by Bayley's (1994) research. Bayley (1994) completed four years of thorough research on 28 police forces based in Australia, Canada, England and Wales, Japan and the United States. He collected information about police activities at frontline stations based in urban, suburban and rural areas, and also interviewed officers at the management level. He found that patrol work was the principal activity for frontline officers, and although there were frequent call-outs, these were

not linked to crime related incidents but to the restoration of order. Bayley reported that arrests were not used frequently, citing as an example the average of one criminal arrest per month in his Canadian samples. Criminal investigation was the second biggest role for the police, with detectives rather than frontline officers doing most of this work. Both patrol work and criminal investigations were considered reactive roles. Traffic work was the last main role that emerged from Bayley's investigation. He noted that in this role, specialised traffic officers felt unappreciated, due to their role being considered peripheral to crime fighting. Other roles, some proactive based, consisted of administration, training, public relations and a host of other supplementary roles such as inspection of firearm licenses, serving warrants and lost and found articles.

Wilson (1968) discussed officer roles being connected to styles of policing. He labelled these styles, "legalistic" (p. 172), "watchman" (p. 140) and "service" (p. 200). In the legalistic style, the officer is expected to utilise the law enforcement approach whenever possible. Offences, minor or major, should be approached with the same legalistic demeanour. Conversely, in the watchman style, an officer opts for maintaining order rather than using a law enforcement approach, overlooking minor criminal offences. Lastly, the service style consists of the officer taking both law enforcement and order maintenance seriously, and although not as dismissive as the watchman with respect to criminal consequences, the officer is more selective with issuing arrests compared to the legalistic approach. Wilson speculated that officers would have to incorporate different coping strategies depending on their departmental area. Jobes (2002) commented on Wilson's legalistic approach being linked to urban police styles, but argued for a "localistic" (p. 259) style linked to Wilson's watchman style, which he believed fitted with rural policing.

Further roles described in the literature have included "idealists, enforcers, optimists and realists" (Broderick, 2005, p. 2). Muir (2005) referenced to "professional, enforcers, reciprocators and avoiders"(p. 3), while White (2005) described officers as "tough cop, problem solver, crime fighter or rule applier" (p. 3). In addition, Bowling and Foster (2002) included the need for roles involving public reassurance, emergency service, peace keeping and state security. As one begins to observe, there are many overlapping officer roles.

One of the most important internal police roles surrounds the safety of the officers, namely back up (Buttle, 2008; Kiely & Peek, 2002; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). This can vary dependent on the job role and geographical placement. It also relates to the relationships that the officers have with one another and the support they need in the sometimes dangerous job that they do. This role supports the evidence discussed in the previous section on police culture.

Ultimately, the police are expected to serve. As Kiely and Peek (2002) established whilst exploring the British police culture, the police were expected to provide a service (Stenning & Shearing, 2005), even if they did not exhibit a wish to serve. Work by Bayley (1994) supports this, finding that the primary police role across five different countries was restoring order and assisting the public.

Finally, it is important to highlight that the role of the police can vary in and outside the police. As Falcone, Wells and Weisheit (2002) found, there was conflict between the role of officer and the role of community member, especially in the smaller communities. An officer who chooses to keep a professional distance may unintentionally encourage community suspicion and mistrust. However, fitting into the community norms may also cause professional problems. This raises the question of whether officers in rural areas may have additional role issues. This will be discussed in the following sections that look at the rural and urban policing research.

1.5 INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

1.5.1 Rural and Urban Research

A search into the international research available shows that the most studies have been based in the United States of America (USA). Other predominant countries that have investigated the area of rural policing include the United Kingdom (UK) and Australia. In this section, research in the area of community policing, rural job functions, rural daily activities, rural policing characteristics, officer effectiveness, public perception and comparative studies will be explored.

It is important to note that there is a bias in the literature reviewed. Firstly, in the area of police research there is a great amount of literature surrounding urban policing (Manning, 1977; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983; Reiner, 2000; Waddington, 1999; Chan, 1996), a foundation not only for urban issues, but also for exploring police culture. This study, based in Northland, New Zealand, explores the differences between rural and urban policing by providing a review of the international and New Zealand research in this area.

1.5.2 Community Policing in a Small Town

Rural policing strategies, such as being part of community and working together with the public are observed as key interventions in increasing "community connectedness" (Falcone et al., 2002, p. 371) specifically community cooperation and trust, and consequently improving clearance rates of crimes (Weisheit, Wells & Falcone, 1994; Oliver, 2004a; Falcone et al., 2002; Yarwood, 2001). Research has found that the small town officer is not necessarily assigned to

various jobs, but to the community as a whole (Oliver, 2004a). The implications are that the officer can, develop connections to the community, be aware of potential problems in their specific community, and implement appropriate strategies. Research by Falcone et al. (2002) supports the importance of these implications. They observed that a proactive approach, which emphasised the police and the community in a working relationship improved crime clearance rates.

It is important to note that much of the rural policing research in the United States involves the officers actually living and working in the same area. This contrasts with the United Kingdom, which has changed into a more centralised police service, making the 'village bobby' a thing of the past (Mawby, 2004; Buttle, 2006b). By centralising the police service, many of the peripheral rural stations in the United Kingdom have merged with larger constabularies or closed. This in turn makes the availability of a police officer limited for the more isolated areas that previously had an officer on site working and living in the area. Consequently, urban based officers could now be responsible to assist in rural concerns (Yarwood, 2001). This need for a working relationship underlies some of the key objectives for community programmes, which will be discussed next.

1.5.3 Community Programmes

Community policing programmes are starting to be embraced by police departments and governments (Clarke, 2006; Birzer & Nolan, 2002; Scrivner, 1995; Chan, 1996). With some researchers connecting community policing to rural policing elements being placed into an urban environment (Weisheit, Wells & Falcone, 1996; Toch & Grant, 2005).

Chan (1996) in New South Wales during the late 80's and early 90's, reported on the police force's experimentation with a community based approach, supported by the government. One key area was "beat policing" (p. 124), which involved officers having a high visibility, meeting with business and residential members of the community and to promoting problem solving in the community (Chan, 1996). The aim was to be more responsive to the community and to achieve more involvement from community residents. The results showed that there was still scope for improvement, with a 50/50 community split with respect to officers arresting criminals still being seen as the traditional role of policing.

Another study by Clarke (2006) looked at the effectiveness of a community based policing in Edmonton, Canada. The introduction of proactive policing was the consequence of the 1994/5 Alberta Justice's annual report, which specified the need to reduce crime through policing and

prevention. Consequently, a three-year plan was developed, which included not only frontline officers, but also supervisors and management as service providers. Clarke was interested in the implications of proactive policing strategies and its aim of building on strengths, identifying crime patterns and implementing strategies to reduce crime. He found that the characteristics of empowerment and ownership were crucial to effective proactive community policing. These two factors allowed individual officers autonomy to make decisions and develop solutions to best fit into their divisional boundaries. Consequently, the Edmonton Police Service created a model based around four differing service components: accessibility of the police (receiving), attendance to the community's needs (responding), attaining information (recording) and finally, identifying problems and creating solutions (resolving). In conclusion, he found that the more officers throughout the police hierarchy who actively communicated, the greater the reduction in crime.

Consequently, learning strategies connected to community policing have included basic problem solving strategies for community oriented policing traits. From critical thinking and using external aids to problem solve in the community, to assessing problem solving through open discussion with citizens (Birzer and Nolan, 2002; Bennett, 1994; Lilley & Hinduja, 2006). Birzer and Nolan (2002) also highlighted the need for officers to make daily decisions, tailored to specific situations.

1.5.4 Rural Job Functions

From an urban viewpoint, previous researchers have looked at the routines and activities of officers from the crime fighting function to patrol, administration, non-duty activities and breaks (Frank, Brandl & Cory Watkins, 1997; Greene & Klockers, 1991; Whitaker, 1982; Bayley, 1994). Greene and Klockars (1991) explored officers' workload, and suggested that the rise in crime and violence would increase the function of crime fighting. They also found that officers had substantial quantities of uncommitted time along with their crime and service orientated time. British research by Kiely and Peek (2002) found that 2/3 of their urban police sample felt that the function of the police had not changed much over the past few years. They specified the functions of maintaining public order, protecting life, public serenity, and assisting the public to live their life unimpeded, were key parts to their job.

Taking a rural perspective, Maguire, Faulkner, Mathers, Rowland and Wozniak (1991) offered a discussion on police job functions. Their aim, through using a variety of interactive methods, was to provide a description and assessment of rural police functions. They designed a questionnaire covering five police job functions: administration, patrol, community service, law enforcement and keeping order. They found that rural police were generalists (Falcone et al., 2002), rather than specialists, spending just less than half their time (48%) on patrol, and only spending 19% of their

time on law enforcement. The authors concluded that rural policing was qualitatively different from urban and suburban policing. They referred to Wilson's (1968) three police styles, as discussed previously in this chapter, and concluded that their police respondents did not fit easily into the classifications of 'legalistic, watchman or service orientated'. Maguire et al. (1991) proposed a new "do-everything" style (p. 185). The authors also found that 41% of police officer respondents believed that rural police had more functions and therefore more responsibilities than their urban counterparts. It was posited that this was due to the lack of specialized units / departments in the rural stations.

Through examining previous research, focus groups, interviews and surveys, Weisheit et al. (1996) reported that there were four main factors illustrating rural police work, compared to urban police work. These included a concern for crime prevention and service activities, a diverse range of tasks to perform, increased informal / casual interactions with the community and being more responsive to the communities' requirements.

In relation to this, Palmiotto, Birzer and Unnithan (2000) reported from their research that police officers were only likely to spend 10% of their time on law enforcement activities. This is supported by Van Maanen (1978) who estimated police work such as searching, chasing and detaining offenders took up no time for a countryside rural officer, compared with 10-15% of work time for a busy urban officer. The rest of the time is filled with service natured tasks. Other research reported citizen encounters classed as service natured took up 18-40% of rural and urban officers shift time (Cordner, 1979).

1.5.5 Rural Daily Activities

Research by Liederbach and Frank (2003) looked at the finer details of the rural officers' day. They observed how officers in small town and rural agencies spent their shift time, and identified the problems they encountered. They also explored the relationships in the community, and looked at similarities and differences between rural and urban officers. Thirty-two officers, from five different police agencies were included in the sample, with a total of 127 observations. They found that 85% of the officers' shift involved executing non-citizen contact activities. This supports the lower spectrum of citizen encounters found in Cordner's (1979) research. Liederbach and Frank (2003) placed the observations into three categories: activities, encounters and location encounters. Their main activities involved patrol, administration and personal. Police-citizen encounters were in the course of traffic, personal, investigative and crime related incidents, with the most common encounters being based around traffic in four of the five agencies.

Liederbach and Frank (2003) found that the rural officers were shaped by their social and demographic climate, and encountered a wide range of problems, from which the authors established 260 problem codes in their study. This research supports the notion that there is an emphasis on a variety of different tasks in the rural officers' role that differentiates rural policing from urban policing (Weisheit et al., 1994; Maguire et al., 1991; Payne, Berg and Sun, 2005; Wells, Falcone & Rabe-Hemp, 2003). Nevertheless Liederbach and Frank (2003) presented the "big four" (p. 68), motor patrol (traffic), administration, personal/non-duty actions and driving to and from locations as the dominant activities for all officers, rural and urban (Liederbach, 2005; Parks, Mastrofski, Dejong & Gray, 1999; Frank et al., 1997).

The aforementioned study by Payne et al. (2005) was conducted over two years in a rural community in small-town America: they analysed law enforcement activities through content analysis. They agreed with Maguire et al. (1991) and Weisheit et al. (1994) that rural policing requires officers who are generalists, and are able to respond and solve assorted social and community needs. In the Payne et al. (2005) study, there was a different perspective, looking at what kinds of activities the officers confront, rather than perceptions or actions of the officers. They focused on the citizens' behaviour that leads to police intervention. The authors reported four themes that became clear whilst coding their cases. These were aptly labelled "dogs, drunks, dysfunction and disorder" (p. 34) with the most common callout case involving animals. The results suggested that several roles were expected to be fulfilled by the rural officer, beyond what might be considered traditional law enforcement activities. An example used in the study was a resident complaining of children using obscene language. The consequential action was the officer locating the mother and getting her to go home to take care of the situation. In conclusion, the authors noted that in this small-town the officers had five overlapping roles from friend and social worker, to law enforcement, conflict resolution and animal control. This overlap from law enforcement to social work for dispute resolution could fall in what is understood as keeping the peace (Waddington, 1999) and also links with the 'do everything' style proposed by Maguire et al. (1991).

1.5.6 Rural Policing Characteristics

Next we will explore the underlying characteristics in the policing sphere, which has some commonality with the previous section. Weisheit et al. (1994) used an exploratory study to observe how community policing fitted into the practices of officers working in small town and rural America, looking, specifically at the characteristics of accountability, connectedness and solving problems. They found that rural police officers believed they had been incorporating community-policing techniques of police-citizen familiarity and interaction for a long time.

Specifically, problem solving by the officers included non-law enforcement activities not dominant in urban policing, such as assisting children to cross roads and helping older individuals with their groceries. The authors found that rural officers provide a wide range of services and defined their work differently because they are neighbours and members of the community, as well as police officers.

A main characteristic of policing practice, especially in the rural area is the ability and need to communicate effectively. Buttle (2008) discussed the rural preference for resolving conflict through verbal means, specifically the officer using his "oral equipment" (p. 1) This relates to defusing the situation and building rapport, as well as maintaining officer safety without having to use force (Reiner, 2000; Kemp, Norris & Fielding, 1992; Muir, 1977).

Reputation is another key characteristic in policing, especially in rural policing according to Kowalewski, Hall, Dolan and Anderson (1984). They found that officers in smaller stations needed to establish a personal reputation, and that this was 99% of the role. It is essential to be respected and they found that a strong personal reputation was key to achieving this in a rural setting, whereas in urban areas respect was gained through professionalism. Work by Jobes (2002) supported this distinction, suggesting that if an officer could be trusted in a variety of roles, not just law enforcement, then residents in the community would be more forthcoming with information, and accepting of the officer. Community support was seen as imperative.

A sense of control was also emphasised as a necessary characteristic by rural officers interviewed by Buttle (2008); or if not, at least the appearance of control. This characteristic is universal in policing, but perhaps more so in rural locations due to safety factors.

The safety characteristic was highlighted in Sandy and Devine's (1978) research on stressors for rural and urban officers. Rural stressors put forward were security, social factors, inactivity and working conditions. Oliver and Meier (2004) attempted to explore this theory with a rural focus. Sandy and Devine's (1978) security factor was related specifically to the isolation of the rural officer, with social factors relating to the "fish bowl" (Oliver & Meier, 2004, p. 39) effect - the lack of anonymity when working and living in the same community. They further mentioned the impact on developing friendships in the community, and the consequential stress of social isolation. Working conditions were linked to limited resources for rural officers, and finally the factor of inactivity was linked to the lack of action related police jobs. In Oliver and Meier's (2004) study, 664 officers completed the survey. The researchers found that lack of back up and support, with the subsequent isolation were highly associated with increased stress in rural officers. Conversely, the 'fish bowl' effect did not relate to increased stress, and only larger departments

had an affect on increased stress with respect to working conditions. In conclusion, the area of security and isolation (safety factor) was the most significant with respect to increased stress (Yarwood & Cozens, 2004), with some support for lack of resources as also contributing to stress.

Another policing characteristic, suggested by Falcone et al. (2002) and Wells et al. (2003) was 'community connectedness'. This requires the officers to be accountable to the community primarily, rather than to the department. The officer being resident in the community assists this connection, along with being assigned to permanent patrol areas and having regular meetings with the community citizens. Ultimately, the aim is to develop a partnership. In urban areas the link with the community is not as strong, and can allow more for departmental connectedness. Again one sees an overlap of ideas, more specifically with the 'them versus us' divide, internally in the police force and externally with the community connection discussed previously in the police culture section.

1.5.7 Police Effectiveness

Weisheit et al. (1994) summarised effective policing, be it rural or urban, needs to be tailored to the community. Yet what characteristics, as discussed above, are essential and effective? This section starts to provide some answers.

With respect to agency effectiveness, Solar (2001) sent out surveys to officers in seven municipal and one university department. Forty-four percent were completed, and the results gained suggested that cooperation among members, trust between management and officers, focus on rules, autonomy and finally, and openness between members, were all essential for an effective agency. The author found that the key element to an effective agency was co-operation. In support, Falcone et al. (2002) also found that gaining public trust and co-operation were important qualities.

Looking at effectiveness from a management viewpoint, Solar (2001) explored officer's perceptions of the effectiveness of agencies in addition to what makes an effective officer. Twenty law enforcement professionals in a command position were interviewed in 1997 regarding effective officer characteristics. The results found that objectivity, innovation, self-motivation, reason and forethought were key qualities.

The values expressed by inspectors in the South West of England were integrity, honesty, and morality, providing a superior service and having a wish to assist others. In addition, empathy, dedication to the job, fairness, sense of humour and loyalty were mentioned (Kiely & Peek, 2002).

Consequently, Nilson and Oliver (2006) examined officers' perceptions of police effectiveness across different countries, namely Venezuela, Canada and the United States. They hypothesised that police perceptions would have common traits across different cultures / nations. The theory behind this was that perception of police effectiveness is not directly influenced by other agencies, such as the government, politics or economics. They interviewed 41 officers from Canada, 50 from Venezuela, and 40 from the United States. The information was analysed by content analysis. Seventy-two qualities were identified as effective, with 28 qualities being cited by all three agencies' officers. Honesty, adaptability, people skills, self-discipline, career pride and physical fitness were amongst the most noted qualities. There was a considerable amount of commonality between the different countries' officers. Yet, interestingly, education was ranked first in importance in the Venezuelan sample, with communication training rated most important by the Canadian and American sample. The findings on what was effective were guided by the officers' work expectations and experiences.

In rural areas of New South Wales, Jobes (2002) found that being a good listener, realising that the job involved working all hours, being available, and being part of the community were essential qualities for a police officer. Furthermore, the area of job satisfaction has been linked to officer's effectiveness (Zhao, Thurman & He, 1999; Greene, 1989; Halstead, Bromley & Cochran, 2000). Education has also been mentioned as a key characteristic in reducing levels of stress, and consequently increasing levels of effectiveness (Oliver and Meier, 2004)

Conversely, the challenges to police effectiveness in rural areas described by British officers were isolation, lack of resources, high public expectations, travelling criminals, high fear of crime and special events (Yarwood and Cozens, 2004). The same officers also mentioned that the attitudes towards rural policing needed to be improved in the force.

1.5.8 Role Conflict

In any job role there can be underlying conflicts that interfere with general effectiveness. Jobes (2003) underscored some of the potential problems in rural policing. He discussed the law enforcer versus the local resident, officers versus social critics, and the "white institutional society" (p. 15) versus the indigenous social system. An example of the first conflict was illustrated through a comment from an officer, who talked about the effect on his family and others if he had to arrest someone they were friendly with, subsequently making outside police relationships difficult. This social distance was also highlighted through a wish to socialise with the community, such as drinking in the local pub, but being aware of the critics (the second conflict area) in the community that may not see it as appropriate. The final area of Jobes' study was tailored to the

aboriginal communities and has relevance to countries with multi-cultural communities. Here the strain on the police is its link to the government, and labeled 'white institutional society', which can lead into a 'them versus us' scenario in a racially divided society.

Skolnick (1994) discussed the potential conflict between the role of the officer and the beliefs that they held about the legal system. In essence, if the officer does not believe what they are enforcing then there may be conflicting cognitions about the job and its meaning. As Van Maanen (1978) noted, officers are representative of the law and moral order and are also part of it, which shapes their behaviour and work. Conflict in this area can develop when the 'right' thing to do may not coincide with the legal thing to do (Herbert, 1998).

1.5.9 Public Perception of the Police

Public perceptions about policing are important, especially regarding their impact on the consequences of behaviour by both the police and the public (Falcone et al., 2002). An early study conducted by Primeau, Helton, Baxter and Rozelle (1975) explored public perceptions of officers. They interviewed a selection of different citizens, including psychologists, shoppers, homosexuals, psychiatric patients and university students, and asked what they believed were desirable qualities in an effective police officer. The results showed that fairness and competence were the most important, followed by courtesy, respect and courage, paralleling the qualities specified by the police officer sample.

Kowalewski et al. (1984) reported in their study a difference in public perception, finding through in-depth surveys and participant observation that in the metropolitan areas officers were seen in a negative light, whereas in the rural setting officers have a high degree of public deference. In metropolitan areas, they surmised that the public often see the police officer as a "pig" (p.370), whereas in a rural area the public see the officer as a person.

Consequently, the growing demand of the community is impacting on the effectiveness of policing (Frank et al., 1997; Kiely & Peek, 2002; Oliver & Bartgis, 1998; Goldstein, 1979; Chan, 1997; Herbert, 1988). Kiely and Peek's (2002) urban officers reiterated the importance of contact with the public, to the extent that how they appear to the public was more important than what they did. Chan (1997) described the increasing involvement of the everyday citizen in defining what is and what is not acceptable police behaviour, and that officers ought to be seen to be doing what they were expected to do. Research by Goldstein (1979) into problem orientated policing stressed that what citizens want is an effective response rather than an efficient operation. In essence, the public would prefer officers to respond to calls and address their concerns rather than caring

about whether officers are operating two up in the car, whether they were assigned to that sector and so on. The concern addressed by Goldstein was that if the police placed importance on improving the organisation, it might detract from the time and effort spent on the community needs. From another viewpoint, Oliver and Bartgis (1998) stressed the importance of balance between what the public wants and the officers' own wish to provide a service. They discussed the pressure placed by the community on the police to serve the public. However if the police do not agree with this community need they are likely to either ignore it or sabotage any plans. The key issue with achieving a balance is cooperation between the public and the police, ultimately giving both a stake in the outcome.

An example of potential conflict in public wishes is illustrated in the return of "walking the beat". Mawby (2004), whilst investigating rural areas in the United Kingdom, found that 76% of the people surveyed wished for deployment of more police officers in their area, especially foot patrols, as 43% felt that the police were no longer part of the local community. The public perceive that the use of patrol cars has taken away the personal touch of foot patrol and interacting with the community. Some citizens believe this practice should be reinstated, and yet some police management see this technique as archaic (Toch & Grant, 2005). Toch and Grant (2005) commented that some management believe that proactive policing can be accomplished effectively enough with new technology, response calls and deployment of vehicles, without the need for the physical presence of officers on the street.

Rurally, expectations and perceptions of the public can differ. Public confidence is perceived to be higher in rural areas (Aust & Simmons, 2002), along with higher public expectations about when the police should intervene in public life (Buttle, 2006b; Young, 1993). These expectations include the rural officer being a community advocate who primarily addresses community problems (Falcone et al., 2002). Yet these perceptions and expectations can cause further conflict and become detrimental to the officer. As Young (1993) found in the United Kingdom, new country constables felt like outsiders because the community had a predetermined idealised relationship between the community and the constable which was not achievable. Supporting this, Mawby (2004) found that the rural community he surveyed saw officers as police first and locals second because these officers did not live in the rural community.

1.5.10 Comparative Studies – Rural versus Urban

One of the main distinctions, between rural and urban, found by Maguire et al. (1991) and Falcone et al. (2002), was that rural police officers were more generalist, encompassing a variety of job roles, whereas the urban police officer was classed as a specialist. Maguire et al. (1991)

sent questionnaire to rural county officers, looking at time management, perceived importance and the level of enjoyment of job functions. The results suggested that rural officers had a variety of tasks. They were more likely the first and only person to deal with situations and were unable to shift responsibility for most assignments due to this. Falcone et al. (2002) went further, reporting that the status of rural / small town officers was perceived to be less professional by other officers due to this generalisation.

Falcone et al. (2002) also commented on police culture in rural and urban policing. The authors found that rural / small town officers become connected to the community culture, whereas urban officers are not integrated into the community and develop their own sub-culture. Hence, rural police rely on their community and vice versa, whilst urban officers rely more on their fellow officers. Tonnies (1957) made these distinctions *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft*. Gemeinschaft was linked to being part of the community, having self-interest and sharing common traits, similar to rural policing, while Gesellschaft linked to the wider society, with a lack of shared belief in the wider community more appropriate for urban policing. Human interaction in Gesellschaft was based on a broad social contract rather than the emphasis upon individual respect in the community.

In Australia, Jobes (2002) explored problems and perceptions among rural officers. He found that rural stations were manned by less officers, had fewer females and had more senior constables compared to urban stations. He conducted interviews focused on law enforcement, work factors and individual characteristics. Officers interviewed stated that they enjoy the rural role, particularly being part of the community and being disconnected from the police culture. Problems did occur, however, through the conflict between work and personal boundaries, in particular the amalgamated role of being an officer and community citizen.

Through exploring how officers spent their shift time, Liederbach and Frank (2003) found that the primary task of street police (dominant in rural and urban) was routine patrol, followed by administration and then driving to and from tasks. This research disputes some of the prior literature, which states that rural officers spend more time on citizen interactions than their urban counterparts. Further work by Pelfrey (2004) on community versus traditional policing suggested that there were a set of core policing activities shared by both, such as approval and enforcement of traditional responsibilities, arrest and response. The second layer of concepts included problem solving and accessing resources, more dominant in rural policing. Other similarities were stated in Kowalewski et al. (1984) investigation into operational codes in metropolitan and rural policing. These included conflicting role demands between personal and work life, emotional volatility of

family disputes and a need to present themselves as benevolent members of society. These were universally applicable to policing in general.

1.5.11 Implications

From the studies discussed, researchers have suggested further investigation into rural policing such as developing appropriate policies for rural settings (Weisheit & Wells, 1996). Research by Maguire et al. (1991) lead to additional questions regarding how rural police officers spend their time and the common myths held about rural policing. Other proposals include further study into urban community policing (Halsted et al., 2000), providing training in officer safety (Oliver & Meier, 2004) and exploration into rural skills that can be adopted by other policing environments (Payne et al., 2005; Weisheit et al., 1994). It is important to be aware that police may have universal tasks, yet styles differ dependent on the communities they work in (Wells et al., 2003). Further to this, Yarwood and Cozens (2004) suggested examining the policing experience from frontline officers engaged in daily rural policing. These recommendations illustrate unchartered gaps in the field of rural and urban policing.

1.5.12 Limitations

However, caution is warranted when considering the findings of the research conducted in America and overseas. It is uncertain whether rural policing is homogenous across the country, let alone other western societies (Payne et al., 2005), and not all rural communities are the same (Buttle, 2006b). Hence, it is important to be vigilant about how this international literature reflects on the New Zealand context. Furthermore, while many of these studies have commented on the differences between rural and urban policing, their focus was for the most part, only on the rural aspects of policing. This is problematic because without a direct rural / urban comparison such claims remain unsubstantiated.

1.6 NEW ZEALAND RESEARCH

1.6.1 Rural Policing in New Zealand – The Current Debate

There has been little published research on rural and urban policing in the New Zealand context. The only rural and urban comparative study available in recent literature is Winfree and Taylor's (2004) 'Rural, small town and metropolitan police in New Zealand: Differential outlooks on policing in a unified police organisation'. They used a survey to find out whether the perceptions of NZP staff (sworn and non-sworn) differed in the areas of rural, small town and metropolitan. Their research looked at perceptions of the policing role such as support, job satisfaction and fairness. They also investigated whether gender, ethnicity or job assignment were a contributing

factor. They concluded that there was little difference between the rural and urban policing experiences in New Zealand. They also inferred that the NZP is a centralized and unified organisation, which accounts for the lack of regional variety in policing styles.

1.6.2 Limitations of the Winfree and Taylor Study

There are many methodological limitations and criticisms of Winfree and Taylor's (2004) study. Primarily, that the data used was from a previous study by Winfree and Newbold (1999), which explored job satisfaction and supervisory support. Hence, the 169-item questionnaire, which included 60 questions on the '"inner workings of the NZP" (p.600), was never designed to look specifically at differential outlooks in rural, small-town and metropolitan police. This researcher speculates whether the questions were relevant enough for this new topic, or even sensitive enough to detect any differences among the three groups of police indicated.

The lack of sensitivity to detect differences between rural and urban policing was one of the many criticisms made by Goddard and Jaeger (2005) in their paper 'Policing in New Zealand: A response to Winfree and Taylor's "Rural, small town and metropolitan police in New Zealand"'. They commented on the reduction of ethnicity data into two categories of European and non-European as insensitive to the diversity of cultures living in New Zealand. Work location was also appraised, with the authors commenting that settlements over 100,000 people may not be considered a metropolitan area, nor settlements under 100,000 be considered rural and small-town. Considering the size of New Zealand, it would be inappropriate to use these numbers. As Goddard and Jaeger reflected, it is unrealistic to compare a New Zealand town with a population of 70,000 to a North American town of the same size - especially as at that time Palmerston North was considered the sixth largest city, with 78,000 citizens. Finally in their response, they pose the question of whether the questionnaire survey quantitative methodology is the most appropriate to use, especially with respect to the long oral tradition connected with New Zealand.

1.6.3 Jaeger's Study of Rural Policing in New Zealand

Jaeger (2002) research, which formed the foundations of the 2005 critique of Winfree and Taylor, found through interviews with police officers that the ideal rural officer was a practical all rounder with good communication and negotiation skills. They were able to solve problems and had a perception of what is just and fair. Maturity and life experience were also highly valued. The variety of abilities noted in this research links well with the international literature commented on earlier regarding the various tasks and expectations in the rural officer role. In addition, Jaeger noted that the officers preferred the method and use of face-to-face interviews. This study

contradicts the findings of Winfree and Taylor, and appears to support the notion of a difference between urban and rural policing styles.

1.6.4 Limitations of Jaeger's Study

However, Jaeger's (2002) work also has its limitations. A key point is that it was based on rural police in Palmerston North, investigating barriers to recruitment of ethnic minorities to the NZP. So, although the findings are of interest, they are not part of a comparative study of urban and rural policing, and thus cannot be considered as valid evidence to support their assertion that rural policing is different to urban policing. There was also an assumption by Jaeger that the individual officers interviewed were representative of the average situation of the NZP, which is a rather big assumption. The findings from this unpublished thesis are too limited to truly validate their critique of Winfree and Taylor.

1.6.5 The Proposed Study

It is still unclear whether there are any differences between rural and urban policing in New Zealand. This research will attempt to resolve the debate by asking the question, "*does the experience of policing differ for rural officers and their urban counterparts?*" Every police officer is likely to have accumulated a wealth of experience and cultivated a position on the topic of rural and urban policing. This study will enable researchers to start to identify, from an officers' viewpoint, what they consider their role and experiences to be in their rural or urban placement. Data gained from this study will provide a foundation upon which others could compare experiences across rural and urban police environments.

The strength of this study is the use a qualitative methodology to resolve the problems of using inappropriate and insensitive questions such as those used by Winfree and Taylor. Furthermore, as distinct from Jaeger's work, this research provides an urban/rural policing comparison. In short, the proposed study will address the two main criticisms of the two previous studies conducted on rural policing in New Zealand.

CHAPTER TWO: SETTING THE SCENE NORTHLAND DISTRICT POLICE

2.1 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In this chapter we look at the New Zealand Police (NZP), with reference to the Northland District. A brief NZP history is given, along with an example of the main changes that have occurred recently in this organisation. Strategic plans are discussed, along with recruitment and the Police Act review. This is followed by a brief description of the Commission of Enquiry and subsequent development of the Code of Conduct. The Northland Police District is then introduced, with comments on the areas of recruitment and crime.

2.2 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NEW ZEALAND POLICE

In 1840, magistrates under Governor Hobson appointed men to perform the task of being police officers and on the 9th October 1846 the constabulary force was formed. Officers were defined as men who would preserve the peace, prevent crime and arrest offenders. In 1886 the Police Act was formalised, leading to the New Zealand's original national and civil police force. The word 'force' was removed in 1958, leaving the title New Zealand Police (New Zealand Police, 2008c).

Today the NZP is a de-centralised organisation, which currently has 12 districts. Each district has its own central station along with peripheral stations. There are more than 400 community-based police stations in New Zealand, responding to more than 600,000 111 calls each year (New Zealand Police, 2008e).

2.2.1 Strategic Plan to 2010

In 2006 the NZP put forth their Strategic Plan to 2010. Police Minister Annette King highlighted the aims for the NZP over the next four years, which include policing with confidence, safer communities and recognition of diversity. In addition, Police Commissioner Howard Broad specifically mentioned community support and participation, and the use of proactive policing by the NZP. His aims included a working partnership with citizens and communities to improve public safety. Strategic goals included community reassurance, looking at partnerships and protection with the community, policing with confidence through effective responses and resolutions, and

organisational development by enhancing frontline staff safety, leadership and improving integrity and accountability (New Zealand Police, 2006b).

This strategic plan underlies the NZP's annual Statement of Intent. In the 2006/7 statement the focus was on safer communities, reassurance and effective interventions. The new initiatives assisting with achieving the strategic plan included recruitment of new staff, updated vehicles and new electronic instruments, such as the single non-emergency number and electronic fingerprinting machines (New Zealand Police, 2006a). In 2007/8 attention was focused on police capability and performance, based on increasing the number of new officers, and the revision of the Police Act 1958. The statement also highlighted the continued importance of community reassurance, policing with confidence and organisational development (New Zealand Police, 2007b). In May 2008, the Statement of Intent 2008/9 to 2010/11 was released. The foreword by Police Minister Annette King reiterated the aims of the Strategic Plan to 2010. She also emphasised that policing was no longer being governed solely by the police but by all the community. This change in policing was reinforced by the current and future implementation of 250 new community policing roles, which has and will be happening between 2006 and 2009. In addition, there was reference to keeping police staff safe through modern equipment. The Police Commissioner Howard Broad's introduction included intelligence gathering through community surveys, iwi liaisons, non-government agencies and the creation of the Organized and Financial Crime Agency of New Zealand (New Zealand Police, 2008f). It is important to note that in the 2008/9 to 2010/11 statement, the nature and scope of the NZP remains similar with goals of community reassurance, policing with confidence and organisational development, an effort to make the NZP outstanding, with safer communities, less crime and fewer victims. Linked into this statement were the Commission of Inquiry and resulting Code of Conduct. These both will be discussed later in this section.

2.2.2 Recruitment

Recruitment has been a focal point for the NZP recently. In October 2006, the NZP brought in the 'better work stories' campaign, targeting new officers in the 18 to 35 year old age bracket. This campaign is still continuing. Four hundred and sixty four new officers were recruited in 2007 from in New Zealand. The ages ranged from 18 to 52, with an average age of 29 years old (http://www.police.govt). There has also been recruitment from overseas for officers. By 2009 the NZP estimated that there should be 8500 officers active. In addition, the present length of service has increased: in December 2006 there was a mean of 11.62 years, the longest period of retention in 15 years (New Zealand Police, 2006c).

The Police Annual Report, October 2007 reiterated the aim of recruitment in the equity and diversity area. It discussed increasing staff understanding of Maori culture and practices, and utilising strategies to attract women, along with Maori, Pacific, Asian and other ethnic people to the appointment of police officer.

There has been an increase currently in Rural Liaison Officers. In March 2008, seven new officers were placed in the central district, and the evaluation of this rural proactive approach is due mid-year (New Zealand Police, 2008b)

2.2.3 Police Act Review

One of the major changes in the NZP has been the review of the Police Act 1958. Key reasons for the review related to the weakness of the original 1958 Police Act and the 1992 police regulations. The Act had already been amended 25 times in an attempt to remain updated, yet the main body of it remained fixed in 1958. The problem was that in the 1950's the police approach was standardised and did not allow for adaptation to different situations and people, nor was it open to collaboration with outside agencies. The NZP approach has changed considerably over the years and the review demonstrates its aim to reflect a modern New Zealand (http://www.policeact.govt.nz)

Pertinent issues which influenced the need for the review included the lack of guidelines for policing, indistinguishable responsibilities, unclear accountability positions and discipline concerns. From these areas emerged the central themes that were to be explored and redefined.

The key themes were principles of policing, community engagement, police powers, human resources, conduct and integrity, relationship and boundary issues, national security, governance and accountability and administration. The Act aims to reflect these principles in new legislation for a current, future focused NZP. Consultation has been implemented with the New Zealand public through the forum of reviews, and canvassing of public views (http://www.policeact.govt.nz). The ultimate goal for the new Police Act is to have safer communities, to provide the best service to the public, unite the police with a single Code of Conduct and confirm the legal status and functions of the NZP.

2.2.4 Commission of Enquiry

The catalyst to the Commission of Enquiry was the historical allegations of rape by Louise Nicholas against three high-ranking police officers - Clint Rikards, Bob Schollum, and Brad Shipman - and Judith Garrett's allegation of rape against Kaitaia Police. Operation Austin, which

investigated sexual assault complaints made against the NZP started in February 2004 after Louise Nicholas and Judith Garrett's alleged rapes in the 1980's. On the 4th April 2007, the New Zealand Herald stated that 313 complaints regarding sexual assaults had been reported against the police (Oliver, 2007). Dame Margaret Bazley undertook the Commission of Enquiry, which investigated all sexual assault complaints against officers between 1979 and 2005. The 313 sexual assault claims were made against 222 officers, with 141 containing enough criminal evidence for a conviction or disciplinary action (Oliver, 2007). From her report, Dame Bazley recommended 60 changes, 48 related to the NZP specifically and 12 with respect to the Police Complaints Authority, with the police placed under close inspection for the next 10 years. To review the status of these recommendations, the State Services Commissioner was assigned to complete an annual audit. Key recommendations to change the police culture included recruiting more female and ethnic minorities officers and developing a Code of Conduct to include clear guidelines to what signifies appropriate behaviour for NZP officers (http://www.cipc.govt.nz; Oliver, 2007).

2.2.5 Code of Conduct

The predisposing factor to the development of the Code of Conduct was Dame Margaret Bazley's three-year Commission of Enquiry report. In August 2007 the Code of Conduct was proposed. Its function was to establish standards of appropriate behaviour, specifically personal, ethical and professional conduct for all NZP employees. The Commissioner stated that these standards should be understandable to all NZP employees through clear and simple wording, focus on behaviour and values of individuals and have a process of enquiry. Fundamental areas in the code included honesty, integrity, professionalism, fairness, respect, confidentiality and the consequences of breaching the code (New Zealand Police, 2008a). The code of conduct was implemented and operational from the 1st February 2008. It applied not only to all NZP officers but also to all non-sworn staff and outside contractors working for the NZP (Pentecost, 2008).

2.2.6 Complaints Authority

After the commission of enquiry, the Police Complaints Authority became the Independent Police Complaints authority (IPCA). This involved a change to an independent body dealing with the complaints lodged against any NZP employee. However, the focus of the IPCA extends from investigating serious complaints to overseeing police standards and policies. Some complaints are still dealt with internally by the NZP.

2.3 NORTHLAND POLICE DISTRICT

Northland is one of New Zealand's 12 police districts, and is the second smallest after the Tasman district. Yet its geographical size and remote areas make Northland a challenging district to police. It covers an area of 12,488 square kilometres from Cape Reinga to Kaiwaka.

Northland Police District has 21 police stations, including eight two-man and five sole charge, in a variety of populated and remote areas. The district itself is divided into two areas, the Whangarei / Kaipara district, covering Whangarei, Northland's central station, to Kaiwaka, and across from Dargaville to Kawakawa. The Mid / Far North area extends from Kawakawa to Cape Reinga and includes all the land between the east and west coasts.

There are a variety of specialist teams and services working aside frontline officers. These include burglary squads, law enforcement teams, a specialist crimes squad, search and rescue, serious criminal investigation, forensics, youth aid and youth education, strategic traffic units and dog handlers (New Zealand Police, 2008d).

District Commander Superintendent (DCS) Mike Rusbatch has been commanding the Northland district since March 2007. His background includes Executive Officer for the Domestic and External Security Group, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Area Commander, experience in the far north, and Policing Development Manager for Northland. His key areas for Northland are community policing, to keep communities safe, reduce crime and build trust and confidence in the police (New Zealand Police, 2008d).

2.3.1 Recruitment

From the recruitment drive of 2007, Northland received 31 new officers, approximately 7% of the overall number of new officers. Of these, Whangarei received 25 new officers, Kerikeri and Kawakawa received two each and Dargaville and Kaitaia received one each (http://www.police.govt.nz). This allocation of new staff has boosted Northland's police to over 360 sworn officers (The Whangarei Report, 2007). The deployment of staff unfortunately does not match the need in the community, especially in remote rural areas (Rickard, 2006)

2.3.2 Crime

During the period of July to December 2005 compared to July to December 2006, recorded crime levels in Northland decreased by 8% (New Zealand Police, 2006d) compared to the national average of 4.1% increase. In 2006/7 there was a drop of 2.9% in recorded crime in Northland (Whangarei Leader, 2007). The Northland District Statistics, ending December 2007, reported

that 52.7% of the recorded crime was solved during 2006/7, an improvement on 48% the previous year. The proportion of crimes recorded for the areas of sexual offences, property damage, property abuse and administrative offences were similar in the period of 2005/6 and 2006/7. However, there was an increase from 14.9% to 16% in violent crimes recorded, and 15.4% to 20.2% in drugs and anti-social offences. The only decrease observed was in dishonesty crimes, where in 2005/6 it was 52.2 % of Northlands recorded crime and in 2006/7 it was 46.8%.

It is important to note that crime statistics, although descriptive and informative, also have their limitations. This can be demonstrated using domestic violence as an example, where the increase in violent crime recorded in Northland could be due to the readiness of victims to report incidents (Whangarei Leader, 2007; Plowman, 2008b). If this is the case, then violent crime rates may have remained the same throughout the period of 2005/6 to 2006/7, so that nothing had improved or deteriorated in this offence area. Also, the category of violence incorporates a variety of offences from grievous assault, homicide, intimidation and threats, to robbery and kidnapping, but there is no category for domestic violence. For this reason it is unclear where domestic violence is placed, making it difficult for the public to know exactly what is occurring in this area. Furthermore, when the researcher talked about this issue with one of the officers in the study, they commented that a recorded incident could include multiple offences. This calls police statistics into question.

In addition, statistics are taken from police records, and so are based on the officers' willingness to record crimes. As Buttle (2006b) stated, not all the crimes are recorded, and this recording is based on the perceived level of seriousness of the crime and the subsequent probability of solving it. Hence, the police may not record some crimes. It is important to note that victims may not even bring these crimes to the attention of the police (Walters & Bradley, 2005). Victim crime surveys can give a clearer picture of the crimes committed, and can even report emerging new crimes that are not registered as being illegal (Buttle, 2006b). In conclusion, statistics recorded by the police should always be treated with caution.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter will describe the methods and procedures used to conduct the present study and enable exploration into the research question. The first part of this chapter describes the participants in the study, including comparative social demographic information in the format of tables. This is followed by a description of the qualitative methodology chosen for this research, the design, and an explanation of the Grounded Theory approach. In the final part of this chapter the research procedure is explained in detail, from gaining access to the NZP, data collection and lastly a discussion on the data coding and emerging themes.

3.2 PARTICIPANTS

3.2.1 Criteria for Inclusion

The focus of the research was to gain some insight into the experiences of being a police officer, and compare these experiences between rural and urban areas to observe whether there were any similarities or differences. Research surrounding work as a police officer has focused predominantly on the frontline staff, namely the rank of constable or equivalent. These are the officers who, on a daily basis, go out into the community and deal with the public, the offenders, other government and social agencies, and all ranks of officers. Due to the nature of engaging in policing and with the public on a daily basis, the researcher felt that frontline officers' experiences would be rich in content, and grounded in the reality of policing today.

The crucial criteria for inclusion were that the officer should working on the frontline. Ranks of officer above sergeant were not chosen, as they were more likely to be administration oriented than practically involved with day-to-day policing. Thus to clarify, the two main criteria to be a participant were:

- To be working on the frontline on a daily basis.
- To hold a rank of constable, senior constable or sergeant.

The actual recruitment process of the rural and urban officers in this research will be discussed in the *Procedures* section.

3.2.2 Participant Information

Next is a selection of tables showing the social demographics and working history of the officers interviewed for this research. Individual statistics are not displayed as these could identify the participants, so they are grouped into a total sample (both rural and urban officers) and separate rural sample and urban sample categories.

Table 1: Gender of Participants

Gender	Total sample (rural & urban officers): 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Male	15	9	6
Female	1	-	1

Table 1 illustrates the comparison of the participant's gender in the rural and urban area. It was noted that at the time of the interview there were no female officers stationed at any of the smaller rural stations in Northland. The majority of female officers were stationed at Whangarei police station.

Table 2: Age of Participants

Age	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Average age of officer (Years)	38.5	39.8	36.9
Median age of officer (Years)	38	38	36

Table 2 illustrates the average and median age of the rural and urban officers interviewed. From the statistics there are no major differences between the age of the participants in the rural and urban sample, however it is important to note that the urban sample was slightly younger.

Table 3: Ethnicity of Participants

Ethnicity	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Caucasian (New Zealand European & European)	14	8	6
Maori	2	1	1

Table 3 shows the ethnicity of the officers interviewed. The ethnicity of NZ European and European was placed in the same category and labelled Caucasian as the officers interviewed identified themselves as either Caucasian or Maori. From the ethnicity data it is clear that only 1/8 of all officers interviewed in this research identified as Maori.

Table 4: Marital Status of Participants

Marital status	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Married	8	6	2
De-facto	2	1	1
Single	5	2	3
Separated	1	-	1

Table 4 depicts the different relationship status of the officers interviewed. Half the officers interviewed were married, with 3/4 of those married working as a rural officer.

Table 5: New Zealand Police Rank of Participants

New Zealand Police rank	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Sergeant	3	-	3
Senior Constable	6	5	1
Constable	7	4	3

Table 5 illustrates the range of ranks held by the officers interviewed. In the sample of officers interviewed there were a higher number of experienced officers in the position of Senior Constable (a rank given after 14 years of being a dedicated constable) and Sergeant.

Table 6: Participant's Length of Service in the New Zealand Police

Number of years in New Zealand Police	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Average length of service	14	15.5	12
Median length of service	11.75	18	9
Range of years in service	2.5 - 28	2.5 - 28	4 - 28

Table 6 illustrates the average length and median length of service for the officers interviewed, in addition to the range of years served by each group. Looking at the number of years in the service, it is clear that there is only a slight difference between the rural and urban sample with respect to the average length of service. Yet when looking closer at the individual statistics and the median length of service, it becomes clear that rural officers have been in the NZP approximately twice as long as the urban officers. The range of years in service for both rural and urban officers is very similar.

Table 7: Participant's Length of Service at Present Station

Number of years at present station	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Average length of service	8	8	9
Median length of service	8.5	8	9
Range of years in service	1 - 20	1 - 20	1 - 20

Table 7 depicts the length of service for officers at their present station. With respect to the officer's current position, there is virtually no difference in average length of service, and range of years is identical.

Table 8: Number of Officers working in the Participant's Present Station

Number of officers working in station	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
1 man station	2	2	-
2 man station	4	4	-
3 man station	2	2	-
4+ man station / unit	2	-	2
6+ man station / unit	2	-	2
10+ man station / unit	4	1	3

Table 8 depicts the number of NZP officers based at each officer's current station, including the officer's position. It is interesting to note that one of the rural officers was placed in a 10+ man station. This officer was aware that he belonged to a larger station, yet he felt that due to its geographical placement it was considered rural.

Table 9: Participants On-call Duty

On call as part of job position	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Yes – on call	11	8	3
No – not on call	5	1	4

Table 9 depicts which officers interviewed had on call duty as part of their position. From the officers' statistics it is apparent that rural officers are nearly three times more likely to have on call duty than their urban counterparts.

Table 10: Participant's Urban or Rural designation of their Previous Station

Previous station worked in (area)	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Rural	5	3	2
Urban	7	5	2
Not applicable	4	1	3

Table 10 illustrates the previous station officers worked in, an urban or rural designation. Over half the rural officers had an urban position prior to their current role, with just under 1/3 of urban officers having a rural position prior to their current role.

Table 11: Participant's Length of Service at Previous Station

Number of years working at previous / last station	Total sample: 16	Rural sample: 9	Urban sample: 7
Average length of service	3	4	1
Median length of service	1.5	1.5	1
Range of years in service	1 - 10	1 - 10	1 - 4

Table 11 illustrates the length of service at the officer's previous placement in the NZP. If the data is compared to Table 7: Participant's Length of Service at Present Station it becomes clear that the officers prior position in the NZP is shorter in length (1/3 of their current position). It may be possible to conclude from this data that the officer's interviewed appear more settled in their current position.

The next tables will look at how representative the research sample of sworn officers is when compared to the statistics advertised in the NZP's Annual Report, year ending 30 June 2007.

Table 12: Gender of Participants compared to the New Zealand Police Sworn Staff Population

Gender	Total sample (%)	NZP sworn staff (%)
Male	93.75	83.3
Female	6.25	16.7

Table 12 illustrates the comparison between the officers in this research to the NZP sworn staff population. From the statistics it is apparent that the female population of the research sample was below average in comparison with NZP police officer data.

Table 13: Ethnicity of Participants compared to the New Zealand Police Sworn Staff Population and the New Zealand Population

Ethnicity	Total sample (%)	NZP sworn staff (%)	NZ population – 2006 census
Caucasian (New Zealand European & European)	87.5	75.8	79.9 (72.8 & 7.1 respectively)
Maori	12.5	9.6	14.6

Table 13 shows the comparison between the research sample, NZP sworn staff population and the New Zealand (NZ) population. Looking at the NZP statistics, it is clear that the research sample has slightly higher representation of both Caucasians and Maori compared to NZP sworn staff data. Yet the Maori officers were below the NZ population census average. This variance could be due to the census being finalised in 2006 compared to the research sample, which was taken late 2007.

Table 14: Rank of Participants compared to the New Zealand Police Sworn Staff Population

New Zealand Police rank	Total sample (%)	NZP sworn staff (%)
Sergeant	18.75	14.8
Senior constable	37.5	There were no statistics for this rank.
Constable	43.75 (81.25 if Senior Constables included)	74.5

Table 14 illustrates the comparison between the officers interviewed and NZP sworn staff population. Looking at the research sample, the percentage of officers in a sergeant role is slightly higher than the NZP sworn staff population. In addition, if senior constables and constables in this study are combined together the percentage is also slightly higher than the NZP comparison population. In essence, there is only a slight difference in the distribution of NZP rank across this sample and that of the NZP sworn staff population.

3.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section will look at the methodological approach chosen for this research. Firstly there will be a short discussion around the choice of paradigm, looking specifically at the merits of a qualitative approach. This will be followed by an explanation of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original Grounded Theory, specifically why it was the researcher's chosen methodological approach, and a brief overview of grounded theory.

3.3.1 Qualitative Paradigm

It is interesting to note that in the vast majority of police literature cited in this study, researchers have chosen a qualitative approach, from observational studies, to riding in cars with police officers to interviewing and ethnographic approaches (Weisheit et al., 1994; Falcone et al., 2002; Payne et al., 2005; Oliver, 2004b; Liederbach, 2005; Primeau et al., 1975; Nilson & Oliver, 2006; Jaeger, 2002; Leiderbach & Frank, 2003; Kowalewski et al., 1984; Kiely & Peek, 2002; Buttle, 2006b).

The key feature of the research undertaken was to resolve the debate between by Winfree and Taylor (2004) and Jaeger and Goddard (2005) as to *does the experiences of policing differ for rural officers from their urban counterparts?*. By exploring and critiquing the comparative study by Winfree and Taylor (2004) it is apparent that the survey questions used were not specific to the topic of rural and urban policing. This raises concerns about which questions would be most appropriate to ask to ascertain the most relevant information from officers regarding rural and urban policing. Consequently, rather than using previous surveys or questionnaires from overseas and biasing the research by relying on the assumptions of previous studies, the researcher opted for a qualitative approach.

A qualitative approach allows the researcher to study people in their natural environment, examining the significance of their behaviour and experience not only in context but also in its total complexity. It enables the researcher to explore the questions of how and why, and stay close to the original data, which decreases the chance of losing vital pieces of information. It also allows the researcher to acknowledge that there is some relationship between the researcher and the participant, and that experiences do not happen in a vacuum (Pidgeon, 1996; Henwood, 1996; Dey 1999; Glaser, 1998).

3.3.2 Research Design

Grounded theory was chosen as the best approach for this study due to its data driven emphasis. It allows the researcher to combine a set of steps with the flexibility of generating and adjusting the theory as new data appears. Grounded theory's exploratory emphasis facilitates the researcher to use questions that are led by those aspects of the participant's working life that they perceive as most significant to them. It allows for a wider applicability, which develops a rich description of the experiences as the theory emerges from the data. Thus the researcher generates a theory relevant to the participants and guards against preconceived views and bias. As Stern (1995) stated the strongest case to use grounded theory is when the researcher is either examining a new area or wishes to gain a fresh outlook on a familiar area.

It also works well with a smaller sample of participants, which suited the population size of this research. Glaser and Strauss (1967) commented that the number of participants was not important, as one participant could indicate an emerging category and only a few more participants were needed to confirm its significance. In addition, the use of grounded theory as a method suited the time constraints placed on this piece of research.

The original path of grounded theory has evolved since 1967, with Glaser and Strauss going their separate ways. Glaser (1994) stayed close to the original theory, using constant comparison and open coding with an emphasis on discovery. Whereas Strauss now partnered with Corbin (1998), recommended exhaustive coding, prior literature review and a researcher's focal point. Both these versions were options for the grounded theory approach. However, Strauss and Corbin's (1998) theory was based around a systematic design, and the researcher was concerned that this was too prescriptive, potentially making the researchers role more subjective. This prospectively could bias the emerging data and taint the participant's *own* voice. Glaser (1992) on the other hand, used an emergent design, whereby there was flexibility in procedures and a focus on the researcher's role being objective. Nevertheless, similar to Strauss and Corbin (1998), Glaser (1992) had developed into his theory pre-defined coding categories. The researcher, after exploring the grounded theory approaches put forth by the original authors, chose to remain true to original Glaser and Strauss (1967) grounded theory ideal. By doing so, the researcher felt that there were fewer constraints around the process and that the original approach had the flexibility to represent the participant's voice.

3.3.3 Grounded Theory

The idea of grounded theory originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) with the emphasis being on the participant's own accounts of their social world and the meanings attached to them. The data can be taken from interviews, fieldwork, observations, case-study notes or other forms of textual documentation. Glaser and Strauss looked at generating a theory through continual sampling and analysis of raw data, to *fit* the topic being researched. The researcher begins with a general area of interest. Theory emerges from the data continually as the data is collected, coded and categorised, so that pre-selected hypotheses or research questions are unnecessary requirements. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) stated, the generation of theory from data means that the concepts emerge from the data itself. Consequently, this methodology advocates an attentive and neutral researcher who, as far as possible, has no preconceived theory that dictates selected concepts prior to research. Glaser and Strauss (1967) purposed that the researcher should have some naivety with respect to the area chosen to investigate, and that the participants would be the knowledgeable ones. The researcher becomes, in effect, a passenger on the participant's journey. However, it is essential to note that even Glaser and Strauss (1967) were aware that a researcher could not be a true *tabula rasa*. In summary Grounded Theory is a highly interactive and iterative process, where concepts, categories and theoretical observations are all building blocks to the theory, to the extent that 'everything' counts.

The phases of grounded theory will be discussed next to help clarify the process of how the data is managed. It is advised that the researcher does not complete a literature review, as this may misdirect and taint the information received from the participants. However, the researcher has a topic area to investigate, and then allows the participants through the various means of material to direct the data towards what is important to them. The medium used in this research was interviews, with the data being the participant's verbatim. Before any coding can take place, the data needed to be in some form of a permanent record, for example an interview transcript.

The key process in grounded theory is constantly comparing the information and data received. The "constant comparative method" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 103) involves a technique by which the researcher compares one incident with another, and observes the frequency, similarity and differences between these incidents (Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003). This comparative analysis enables the researcher to continually select and compare elements and look for potential links.

Coding in this area is split into two. Firstly, *open* coding, which is linked to the original data and looks at coding the data in every way possible. It has also been labeled *in-vivo* coding, whereby the researcher stays close to the data, and the participant's terminology. These codes become

the building blocks to the emerging categories and theory. The second area, *theoretical* coding, is where the researcher starts to recognise connections and relationships between the codes and categories, and uses selective coding to delimit these categories to explore the emerging core category (Dey, 1999).

The researcher needs to be flexible and open with the data during these phases, and maximum flexibility is key to the early phase of code generalisation. The only requirement earlier in the process of grounded theory is that the description *fits* the data. Glaser and Strauss (1967) mentioned the need for the researcher also to be "theoretically sensitive" (p. 46). This is not a technique as such, but refers to the creativity and insight of the researcher. An ability to give meaning to the data, immerse themselves into the data and separate what is and is not relevant to the emerging themes and theory.

Data analysis can start when there is sufficient information to work from, and data collection can still continue during this stage. The researcher changes between the data and emerging conceptualisations. Sampling of new data continues to compare and support the emerging theory and concepts. In terms of grounded theory this is labeled "theoretical sampling" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45), and can include new data from a variety of sources. The aim of theoretical sampling is to fill in the gaps of the emerging theory. Eventually the data replicates what has already been established, and there is a non-materialization of new categories. The categories become saturated, which Glaser and Strauss (1967) labeled "theoretical saturation" (p. 61). It is here that that categories begin to be placed under themes with meaning to the participants, and eventually a key concept starts to emerge. This core concept will be central to all the data collected, and will be the umbrella under which all the participant's experiences reside, along with potential resolutions to their concerns. Consequently, the core category will represent the theoretical relevance of the relationships between the saturated categories. It is important to note that the final core category represents what is important to the participants, and hence it may differ from the original idea of the researcher.

3.4 RESEARCH PROCEDURES

3.4.1 Ethics Approval

When exploring the literature on policing, it became evident that some areas, such as job stress, officer well-being and job satisfaction had been investigated extensively. Yet in the NZP there were relatively new areas still available to research. The researcher's interest was drawn to rural and urban policing, and exploration and comparison of policing in these two areas from the officer's viewpoint. Northland was chosen as the 'rural' sample as it was the second smallest

district in New Zealand with many remote and isolated stations. Originally Auckland was chosen as the 'urban' sample as it covered a smaller geographical area but had a considerable larger population.

A research proposal was submitted to Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC). A rural and urban comparison of police experiences was advocated by the researcher, based on the lack of comparative rural policing literature in NZ. The process from starting the ethics application to the ethics committee approval (see Appendix A) took approximately three months.

3.4.2 Gaining Access to the New Zealand Police

3.4.2.1 Original Approach to the New Zealand Police

Previous research undertaken in the NZP had involved direct contact to the relevant District Commander Superintendent (DCS). This normally took the form of a letter introducing the researcher to the DCS and informing them of the proposed study. This letter (see Appendix B) and research information sheet (see Appendix C) was sent to DCS Viv Rikard. DCS Rikard was chosen as he represented the designated rural area, which was convenient for the researcher. It is important to note at this stage there was a memorandum of understanding between the New Zealand Police Rural Liaison and Massey University, allowing students access to complete research with the NZP.

3.4.2.2 Changes

The researcher discovered that the procedures for conducting a research project in the NZP had changed. A letter was received back from DCS Rikard stating that there was a process called 'higher level' research, which entailed a referral to the NZP's Research and Evaluation Steering Committee (RESC) (see Appendix D). DCS Rikard also included an information sheet, on 22 February 2006, titled 'Conducting Research in the Police Organisation' sent to all District Commanders by Assistant Commissioner Broad. The key reasoning behind this procedure was to ensure that projects were theoretically and methodologically accurate and were of use to the NZP. 'Higher status' was related specifically to post graduate research, Master's or PhD's, and the need for consideration of these projects was due to the potential risk of research topics to the NZP (see Appendix E). In addition, a flowchart illustrating the application process was provided (see Appendix F). The next step involved contacting the RESC and being advised of the application process. At the same time the researcher had sent a letter to Inspector John Mitchell of Auckland City District to introduce the proposed study, saying that contact had been made with the RESC and asking permission to conduct interviews in his district (see Appendix G). Both the

Northland District, through DCS Rikard, and Auckland City, through the Policing Development Research Officer, gave approval, on the proviso that the proposal was accepted by the RESC.

3.4.2.3 The Proposal

An internal proposal form was sent by the RESC. The researcher used the statutory format and corresponding headings and submitted a proposal. The headings included the title of the research, project background, methodology, limitations, ethical considerations, benefit to police, risks to police, quality assurance/peer review, implementation of results and projected timeframe. Along with the first hard copy proposal, the letter of approval from the MUHEC was also included. In a few days the RESC made contact, requiring further information about recruitment, sample size, potential sites, ethical considerations and risks and limitations of grounded theory. These additional sections were sent via e-mail.

A response was sent one month later, after the proposal had been circulated in the RESC. Attached to the response was a review from the RESC asking for a revised draft with the committee's points addressed (see Appendix H). The RESC stressed that in considering police involvement, time and resources, they wanted to know that the research was of best possible quality and of benefit to the police. The points to be addressed ranged from further detail in the policing literature, grounded theory and research objectives, to clarification into the recruitment process, a draft copy of information sheets to be given to the participants and storage details for the when the information was gathered. The RESC also requested background details of the researcher and her supervisor. The changes were made and the revised proposal was sent over two months later. The new proposal was detailed in the areas specified, and included several appendices from letters sent out to gain approval from Northland and Auckland City, along with the researcher's and supervisor's curriculum vitae.

A response was sent one month later, with a supplementary review by the RESC on the second proposal. The proposal was approved subject to reconsideration of participating sites and completion of security clearance and confidentiality agreements. The RESC listed other points to be considered, the main one being that they queried the use of Auckland as a comparator as it had its own unique policing needs. They suggested that a provincial urban area from the same district be selected, in this case Whangarei. Other information provided by the RESC stressed that each district is distinctive, and that the results gained should not be attempted to generalise to rural policing nationally. The researcher contacted the evaluation manager, and clarified that the main change required by the RESC was to conduct the comparative study solely in Northland. Police confidentiality agreement and security clearance forms were then signed and sent.

The researcher changed the urban sample from Auckland to Whangarei, and the rural sample from Northland to small stations based in Northland. The revised version was returned to the evaluation manager one week later, and was forwarded onto the new DCS of Northland, DCS Rusbatch. One week later a request came through for the researcher to format a cover letter for the new Northland DCS (see Appendix I). Two weeks later Northland District Headquarters sent confirmation that approval had been granted for the research, and to liaise with them to start the process. Access to the NZP from start to finish took over six months. Combined with the time required for the initial university proposal and ethics approval from MUHEC, acceptance for research with the NZP was a lengthy process. Due consideration should be given to future students wishing to conduct research with the NZP with respect to the additional time needed for postgraduate MSc/ MA completion.

3.4.3 Data Collection

3.4.3.1 The Recruitment Process

The researcher met with DCS Rusbatch two weeks after final approval confirmation. The purpose of this meeting was to introduce myself, discuss the research with the DCS, and to ask about access to officers. The discussion covered the difficulties of distinguishing between urban and rural areas, while trying to compare similar samples of rural and urban officers with the same amount of experience.

With respect to the recruitment process, the DCS directed the researcher to liaise with his assistant. Decisions were made that participants could be contacted via e-mail, on the proviso that their supervisor and area commander were also informed. The DCS emphasised that participants should have ample notice and that if possible interviews would be kept to a minimum length of 30 minutes if undertaken during work time. A sample size of about 15 officers was considered adequate for establishing categories, although due to the nature of the methodology chosen the actual number would be determined by the *saturation* of the data.

The first contact with participants was made through a mutual acquaintance that worked as a frontline officer in the NZP. It was explained to him that a sample of similar rural and urban officers was required. He e-mailed the researcher a potential list of frontline officers, 10 rural officers and 10 urban officers, including some urban sergeants who would have the experience to match the rural officers.

The officers were initially contacted via e-mail. The e-mail sent contained a brief introduction of the researcher and research, and its approval through the RESC and DCS Rusbatch (see Appendix J) along with an attachment containing the information sheet (see Appendix K).

The officers were contacted over a period from the end of June 2007 to the beginning of September 2007, with the first interview undertaken at the end of June 2007, and the last undertaken beginning of October 2007. Rurally, 13 officers were contacted, nine from the original list given and four names offered by other rural officers interviewed. In total nine rural officers were interviewed, in a space of one month. This compares to the urban sample whereby of the original 10 urban officer names offered and contacted, only three responded affirmatively. This led to the researcher using a 'snowballing' technique whereby she asked officers interviewed to forward any names of officers they felt might be interested. The researcher also contacted her mutual acquaintance to ask for other officers' names that he felt might be interested. Consequently, a further 12 officers were contacted via e-mail. In total, another seven interviews were undertaken in the urban sample, over a period of two months.

Due to the 'snowballing' technique it could be argued that there was a certain bias to the recruitment sample. Yet, due to the length of time taken to gain access to the NZP and time constraints of the research project, it was also one way of successfully gaining participants. It is important to note that although officer's names were put forward, this did not always result in gaining that officer as a participant. Each officer was given the opportunity to accept, decline or ignore the e-mails sent. If the officer had not responded to the e-mail sent, then the researcher took this as a decline to participate.

Once an officer had accepted the invitation to participate, the researcher contacted them either via e-mail or telephone, to confirm a convenient day and time for the interview. The rural officers had more flexibility around days and times, and were more open to participating during working hours at their designated station. This differed from the urban officers, many of whom preferred to be interviewed out of work hours, and away from the station. The researcher reflected that this difference might relate to the different hours and shifts the rural and urban officers work.

3.4.3.2 Pre-Interview Process

Once a day, time and site had been arranged with the officer, along with contact phone numbers, the researcher gathered the forms and materials required for the interview. The forms included a hard copy of the information sheet (see Appendix K), a consent form (see Appendix L) and a social demographics form (see Appendix M).

A hard copy of the information sheet was taken to give the participant physical evidence of the research aims and details, with contact details of the researcher and the supervisor. The consent form was necessary for the participant to indicate that they understood the information given, and agreed with how the interview would be undertaken and how data collected would be used. Finally, the researcher required some background detail of the participants; specifically, social demographic details, such as age, marital status, ethnicity, and work history, including length of service and rural and urban placements. This information was gathered so that the rural and urban samples could be compared against one another, and in some cases compared against the NZP statistics. This collated data is discussed, and has been placed in a visual form in the section *3.2.2: Research Participants*.

Other materials needed for the interviews included some generalized questions, based around the interview schedule created for the research and ethics committee (see Appendix N). These interview questions were only to be used as prompts in the case of the interview coming to a standstill. Other materials brought to the interview were a tape recorder, microphone, blank tapes, an extension lead, batteries and a notepad and pen.

Prior to starting the interview, the researcher checked that the participant was comfortable to conduct the interview at the designated site (either their own station or at the researcher's place of work in an interview room). Once this had been clarified, the researcher handed the participant the hard copy of the information sheet and asked them to read over it again. The participant was then asked whether they had any questions or issues with what had been written in the information form. Then the officer was given the participant consent form to read through and sign if they agreed to participate under the conditions set out in the information sheet. The researcher noted that there were no issues brought up by either rural or urban officers during this process.

Once the consent form had been signed, the officers were asked to complete the background information (socio-demographics information) form. The first officer to be interviewed asked about the wording of one section, and from then onwards the 'last to current station' was changed to 'previous stations'. The researcher also changed the layout of the form, sectioning off personal details from working details (present and past). In this form the researcher tried to keep sections open for the participant to place whatever information they felt was correct, in the words that they chosen. This was to keep in line with the grounded theory approach of letting the participants talk for themselves. An example of this was 'ethnicity' which the researcher kept open rather than give the officer preconceived or designated categories to fit into. However, the only two self-designated ethnicities described were Caucasian or Maori.

3.4.3.3 Interview Process

After the forms had been completed, and the participant indicated that they were ready to start, the interviews commenced. All the interviews were taped. The participants were given the option to stop the tape recorder at any time, but no participants asked for the tape recorder to be stopped. The only breaks in tapes were when the researcher pressed the pause / stop button if phone calls had to be taken by the officers, the officer needed to deal with the public or the officer was called away on a job. Only one officer out of the whole sample was called away mid-interview, and he returned later that day to finish the interview.

Each interview started with a broad opening question of "tell me, from your point of view, the difference between rural and urban policing?". This was used as a base question, through which the researcher explored the experience of policing for each officer, noting what was salient for each officer interviewed. The interview process in grounded theory consists of following leads, and allowing themes to emerge from the data. The researcher tried to remain true to this method of interviewing, by allowing the participant to talk about what was important to them, and then following that verbatim with a question related to *their* line of enquiry. To summarise, open-ended questions were used in the interviews, and were formed as a response to the answers given.

It is important to note that the actuality of following the original grounded theory by Glaser and Strauss (1967) was not possible, as a literature review had been undertaken before the interviews started as a requirement from the ethics and NZP research committee. Yet, although the researcher had some prior knowledge of the policing areas, this did not affect the data collected as she allowed the participants to talk freely and encouraged them to lead the direction of the conversation rather than take a dominant role herself. The only time that the researcher had any direct influence over the interviews was when the conversation came to a stop. It was then that the researcher used her prompt list.

The rural officers were interviewed first due to geographical distances to the researcher, followed by the urban officers. In between the interviews undertaken, some interviews were transcribed, and written notes were taken throughout each interview. These were both used to highlight emerging concepts and ideas expressed by the officers, and to keep the concepts fresh in the researcher's head in the event that other participants repeated them.

The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to 90 minutes, with an average of 72 minutes over the whole sample. It was, 67 minutes for the average rural interview, compared with an average of 80 minutes with the urban officers.

At the end of every interview, before the tape was switched off, the researcher asked whether there was anything else that the officer would like to add regarding their experience of policing.

3.4.3.4 Post Interview Process

After the interview finished, the researcher thanked the officer for their time in participating in the study, and taking part in the interview. The researcher checked whether the participant had any questions about the interview or the research. If so, the questions were answered to the best of the researcher's knowledge. At this stage the researcher could not comment on any findings, as the analysis had not been completed.

Participants were reminded that a copy of the thesis would be available when completed, through the NZP. They were also reminded that the researcher and her supervisor's contact details were available on the information sheet if they had any further questions.

An e-mail was sent, following each interview, to the participant thanking them again for their participation and reminding them when the results would be available (see Appendix O). It is also the researcher's intention to contact each participant, after the thesis has officially been completed, sending them a brief synopsis of the results and a date to when the hard copy thesis will be available to the NZP.

3.4.4 The Data

3.4.4.1 Interview Transcripts

All interviews were taped and once finished, the tape was labelled with the date of the interview only. The researcher aimed to transcribe the interviews after they had had occurred. This was not always the case, especially when the researcher had five interviews over two days. The researcher set up her transcription notes in the form of a table, with three columns. The first was to indicate who was talking, the interviewer (researcher) or participant [column one], the second for the verbatim (question, answer or both) [column two] and the third was left for memos, categories or comments relating to that piece of verbatim [column three]. See next in Table 15 for an example of the layout:

Table 15: Example of Transcription Table

Person:	Interview narrative	Notes / memos to self
Interviewer:	Tell me from your point of view what you perceive the difference is between rural and urban policing?	
Participant:	Verbatim	Community
I:	Question	
P:	Verbatim	

The researcher transcribed each interview. This primarily allowed the researcher to immerse herself in the data again. It also gave the researcher an opportunity to disguise any information that might identify the participant, thus retaining confidentiality. Transcribing the interviews took time, with a 45-minute interview taking the researcher approximately four to five hours, depending on clarity of the taped voices. Once each transcript was completed it was saved into a secure computer file and printed out. Some interviews were transcribed during the interviewing period. Three rural interviews were transcribed, during the first ten interviews; two more were transcribed by the thirteenth interview and three more (eight in total) were transcribed for the last three interviews. The ideal approach would have been a transcription of each interview after it had happened, and before the next. This was not possible due to numerous real world constraints such as the availability of police officers, the need for the researcher to meet deadlines and the financial issues that constrain all postgraduate research.

3.4.4.2 Coding

The researcher took written memos during each interview, noting any interesting comments and concepts produced by the participants. These memos were imperative because they represented potential areas of importance to the participants and were constantly compared to new data and verbatim throughout the interview. They were used as base concepts to which the following interviews comments were compared. So although the physical transcription of the interview was not always up to date, the memos enabled the researcher to continue with the analysis process.

During the actual transcribing, the researcher was aware of emerging questions or areas of interest, and these were instantly placed in the 'notes / memos to self' column throughout the process. She also added the ones that had been written down during the actual interview process. Once the interview had been transcribed, the researcher read through the hard copy, and noted down any additional thoughts produced by the participants' conversation.

Consequently, open coding happened in three stages in this study; firstly, during the interview; secondly, during the transcribing; and lastly, during the reading of the transcript. This may appear overly thorough yet the researcher did not want to miss out on any potential concepts, so noted down all possible notions. These topics were kept quite open, such as 'relationships', 'challenges' and 'personality'. The researcher also noted any comparative statements, and placed these also in the memo section. Examples included 'community feedback in rural areas' versus 'unknown officer in urban areas' and 'independence in rural areas versus reliance on team in urban areas'.

Once all the transcripts had been read and memos recorded on each interview, the researcher began the first stage of organizing the data. She began with the first interview, and looked at the information written in the memo section, generalising each one into a broad category. Each category had a corresponding colour; this was to help group comments together at the end. For example, verbatim surrounding relationships with the community were classed under 'community' and highlighted red, and comments made about giving out speeding tickets were categorised under 'traffic' and highlighted blue. If the verbatim overlapped into two areas, such as people in the community knowing your personal life, which overlapped into 'community' and 'family life'; the researcher highlighted the main quote in one category colour, and highlighted the first few, and last few words in the other designated colour, representing the other category. Thus this piece of verbatim would appear in both categories. Fifteen broad categories were created from the interviews.

After all of the interview transcripts were colour coded into their categories, the next step involved placing the colour coded verbatim under its related category heading. This involved cutting and pasting the verbatim into a separate Microsoft Word document. For example, all highlighted red sections were cut and pasted into one document under its category title, while all those highlighted orange went into another, until all verbatim were classified and placed into their appropriate category. The document was then formatted with a table, which included the participant [column one], the page number from the original transcript [column two], and the verbatim [column three]. An illustration of this is given next in Table 16:

Table 16: Example of Secondary Coding Analysis Table

Category: Administration

SUBJECT	PG. NO.	COMMENT
R1	8	Verbatim
R2	9	Verbatim
	11	Verbatim

Once all the verbatim had been placed into the appropriate Word document under its broad category, the researcher went through establishing sub-categories. This involved looking closer at the verbatim, and specifically at how it related to the broad category. For example, under the category of administration, there were sub-categories such as 'quality of files', 'quantity of files' and 'priority'. The researcher again used colour coding to distinguish which piece of verbatim should go under which sub-category. Any verbatim which overlapped into two sub-categories was highlighted accordingly with the two colours corresponding with the two categories.

Once each piece of verbatim was colour coded, it was then moved into a third Word document, with the verbatim placed under its sub-category heading. This document included four columns, the first designating the sub category title, the second representing the participant, the third the page number of where the verbatim was taken and the fourth had the corresponding comment. For example, under administration, one of the sub categories was 'quality of files' [column one], and for this R1 (rural officer interview number one) [column two], on page 8 [column three] of the original transcript said "X" which was placed in the last column [column four], as seen in Table 17:

Table 17: Example of Third Level Coding Table

Category: Administration 2

Sub-category	Subject	Pg. no.	Comment
Quality of files	R1	8	Verbatim
	R4	7	Verbatim

Throughout the coding process the researcher kept the verbatim connected back to the original transcripts. This was important with respect to exploring the context the verbatim was attached to,

and keeping close to the original data as required in grounded theory. The researcher was also constantly comparing the emerging categories with her original memos, and recording any new themes, or highlighting support for established ones.

The next step of the coding process involved condensing the verbatim into note form to make it easier to identify contrasts and comparisons, and highlight key quotes and themes. This information was placed into another Word document, following the format of category and sub-category [column one], the reference, which included the participant and page reference in column two (still based on the original transcription) [column two], and a final column labelled Summary [column three]. An example is given next in Table 18:

Table 18: Example of Verbatim Summary Coding Table

Category	Ref	Summary
Administration2		
Quality of files	R1-8	No predetermined format / guidelines No good files=bad performance
	R4-7	Poor quality due to not them having to follow it up
	R9-6/7	Books for everything

The final stage of coding involved exploring and comparing the summaries and documenting similarities and diversities between the rural and urban officers' verbatim. In particular, what they agreed on, what they disagreed on, and what could be considered distinctly rural or distinctly urban.

3.4.4.3 Themes

By constantly comparing the emerging concepts throughout the coding stage the researcher became aware of many common experiences. It is important to note that the themes that emerged in this study were only relevant to the data collected at that specific moment in time. They are intrinsically linked to the areas of interest and meaning to the participants of this research. Therefore the results gained in this study may not be representative of all the officers in Northland. Nevertheless the themes that emerged provide a depiction of what issues surround the experience of policing; in particular, 'what are the key experiences' for officers.

Throughout the coding process, the researcher was continually exploring the verbatim, and recording emerging concepts. When concepts were mentioned two or three times by different

participants, the researcher noted down that area as a potential category, and was alert to further support. This occurred during the memo, transcription and coding stage. These concepts were represented in the sub-categories created in this study.

Once the final stage of coding was completed by highlighting key quotes, the researcher took a step back in the coding process and explored and compared the sub-category themes. It became clear that many relationships between the verbatim were repeated or overlapped. The researcher started to record the same themes repeatedly, and after interview transcript number 14 no new categories materialised. Saturation had occurred, and the final themes and categories had emerged. Yet the researcher continued analysing the last two interviews to make sure that there were no new categories. The categories that developed were: officer's perception of the community, the job role, the management, safety, the justice system, and the culture of the police as well as family life (see Appendix P).

From these categories, a core concept emerged that was central to the emergent categories, and hence to all the data collected. In the *Analysis* section these final categories will be discussed further, along with the core category, linking all the data collected to the topic of interest.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

"Just open the door to everyone and it doesn't matter who. It could be the worst guy in the whole town but still stay hello to him because one day he might help you" (R5)

4.1 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In this chapter the research findings will be discussed, with particular application to comparing and contrasting rural and urban policing experiences. Through the exploration of "does the experience of policing differ for rural officers and their urban counterparts?" seven categories emerged from the interview data. The following categories were established with respect to the police perception of: community relations, job role, management, safety, the justice system, police culture and personal life. Each category will be explored and described, with examples of the officer's verbatim and reference to the literature specified in Chapter Two. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, the establishment of the core category 'boundaries' will be discussed. The category 'boundaries' emerged from the officer's experience, and emerged throughout the categories, from lack of boundaries, through to the un/successful implementation of boundaries to the constraints of boundaries in their work.

4.2 POLICE PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Community relations were one of the first categories to emerge and this was a universal theme referred to throughout the interviews. The importance of developing and maintaining good relationships with the community was seen as a key part of the officer's role, and was mentioned by all of the participants in this study. Officers spoke about 'working relationships', conflict resolution, various roles and expectations from the community to name a few areas. Research cited previously, by Weisheit et al. (1994), Oliver (2004b), Falcone et al. (2002) and Yarwood (2001) support the concepts of community connectedness, officer's accountability, potential conflict between officers and the public, and problem solving approaches.

Firstly, both rural and urban officers stressed the importance of knowing their community. This extended across the range from law abiding to non-law abiding citizens. The advantage of knowing your citizens enhanced the officer's ability to deal with situations by either reducing or preparing for potential conflict. As one rural officer stated:

"You've got to be more relaxed, more easy going and friendly and there is a ton of reasons for that. You're forever dealing with the same people, whether you are a cop and they are the bad guys, you still need rapport with them...whether it is a good rapport or bad rapport, it dictates how the end of it is played out really" (R4)

To keep a good relationship with the community was key to both sets of officers interviewed. Many stated that one of the main reasons was the fact that individuals can be victims one day and offenders the next. Consequently, potential repercussions can occur for officers due to the way they have handled a situation or treated a member of the community. As one urban cop stated:

"I also give away a fair amount of warnings, cautions to people as well. The idea is that the person that you give a ticket to might be sitting in the jury box next week when you are sitting in court, and all he can focus on is that $400 ticket that you gave him and thinking 'well I am not going to help this guy out'" (U2)

Both rural and urban officers agreed that this 'working relationship' was essential, and even more so in a rural area. To develop this relationship the rural officers spoke about specific qualities. Qualities perceived by officers as important were approachability, availability and involvement in the community as a whole. This brought the researcher to the first stated comparison by officers, the style in which the rural and urban officers police. Many officers that had worked in rural and urban areas disclosed that you could be more 'gung-ho' and police 'harder' in urban policing. Policing harder was described as having less tolerance for citizens and incidents, and placing a professional distance between the officer and the individual. As one urban officer compared, starting with his perception about rural policing:

" I think you would be more approachable because it is a smaller community and like I said, you would be known, so your style would change. Here you are virtually anonymous, so you can police harder here than you can in a rural community. You can actually have no tolerance at all here and lock everybody up for doing whatever you want" (U2)

Another urban officer stated the difference more directly:

> *"You don't have to be as nice to them. You can get in there. Do your job. You don't have to think 'ah better be nice to these people I may need their help one day' (laughs) like if you are in rural. If you are in urban, I have always said, one thing I like about the police, if people are nice to you, you can be nice to them, but if they treat you like shit, then you can treat them like shit, give them a hard time" (U4)*

This distinction was supported by White (2005) who described officers in many roles, such as 'tough cop' (an officer not afraid to enforce the law even when their personal safety is at risk), 'crime fighter' (an officer dedicated to catching criminals and clearing crime rates) and 'problem solver' (an officer who uses communication skills to prevent occurrences from happening and minimise risk).

Fundamental to these policing styles in the community is the use of communication. Both rural and urban officers stated that being understood and understanding the community is important. They identified rural officers' use of diplomacy, with a focus on conflict resolution through the use of communication. This contrasted with the occasional urban use of confrontation or force mentioned by officers. The rationale behind this focus links into the isolation of the rural officer from other members of their team. When policing alone, officers tried to avoid confrontation, as one rural officer reported:

> *"Most of the time I know the people I am dealing with, but there are always new people coming into town and always new people to deal with, and you approach them a lot, even if in a complicated situation. You learn to defuse things like that easily, which you don't in town. You don't bother, you say 'great lets get into it' you know that you have ten cops a minute away, you can do whatever you want...which you can't of course do out here" (R2)*

This supports Buttle's (2008) discussion on the preferential use of "oral equipment" (p. 1) by rural officers. He related the use of communication to defusing situations and build rapport. The officers in this study mentioned both these actions as important. Research by Bayley and Garofalo (1989) also found that by officers asking questions, and using communication rather than force, most violent situations could be defused. One rural officer elaborated on an incident that happened to him when he was alone and 30 minutes away from town:

"I actually used my cell phone and rang triple 1 and said 'get me some back up this is going to be untidy', as it turns out I actually talked to this guy for 15-20 minutes and talked him down, and got him convinced that I wasn't actually Satan, which is what he thought, and managed to get him into my patrol car and drive him back to town without any incident, but it was touch and go" (R1)

The officers interviewed frequently mentioned the isolation of the rural officers and the subsequent need to maintain better relationships with the community in which they worked. This rural community relationship was commented on as having positive and negative attributes. One positive attribute specified was the perception of belonging to the community, and consequently becoming 'their cop'. Both rural and urban officers commented that 'our cop' in rural areas meant that that officer was seen as a person, rather than an uniform, which is how some of the urban officers interviewed felt they were perceived. This concept of the rural officer being seen as a person and urban officers seen as something less desirable emerged also from the work by Kowalewski et al. (1984). Kowalewski et al. (1984) explored the impact of the police environment and operational codes on officers from metropolitan and rural settings. From their survey and participant observation approach they noted that rural officers perceived there was a high level of public respect, and this was gained through reputation. This contrasted with metropolitan officers' perception of public support being low.

Yet, on the other hand having that familiarity with the community also means that professional work and personal life boundaries become unclear. An example given by many of the rural officers interviewed was that due to the familiarity they had with their community, an allocated day off is never treated as such by the community. Officers described getting telephone calls, home visits and approaches at the supermarket:

"On your days off, if you stay at home in your rural area, people still knock on your door, you still get phone calls about jobs, one of the things that, being in a bigger city on your day off you know you won't be called out" (U7)

Officers with respect to the service they provide also mentioned an overlap of roles expected by the community. The officers, rural and urban, discussed several situations where had been expected to be something other than a law enforcement agency. This situation occurred more frequently in rural communities compared to the urban areas. Examples given included a child guidance counsellor, chef, civil rights advisor, social worker and minister. As one rural officer commented:

"They expect me to do everything...yeh, I'm the social worker, minister (laughs), I'm everything. I think as a whole we do come down as being the social worker, being the child guidance officer, being the career opportunist, career person that tell people how they should be working, what they should be doing. It's amazing that people that come in here and want me to sort out their five year old kid. Do I look like a nanny? (laughs)" (R3)

Supporting research is found in Falcone et al. (2002), who indicated that rural officers were more generalist in nature. Weisheit et al. (1994) took the distinction further by highlighting non-law enforcement activities such as assisting children to cross roads and helping older people with their groceries as services provided predominantly by rural officers; activities which were described by the officers in interviews for this study.

Availability was also a recurrent topic for the officers interviewed. They commented that the community wanted the rural and urban police to be everywhere at all times, to deal with not only police related matters but any other matters not dealt with by other agencies. Some officers interviewed mentioned the no-win situation they felt the community placed them in. A frequent concern by the officers involved the community expecting the police to solve their problems, yet on the other hand not provide the police with any information. Another example given involved trying to exceed expectations in one area only to be discredited in another. As one rural officer said:

"In this job you are sort of buggered if you do, buggered if you don't sometimes. People say that you took too long to get to their burglary or whatever they ring up about, and then in the same breath they will complain about the police speeding" (R6)

This was not always the case when officers attended incidents or responded to telephone calls, since most of the time citizens were grateful to see them. Many officers mentioned that the community appreciated them turning up, even if nothing could be done or it was unlikely there would be a resolution. Visibility and accessibility were perceived by rural and urban officers as important factors in serving the community. One urban officer commented there was an emphasis on returning to regular foot patrols to help visibility, giving a 'face' to the NZP and on a practical level dealing with any minor issues that present themselves on the patrol. The officer stated:

"It's changed more in that they like us doing foot patrols through the mall. Ten years ago we wouldn't have done that, but now they are actually saying that they want police on the beat to quash all this disorder...they want cops on the street out there, looking the part. So that's changed" (U3)

As Kiely and Peek (2002) found in the sample of police officers they interviewed, their functions were to maintain public order, protect life and assist the public to live their life unimpeded. Further work by Mawby (2004) found that 76% of people surveyed in his UK study wished for more deployment of officers and foot patrols. This supports the changes to improve visibility of officers in Northland.

Both rural and urban officers stated that they had to rely on the community for assistance and support in their job, yet also mentioned the need for the community to also take ownership of keeping their area safe. As Clarke (2006) described, ownership is a crucial factor in proactive community policing. Rural communities were perceived to be more open to helping their officer, making it a team effort and usually getting more involved in community activities through practical 'hands-on' help as well as information. This contrasted with the urban officers who received information-based support only. As one rural officer said:

> *"The attitude here in our area would be that if I needed any help whatsoever, for anything, I just call on a few guys in the community and I have got the whole community backing us up. For whatever reason" (R3)*

In contrast an urban officer stated:

> *"We are all for information. We have to rely on the community, you know, we don't know if no one tells us and people that report minor crime, I say report everything" (U1)*

The two verbatim above are important because they suggest that urban officers are informed by intelligence gathering from reported crime, and consequently ideas about community revolve around the public reporting crimes so that officers can solve them. For them the word community appears to be about the generation of statistics. The rural officers are talking about a more all-encompassing understanding of community that involves intelligence gathering directly from citizens and even their help in apprehending and solving the crime. Co-operation, as seen in this category, emerged also in work by Solar (2001). Solar investigated whether a police agency could integrate community policing values alongside the traditional approach. The results gathered from frontline officers found that cooperation was key to being an effective agency.

To assist in this process, officers talked about educating citizens, through informing them about what is happening in their neighbourhood, and encouraging them also to notify officers of what is going on. The rural officers interviewed talked about the use of communication with their communities, verbally and in the form of a newsletter. The newsletter created by the officers

allowed them to inform their community of crimes that had happened, crimes that had been solved, tips for keeping safe and some light-hearted articles, such as who makes the best scones. This written forum assisted the officers in building and retaining relationships in the community. By contrast, the urban officers relied on verbal interactions. All officers considered interactions and feedback important. Feedback was noted to be more frequent in rural areas due to the closer relationship they had with their officer. As one rural officer remarked:

> *"Yep, you do get good feedback from the community. You are always getting cards, every now and then, saying 'thanks for a good job well done', or someone will drop off a cake, or people popping in and saying 'it's good that you got that bugger' and that really is, more than anything what keeps you going in a community. That's what you are there for" (R4)*

Finally, officers interviewed commented on the effect of attitudes on relationship building, not only the attitudes of the officers but also the changing attitudes of the public towards the police. Most officers mentioned the increase in complaints and the questioning of officer's decisions and actions, resulting in the loss of trust with the police. This is seen across rural and urban areas:

> *" I think a lot more people treat police with a bit more contempt, they don't believe us the way they used to, you know, they question everything we do now. Yeh, every step of that way is an argument basically, we get questioned about everything" (R4)*

Interestingly there was some variation regarding the perception of media impact on the community between rural and urban officers. Both gave examples of the media giving police a bad story, and relayed the anecdote of one bad press moment damaging the positive ones. Yet in the rural community the impact was perceived to be not as severe, as citizens who knew the officer personally did not associate them with being under the umbrella of the whole police organisation. As one rural officer stated:

> *"You know you will have discussions with people, decent folk out at X's, who will say to me in uniform 'gees those cops are terrible fellas, you're different, but those other guys…' they are reading this from the newspaper, and I am the only cop they know, so the newspaper must be right but I am the exception…you know (laughs)" (R1)*

4.2.1 Summary

To summarise, the key concept in this category expressed by all officers was the need for a 'working relationship' with the community. Both rural and urban officers expressed the idea that an individual in the community could be an offender one day, but the next day could be assisting them with information, or vice versa. Hence it was important to deal with people fairly. To be accessible was another crucial factor to both the rural and urban officers. Consequently, what emerged was a similarity between rural and urban officers in the areas of accessibility, use of communication and a variety of non-law enforcement roles. Yet, in rural areas these were of paramount importance to the officers and the community, more so than in the urban areas. One area that emerged with differing approaches was urban officers' reliance on the community to report crimes and help with the crime statistics, a crime solving approach. This contrasted with the rural reliance on the community for information gathering and providing assistance with crime control, a more preventative approach. What materialised was that there were different styles of policing needed to match the different situation or area. One barrier mentioned to 'working relationships' with the community was the experience of the decreasing trust of the public. Even so, the rural officer believed that people perceived them as an individual rather than just members of the police organisation and that this personalisation of the rural officer protected their bond of trust with the public.

4.3 POLICE PERCEPTION OF THEIR JOB ROLE

One of the most talked-about areas in the interviews was the job role and the officer's perception of how aspects of the role influence their job. This category emerged early in the analysis and was constant throughout the interviews undertaken. Various aspects of the officer's job role were discussed, and further insights emerged. It was also a category that had several sub-category themes; these ranged from the general aspect of the job role to actual job positions, from procedural issues to experiences with administration and traffic demands. These will all be discussed in this section.

4.3.1 Job Role

When discussing the role and experience of policing, one of the first emerging contrasts was accountability. Rural officers talked about being responsible and accountable for all their actions. Having to deal with issues there and then by themselves. On the other hand, urban frontline officers were able to pass on concerns, or obtain support by their senior officers. This accountability not only related to day to day interactions with the community and offenders, but also to administration work. Rural officers commented on the social responsibility of their actions,

relating this to the fact that they have to live in the community and deal with the same people all the time. As one rural officer reflected with respect to urban policing:

> *"The difference for the cops in the way they do their job is there is always someone else around them and they can duck shove work or whatever it may be, as well as having the assistance and all that sort of stuff...and it is almost back to that personal responsibility and the social responsibility that as a member of a rural community you have more,...and in a bigger environment you are not as accountable and you do get to have a different attitude towards them (community) and you don't have ownership of a problem for instance because you are just the late shift and the night shift is coming on shortly and they will sort it out. Whereas in a rural environment, hey, you are it, if you don't sort it out today it is going to be a problem for you tomorrow" (R1)*

Rural officers appear to have greater discretion and responsibility in regards to the decisions that they have to make than their urban counterparts. Rural officers believe they are socially responsible and accountable to citizens while urban officers perceive themselves to be responsible to the policing organisation rather than the public. However, there was some common ground with rural officers and supervising senior urban officers with respect to accountability of actions. As one urban officer stated:

> *"I would say it is probably it is pretty similar. Solely because if you are a sergeant it is your responsibility and if you are a rural cop working by yourself it is your responsibility" (U3)*

This suggests that the level of discretion and responsibility expected from frontline rural officers exceeds that of their urban counterparts. Rural officers believe that they are expected to fulfil a role that is equal to that of an urban sergeant without the appropriate remuneration or rank.

Although some similarities emerged between rural and supervising urban roles, both reiterated the individual nature of being an officer and the different ways officers dealt with situations. Both styles of policing need the right attitude, from the more relaxed rural approach to the faster paced structured urban approach. As one officer reflected:

"You got to get rid of the big city attitude if you want to police in little town New Zealand, and discretion, you need to use your discretion big time. Yeh there's plenty of times I have turned a blind eye to a lot of things that should have been locked up but it makes your job easier in the end. Not that you are turning a blind eye for the sake of, you know, 'I don't want to do that file'. It's just that it makes your job easier, makes your job easier because people do respect you and they understand that you are easy going and open minded" (R4)

This links back to the distinction between proactive and reactive policing discussed in the previous research (Pelfrey, 2004; Falcone et al., 2002; Bayley, 1994). Specifically, connecting rural to the 'watchman' style of policing, which reflects an order maintenance approach, or to a 'service' style, which places itself between order maintenance and law enforcement. Compared to the 'legalistic' style, which uses the law enforcement approach whenever possible and links into urban policing (Wilson, 1968).

All the officers in this study talked about the skills required to be an effective officer. Similarities included the need for confidence, motivation and knowledge. All officers mentioned that everyone has their own style of policing, yet there were differences between successful approaches in the two areas. Some of the key contrasts reported were rural reliance on the community versus urban reliance on colleagues, rural low key approach versus urban confrontation, rural assessment versus urban quick judgment, rural discussion versus urban directed, rural laid back versus urban gung-ho and rural discretion versus urban zero tolerance. As one urban officer reflected:

"You can be a lot more direct with people. You can say 'you will do this' basically because you know colleagues down the road will come and give you a hand if they don't. In rural areas it is much more a case of having to talk to people and get them to come around to your point of view, make sure that everyone is happy, happy to do that, rather than just say, laying down the law and say you will do this" (U3)

Both rural and urban officers perceive policing itself as a challenging job, especially being able to follow through jobs from start to finish and the duties they need to attend to. All but one of the officers interviewed remarked on the impact of shift duty on their role and experience of policing. Officers talked about general duties being similar for both rural and urban officers, with the main contrast being the workloads and type of work. Contrasts included response work in urban areas compared to rural enquiries. As one urban officer reported:

"Urban you are in the cities, with a greater population than in a smaller area and you, work wise, you are doing more response, more response work, responding to triple one calls and stuff like that, being responsive rather than proactive. When I was in X (rural area) there were less people, bigger area to work with so less crime, had less staff so my job entailed a bit more enquiries, sorting out complaints" (U6)

Although urban policing was perceived to be busier during shift time, it became apparent that rural officers had to be accessible over more hours. These hours worked were similar to the specialist urban units who are on call at all times of the day. One of the main criticisms from the officers interviewed was the lack of financial incentive regarding their work. Rural officers are paid an on call allowance, yet are expected to be on call at all times of the day even when technically not on call, compared with urban officers who have a set on call period. As a rural officer compared:

"The on call thing is a big thing, a big problem. You work eight hours, or nine, or whatever in a day and you go home and then you get called out all night and then you work the next day and then you get called out again. The guys in town don't seem to appreciate the job you do. They just think because you are on call you are getting big money and you'll be called out anyway, 'it's nothing'. You don't get any time off for being called out or anything like that. You do it as part of good will" (R2)

Urban officers are sometimes ignorant of the fact that their rural colleagues do on call duty for free. This may be indicative of a general emphasis on urban policing standards, including on call duty.

Further expectations mentioned included the public's expectations regarding officer's roles in the rural and urban areas. In rural areas, officers found that the community expected them to do everything compared to the urban areas where the public was happy if they turned up. Consequently a couple of urban officers commented on the inclination in urban policing to under-deliver if they were not careful. As one officer observed:

"You have another part of the community that won't expect much of the police, and probably haven't given it a lot of thought of how or what they expect from the police. And like I say to that particular group, it is pretty easy to under deliver, as they don't expect much. So you need to, not second-guess yourself, check yourself, 'am I making this decision on sound basis?' or 'am I doing it because I can't be shagged?' (laughs) and if it is the 'can't be shagged' thing then you reassess the decision and hopefully make a better one" (U1)

This observation links into research by Clarke (2006) who noted that to be effective in the police role, accessibility of the officers and the ability to respond to situations was crucial. Other research by Falcone et al. (2002) also touched on the rural public's expectation for their officer to be a community advocate, which ties into the 'do everything' expectation discussed above.

The level of independence in the roles is another aspect of the differences between rural and urban officers. Both saw urban officers as integral team members and rural officers as autonomous. This led to contrast between being dictated to in an urban area and having more freedom in a rural area. Conversely, having freedom and being independent meant many rural officers spent a lot of time alone, compared with the urban officers who had the team and seniors for instant feedback and support. As one rural officer succinctly compared:

"You become basically jack of all trades in a rural position compared to an urban position where you are more tasked and controlled by supervisors. Rural police officers are basically self-supervised and work predominantly on their own especially in one, two, three man stations. So decision-making has to be pretty well on the spot and up to you. You haven't got a fall back system which urban officers do" (R8)

The other key issue brought up by all the officers interviewed was the 'known versus anonymous' factor. Both rural and urban officers commented on the rural officer having to be more community minded, approachable, tolerant, diplomatic and personal. This compares to the urban officer experience of being slightly distant from the community, less tolerant and impersonal. As an experienced rural officer reflected:

"In the city I think your lifestyle is fast, is less friendlier. Its not as friendly as being a rural cop and, like I said, Whangarei is a bit different because you come across the same people again, the crooks, and you are constantly going from job to job, dealing with crime and nothing else. So you do get a bit cynical, you do get less trusting and you become a bit, you know, a bit unfriendly, I suppose, working in a city" (R3)

In addition, a recently new urban officer stated with respect to urban policing:

"You are trying to deal with the job right there and then. Get it finished as quick as possible so that you can get onto the next one. So you are asking for instant feedback. Whereas as a rural police officer you are building a relationship because you are going to need them at the next enquiry or you need them to help you out down the line" (U6)

All officers perceived that being a rural officer meant that you did not have a private life from your job, that you work all the time and are isolated. Yet, both did comment on the advantages of being known with regard to community respect, connectedness and information, and even the ability to demonstrate the positive side to the NZP through these areas. As one rural officer experienced:

"I just make contact because I don't believe that a whole lot of people, especially in rural, right out in the booties, have that much contact with police and their children don't have that much contact with police until they grow up a little and then they get into trouble. So they don't get to see the other side of policing as well. So I think, you go out and do touchy feely thing with the community. They then see that here's a cop, it doesn't matter if they know your name or who you are, ... it's just if there's something you need happening, just give us (the police) a yell and we get some people to help you out" (R3)

Rural officers in this study spoke about the need for all officers to have some small town policing experience, because it allows for a greater understanding of community policing.

4.3.2 Job Position

Both rural and urban officers mentioned the need for interchangeable skills. Many of the experienced officers interviewed talked about gaining their rural position through their prior urban experience, and alternatively gaining positions on specialist urban squads through their previous role in a rural area. There was a consensus by both sets of officers that the NZP encouraged positional changes on a regular basis. Both rural and urban officers mentioned that this encouragement at times has lead into enforcement, and the subsequent loss of staff, as one officer reported:

"The police lose a lot of staff over it. They come up with some bizarre policies. They lost a lot of good staff from X, out of the Y department, some of the senior guys through the rotation policy....You apply for a Y job, but you rotate through all the squads as they (NZP) see fit...they weren't interested, they (NZP) felt it was good to shift them around and things, and that was the end of that, and they lost a number of staff because of it" (R9)

This requirement for change, encouraged or enforced, has according to the officers interviewed lead to a high turnover in staff. Nevertheless, in this study the rural officer participants had been in their position for longer time periods than the urban-based officers. One of the reasons specified by an officer was his belief that rural policing is the 'forgotten' career route. He observed:

"One of the bigger problems is the police department themselves have never moved rural police officers in the system. Their rounds of operation have never changed, whereas everything else has. Its only now, they have been doing a review these last five years on whether or not they need to have a structure for rural policing for officers, whether there needs to be a career structure per se" (R8)

The urban officers interviewed supported this contrast. They commented that their frequent moves in the urban area were for promotion, experience and filling gaps. There was no mention of voluntary opting for rural experience. As one urban officer stated:

"We just had a lot of people, one of the guys who wanted to go up north, so he transferred up north, another guy wanted to go upstairs and work in tactics. Sergeant wanted to move down to X area, so, it just happened at the same time. It was just a coincidence and everyone seemed to move all at the same time and we have got these new guys" (U5)

Yet there was a universal observation by both rural and urban officers that to request a transfer or move did not mean that it happened straight away, or if at all; alternatively officers were transferred when they did not want to be. Officers talked about the rare use of choices by management compared to a direct command regarding positional changes. If an officer requested to move, it was likely that they would have to wait to get the placement they coveted. One officer talked about years placed in one role whilst waiting for a transfer to the job he wanted; whilst others talked about taking a variety of different positions to get where they ultimately wanted to be. As an urban officer recollected:

"Having to go to Auckland to get in quicker (into the NZP) was a pain in the butt, and then I wanted to come up North as quick as I can, so the obstacle was having to complete my permanent appointment and papers and assessments and then once I got up to Northland, it was trying to get to Whangarei" (U6)

Interestingly, both rural and urban officers in Northland talked about the advantage of working in Auckland with respect to job positions and promotions. In comparison to Northland, there are more jobs available, more choice and hence officers could change their rank or position in the NZP without too much personal trauma or a geographical move. Conversely, officers both ones in a rural and urban role commented that you can also stay longer in jobs in Auckland compared to Northland.

The influx of new staff was also discussed in the interviews. Many of the experienced rural and urban officers commented on the 'new guys', however only the urban officers talked about the standards of the new officers. It may be that rural officers did not comment on new staff, as their own access to staff was limited. To obtain and attract more people into the force, officers commented on how the standards had changed. One officer reflected that when he started, officers were all men with background in trades such as building and mechanics, whereas nowadays, without height restrictions, backgrounds consist of university degrees and more women and ethnic groups are being accepted. Age and height were perceived by some of the older urban officers as advantageous, yet they were aware that each individual officer had their own skills. As one urban officer reflected:

"Your recruiting standards are different. I wouldn't say worse. I would say different. I mean your 6ft6, 120kg frontline policeman doesn't exist anymore. They are all 5ft3 60kg females and you are putting them, you are expecting them to carry out the same role that big hulking policeman carried out prior to that, but they do, do it. They just have to use different skills to resolve the problem" (U2)

Both rural and urban officers commented on the NZP new policy of taking recruits out of the communities with 'hard to fill' positions, hoping they will return to their own community after training, and the fact that there is a lot to learn especially for new recruits. As one experienced urban officer noted regarding new recruits:

"They have got a training sergeant and X is doing a really good job in lifting probationary constables up to completing their papers and things that they are supposed to do, because I had guys on my section that were 18 months behind because the workload is so huge for a cop who has come out of college. Do six to eight weeks on traffic then come into general duties, and be thrown in 'here you go and attend this job' and then on top of that they have got all the study" (U2)

Interestingly, most of the officers agreed that Auckland, or the city, was a good base for training. Reasons suggested by the officers included being thrown into the deep end to learn the hard and fast way. Some even labelled this the 'baptism of fire'. In Auckland, or the city, the pace is faster, the jobs more frequent and hence the practice and learning of policing was perceived as constant compared to the slower pace of rural policing. In this discussion it is important to report that officers described Northland as rural compared to Auckland. As a rural officer reflected:

"You know it is the constant use of the domestic violence act and moving up here to Whangarei I felt I had better knowledge than the local guys here in Whangarei because they weren't dealing with it so much. But you had real good background because you were thrown into the deep end and you learnt, and you learnt quick.. But up here the pace is slower, you learn slower so I'll tell a new cop if you want the job and the excitement and you really want to learn, go to the big city, and then once you get that real good background and if you want to go to small town policing you can" (R4)

Many officers referred to 'learning as you go' and 'learning through your mistakes'. Rural officers were perceived to have more time to learn, sit back and process and perfect their policing compared to the demanding urban police life. As one new urban officer commented:

"I do think that it is good to work in a place like Auckland. I think my grounding there was awesome. I really enjoyed my time there and worked with great people, and coming up here I did feel that it was a lot slower and I was able to catch my breath. I can actually sit back and think about what I am doing and relax a little bit" (U5)

New and experienced officers talked about the difference from college training to the actual practicality of policing in the real world. Examples given included the use of "you and your partner" in training situations compared to the reality of going out on patrol by yourself, and also the effects of standardized approaches on everyday policing. As one experienced officer observed:

"I would think that any new officer has got to understand that probably their training down in Police College is just the framework of what policing is. It's not to come out of college, full of I.T. information and right up to pace with the law and think that that's going to get them up and running. Basically look to the guys been in those positions for some years and take some leads and advice from them for dealing with people" (R8)

One of the basic frameworks mentioned regarding the experience of policing was the skills required and training given. Both rural and urban officers mentioned the experience of learning policing through 'trial and error', learning through decision-making and the consequences attached to those. Most put this approach down to lack of guidelines in the senior urban and rural role. Both rural and urban officers mentioned the advantage of experience, especially with balancing the policies and practical aspects of policing. As one rural officer relayed about rural policing skills:

"I think you have got to have the right personality. A sort of character. Skills, yeh, (pause) I think experience more than anything. They can teach you everything at college, but once you get out of college it's a different ball game altogether. I think you need experience. They shouldn't be sending 'scopee's' out there. They shouldn't be sending new recruits or recent graduates out to small town policing" (R4)

This suggests that some of these officers consider rural policing to be a more skilful business than urban policing. Skills mentioned included ability to communicate with people from different walks of life, ability to defuse situations, roll with resistance and establish a balance between the approaches of law enforcement and maintaining order in the community.

The younger, newer officers talked about feeling a little bit unprepared and being thrown into unchartered territory. Some were placed with older experienced officers when they came out of college and found this beneficial. Others only six months out of college were paired up with new recruits, with them being the 'experienced' officer. Rural and urban, new and older officers commented about the lack of experienced frontline officers. As one urban officer noted:

"When I first started we had people with five or six years experience on section. That's a rarity now. Most people three, maybe three years, maybe maximum four years, then they go and look and do something else" (U3)

There was further comment by both rural and urban officers of the 'save the world' attitude related to the new police graduates. Many commented on how they felt when they left college, or what

they can see in newer graduates regarding the job's aim to save the world and to make it a better place, and compared it to the experienced reality of the policing. As one urban officer described:

> *"I am probably not saving the world as such, but when you are a young kid you think you are going to go out there and catch every baddie and the world is going to be safe. Whereas for everyone that you lock up, there is another to follow. Its never perfect" (U5)*

This suggests that policing is seen as a vocation that offers more than just money. It is a chance to positively affect the world, rather than just a paid job. This may explain why rural and urban officers are willing to continue their careers in the police.

The officers interviewed stated that there was a need for support throughout these early stages in an officer's work life, for themselves and their team, and from management. Support with respect to decision-making was rare for both rural officers and supervisory urban officers. Both sets of officers agreed that rural officers learn by making mistakes and assessing what they did right compared to the urban accessibility to supervisory support. Supervisory support in urban areas was perceived to be more accessible to constables than other members of the NZP. Lack of structure and consistency was a key area of concern for rural officers. As one rural officer summed up:

> *"You always learn by your mistakes anyway in this job. It is the only way you work because you are always wary about advice you get from your supervisors. You can get five different supervisors. You ask them the same question, they will give you five different answers and that is really frustrating. So at the end of the day you normally just toss a coin, or you just go "I'll make the decision" and go with it. You learn by your mistakes in this job, I mean you learn from what you do right as well" (R4)*

4.3.3 Procedures

Another area described as a potential problem affecting the officer's experience of the job was the NZP procedural guidelines. Experienced rural and urban officers commented on the changes from past to current policing practice, along with the lack of consultancy with the frontline officers with respect to changes being made. In the past, the officers interviewed said they were asked to go out and catch criminals, yet nowadays they are told to patrol possible danger areas based on intelligence driven information. This new approach was perceived to create problems rather than assist, more so in the urban areas compared to the rural. As one urban officer commented:

"There's no way, no matter how much intelligence they think they have got, there's no way that they can say, yes that's what he is going to do tomorrow at five o'clock. Yet, that's what they seem to think that they can do, so they now instead of being told on a night shift 'your job is to', which is what I got told when I was a cop working section by my sergeant, 'is to go out there, find me some criminals and bring them back to the station' and that was basically your deed for the night was to go out and lock someone up, and it was ten o'clock, get into the cars and go, 'don't come back here until you have got someone'. Nowadays, you get, you sit down at line up and they say 'we want you to patrol X street for burglars', well is that the only place they are going to be tonight?!!! They do and you think to yourself 'how stupid is that'. So if you put all your resources into X street and you have a burglar over there (indicating somewhere else), are you doing your job?" (U2)

There were also several comments on the new complaints procedures that had been established. Both rural and urban officers talked about the easy access to the police complaints authority for the public, and the resulting increase in complaints against police. The increase into complaints was not the main concern expressed, as one officer stated:

"Everyone gets complaints in this job, and if they are doing their job properly they will end up getting complaints. It's a fact of life" (U3)

However, the amount of complaints taken seriously and investigated was an issue, especially the ramifications for the officer concerned. Officers felt that it was better to upset the cop rather than the public or the organisation. As one rural officer commented on a complaint:

"One person is better than the whole organisation. That was how it was explained to me. I was pretty annoyed the first few days and upset, and I said to the boss 'why do I have to be stood down? Surely there is something that they can do?' He said 'you know it is all about protecting the organisation and that sort of thing'. The reputation of the organisation is more important than one person" (R6)

Another area of procedure that produced some contrast between rural and urban officers was the development and implementation of new Acts and policies. Both commented on the frequent changes in legislation. Rural officers stated there were too many coming through to implement properly, as one reported:

"The introduction of new Act's legislation, you can barely keep on top of those. The boy racer act, big waste of time. The new evidence Act has come in, that will be interesting. Might make it a bit easier for us but I doubt it. Everything is a mission. Its just so much change going on all the time you just can't keep doing the same thing every time" (R4)

Compared to urban officers who saw policy changes as useful tools to help in their job:

"Obviously policy changes have affected us, I think changes that have been made have been good and have followed the general guidelines to how we carry out a job, such as it reiterates best practice when we are doing our work. I don't think it slows us down at all. I think it has really helped us" (U6)

This perceived difference might be indicative of rural officers' belief and experience that policy and legislation is formed with urban policing in mind.

4.3.4 Administration

Linking into the new procedures and policies were the officers' discussion on administration and traffic duties. There were no apparent differences between rural and urban officers' perceptions surrounding administration in their role. Both rural and urban officers commented that you needed time to complete paperwork to a satisfactory level and that paperwork was steadily increasing in their role. The importance of prioritising files, being self-motivated and organised emerged as crucial elements to assist in this area. Without these factors in place, the officers reported that the increase in administration work could and does lead to increased stress in the job. As one officer stated:

"The paperwork grinds a lot of cops down. There is a lot. You are basically like a lawyer to a certain degree, you are preparing everything to a court standard, and you have to make sure that you are doing everything right" (U5)

The function of administration has been reported in the literature as a fundamental, yet not always popular, part of the officer's role (Maguire et al., 1991), with work by Liederbach and Frank (2003) finding that administration was one of the four (traffic, administration, personal duty and travelling to incidents) key activities for all officers.

There was also a general perception by some urban officers that the more positions created, including both sworn and non-sworn staff, the more likely the increase in administration. Some officers saw this as a concern, whilst others felt that it was essential to cover one's own work.

This feeling of covering one's own work through paper trails was supported by some of the rural officers. As one observed:

> *"But yeh, there's a book for everything (laughs). Its pretty much how the police operate, found property books, we have specific exhibit books, we have got specific drug books, all that sort of stuff and its just pain in the backside at times because of repetition, repeatedly writing the same things down, but it is also covering your own arse" (R9)*

While there is acknowledgement regarding the tedium of paperwork, it is also noted that this same paperwork provides a measure of accountability and protection against complaints. Being able to follow through with work and to see a file from start to finish increased job satisfaction in both rural and urban roles. Yet, both realised that in rural areas seeing a file from start to finish was a possibility compared to urban areas this was unlikely due to workload and passing on of tasks to the next shift. Rural officers also felt better equipped to deal with enquiries from start to finish due to the experience of having to run their own police station. As one rural officer commented:

> *"A lot of what you do is as a constable in a rural station is what a senior sergeant would be doing in a city station. I mean I am responsible for all my station checks, maintaining drug registers, found property registers and that sort of stuff, whereas a constable would not be touching any of that stuff in a city station. And the files, that's the same. I have mates down in Auckland that don't do files" (R9)*

4.3.5 Traffic

The other policy area mentioned was traffic duty. This was one of the main complaint areas discussed by the officers working on the frontline, particularly the issuing of traffic tickets and the effect on the community. Both rural and urban officers perceived it as creating bad feeling between the police and the public. Both rural and urban officers found that after receiving tickets, individuals were less likely to help out the police by giving information or being supportive in juries. One rural officer when discussing traffic ticket issuing also mentioned the loss of trust in the police. There was a contrast in opinions in the rural areas, with some of the rural officers commenting that they have other officers coming into their town to issue tickets. They specified that this allows them some distance from the repercussions of ticket issuing, or as one officer stated:

"We both do traffic and both do general duties but more general duties work, which is basically criminal work rather than traffic work. Traffic work is a difficult thing to do in the rural areas because the people you are giving traffic tickets to are the people you are trying to talk to about information re drugs and violence and all other bits and pieces the following day. So you don't tend to get a highly good reception from someone you have just given a $200 fine to the day before, try ask a question or a favour it doesn't work (laughs) " (R8)

Yet another rural officer said his community preferred being given traffic tickets by him and his partner alone:

" People will come up to me the next day and say 'so there's a bloody cop in town that's writing tickets. Why are they in your town? Our town? Its your job to do that'" (R3)

Due to the possible impact on police – community relationships from the issuing of traffic tickets - both rural and urban officers opted to use warnings first, if possible, before the issuing of tickets. The use of cautions for first time traffic offences was widely used in the officer sample interviewed.

Further debate surrounded whether or not writing tickets was part of the job. Officers in the rural and urban areas stated that they did not join the police to write tickets, and offered the idea of more dedicated traffic officers. Rurally, there was the perception of more strain on their role; due to criminal enquiries taking a backseat while the quota was completed. One officer commented about a rural colleague:

"He is supposed to do 1200 hours a year traffic work. He wouldn't even get half of that. Most of it is criminal work. I think you do need to increase the number of traffic cops. You need to take away the traffic component of rural policing so we can solely focus on criminal work and community work" (R4)

Maguire et al. (1991) support this emphasis on traffic. They found in their officer sample that traffic work filled 48% of the officer's time. This was the main function above administration, community service, law enforcement and keeping order. Work by Liederbach and Frank (2003) also found that traffic was one of the four main activities for all officers.

By contrast to the rural experience of traffic tickets, urban officers perceived it to be easier to issue tickets. In their experience this task could be fitted around the work shifts without difficulty. As one urban officer relayed:

"Down here on general duties, yeh I see it as part of our job to enforce the traffic laws. I mean traffic laws themselves are a good tool to spot anything. You can block roads and check every car that passes through it. You can block off a whole suburb if you like and see who is moving around it. So it's quite good" (U2)

It was a common occurrence to hear 'quotas' being used with respect to traffic tickets, although many stated that management would deny this. Many rural and urban officers stated that every sworn officer is expected to give out tickets, and other officers mentioned set hours dedicated solely to traffic duty, from one to two tickets per hour to fixed hours for the year. Some placed this emphasis down to financial revenue and the ability to measure outcomes, for example, no fatal accidents means that the police are doing their job. Yet as one rural officer tried to rationalise:

"Basically what the police department says is how can you drive out into the road, with hundreds of cars on it, for three hours and find no offences,...so they are saying we need some form of proof that you are actually doing something and the only way they can gauge that is if they actually physically write down someone's name and registration number" (R8)

Other measures mentioned by the officers included bail checks. The use of traffic and bail checks as targets led some officers to suggest if management wished for these targets to be met then increased new staff were required.

4.3.6 Summary

In conclusion, there are many elements, as discussed in this section, that influence how the officers perceive their roles and the level of job satisfaction. Both rural and urban officers equated less stress, (in particular less administration work), less traffic tickets to issue and more financial appreciation in the job, to increased job satisfaction. Supervising urban officers mentioned supplementary stress in their role from having to deal with their frontline staff and ensuring their well-being, and at the same time trying to satisfy management's demands.

From the verbatim collected, it became clear that all officers have a generalised style. Factors of accountability were mentioned by both sets of officers, with the responsibility ultimately ending with rural and senior urban officers rather than the frontline urban constables. Other contrasts included rural officers reliance on their community members compared with urban officers reliance on their colleagues. This influenced the autonomous law enforcement nature of rural policing compared to the urban officer's ability to directly share and support each other. In addition, relying on their community meant that rural officers had to be known, which also

contrasted with the urban officers' ability to be more anonymous. The job itself was reported to be the same in rural and urban area although the workloads differ and this creates the variation in the officers' experience of policing.

Interchangeable skills were mentioned by both sets of officers with reference to rural and urban policing, with many of the rural officers having previous urban experience. There were common accounts by rural and urban officers surrounding the delay of relocation to job positions if requested by themselves, compared to the swiftness of relocation if chosen by management. Many reflected on the 'baptism of fire' of working in the Auckland area compared to working in Northland and learning through their mistakes. The area of new staff was mentioned with reference to the consequential lack of experience that is the new NZP frontline.

The core comments regarding the NZP procedures came from the experienced officers and surrounded the change from past policing strategies of being out on the street catching the criminals, to evidence and intelligence driven directives. Both rural and urban officers emphasised an increase in administration resulting in further pressure, and conversely being a means of protection from complaints. The key difference that emerged in this area was the rural officers' ability to see an incident file from start to finish. This was attributed to more time available, less response calls and being the only person to deal with it compared to their urban counterpart. The ability of the rural officer to fulfill a greater number of policing functions was mentioned frequently, which links into the different styles of work and skill sets required for policing in this area.

Traffic tickets were the last area mentioned to influence job satisfaction and were linked to increasing relationship problems with the public in the rural and urban sectors. It was noted in the verbatim that rural stations differed in their approach. Some officers obtained outside police assistance to issue tickets to keep good relations with the public, while others were asked by their community to be the officer who issues tickets. What emerges is that attitudes vary in and between rural communities.

4.4 POLICE PERCEPTION OF MANAGEMENT

The relationship between officers and management was the third category that emerged from interviews with the officers. The relationship police hold with one another on the frontline and with management shape their working experience, just as it did with the community. This category was separated into different areas from accountability, expectations, support and contact. It is important to note that some category features overlap and appear in other categories discussed in this chapter.

Both rural and urban officers related the concept of accountability to management through the physical evidence of traffic tickets and bail checks. They perceived that it was through the number of bail checks and tickets issued that their management can gauge how they are doing their job. As one urban officer stated:

> *"Boss never says how many are we catching (criminals). But god they want to know how many tickets or bail checks that you have done" (U4)*

Both rural and urban officers specified that there is additional pressure and expectation put on them by management to achieve these two targets. If not achieved, officers found that management would be enquiring why, and delving into their daily practice. It was suggested by the officers that from a managerial perspective, achieving traffic and bail targets equated to proof that their job was being completed properly. Officers' opinions of this differed, as one urban officer said:

> *"There is a lot more focus on crime reduction. Rather than the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff now we are trying to build a fence at the top. And management thinks that's the answer. Ideally it is the answer. Realistically it is not the answer. We are the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff" (U4)*

These conflicts link into the literature on police roles. For example, using White's (2005) differing roles for officers, the application of bail checks and traffic tickets could be placed under the umbrella of 'rule applier'. Conflict arises when the role of rule applier does not sit well with officers who see fighting crime and making arrests as the main role of their job.

It was interesting to note that although management were perceived to be making changes to rural and urban policing, officers felt that they had not obtained any feedback from the frontline. Research by Chan (1996) into police culture and structure found that for changes to occur in the police, both management and frontline were required in the decision making process. There was a certain level of learned helplessness from the officers interviewed. Learned helplessness occurs when the subject (human or animal) believes that it has no control in a situation and that any action taken by itself is ineffectual. The subject feels helpless and consequently becomes passive in situations where it actually can exert power. The rural officers interviewed felt they were not listened to, and urban officers reflected that there was no point making any suggestions, as they were ignored. As one rural officer found:

"You know, I have been writing letters, not letters, minutes, reports to the bosses saying about the projected growth in X. This is what is happening. We are going to need more staff, or I need a three bay garage because the station is too small. I need an exhibit room; I need this, that and everything else. I think they gave me an air conditioner (laughs)" (R4)

This lack of support and understanding was mentioned by a few of the officers, rural and urban. Conversely, many commented on the good support and feedback they received from their immediate superiors. Differences emerged, however, with rural officers commenting about how they were left alone on a frequent basis by their supervisors, whereas urban officers worked in a team with their supervisor. Consequently, rural officers had limited feedback compared with urban officers' availability of immediate feedback. As one urban officer stated regarding feedback:

"From my immediate boss I do. From the ones higher up, nah, never hear from them, except when there is something wrong. My boss here will chew my arse about something that we have done, but in the next breath he will say oh by the way this file here that's really good" (U2)

Compared with a rural officer's experience:

"In theory your manager keeps a diary on your performance which is the main thing and also your file management, blah de blah. But from my experience and certainly here, because my main supervisor works in a different station entirely and although he is technically responsible for my work, he sees very little of it" (R1)

The limited feedback experienced by the officers is the antithesis of what makes an effective agency according to Solar's (2001) research. He found that co-operation, trust and openness between all members of a police agency were essential to maintain a successful team. It became apparent throughout the interviews these areas of co-operation, trust and openness between frontline and upper management were limited. Research by Ruess-Ianni and Ianni (1983) elaborated on this street versus management tension. They found that the street level officers worked in the confines of autonomy, discretion and control. The resistance placed against management and the lack of trust thus makes it difficult for managerial reforms or decisions to be accepted by frontline officers.

Both rural and urban officers mentioned their disappointment with respect to the limited positive contact with upper management. Most commented that as soon as you do something wrong they

instantly monitor you, and that management does not thank you as much as they felt they should. In response to the interaction encountered, there were comments surrounding the need for more feedback and encouragement from upper management. This was true in both areas. As one urban officer, with rural experience, stated:

> *"I think there needs to be more contact from the hierarchy here, and from the urban. This is where our headquarters are, here in Whangarei. There needs to be a lot more contact from the inspectors, area commanders, superintendent and all that kind of stuff. They need to go to the out stations...its not good if there is no inspector, superintendent, or anyone coming to visit them and give them a pat on the back" (U6)*

The other areas mentioned when discussing management were the power they held, along with the realisations that change in the organisation did not happen very fast. Many of the frontline officers contributed this lack of change to management. As one experienced urban officer stated:

> *"I learnt early on that you are wasting your time complaining, because all that happens is that you become bitter and twisted and possibly become unpopular with them. And at the end of the day nothing changes, so you are better off just to cruise along and do your own thing....you will never change the police, you will never change management, you may have some great idea, but it will be, beating your head against a brick wall" (U4)*

4.4.1 Summary

In this category it became clear that there were many commonalities between rural and urban officers' experience of management. Both noted that management was keen to achieve their traffic and bail check targets, and if not achieved they would be monitoring the officer as to why this had not happened. Appreciation from the management was experienced as limited, and a certain level of learned helplessness emerged from the officers regarding their ability to change anything or be listened to. The main difference that emerged was rural officers being left alone by management more so than the urban officers. This suggests that rural officers have a higher level of discretion in their role, with the additional flexibility and freedom to work their way rather than the departmental approach.

4.5 POLICE PERCEPTION OF SAFETY

The topic of safety is one that has been universally researched in many areas, including public service jobs such as the fire department, paramedics, hospital staff and police. When the subject of safety emerged in this study it became clear that there were two distinct areas. Firstly there

was safety with respect to the well-being of the officer, colleagues and the community. Secondly there was the issue of resources and how this affected the role of policing, especially with respect to being prepared to attend and cope with various situations. There were general points of issue for rural and urban police, along with a few noted differences.

One of the first safety distinctions was the 'talk versus force' approach. Both sets of officers interviewed agreed that this was a major difference in their approach. Many of the rural officers worked their area alone so were more aware of the need to placate and defuse situations primarily for their own safety. Many of the experienced rural officers commented that it was easier to deal with situations, if both parties are calm. This was very important, as rural officers were likely to deal with the same people again in different situations. As one rural officer stated:

> *"Safety. Yeh I mean if you have an irate guy, that you can calm down enough to convince him to leave the address, it's a lot easier to do that than try and lock him up as an irate guy because they are never going to calm down to get arrested, and once they are up they don't come down to get arrested. So if they think they are getting away with it they will calm down very quickly and it is easy to get them at 8 o'clock the next morning when you know where they are at" (R9)*

Rural officers with respect to their role and safety mentioned the isolation factor. It is in the rural environment that officers in this study experienced the dependence on the community rather than colleagues. The different strategies of de-escalation, talking and thinking laterally were mentioned. As one rural officer described:

> *"Safety wise to me it is not a great issue working alone. That's potentially down to the way that I police rather than whether working alone is dangerous. I am very nearly every, every situation that I go to, I do everything I can to be non confrontational, and to resolve situation without the necessity for anyone feeling threatened" (R1)*

Safety of the officer through use of conflict resolution skills was also highlighted through the work of Reiner (2000), Kemp et al. (1992) and Muir (1977). They talked about building rapport and defusing situations without the need for force.

Whereas in the urban areas officers opted for a more forceful approach. This was based around the idea of dealing with things quickly before escalation. The difference being urban officers taking individuals out of the situation to make it safe, while the rural officers had to make the situation safe with them and the offender in it. One is an instant approach, the other lengthy; yet

both approaches fit around their respective environments. One rural officer with urban experience described the urban safety approach thus:

> *"Its so much easier and swifter, and it needs to be too, as the volume of work is so much greater. Have to deal with things faster. Its not the best way of doing it but when you have another 10 jobs stacked up you can't muck around all day" (R1)*

These approaches brought up the practical aspect of physical back up. Both rural and urban officers commented on rural officers' back up being miles away compared to urban back up being minutes away. Both rural and urban officers were aware of, and mentioned, the safety issues of working in a rural area. In Northland, rural officers could wait up to over an hour for back up. Yet even the urban officers in Whangarei expressed some issues with their back up, due to its geographical spread. Although quicker than rural back up, it was still affected by the number of people on shift or those available. As one urban officer experienced:

> *"Yell for help in Whangarei, it depends on the time of day you are working. If you are working in the middle of the day, you could easily get 20 cops turning up because you would have all the youth education, youth aid staff working, driving around who would hear your call for help. You would have CIB staff. There is a whole bunch of 8-5's and 9-5's that work in the police that would be around in the day, in a week that would come. Monday morning at 3am, no, there is just the crew you are working with, which, because of the extent of it...if you yelled for help it would just be the sergeant available, no one else" (U1)*

The role and importance of back up for officers was mentioned also in the work of Buttle (2008), Kiely and Peek (2002) and Ruess-Ianni and Ianni (1983). They found that back up time was generally dependent on geographical placement.

Both rural and urban officers mentioned being prepared with situational information before attending an incident and if required, waiting for help or making sure support would be coming. The key difference noted was that rural officers in this situation relied on friends and community members as back up, primarily due to the wait for fellow colleagues.

> *"I am an hour away...so an hour away from back up...so I actually had a couple of mates staying with me and they came down and the guy across the road, you rely on people around" (R2)*

"The attitude here in our area, would be that if I needed any help whatsoever, for anything, I just call on a few guys in the community" (R3)

With respect to situational information, the rural officers said that because they lived in their community and knew people it was more likely that they knew beforehand exactly what and who they would be dealing with. As one experienced rural officer stated:

"Your decisions that you can make can control the outcome of it, so that's an advantage of being here a while. If you get a call out to a job, most of the cases I would have a fair idea of who I am going to be dealing with, what location it is and possibly the problems that will be occurring" (R8)

This use of familiarity to assist officers in their job was mentioned in Payne et al's. (2005) study. They referred to community safety being enhanced due to the officers knowledge of the community and knowing who to contact in case of any emergency.

Although both sets of officers mentioned having the 'tools' or 'toys' to help keep themselves and the community safe, these were not frequently used. One officer said he had carried pepper spray for six years and had used it once, whereas he knew of other officers who had used theirs ten times in the past six months. Most of the officers interviewed for this research had not needed to use pepper spray, batons or firearms. Yet a majority of them, rural and urban had frequently threatened to use them on offenders because it often deterred assaults (Buttle, 2006a). As one experienced rural officer reflected:

"I have had a number of incidents involving where the individuals have been in possession of machetes, knives, axes at domestic incidents, batons, baseball bats, quite a large number over the years. I know who these people are, and I know some are gang related people and how violent they can get, and on those occasions I would put my pistol on my holster...I put the pistol there, and immediately it defuses the situation, and you can see the reaction you get when you go there. To any of those particular incidents, I will get there and the person will still be holding the weapon in their hands and you talk to them at a distance. They are not threatening, or threatened to have a go at me with it, but you turn your hip so they can see the reflection of the pistol sitting there and its worked. It's never failed me yet" (R8)

The actual number of times that the officers interviewed faced dangerous situations was few. Research by Holdaway (1983) supports this observation. He found that in the British police action

based incidents were rare occurrences. It could be suggested that this may be down to luck, or due to the handling of situations. In addition, Bayley and Garofalo's (1989) research with the New York City Police found that dangerous situations were infrequent occurrences on a patrol officer's shift. From the data gathered by systematic observation they found that approximately 85% of potentially violent situations were defused just by the appearance of the officer(s). Force by the officers in Bayley and Garofalo's work was rarely required or used. Rural officers interviewed in this research spoke about experiences of riots, domestic fights, handling violent people with mental health issues and of having assault claims made against them. By comparison, urban officers experienced most of their dangerous situations in domestic disputes.

Both sets of officers have been placed in vulnerable positions, where they are not only in physical danger but professional danger. Physical danger involved the aspect of physical assault, whereas professional danger was linked to consequences connected to personal conduct with the public and other officers. This could be official complaints made by citizens or labeling by other officers. An example of labeling and subsequent professional damage is highlighted by one urban officer's experience:

> *"It has happened where cops for whatever reasons thought it was appropriate to jump into the patrol car and lock the doors, and leave their colleagues outside getting their beats" (U1)*

The researcher asked: So what would happen then?

> *"The cop would not have a very long career, you would hope not anyway..... like I say that person would have a very poor reputation and not many people would want to work with him essentially, which would make it very difficult for them to work with a section of police officers" (U1)*

It became clear that in the issue of safety, all officers were keen to make their communities safe, which at times placed them in unsafe positions. Only one officer, working in the urban sphere, spoke about debriefing after incidents, and how different officers deal with their concerns. He spoke about either using the police psychologist, people on your unit or your sergeant. There was a concern aired about debriefing 'dredging' feelings up that could be naturally dealt with. He reflected:

"From what I have gathered since then (own visit to psychologist) that a lot of them (officers) don't want to dredge up stuff. If you see something traumatic your body naturally deals with it and they don't want to dredge it up" (U5)

The topic of resources was also linked into safety elements in the job, especially the lack and quality of resources available. One of the frequent comments from both areas involved the discrepancy between number of staff and physical resources required for the job. With respect to staff, both rural and urban officers mentioned that lack of numbers led to more work for the individual officers and limited leave. This pressure was experienced perhaps more by the rural officers and by the specialist urban officers. As one rural officer stated:

"Sometimes we clash because we don't have a reliever that comes and helps us out. We have to work together. If he has two weeks off, then we stay at work for a week, then I have two weeks off. If he wants a month, I've got to be here on my own and working eight hours a day and being on call 24/7 for a month" (R3)

Officers welcomed the increase in staff, yet the majority of the new recruits were based in the urban area. Both rural and urban officers saw the increase in staff as a positive move to improve policing, increasing safety through back up and relief, and professionally being able to give the public the best. As one urban officer described:

"More staff enables us to do our job properly because when I worked in X at the time that they had the worst staffing shortage, and you were chasing your tail all the time, you would go to one domestic thinking I should lock this guy up and communications is on your arse saying can you come through to another domestic and the rest of it, and when you have got more troops available you can do a better job" (U1)

Another example given by an urban officer:

"It makes the job so much easier if you have got enough staff to go around. Like, an example for today, I have got staff. We had an incident in the cells where someone got taken to hospital and back in the cells again, I could actually say leave a couple of staff at the cells to make sure that doesn't happen again until they go down to prison or wherever they go. It just stops things happening" (U3)

Rural officers stated that they could see the benefits of new staff. However, their actual experience of relief and back up was not as positive. Officers who went off sick left the rural rosters in disarray, sometime resulting in other members of that station (depending on the size) to

cover those shifts on top of their own. One rural officer talked about two officers covering three stations at a time, and another commenting that the management will stretch the resources. He reported that relief had:

> *"Always been a bone of contention for all rural officers, as far as one guy is away, whether it be for leave, extended leave or unwell, ACC. Getting someone to actually fill this position because of staff and the rates of Northland staff...they tend to stretch it as far as they can without having to send someone out there" (R8).*

There were also many comments, again from both areas about the practical 'tools' that they had to use, and the effect these had on their role and safety as a police officer. Both rural and urban officers commented on the new stab proof vests that had been issued, reflecting that the money spent on the design was wasted. They were uncomfortable to wear due to the shape and lack of air circulation. One rural officer even went so far to state that:

> *"They are a pain in the arse to wear, they are horrible things, they hurt your back, you can hardly move in them when you sit like this" (R2)*

And in the next breath:

> *"I am getting a doctor's certificate to say I don't have to wear it because it hurts my back" (R2)*

An urban officer also commented on the desire for a new uniform. This was due to the discomfort of the current one, especially wearing it underneath the body amour. A need for foresight was mentioned regarding uniform, not only with the stab proof vests, but with items such as raincoats being too long affecting access to officer's tool belts:

> *"Another thing is the raincoats. We have got these wonderful raincoats. They are very good raincoats but they come down to here (indicated mid thigh) and you have your baton and spray and everything here (indicates waist) so you have no access to it, it's just things like that, so a better uniform would be a good thing" (U3)*

This officer, along with other urban and rural officers, commented about the lack and quality of resources available each shift. Rural officers reported feeling ill prepared, especially with respect to the offenders. Examples given included having to book a laptop, maintain vehicles and feeling that the General Duties areas receive Traffic Duties used resources. As one rural officer reflected:

"Resource wise police have, I always feel anyway have always been behind the eight ball as far as offenders are concerned. I mean offenders are popping around with blackberry phones, and laptops in their backseat and...in a Mercedes (laughs), or Subaru Preza. This police environment you have to book a laptop if you want to use one and that sort of thing, and cell phones are like pulling hen's teeth and digital cameras...well" (R8)

Urban officers had similar experience. With the new influx of officers, items such as cars, radios, computers and breath testing equipment have become in high demand. Urban officers talked about patrolling the streets on foot until a car was free and having to negotiate the use of four computers with 20 officers needing to complete their administration work. With increased staff and limited resources, problems occur. As one urban officer said:

"There is always a lack of resources. That's the biggie. Like today we are all scraping for cars because there aren't enough cars to go around because two of them are off the street. There's not enough radios, not enough sniffers for breath testing. The radio batteries, I put on in this machine and it went flat about 30 seconds later, so I replaced it with another. As soon as I tried to transmit it, it went flat as well, and they both theoretically fully charged. Its things like that" (U3)

Tools such as a functioning radio are essential for officers because they are used to call for backup when it is needed to ensure the safety of the officer concerned. In addition, the radio is their communication link whilst out on the job. It is not only used to inform their control centre of their whereabouts but is also used for communication between officers, sharing vital information and requesting other public services such as the fire brigade and paramedics. A working radio allows the officer the freedom to do their job effectively (Garner, 2005).

The impact of some of these safety issues has been found to increase stress levels. Work by Sandy and Devine (1978) found that stressors in urban and rural policing were isolation, limited resources, social factors and inactivity. Referring to this study, Oliver and Meier (2004) explored these factors, from a rural perspective. They agreed that isolation and limited resources contributed to stress in rural officers, and consequently reduced effectiveness on the job (Yarwood & Cozens, 2004).

4.5.1 Summary

In summary, there were two areas of safety mentioned in this section: safety with respect to physical harm and safety related to resource problems. There were many commonalities in the officers experience, such as a lack of staff effecting not only back up but also the ability to take leave, concerns about work clothing and body amour and a sense of physical and professional vulnerability. In the urban area, officers reported positively about the influx of new staff, yet noted the impact on resources. Resources have not been increased to meet the influx of officers, which leaves them struggling to get the basic tools needed for their daily work. Both sets of officers relayed the importance of preparation, getting all the information about the individual(s) and the scene before going to an incident. Information was a crucial area for officers' safety. With respect to safety approaches, a contrast emerged between rural 'talk' and use of de-escalation techniques versus urban 'force' when placed in a dangerous situation. This was observed to fit the environment and style of policing required in these areas.

4.6 POLICE PERCEPTION OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Being a police officer involves not only dealing with the community and management but also the ability to communicate and work with offenders. Some of the skills used in community relationships are transferable to the work officers do with offenders. In these interviews, officers remarked on their experience of policing with offenders and how interaction with them varied. These interactions influenced the officer's experience of the New Zealand justice system.

Both rural and urban officers commented on how difficult it was to catch criminals without evidence or community assistance. This supports the findings of Morgan and Newburn (1997) who stated that the police are only successful in solving those crimes that are reported and witnessed by the public.

Sometimes officers tried to 'gauge the criminal', and this involved the use of stereotypes and labeling. This was more apparent in rural areas. Examples given included having to deal with same offenders repeatedly, and automatically connecting a person to a crime without evidence. Other problem areas discussed were youth crime and young offenders:

> *"It's just different, you can guarantee if something happens in town that it is male, Maori, 15-17 years, wearing a beanie, black top, jeans, you know, and nine times out of ten that's it, you're right smack on the mark and it's just how it is" (R2)*

This stereotyping connects to Van Maanen's (1978) labeling of 'suspicious people'. Van Maanen placed people into three types, which would be easily identified by the police. The 'suspicious' persons were described as people officers believe have committed an offence, as in the previous verbatim. 'Assholes' were people who did not accept the police explanation of a situation, and 'know-nothings' did not fit into the previous two categories but did not belong to the police force.

Another practice is the use of the offender criminal signature, or modus operandi. In essence, rural officers were more aware of particular offenders' characteristics and the pattern and style of their past crime. This is useful when attending crime scenes, as officers would have an idea who was responsible for the crime by the way it was carried out. As one urban officer reflected:

> *"The cops out there can say such and such has been burgled. It looks like it is going to be that person and they can often if a major event happens out there, they can often say that it is either this person, this person or this person and they have something to work from. Whereas in Whangarei it could be anyone. You don't know" (U3)*

It may be fair to speculate that rural officers have a greater knowledge of possible suspects because they are familiar with their smaller communities compared with urban officers who are more distanced from their larger communities and consequently have less local knowledge of potential suspects.

The ability and experience of obtaining information from offenders varied for officers. Some spoke about offenders being disciplined by the community, offenders generally denying the offence and offences not being reported to the police. A rural officer however did mention the 'snowballing' technique of asking about one offence and gaining information on another, but this did not happen on a regular basis:

> *"A letterbox that has been kicked over, you have a handful of suspects, or you can investigate an arson, also done by a kid, probably the same group of kids...yeh inevitably you end up sorta when you speak to one kid, maybe about the arson, you can always put to him about the letterbox and if he admits it, well bonus, you solved it but if not hard luck" (R4)*

There was a general air of frustration experienced by urban officers, especially with regard to offenders denying offences, even though there was evidence stating otherwise. As one urban officer experienced:

"I had one guy that failed to stop for police, did skids, did all sorts of stuff and he crashed into a fence and then he ran. All the people in the neighbourhood saw him so they told us who it was, and I said 'look I need to talk to you about this, this car was seen, its in your address, its gone over here and done this' and he said 'oh no it wasn't me I was at my mothers' and I said 'yeh ok that's fine'. Then I got another officer to go round and check when he was last at his mothers and speak to his mother about it and she goes 'I haven't seen him for a week' whereas this happened the day before, so you catch them out with their own lies" (U5)

Yet, the experience for some officers was that if you dealt with offenders fairly they would respond in a more favourable manner. Both rural and urban officers stated that most offenders, when caught, accepted being arrested. A rural officer talked about his experience of dealing with an offender in a timely manner and making sure that the offender was dealt with in the system as fast as possible. He received thanks from the offender for treating him justly. An urban officer stated that everyone has his or her own story, and suggested that listening to an offender rather than arresting them can have a better outcome:

"Everyone has their own story to tell, even if they are offender or whatever. You need to have a chat with them and just find out where they are coming from. I find that that gets you a lot further in the job as well. They are happier to talk to you if you are not accusing them straight off" (U5)

Many officers felt that where possible in-house justice was an acceptable option. This ranged from restorative justice in the community, to dealing with the offender and their family primarily. This latter option was experienced with respect to youth crime. Officers, rural and urban, felt with first time offences it was more about learning from their mistakes rather than pure punishment and step one into the justice system. A personal versus mechanical response was taken, as one urban officer commented regarding a charge of possessing marijuana:

"First time offender they are going to get nothing for this, a warning, tell their parents, confiscate the stuff. Generally the parents are on your side and they will take some action, puts the shits up them, and definitely noted through, this is not just a warning you are going down on paper for being warned for possession of cannabis. Next time you get locked up, and that usually puts the shit up them. It is definitely documented as well, as you are taking away the drugs. So I would probably see them learning their lessons more from that than getting a charge against their name that is going to affect their future getting jobs, or whatever" (U6)

Plea-bargaining was another strategy used by both rural and urban officers. The theory behind negotiating pleas is that a lesser conviction is better than no conviction. Yet because offenders had previous experience of the system they frequently opted to hold out until the last moment hoping for at lesser sentence. As one rural officer found:

> *"It seems that every step of the way is a real mission, and there are more people including youths that are defending the charges now. Everyone now is not guilty, or they drag it out until the defendant hearing date and hoping that we will have a plea bargain, and reduce the charges on the day... You know you charge someone with crime of assault, punching someone in the nose, guilty as sin, full notebook statement, admission and everything, they'll still plead not guilty...right up onto the day and then expect you to say 'look reduce it to summary offences assault' and go with that." (R4)*

The actual crime that officers mentioned in the interviews varied from graffiti, wilful damage, assaults and car crime in the rural areas, to shoplifting, theft, car crimes and domestic violence in the urban areas. The crimes experienced were very similar across the board, with domestic violence being a key crime issue in both urban and rural policing. As one rural officer stated:

> *"Most, the majority of call outs will be domestically related, domestic violence call outs. That's the majority of call outs, partnered with the odd motor vehicle crash that you might be called out for. Predominantly all call outs are domestic violence and we are in a high domestic violent area, with low socio economic groups, unemployed people and they for some reason tend to be the people that get involved in domestic problems" (R8)*

The main frustration in the justice system sector for the officers interviewed was the court system itself. Both rural and urban officers spoke about their experiences in court and the subsequent feelings of it being unproductive. Officers commented on the effort connected to catching the criminals and the disappointment of the case being thrown out of court based on technicalities. As two officers stated:

> *"I feel what we are doing isn't really achieving anything. You are just through a process..you do a search warrant and find drugs, and it's a real toss of the coin whether you waste three or four hours doing a file to put in before the courts, because (a) they are not going to turn up (b) once they do turn up the judge is going to slap them on the hand for having a warrant in the first place , eventually they will probably plead guilty and the judge will convict and discharge, and will give them a $100 fine" (R4)*

"Just the ability for people to work their way through loopholes in the law and get away with stuff, just annoys the crap out of me. We all know that baddie A did this because we have all this evidence, but you get to court and to find that he can get off because...it just drives you nuts" (U2)

The attitude of the courts and members working in it was another topic discussed by both sets of officers. The lack of feedback and courtesy from the prosecution staff was one example mentioned by a rural officer. He had experienced receiving demands rather than requests for information, and then having the information he supplied overlooked. As he noted:

"Prosecutions, you do these big files and they never ever read the files. There is so much information on there, I can understand it because (a) they have 30 files to get through each day at court, and they can't read the whole lot and even my summary, 2-5-8's, the minutes we write, summarized the file, even mine are about two or three pages long, and they still don't read those and its frustrating. Things go wrong in court, they give them bail, and they don't, they give them the wrong bail conditions or you do a lot of plea-bargaining with offenders or deals, and prosecution sometimes don't see it your way, and they just screw up the whole deal" (R4)

Other officers felt apprehensive about giving evidence, as one officer indicated:

"People would rather confront a knife welding offender than give evidence in court" (U1)

Another officer's experience led him to feel that police get placed under attack at court. He recalled being placed on the stand for many hours, asked multiple questions about what powers he had, and which government act, statute and section did they originate from. As he said:

"Not only am I fighting the baddie, but I am fighting the system, and making me look like a dick, standing there, because it looks like I don't know my job and I am expected to know 'everything' but the truth is I don't" (U2)

Urban officers interviewed made the additional comments of not only feeling disillusioned with the court system, but also concerned about the effect on the victim when criminal rights outweigh the rights of victims. One officer recounted an example of a victim turning up to court to give evidence. The victim took a day off work to appear, only to have the offender fail to attend, and the hearing be postponed to another day: this was the second time for the victim:

"It can be quite hard to get a conviction, and everything is orientated towards the defendant to a certain degree. I think it is quite hard, you get a victim who has been victimized for whatever reason, and they have to go up, they get called to, summons to court and the defendant doesn't even turn up for court, because they have been there before, they don't care. And so the victim feels that they have been re victimised again, because they have had to take a day off work, cost them more money and they see that this guy doesn't really care, he has no remorse for what he has done and then, I think that sucks to a certain degree because those people should be looked after" (U5)

4.6.1 Summary

The emerging area of the justice system had not been mentioned in the urban and rural studies discussed previously. Officers in this study, rural and urban, expressed their feelings of disillusionment and frustration with the judicial system. Officers talked about the use of plea bargaining and treating offenders fairly to achieve appropriate consequential action or conviction although realising that in most cases this would not happen. Some even mentioned that offenders had more rights than the victims or the police.

4.7 POLICE PERCEPTION OF POLICE CULTURE

Police culture is an area that has been subjected to many theories, comments and attacks over the years. It is a subject area that has been investigated on a frequent basis, yet it would be fair to say is still misunderstood. Police culture has been observed through the research as a negative influence on police behaviour, a possible source of deviance and barrier to reform (Newburn, 2003; Newburn, 2005; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983; Foster, 2003). In these interviews it was interesting to find that many of the officers still found it an integral part not only to their role but also to their sense of belonging.

One key area was the 'camaraderie' between officers and the need to be able to relate, understand and support one another. Older, experienced officers talked about how this had changed over the years, particularly with respect to protection of self. They talked about the aim of trying to catch the bad guy and being part of team, to the current position of 'defensive' policing and looking after yourself. The officers highlighted shared values of support, teamwork and friendship as important, and this is supported by the work of Manning (1977) and Reiner (1992) who both wrote about the essential nature of a shared value and belief system in police culture.

Support amongst colleagues was a key area mentioned by all officers, especially with respect to developing trust between officers through verbal and emotional reactions and physical actions of

back up. As Foster (2003) reported, to survive policing officers were required to be a team player where the only people you can depend on are your colleagues. Urban officers commented that if you had an officer stand by you in a difficult situation then you will earn the trust of that officer, and a bond is established. As one officer stated:

> *"Cops, as soon as cops realize that you are happy to back them up in a sticky situation, then there is trust there" (U1)*

The need for support and trust in their police role was paramount to the officers interviewed. Camaraderie was, and is still, a crucial feature in the officer's world. As Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) reflected, street officer relationships were supportive and joined them into a united front. This area of camaraderie not only encompassed trust and bonding but also the use of war stories (Waddington, 1999; Holdaway, 1983; Herbert, 1998), and playing pranks to relieve the pressure of the job. As a couple of urban officers admitted:

> *"The biff doesn't happen that often, as much as the cops might talk it up. So it is always fun telling war stories and stuff" (U1)*

> *"There is a lot of shit that flies around as well but it's all in good fun...hell yeh, shit, yeh that's the best part (laughs) if there isn't a good rumour you make one up...there's some great ones" (U2)*

This links into Waddington's (1999) 'canteen' talk where the telling of war stories and talking up situations was a common occurrence. From his work he found that the canteen was a safe place to talk tough without having to be tough.

The ability to support and protect your colleagues was a key concept and philosophy in the working life of the officers interviewed. Support from colleagues was seen as vital, especially in rural areas, due to the isolation and need for back up in emergencies and relief for annual leave. The aim expressed by the officers was to work together and provide a service to other colleagues:

> *"It is very important that we give a good service to other cops. That we are available, and we are helpful and supporting. And also if one of us gets crook, we have to cover for him. Its support and important" (U4)*

"I know how he works, I know how he operates, he knows how I operate and we can work together or we can work off each other, and I have seen it in other rural stations where partners don't actually get on, and it causes problems, causes rifts" (R3)

It was also noted in past research that the need for solidarity and bonding between officers was seen as a result of the continual real and perceived threat of danger, which isolates officers from the community (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). This could have also been a contributing factor in the officers interviewed working lives.

Yet, on the other hand, a rural officer commented that the police now have to be careful about their camaraderie. He had observed over the years a decrease in outside activities between officers on section. This may suggest that the united front of policing is not as strong as in the past. This could encourage officers to become more aware of their actions and the consequences of them, as they may have to stand alone, creating unease amongst officers. This pressure on the individual officer may lead them to protect themselves as a primary aim, with the job coming second. One officer attributed this change to the impact of external forces such as the independent police complaints authority, community views and even changes in management. He reflected:

"yeh I think you have to be more careful as a policemen. It's changed now. I used to finish a night shift, have a few drinks and a bit of a yahoo for the whole section but that has fallen away. I think the camaraderie, there's none of that anymore. You can't, sections don't have that anymore because they get themselves in the shit and next minute they are suspended" (R5)

The support observed and felt by the officers in this research came mainly through their colleagues, rather than from senior management. One rural officer spoke about a media incident when an officer's reputation was attacked, yet the management did not intervene. He relayed:

"But I kinda personally took it to heart a little bit, and it had nothing to do with me, to be honest, but it was a beseeching as you like of the reputation of the man. It wasn't justified and it wasn't warranted, our managers didn't do a great deal to defend us, the situation at the time .. which was a strategy they decided to employ to cover their arses as usual....it wasn't a particularly good one in my opinion" (R1)

It was interesting to find that on the one hand officers spoke about bonding in their units and teams, and on the other they spoke of conflict and animosity with others. In these interviews, the

'others' were defined as management (Butler, 1992; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983), other specialist groups and even other units. One urban officer commented on the problems with Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) officers re-joining the frontline:

> *"The view of the sergeants of the people coming back downstairs is that they are only coming back down for the money, and they are not coming down with any positive attitude because once you go upstairs your attitude totally changes towards uniform staff and the frontline cops, and the fact that they have been up there, slagged you off and now coming back downstairs again, and they expect to be welcomed into the fold...it's not going to happen (laughs)" (U2)*

Rural officers brought up another internal conflict, namely between themselves and the way some urban officers viewed them. They stated that urban officers could sometimes see rural policing as laid back, where you go to retire rather than police. This links into the rural idyll, which is highlighted best through the 'village bobby' policeman of Britain's past (Mawby, 2004; Young, 1993; Buttle, 2006b). These rural officers lived in the community and dealt with all disruptive community matters from noisy dogs and boundary issues to neighbourly disputes. These matters may not come under the umbrella of crime fighting policing, yet if left unattended they could accumulate to a serious offence. Attitudes towards rural policing do seem to be slowly changing:

> *"They kinda thought it was the quiet life, the good life, sort of thing, the rural cop, but I think now, because of technology really, because they are becoming aware of the fact that we do get quite a lot of work and we do get asked to do things that they would ordinarily have three or four police vehicles. If not we are police officers helping them do a job, so there is a respect now" (R8)*

Garcia (2005) explains the construction of other expressed by the officers, as a means of normalising themselves and their actions. The 'other' group becomes the antithesis of everything they are. This further encourages solidarity between officers in the group, and a 'them versus us' attitude.

Urban officers noticed an urban attitude, which changes over time. They commented on how new recruits came out of college ready to change the world, while the older, more experienced, urban officers were feeling cynical and numb from their frontline encounters.

" I'm a lot more cynical now. I have seen just about everything. Nothing really shocks me anymore. (pause) yeh it's funny you know, you join the police with these big ideas of changing the world, and you realise quite quickly into it, you can't and even if you could, it wouldn't make a difference anyway. And when you get sort of, a few years service and you start, you get sick of the ...you know...people ringing up, they are having scraps and that sort of thing, and it just becomes second nature to you" (U2)

The change in attitude parallels a light-hearted synopsis of a police officer's career mentioned in the May 2008 Police Association magazine (Plowman, 2008a). It gave four stages; the first labelled 'fascination' (years one to four) links with the new recruits discussed by the officers. This stage involves embracing the new, from equipment to situations, starting work early and leaving late, and all with enthusiasm. Years five to six are labelled 'hostility', when the officer completes only the hours they have to do, and the discord with the job and system set in. Later, years seven to 15, the officer goes into the 'superiority' stage. It is here that the officers are knowledgeable about the processes, the legal system and their colleagues, and have survived the 'hostility' phase intact. Finally, by year 16 and onwards 'acceptance' sinks in and retirement is the aim.

Protection of self mentioned earlier in this chapter was a recurring theme discussed by the officers. They linked it with the use of administration and the practical application of policing. Both rural and urban officers stated that the overall attitude of the police today is defensive. It is about protecting yourself, being careful about what you say and what you do, and protecting the organisation. As one rural officer said in regard to the way management handled an alleged complaint against him:

" I guess it is a fine line for them too. Can we really support this guy if it turns out its true, and we feel like we really shouldn't have been supporting this guy or we really support this guy, go over the top and say 'look we know its not true' and whatever" (R6)

He went to explain the protection process as:

"One person is better than the whole organisation" (R6)

An urban officer talked about each officers own responsibility to be aware of what they are doing, and why. He stated:

"You, just don't do dumb things, just like when I first started the job, if you ever do anything in the police you just cover your arse, make sure that its not going to come back and bite you, if something goes wrong or whatever you are not going to get the blame for it...yeh, it changes the way that you police" (U4)

Officers not only talked about protecting themselves through actions and behaviours but also by expressing views or making public comments. Specifically, they thought that being a police officer restricted the expression of personal views. Repercussions of talking against managerial opinions or stances were seen as career limiting. As one rural officer reflected:

"You got to be a bit careful because we are apolitical, as a police officer I have got to have no political opinion, and again the floods a classic one. I have a huge opinion on what I think should be done, which is echoed by a lot of the community, my communities opinion but I can't stand up in one of those community meetings, as a police officer and say that, that's hard at times" (R9)

On a positive note, officers from both rural and urban areas commented on what made them feel satisfied in their police role. Some mentioned the variety in their role; others contributed catching criminals and appreciation from the public to their satisfaction. Some mentioned that they joined the police to catch criminals, and many of these of these spoke of the 'thrill of the chase' and the 'buzz' created from this action. Research by Holdaway (1983) supports this finding. His officers spoke about the need for action; examples given were speeding in a police car to an incident, arresting an offender, or even having a scuffle with an offender. The rush of adrenalin as part of police daily life was further mentioned in Bayley and Garofalo's (1989) work. Herbert (1998) also referred to certain officers' need for action-based activities to reinforce the machismo order of policing. There was no real distinction between rural and urban officers in this area, as seen in the following verbatim:

"For me, I joined the police to catch criminals. What we did the other day when we caught these burglars, and got all this property back to people, that's sort of thing is satisfying to me. Yeh, actually being proactive, catching criminals, catching thieves, has always been a big part of the police for me. Obviously for other people, its different for other people, their highs and lows but that's mine, that's what gives me a buzz, catching someone" (R6)

" I just like the excitement of the chase and that sort of thing, that's why. And I think that if I wasn't doing X (officer's job position) then I wouldn't be in the job, would not still be in it" (U4)

For some catching criminals is the only thing that keeps them in the job, as one urban officer admitted:

" I have a hell of a workload and it's too much. But what is keeping me in the job is working with X and catching the crooks, that's what we are here for" (U7)

The other area in policing that brought satisfaction to the officers was the professional development of the new recruits. Urban officers noted how attitudes and communication developed through the first few months, and being part of that process through mentoring, brought feelings of fulfilment. As one officer experienced:

"Just being able to see people develop, from coming out of college and not knowing what the hell they are doing to becoming good working members of a section, who know what they doing and who the next people out of college can go up to them and say 'hey what do I do with this situation?" and they can tell them the right thing, that's good, that gives me a sense of satisfaction" (U3)

4.7.1 Summary

In summary, officers' job satisfaction was gained through catching criminals and mentoring. They also talked about the importance of support and trust in their job, especially between the close members of their team and unit. The need for solidarity coincided with dealing with the others - the 'others' being management, the public and the media. This lead to officers reporting how their approach was becoming more defensive, with the ultimate aim being to protect themselves from complaints. This supports the work of Loader and Mulcahy (2003) who found that British urban police officers are often concerned about two things, their physical safety and avoiding complaints.

It is important to note that the officers in this research emphasised the positive aspects of police culture rather than the negative aspects often exposed by academics.

4.8 POLICE PERCPETION OF PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

The final theme that emerged from the interviews was the experience of policing on the individual officer's personal and family life. As seen from the previous categories, it is hard to discard the label of police officer, be it in a rural or urban area. All officers, especially rural officers, found that their work had an effect on personal and family life, particularly if they worked and lived in the same area.

One of the first areas highlighted by both rural and urban officers was the permanent role of being a policeman all the time. This included, in the rural areas, never feeling that you are off duty. The officers talked about the public and police having access to them at all times. Many expressed the feeling that they never really felt off work, so that having a personal life was difficult:

> *"You are never left alone by the public. They always think that your house is open 24/7. You can never get away....I mean if you take a few days off and try and do something around your home, you can't, you have to bugger off somewhere and hide basically so that you can have time away" (R3)*

This supports the findings of Falcone et al. (2002) who suggested a potential conflict between being a community member and an officer, and the consequence that creating a professional distance or boundary may result in community distrust. The balance is difficult to achieve, as many of the officers interviewed discovered.

Another rural officer spoke about the 'catch me if you can' policy whereby every police officer is obliged to attend a Priority One incident if required, no matter what position they hold. This caused more issues for rural officers, as they are not paid for it. As the officer reflected:

> *"1-2-3 man station officers are, never placed, technically can't claim stand-by allowances, on call allowance. Technically they are not supposed to be on call. But can be called on, the police association calls it "catch me if you can" if they can get hold of you for what they call a priority one job then you are obliged to respond, because all policemen in NZ are supposed to respond to, if they are called on to do so" (R8)*

The impact of this, especially from a rural viewpoint, is illustrated by the case of Jonathon Erwood, who in July 2006 attended a serious crash in his rural area of Mokau. He drove under three kilometres to the accident scene with the town's only oxygen tanks, and was found to be over the legal limit for alcohol (Woulfe, 2006). This ultimately resulted in Constable Erwood being discharged without conviction. It also contributed to the change in police on / off duty guidelines,

stopping any officers who have consumed any alcohol from attending or intervening in any incidents (New Zealand Herald, 2007).

On the other hand, urban officers felt that they had more capability of developing distinct on – off duty boundaries, which helped maintain a personal life. As one urban officer commented on rural policing:

> *"I like to go home at the end of the day and not be a policeman. Whereas they go home at the end of the day and they still are policemen" (U2)*

Rural officers commented that their full time role sometimes affected their own safety as well as their family's. They talked about the concern of family members regarding their work, also about the actual physical safety of their family members. Rural officers spoke about the uncertainty of the situations they get called out to, along with the uncertainty of how long it will take and when they will return home. This was observed to affect the officer and their family. As one rural officer noted:

> *"It's just, again, the unreliable factor. You can't even tell your wife that you will be home at a certain time. My wife is paranoid, we spent....when we lived in X and we spent 3000 dollars on a burglar alarm, and got a German shepherd and she still wouldn't sleep at night" (R4)*

Other rural officers also spoke about gang members knowing where they live, having members of the public knocking on their doors and having family members being upset due to past attacks on the officer. As one rural officer reflected:

> *"We had a few situations when I was living here that, that upset my family. I had an incident a couple of years in X where my boy saw me get knocked over, and that sort of upset them, it obviously does affect you" (R2)*

Also emerging from the interviews was not just the physical safety of the officer or their family, but also professional safety. The rural officers who had partners in the community experienced this dilemma. One rural officer spoke about his wife helping out at accident scenes, and handling people coming to the station or police house while he was not there. Another spoke about the community assuming that his partner was a secretary, leaving messages and even items with her, and the possible consequences of that. As he said:

"My wife started to take messages, and then she actually took a found wallet, and I put my foot down on that because that just gets ugly, if there's money in it and it goes missing, it could come back on her or me. So obviously we have quite a strict protocol regarding found property especially cash. And that, so I stomped on that and said don't take it, if someone wants to hand you a wallet say you can't take it, it's not safe for me to take it, give me your details, or ring and leave a message and he will come and get it from you" (R9)

Both rural and urban officers acknowledged that rural officers partners were and are being used, consciously and unconsciously, as an extension of the police without pay or recognition. Many rural officers spoke about how the public assume their partner or children can be used as an officer substitute, and the impact that role has on them in the community. Offices commented that their family needed to be accommodating and unimpeachable in attitude, as one rural officer recounted:

"The wife has to be a little bit different, in, sort of respecting the public, taking phone numbers and being the secretary type person, until I get home...and the kids are the same..." (R3)

An urban officer reflected:

"You would be the 'cops' wife, wouldn't you. You would have to be squeaky clean as well. So it would be harder on them definitely, and also too, people are knocking on their door in the middle of the night. If the cop's not there, you would be answering the door, answering the phone, things like that. It would tough, tough on a rural cop's wife, and I am talking a single man's station, definitely be tough on them and kids as well" (U4)

An officer went on to speak about this issue, as the interview was finishing. He reported that rural officers are now trying to get some acknowledgement for their wives / partners from the NZP with respect to the role they have. He stated, as have others in this study, that when the officers are not there they are expected to fulfil the administration role, for example by taking messages and comforting people in need. Also it is expected, and perhaps taken for granted by the NZP, that when something happens in the area the partners assist the officer at the incident as a second officer whilst waiting for further colleague assistance. There is also a certain stigma attached to being a police officer's partner, and this can place pressure not only on the partner but the relationship and the officer's job:

"A lot of it, a lot of these guys are leaving because of their partners. Come out here and there is nothing for them to do. There is no major employment in X, so they become bored and there is a stigma that goes, with most cases, that goes with being a policeman's partner, as far as forming friendships is concerned. Plus they are always concerned if they form a friendship with someone that, if we are arresting the husband, arresting family members, it becomes embarrassing for them, so there is a lot of pressure on partners and that's a lot of reason why some of the guys leave" (R8)

This connects to Jobes (2003) research on role conflict in rural policing. He also found that there were problems with developing friendships in the community due to potential arrests of acquaintances. There is a wish to socialise but an awareness of potential critics in the community.

Other restrictions on the lives of both the rural and urban officers were due to shift work. Both rural officers and urban officers connected to specialist teams were generally on call permanently, limiting their free time choices for themselves and their family. As a couple of rural officers recounted:

" I worked from seven to 11, 18 hours one day, then I worked seven to five-thirty the next day, I just sat down, literally walked in the door and sat down and the phone rang and I had to go to a domestic, and that was another three hours on top. So there are times when it can be frustrating, finally I got home, I can relax for five minutes and the phone rings" (R6)

"So much of our job is shift work. My wife works, she's a X (job role), it can, yeh sometimes it doesn't work out very well because you find yourself not seeing each other for long periods" (R7)

In the urban area, officers on call had to be in a certain radius of the station in case they were needed. This, again, impacted on their free and family time; as one officer stated:

"It does sort of curb everything, you can't take your kids to the beach because you have to be 15 minutes away from the station, hovering around the station in a 15 minute radius. What are we doing today Dad? Well we could go to the Warehouse, 'why can't we got to the beach?' 'because I am on call'. It does impact. So in that sense you can't, you can't just hang up your hat and go home" (U2)

One difference specified by the officers interviewed was regarding rural on call being flexible and continuous, compared with urban regular on call hours. The only time that both rural and urban officers stated was truly their own was annual leave. It was only when on annual leave that officers felt that they could relax, and in rural areas even inform the community that it was their time off. As one rural officer recounted:

> *"I had a few people come to the door, I had a note on the station that I was on leave ...and that, 'listen I am not going to talk to you, I am on leave, you are going to have to talk to X'. That's it, I am not even going to start taking the complaint or giving you advice, that's it, that's where the line is and obviously you can't do that so much when working, even on days off you can't do that so much, but I was on leave, and on leave, and I don't want to get in the situation where I have to leave my house to take a week off. Think that is kinda pointless" (R9)*

Yet some rural officers found that the only way to get some time away was to actually leave their house and their community during their annual leave or time off. As two rural officers described:

> *"I like my leisure time to be completely separate from my work time and I don't want people from my town here" (R2)*

> *"Well I have a hobby of motorcycling, and off roading and on roading, so I get away with that and if going on holiday then I will take my motorcycle and go for it, just ride away, once I am dressed up in my leathers they don't know who I am..." (R3)*

Both rural and urban officers highlighted the need and use of boundaries. For rural it was establishing boundaries with the community, with urban it was managing self. Rural offices spoke about utilising the main stations in their areas, regarding out of hours enquiries and teaching the community what you expect. This contrasted with the urban officers' aim to not take work home with you, and not going into work on days off and the general ability to detach. As a couple of urban officers stated:

> *"You can't take work home with you, you have to switch off" (U3)*

> *"I switch off pretty quick. The odd little thing in the job may worry me. I generally, once I have done the days work, and not on call, I forget about it, I forget about the job" (U4)*

Time out was stressed to be a rare opportunity in the lives of officers interviewed, especially in the rural areas. Both rural and urban officers commented on how difficult rural policing was on

personal and family lives. Officers, both rural and urban, talked about how the reliability of being a good officer often paralleled unreliability with family, friends and even hobbies, as one rural officer stated:

> *"Small town policing it's hard to have another hobby, because you work shift work, you do work longer hours, you don't just work your eight hours, you are inevitably working two to three hours overtime, and if something happens you have to follow it through, and so you are really unreliable in a lot of senses, so that's one of the reasons I left the X" (R4)*

One of the other personal areas influenced by being a police officer was socialising and friendships outside of work. Urban officers talked about being wary when out for the night, as one stated:

> *"If I went out nightclubbing or something like that, I would be a bit cautious of some places I went to maybe, and just make sure who I was with and maybe I would not drink as much as a normal person would" (U5)*

Rural officers mentioned either leaving their community for time off, or placing boundaries in the community so that they could have some free time. In the urban areas officers spoke about spending their free time with other officers because of the shifts they all worked. As one urban officer found with respect to non-police friends:

> *"As you are doing shift work, you might be working all weekend and they are not, or vice versa. So you tend to do things with cops. I fish and dive and surf and that sort of thing, and if you want to do it with someone on the Monday, and everyone else is at work, but cops are off on a Monday, because they do shift work as well" (U4)*

Another described time off spent with fellow officers playing sports as building bonds and keeping themselves amused:

> *"It's team building. It gives us stuff to do, because most of us have partners that aren't shift workers, so we can four days in a row without seeing our partners, so we have to have something to do on our days off" (U6)*

Nevertheless, some urban officers in this research commented on the importance of maintaining non-police friends. The emphasis was placed on maintaining a balance in life and perspective. As one urban officer described:

"It's a mind set thing which is why they encourage you at Police College to keep your friends outside of the police. Just remember not everyone is an offender, because it is easy to get into that mind set when you are dealing with nothing but offenders..." (U1)

Another urban officer talked about the need for variety, getting away from the role of officer and how having experiences with other friends helps:

"I try and keep, a lot of my friends I have kept from high school, so yeh I don't want to be...you get pushed into friends with the police, working together and that, but I don't want to spend all my time talking about police and work, and things like that. It is good to get away from it. Go off with some other mates and do something totally separate and not have to worry about the job, think about the job" (U5)

The final impact from the experience of policing on officers' lives was the additional study required of the job. The additional study was seen to affect the work / life balance, and the newer recruits were the ones experiencing this pressure. As one senior urban officer said:

"The balance between, especially as a probationer, the balance between your work and your home life suffers a bit because you are not only coming to work but when you're home you are reading books, doing that sort of thing" (U2).

4.8.1 Summary

Some differences emerged between the experience of being a rural and an urban officer regarding the impact on their personal life. One key area was the rural officer's perception that they are never off work, with local people knowing where they live and who and what their family do. Rural officers reflected that their partners and family were seen as an extension of themselves, and were labelled as such. This contrasted with the urban officers who said they were able to distinguish between on/off duties, and so their partner and families were not affected as much. However, both sets of officers commented on how being a reliable officer usually equated with being an unreliable partner and friend, due to shift work and overtime. They also commented on trying to have and maintain non-police friendships, so as to increase non-police interaction and to reduce the likelihood of seeing everyone non-police as a potential offender.

4.9 BOUNDARIES: CORE CATEGORY

The 'core' category is central to all the data collected. It is a pattern of behaviour connecting all the emerged categories together, encouraging a better understanding of the area under investigation, with potential resolutions for the participants (Glaser, 1998). In this research, the

question "does the experience of policing differ for rural officers and their urban counterparts?" was explored with reference to important issues in each officer's experience of policing. The comparisons and contrasts between rural and urban officers in this study have been described previously in this chapter.

To establish a core category, the researcher has to go back to the data and ask questions about whether the categories could be linked and placed under one of the established categories, or whether there could be another higher-level category to encompass them all (Corbin, 1986). Corbin recommended placing the categories into a core or central category that allows all the data collected to 'fit'.

Exploring the sub-categories already discussed in this chapter, the researcher linked the police perception of community, management, safety, police culture and family into a general *people* oriented category. Sub-categories of job role, the justice system (with an overlap of management and safety) were grouped into a *policy* oriented category. It was here that the researcher was looking for a central element to fit all the categories. By taking a step back and exploring the officer's verbatim surrounding the areas of people and policies, what emerged was the issue of *boundaries*. The data collected from the officers in this study highlighted common and contrasting areas for rural and urban police on the boundary spectrum. With the spectrum ranging from lack of boundaries, through to the un/successful implementation of boundaries, to the constraints of boundaries in their work.

Boundaries were observed by officers to be easier to implement and work with when contained in an urban area. These *people* and *policy* boundaries were perceived as more definite through the structure of the larger stations, visible hierarchy and professional distance from the community. By contrast, boundaries were more difficult to apply in rural areas due to the isolation of the officer, lack of managerial structure and the necessity for a working relationship with the community to be effective. Conversely, the structure of the urban officer was experienced at times as restrictive and clinical compared to rural flexibility, autonomy and discretion.

Further discussion regarding categories, boundaries and the rural / urban debate may be found in the next section, along with an answer to the research question posed. This is followed by the strength and limitations of the present study, along with the implications and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.1 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter discusses the findings from the current research, which explored the experience of policing for rural officers and their urban counterparts in a sample taken from the Northland District of the NZP. The first part of this chapter will discuss the findings with particular reference to the categories that emerged and how they relate to the core category of 'boundaries' and the rural / urban debate. The following sections will discuss the limitations and strengths of the study. Implications of the research and recommendations will be expressed in the last part of this chapter, with the final section concluding the main findings.

5.2 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results in this study developed from interviews exploring the question "does the experience of policing differ for rural officers and their urban counterparts?". The study aimed to compare and contrast policing experiences, and focused on understanding and identifying different aspects related to NZP officers' experience of rural and urban policing in Northland. Seven categories emerged from the interviews and were discussed in Chapter Four, with reference to original literature. The findings of these seven categories will be discussed next with particular reference to the core category that emerged, boundaries and the rural / urban debate.

5.2.1 Community Relations and Boundaries

In this category, both rural and urban officers said how important the working relationship was between themselves and the community. Both noted the need for them to be accessible and communicative with the public. This supports the original literature by Weisheit at al. (1994), Oliver (2004a) Falcone et al. (2002) and Yarwood (2001) who highlighted the concepts of community connectedness, accountability and problem solving approaches between police and the community. However, the experience of policing differed for officers in respect of the boundaries implemented between them and their community. For rural officers, this boundary was flexible, enabling officers to be part of the community as well as work for it. Officers in this area needed community support to help them gather information, as well as providing assistance in crime control. Hence the boundaries are adaptable on both sides, with the officer being part of the

community and the community members playing their part in their local policing. This supports Clarke's (2006) finding that ownership in the community is an essential factor in proactive community policing. Rural officers felt that the community treated them as a person rather than a uniform, and any attempt to erect strict boundaries between them and the public would potentially exacerbate the isolation factor rural officers experienced. In contrast, urban officers spoke about more rigid boundaries between them and their community. For urban officers the working relationship was perceived to be advantageous rather than a necessity. In their comments they expressed the importance of maintaining boundaries, which enabled them to be more task orientated, essential with respect to the number of incidents to which they had to respond.

5.2.2 Job Role and Boundaries

In the category of job roles, the flexible boundary between the rural officer and their community meant that they felt accountable to the community. Conversely, for the urban officers the rigid boundary between themselves and the community placed their accountability to the organisation. This resulted in officers having different approaches for the different areas. The generalist, proactive style of the rural police was highlighted and supported in the findings, and linked into Wilson's (1968) 'service' style of balancing order maintenance and law enforcement. This contrasted with the reactive urban approach expressed in the interviews, relating to Wilson's 'legalistic' style of using law enforcement whenever possible. It could be proposed that urban law enforcement boundaries are black and white, compared to the grey boundaries of rural work. This concept fits well with the rural officers expressing freedom in their job compared to the urban officers structured role.

Both sets of officers commented on the difference between probation officer training and job reality. In particular to the black and white boundaries created in college training of how to approach situations and what you need to know, and how this differed to the reality of policing. This created the issue of being thrown into uncertainty as a new officer and having to learn by your mistakes - an unstructured and unpredictable strategy. The widespread use of this strategy amongst the officers suggest that perhaps more boundaries need to be implemented into the role to clarify what is expected in certain situations on a generic basis. However, it was noted by the researcher that being too specific had its own constraints. The example given by one officer was the use of intelligence driven information directing him and members of his unit to specific target areas, discounting the prospective of random crime. Consequently, what is observed is the fine line between required guidelines and being too rigid on the boundary continuum.

Both rural and urban officers remarked that the required time spent on administration and traffic tasks creates a boundary to completing police work, such as catching criminals and enjoying the thrill of the chase. This supports the work by Maguire et al. (1991) and Liederbach and Frank (2003) who reported that the main daily focus for any police officer was administration and traffic tasks. Many of the officers commented on the sense of satisfaction from chasing and catching criminals, collaborating with Holdaway's (1983) British officers who enjoyed the action element of their job. This contrasted with the officers' resentment surrounding issuing tickets and mounting paperwork. It became clear that a change in boundaries, with a reduction in time spent on administrative and traffic work would enable the possibility of police work such as arresting criminals to occur, facilitating further job satisfaction. Job satisfaction as previously noted in the literature links into an officer's effectiveness (Zhao et al., 1999; Greene, 1989; Halstead et al., 2000).

Common work boundaries were found between rural officers and their urban supervisory or specialist officers, with both holding the same levels of accountability and responsibility. It was also interesting to note that when officers spoke about Auckland City District, the boundaries between rural and urban officers interviewed merged into a collaborative Northland District, and became the rural to Auckland's urban.

5.2.3 Management and Boundaries

The implementation of strict boundaries between management and frontline officers was the main concern expressed in this area. Previous work by Ruess-Ianni and Ianni (1983) and Butler (1992) found tension between street officers and management. Supporting this, rural and urban officers in this study reported that they did not feel listened to by management and that police decisions were made without consultation. This resulted in officers feeling that they had no control in the decision-making process, and that the subsequent 'learned helplessness' impacted on their experience of policing through either a resigned feeling or a blasé attitude. This disempowerment of frontline officers was also found in the ethnographic work of Marks (2004). However, there was a noted difference between rural and urban officers regarding the actual support and physical presence of management in this study. Boundaries surrounding contact differed with rural officers stating that they were mainly left alone by management, furthering their isolation and giving them more discretion in their role. By contrast, urban officers had more frequent contact, which resulted in working by more rules and in a structure. It could be speculated that this contact was influenced further by geographical boundaries, with urban officers being more accessible, in the same building and town as management compared to rural officers.

5.2.4 Safety and Boundaries

The category of safety was split into two areas, physical safety and resources required for safety. Rural officers attending incidents approached situations with an aim to communicate with offenders and break down potential boundaries through conflict resolution skills. This supports the work of Reiner (2000), Kemp et al. (1992) and Muir (1977) regarding the use of conflict resolution skills to assist in the officer's safety. Their safety relied on making the situation safe for both parties. It is in this category that the advantage of having a working relationship with the community assisted the rural officer. Due to being part of the community, and the rural officer having merged boundaries between police officer and community member, the officers reported being better informed about potential incidents. Information was gathered from past experiences and community intelligence enabling rural officers to gauge and pre-empt prospective safety issues. This contrasted with the urban approach where distinct safety boundaries were implemented. Officers commented about safety in numbers enabling a quicker, sometimes more forceful approach, with the aim to take the individual/s out of the situation to make it safe. The numbers of response situations the urban officers attend influence the use of this approach. It became clear that there were different approaches for different workloads.

Stretched resources were mentioned by both sets of officers as effecting safety, from staffing levels to access to computers and working radios. The dilemma that emerged was the lack of physical staff impacting on the ability to take annual leave (a requirement for the safety of the officers general well-being) to the lack of back-up officers required to assist in potentially dangerous situations. The importance of police back up (Buttle, 2008; Kiely and Peek, (2002); Ruess-Ianni and Ianni, 1983) was highlighted throughout the interviews. However, the negative side to increased staffing levels was that practical resources such as cars, radios, breathalysers and computers were scarce commodities. In either case the lack of resources placed boundaries around the officers' ability to perform effectively in their job.

5.2.5 The Judicial System and Boundaries

The one area that produced the most frustration in the experience of policing was the justice system. The boundaries implemented in the legal system were perceived to cause more aggravation than assistance. This was the case for all the officers. On the one hand, officers talked about treating the offenders fairly and negotiating plea bargains, to find that the prosecutor (part of the system) had not followed through with their arrangement, bestowing a harsher sentence. On the other hand, officers discussed bringing their case to court wanting a conviction,

only to find it thrown out of court on technicalities. It was this reported execution of legal boundaries that caused disillusion in many officers about their law enforcement role.

The other judicial area involved the rights of the individual. Officers felt through their experience that the boundaries protecting the offender outweighed the boundaries protecting the victims. The literature review undertaken found no research surrounding the effect of the justice system on the experience of policing for officers.

5.2.6 Police Culture and Boundaries

In police culture, one of the key areas mentioned by officers was the experience of camaraderie and the need to portray an united front. This involved officers having to sometimes compromise personal boundaries to remain part of the team, to put aside their own belief to integrate with the group. Consequently, what officers experienced was a 'them versus us' attitude. By protecting themselves they create a boundaries with 'others' (Garcia, 2005). For the officers in this study, others consisted of management, the community and the media. This shared value system has been noted extensively in the research (Manning, 1977; Reiner, 1992; Foster 2003; Ruess-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). In addition some rural officers expressed that urban officers still see rural policing as a place to go to retire, suggesting a possible 'them versus us' attitude between rural and urban officers.

This separation between groups was illustrated further with officer's perception of management's priority to protect the organisation versus the frontline officers priority to protect themselves. Many felt that they had to implement boundaries to protect themselves because management would not, especially with respect to complaints. This attitude supports Loader and Mulcahy's (2003) work on officers' concerns about physical safety and complaints. Consequently, this requirement of self-preservation could explain some of the angst expressed by frontline officers about higher-level management in general, highlighting a potential area for further investigation.

5.2.7 Personal and Family life and Boundaries

The category of personal and family life revealed the impact of the police role on an officer's private life. As previously stated, the boundaries between the community and rural officers were more flexible than urban officers', due to the stronger need for a working relationship. However, the stronger the link with the community, the stronger effect on the officer's personal and family life. To be an effective and reliable officer equated to many as being an unreliable family member. In urban areas, officers found it easier to place boundaries between work and life, which was facilitated further by being more anonymous in the community.

Community members were seen to treat the rural officer's family as an extension of the police. This placed further pressure on the officer and their family relationship and affected their work and life boundaries. Problems encountered included the officer and family's privacy. Rural officers spoke about the community knowing who they were and where they lived, and the subsequent safety concerns of undesirable people knocking on the family front door. Solutions offered by rural officers surrounded establishing boundaries with the community, to reiterate that their family is not part of the police and that free time from policing was exactly that. The practicality and success of these boundaries is problematic. Although there was an impact on family life in both rural and urban officers, it would be fair to note the impact was greater in the rural areas.

Research into how family life is affected by the experience of policing in rural and urban areas is slight. This highlights another area in the officers' experience of policing that might benefit from further investigation.

5.2.8 Summary

The process of 'boundaries' which emerged in the data collected, has been described, with particular reference to the officers' experience and the rural / urban debate. The final step is to explore how these results relate to the original debate, and to the question of whether the experience of policing differs between rural and urban officers.

To recap, Winfree and Taylor (2004) used a survey to explore whether the perceptions of NZP staff (sworn and non-sworn) differed in the areas of rural, small town and metropolitan. Their research looked at perceptions of the policing role, such as support, job satisfaction and fairness. They also investigated whether gender, ethnicity or job assignment had a contributing factor. They proposed from their results that there was little difference between NZP personnel, and that the perception of policing did not differ between personnel based in rural, small town or metropolitan areas. In contrast the work by Jaeger (2002) based on rural officers, discussed in Goddard and Jaeger's (2005) response to Winfree and Taylor's work, explored not only the policing role but also the strategies used in the role. Goddard and Jaeger proposed that there is a difference in officers, particularly through specialisation and the strategies they use.

The current research supports Goddard and Jaeger, in that although the role of policing was fundamentally the same for both rural and urban officers in this study, the strategies they used and boundaries they encountered or implemented differed. Rural officers in the current study emphasised the need to be part of the community, to reduce any boundaries by using their discretion and strategies such as conflict resolution. Urban officers, by contrast, were observed as

being more rigid in their approaches, using boundaries to be effective in a faster paced, more highly populated environment. From the data collected, the need for a working relationship emerges as an explanation and solution to the boundaries in an officer's daily life. These relationships could be placed on a continuum from the community, to colleagues, to management and the NZP organisation. Rural officers said that their most effective working relationship was with the community, while for urban it was with their colleagues. Hence the experience of policing for officers in rural and urban areas does differ, and specific examples have been described in the previous sections and chapter. It is suggested that for a rural or urban officer to be most effective that a working relationship in 'all' areas, community, colleagues, management and the NZP organisation is necessary. The impact of this research on the area of policing will be discussed in the next sections.

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

As with any research, there are constraints and unanticipated problems that arise through the investigative process. The researcher has tried to address any problems that occurred during the various stages of the study and referenced the process in the appropriate chapter of the research. Nevertheless, the main limitations of this present study are discussed next.

By using the methodology of grounded theory, the researcher is able to explore what is pertinent to that individual. It allows for information to be conveyed, and can challenge assumptions in the area of investigation. However, it is important to note that the findings are limited to the population sampled, and thus may be limited in transferability to other populations. So the reality of officers in the district of Northland may not necessarily be the same as officers in the central district.

The sample of participants recruited by the researcher was changed because of time constraints to a snowballing technique. This process would have placed some bias on the sample as other officers suggested potential participants. In addition, the participants were all volunteers, had read the information sheet and agreed to the interview process, indicating a predisposition to want to talk about the topic area. So because the participants may not have included a true representative sample of Northland police officers, the findings may not be representative of all the frontline officers in the Northland district.

Even the role of the researcher may have caused limitations with the information received, as it has been noted in the literature that police are normally distrustful of outsiders (Marks, 2004), perceiving researchers as having other agendas (Horn, 1997). Both Marks (2004) and Punch (1989) mentioned that to gain the best information from the police, the researcher should use

observational research techniques, and develop a relationship with them. Hence, it could be suggested that information gathered from a single interview could not tap into deeper cognitions.

As with any qualitative method, there is a certain level of subjectivity and interpretation bias. The researcher attempted to address this bias through asking for clarification from officers when unsure what the verbatim meant to that officer. It is important to note that the researcher is an active factor in the grounded theory process, yet needs to be sensitive to the data. Self-reflection of potential bias was continually implemented throughout the interviews.

Finally, one of the limitations of this study was the completion of a literature review prior to interviews. The literature review undertaken was necessary for the internal processes of ethics and police approval. Nevertheless, in an ideal grounded theory this would not have been completed prior to data collection. A literature review may have biased the researcher to preconceived problem areas, or be overcome with the prior literature in the area, or use irrelevant information not related to the core category derived from the data (Glaser, 1992). The researcher was aware of the impact of the literature and tried to remain as neutral as possible in the interviews, leading with questions that followed the officers' actual verbatim.

5.4 STRENGTHS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Horn (1997) found in her police research that if the subject matter is unlikely to be useful to the organisation, co-operation was limited. One of the strengths of the present study is that the research undertaken was of practical use to the police, as to gain police approval the researcher had to illustrate its benefit to the NZP. This encouraged cooperation with management. In addition, because the research was not directed or undertaken by police management, frontline officers were given the opportunity to be cooperative rather than instructed to participate, enabling further interaction from the officers and ultimately further information.

Another strength that may have assisted in gathering data was the gender of the researcher. Work by Horn (1989) and Gurney (1985) noted that a female researcher in a male dominated setting could be construed as less threatening, facilitating further information gathering.

5.5 IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has highlighted some areas that may benefit from further investigation. These are presented next.

With respect to the NZP, there are several implications that emerged from the data. Among them were issues surrounding rural on – off duty, lack of resources, issuing of traffic tickets and

increased administration. These were perceived as factors that affected the experience of policing. The impact of these on policing is probably not new information for the NZP, yet its appearance in the data shows they are still areas that need addressing in both rural and urban areas. It could be proposed that to improve the experience of policing for the officers interviewed, new policies or strategies to help reduce time on administrative and traffic work could be recommended. This would in turn allow more time for the considered 'real' police work and increase job satisfaction. Whether more time spent on what officers consider being 'real' police work would have any noticeable effect on crime is still a matter of debate (Morgan and Newburn, 1997). Yet, increased job satisfaction could assist in retention of staff.

In the wider picture, the implications from this research demonstrate the need for a working relationship to occur not only between the police and the community, but also in the ranks of the organisation of the police and in the justice system. The boundaries placed between different positions and ranks of police need to be adapted to allow for frontline officers to feel heard and supported. As Solar (2001) found, cooperation is necessary for an effective agency. To improve the working relationship the researcher proposes that the NZP could provide a regular forum whereby officers can give their opinions on new policies, acts, procedures that affect their job, where they can speak freely and are given relevant feedback. From these officers' perceptions it could be suggested that the lines of communication in the NZP need improvement. Improved communication and cooperation between ranks may reduce the apparent 'them verus us' attitude, and in the process make frontline officers feel more respected in their job (Chan, 1997).

Academically, the present research has highlighted several interesting points that could be further explored. One of the first areas is the relationship between the police and the justice system in New Zealand. This was one of the main sub-categories that emerged, and an area where no previous literature is available. Its level of importance requires further investigation.

The family and personal life sub-category that emerged from the data was another area where little research is available, especially in regard to the differing experiences in rural and urban areas. The implications of this study suggest that rural police families have additional pressures placed on them. The extent and impact of these pressures were briefly touched on by the present study, and warrant further investigation into its effect on the officer's family, and on the officer.

The core category that derives from the grounded theory analysis often can be used as a base for further qualitative and quantitative studies. Thus the implementation of, or lack of, boundaries could be investigated further through use of survey questions, further interviews or observational studies. Survey questions would allow for a larger sample to be recruited, and hence more

opportunity to obtain a representative sample of NZP officers. Conversely, taking a qualitative approach, observational studies would allow for the researcher to get involved with the officers, enabling a closer perspective of the subject under exploration. In addition, grounded theory analysis in a different sample of rural and urban NZP officers in Northland, or in another police district could be recommended to establish whether the same themes emerge, either supporting the current research or opening more areas to investigate. A different sampling method to 'snowballing' would be recommended to reduce bias. The use of boundaries was actively constructed in the officer's experience of policing, and ultimately affected the way they handled situations and felt about their role and job. Further research could explore the question, "how does the use of boundaries affect NZP officers experience of policing?"

Research in the area of policing in New Zealand is limited, and it is recommended that future research focus not only on rural and urban policing, but also policing in general in this country. This applies to research that occurs inside the NZP and also to outside academic research, which combined will allow for a comprehensive picture of the experience of policing for 'all' officers.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The core process of boundaries, and particularly the lack of boundaries or implementation of boundaries in the daily working life of a police officer, is based on data that emerged from interviews. The foundation to these interviews was the exploration into the experience of policing from rural and urban perspectives. The effect of boundaries on both rural and urban officers' life was apparent throughout the sub-categories that emerged from the data.

Some of the findings provide support for the overseas literature surrounding urban and rural policing, while other findings suggest new areas requiring exploration. The main body of the research confirms that the experience of rural policing differs from urban policing. Differences shown include the approaches taken and styles of policing, emphasising that rural and urban policing requires their own policing style and use of boundaries to be effective. However, the researcher would place these styles on a continuum. There were many shared characteristics and qualities between rural and urban officer role. In essence, rural police officers share the same roles as their urban counterparts but the emphasis placed on each role differs and the strategies used to fulfil these roles also differ. Furthermore, due to the isolation of rural policing and the need for an effective relationship with the community, the boundaries that urban officers set in regards to the public and their family life are harder to maintain for the rural officer.

Working relationships were also fundamental to rural and urban officers in this study, with the rural emphasis on the community and the urban emphasis on colleagues. Rural and urban officers used different boundaries and approaches to be effective in their environment. However, the findings of this research encourage a universal application of the 'working relationship' in the field of policing, to improve the experience of policing for all officers.

Overall, the findings reflect that improved communication, exploration into occupational boundaries and working relationships are required in the NZP to improve the experience of being an officer. It is important to note that the area of rural and urban policing in New Zealand is still relatively untouched, and further exploration is required in this area. This would enable the NZP and academic researchers to gain a clearer picture of policing in New Zealand, and use this knowledge to improve the experience of policing for officers and the community. The current research represents one step towards this goal.

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APPENDIX A

Massey University
AUCKLAND

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR
(Auckland & International)
Private Bag 102 904
North Shore MSC
Auckland
New Zealand
Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Auckland & International)
T 64 9 414 0800 extn 9517
Regional Registrar (Auckland)
T 64 9 414 0800 extn 9516
F 64 9 414 0814
www.massey.ac.nz

31 August 2006

Corinne Fowler
c/- Dr M Williams
College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Massey University
Albany

Dear Corinne

HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL APPLICATION – MUHECN 06/061
"Policing in New Zealand: perspectives of rural and urban police officers"

Thank you for your application. It has been fully considered, and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, a reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Ann Dupuis

Associate-Professor Ann Dupuis
Acting Chair
Human Ethics Committee: Northern

cc: Dr M Williams
College of Humanities and Social Sciences

APPENDIX B

Massey University
Albany Campus
Albany

1st June 2006

Dear District Commander Superintendent Rikard,

I am writing to you with regards to my MSc (Hons) Psychology Thesis Research project.

Allow me first please to introduce myself. My name is Corinne Fowler, and I am currently studying for my MSc (part-time) at Massey University, Albany campus. My primary supervisor is Dr John Buttle (AUT), and my Massey supervisor is Mei Williams. Dr Buttle has a significant interest in policing, and rural crime, and Mei Williams has worked with the Department of Corrections, and specializes in Forensic Psychology.

I have lived in Whangarei for over 5 years, and am very interested in the area of policing, especially community policing, and would like to explore the perspectives of 'rural' and 'urban' policing from the officers viewpoint. Please find attached a proposal explaining the relevance of the study I wish to undertake.

The subsequent findings would enable me to establish what is important, to NZP officers in the areas of 'rural' and 'urban' policing, with respect to roles, limitations, rewards and expectations. The information gained, could be used to improve the policing experience for the individual in these two areas, not only enhancing the working environment for current officers, but also assisting and preparing new officers who have moved into these areas.

To be able to implement this research it is essential for me to gain consent, from yourself, to access potential participants currently working in Northland NZP. This, along with the approval from Massey University's Human Ethics Committee will be gained before the research will commence. Confidentiality of the participants, and subsequent interviews, will be respected, under these agreements. Furthermore, in line with the MoU between the NZPRL and Massey University a copy of the thesis will be made available to the NZP.

If you have any further questions or queries with regard to this research, please contact myself [redacted] or Dr Buttle ([redacted]

I appreciate any assistance that you can give me in this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Corinne Fowler

APPENDIX C

Policing New Zealand: Perspectives of Rural and Urban Police Officers

"Urban police are often portrayed as outsiders, while rural law enforcement officers are portrayed as more integrated into their communities" (Winfree & Taylor, 2004, p.242).

Community policing is a growing topic of interest, especially in the fields of management, sociology and psychology, with most of the current literature taken from studies based in the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK). Yet, how relevant are these in comparison to a country like New Zealand (NZ)?

New Zealand police (NZP) is in a rare position today, whereby it has a centralized police structure, which from the 1980's has concentrated on a community-orientated policing style. This differs considerably from the federal, state and city law system in the US, and county centralization in the UK.

Research into community policing in NZ has been modest, with one of the first studies conducted in 1999 by Winfree and Newbold. They explored job satisfaction and perceptions of supervisory support in the NZP, using survey information. Later, in 2004, Winfree, with Taylor, used the same data to explore differential outlooks from officers in designated 'rural', 'small town' and 'metropolitan' areas. They looked at personal and biographical characteristics, perceptions on work-related dimensions, and differences when comparing these factors. Winfree and Taylor inferred that with the exception of 'specialized training' there was little difference between 'rural' police and their 'metropolitan' counterparts. Yet, this work was criticized by Goddard and Jaeger (2005), who stated that the national survey used by Winfree and Taylor lacked the sensitivity to detect the differences between the 'rural' and 'urban' policing experience in the NZ context. This proposed research project will attempt to resolve this debate by asking and answering the following question, *"does the experience of policing differ for 'rural' officers and their 'urban' counterparts?"*

By exploring this question we can start to identify, from the officers viewpoint, what they consider their role and experiences to be, including the expectations, limitations and rewards connected to their 'rural' or 'urban' NZP placement. These findings will enable us to look at what NZP can offer potential and current officers in 'rural' and 'urban' policing, highlighting areas of importance for the individual working on the NZP frontline.

For this study, Northland was chosen to represent the 'rural' district, due to being the second smallest district in NZ, with over half its stations being sole or dual charged in remote areas, with smaller populations. Auckland City, was chosen as the 'urban' counterpart, as it covers a small geographical area, but has a considerable larger population.

To fully appreciate and explore the officer's experience of policing, a qualitative approach, Grounded Theory (GT), was selected. GT allows the researcher to develop a rich description of the experiences discussed. The theory emerges and is grounded in the verbal data. Data collection involves a semi-structured interview, based around the experiences, expectations, limitations and rewards of the NZP office

APPENDIX D

New Zealand POLICE
Nga Pirihimana O Aotearoa

NORTHLAND
Kaha Ngātahi - Forward Together

10 August 2006

Corinne Fowler
School of Psychology
Private Bag 102 904
North Shore MSC
AUCKLAND

Dear Corinne

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 07 August 2006, regarding your current study and your request to study policing with particular emphasis on community policing and the perspectives of rural and urban policing from an officer's point of view.

On the face of it, your research sounds promising and one that could add significant value to the organisation.

Within New Zealand Police, we have a process to consider 'higher level' research. As a result, I would like to refer you to our Research and Evaluation Steering Committee, which is currently headed up by Assistant Commissioner Roger Carson. The key contact points are Dr John Locker (john.locker@police.govt.nz) and Bea Makwana (bea.makwana@police.govt.nz).

I have taken the liberty of including our application process and have also sent a copy of your letter to our Research and Evaluation Steering Committee so they are aware of your request. You will note you will be required to submit a proposal in hard copy and they may require further detail from you.

So, I wish you all the best in terms of your application. If approved I certainly look forward to catching up with you.

Yours sincerely

Viv Rickard
Superintendent
DISTRICT COMMANDER

APPENDIX E

New Zealand POLICE
Nga Pirihimana O Aotearoa

TO: ALL DISTRICT COMMANDERS

FROM: ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER HOWARD BROAD

DATE: 22 FEBRUARY 2006

SUBJECT: CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITHIN THE POLICE ORGANISATION

For information:

In order to coordinate and manage the diverse range of research requests which are made to Police, the organisation has an official review process (included in the attached diagram). This process is overseen by the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee (RESC), located at The Office of the Commissioner, Wellington. RESC, which has broad-ranging expertise in research and evaluation, reviews all 'higher level' research proposals to ensure that they are theoretically and methodologically rigorous, are of interest/use to the Police, and are aligned to its strategic objectives.

It is understood that some research and evaluation is undertaken by students and researchers out in Police districts who have not been through the RESC approval process. This is unproblematic in cases where research requests are is of a 'lesser status' (that is, school project work involving Police, through to undergraduate student work - stage three or below - where the research is intended for no other purpose than the completion of coursework, and is not of high public interest or sensitive in nature). Districts have discretion to deal with such requests. However, in the case of 'higher status' postgraduate work (Masters or PhD level), requests from professional external researchers, or where the proposed research is of potential concern owing to its subject matter, all such submissions need to be considered by RESC. Research of this type, which has not been properly vetted, can pose numerous potential risks for the Police organisation. It is therefore extremely important to ensure that all 'higher status' research requests are directed to RESC. (Once RESC has approved a piece of proposed research in principle, it will then assist researchers in negotiating access to specific groups, areas or districts within Police).

Coordination of 'higher level' research proposals through the RESC process is beneficial to the organisation in a number of ways: for instance, as a central body RESC is able to ensure that work is not being duplicated (and can therefore reduce the burden to district staff of unnecessary research); moreover, the administration of 'higher level' projects through RESC ensures that research findings are known to Police at a national level and are able to be accessed by, and distributed to, all interested parties, therefore benefiting the organisation more broadly.

New Zealand POLICE
Nga Pirihimana O Aotearoa

To these ends please can you ensure that all 'higher level' students and researchers (that is postgraduate masters and PhD students, or professional researchers), who make requests to staff in your district for access to Police data or personnel, are referred on to RESC for consideration (via Dr John Locker, DDI: 04 470 7241, john.locker@police.govt.nz or Bea Makwana, DDI: 04 470 7234, bea.makwana@police.govt.nz Evaluation Unit, Office of the Commissioner, Wellington). If in doubt about a specific research project please contact either of the above for resolution.

Please distribute this information within your districts to Area Commanders and other relevant personnel. Your cooperation in this matter is appreciated.

Yours sincerely

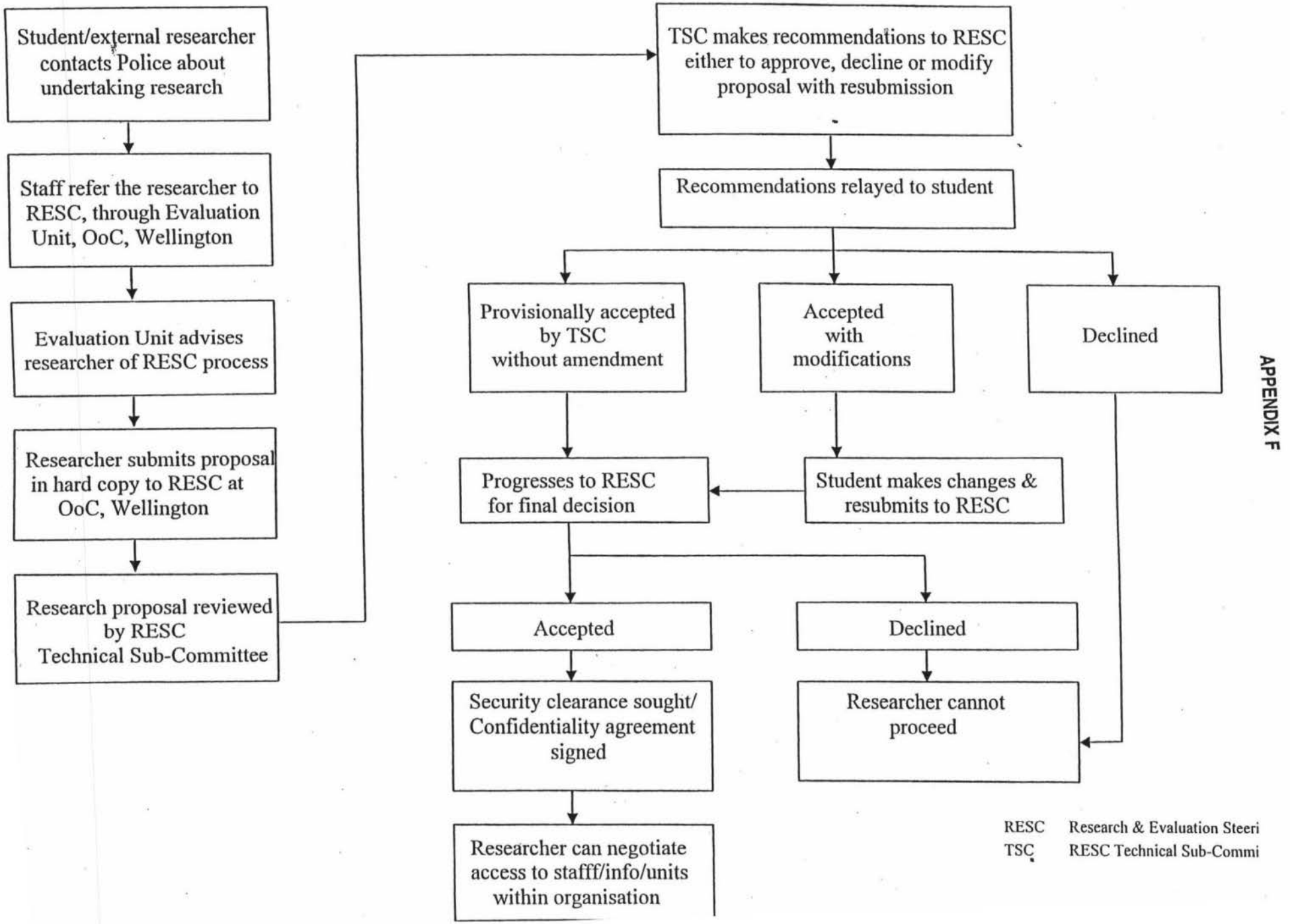
Howard Broad
Assistant Commissioner
Chair of RESC

Safer Communities Together

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER

180 Molesworth Street, PO Box 3017, Wellington, New Zealand
Telephone: 64-4-474 9499, Facsimile: 64-4-498 7400 http://www.police.govt.nz

APPLICATION PROCESS (FOR 'HIGHER LEVEL' RESEARCH)



APPENDIX F

RESC Research & Evaluation Steeri
TSC RESC Technical Sub-Commi

APPENDIX G

[redacted]
Whangarei

17th August 2006

Dear Inspector Mitchell,

I am writing to you with regards to my MSc (Hons) Psychology Thesis Research project.

Allow me first please to introduce myself. My name is Corinne Fowler, and I am currently studying for my MSc (part-time) at Massey University, Albany campus. My primary supervisor is Dr John Buttle (AUT), and my Massey supervisor is Mei Williams. Dr Buttle has a significant interest in policing, and rural crime, and Mei Williams has worked with the Department of Corrections, and specializes in Forensic Psychology.

I have lived in Whangarei for over 5 years, and am very interested in the area of policing, especially community policing, and would like to explore the perspectives of 'rural' and 'urban' policing from the officers viewpoint. Please find attached a proposal explaining the relevance of the study I wish to undertake.

The subsequent findings would enable me to establish what is important, to NZP officers in the areas of 'rural' and 'urban' policing, with respect to roles, limitations, rewards and expectations. The information gained, could be used to improve the policing experience for the individual in these two areas, not only enhancing the working environment for current officers, but also assisting and preparing new officers who have moved into these areas.

To be able to implement this research it is essential for me to gain consent, from yourself, to access potential participants currently working in Auckland City NZP. I have already sent a copy of this letter, and proposal, to District Commander Superintendent Rickard (Northland NZP). In addition, I am currently in the process of contacting the NZP's Research and Evaluation Steering Committee with respect to this project. This, along with the approval from Massey University's Human Ethics Committee will be gained before the research will commence. Confidentiality of the participants, and subsequent interviews, will be respected, under these agreements. Furthermore, in line with the MoU between the NZPRL and Massey University a copy of the thesis will be made available to the NZP. This research may also be used in further publication.

If you have any further questions or queries with regard to this research, please contact myself [redacted] or Dr Buttle ([redacted]

I appreciate any assistance that you can give me in this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Corinne Fowler

APPENDIX H

NZ Police Research and Evaluation Steering Committee

Comment on the proposal "Policing NZ: Comparing the perspectives of rural and urban Police officers"

Researcher: Corinne Fowler

While the topic is of interest to NZ Police we are not confident that this research will provide information of sufficient benefit to justify the input being asked of Police personnel. We have not received a sufficiently clear or detailed proposal to enable us to come to a decision. In particular:

1 We would like to see evidence that you have sufficient understanding the work of policing, and of the issues relating to rural and urban policing which have been documented in the literature. We would expect coverage of the issues in much more depth in the proposal.

2 We would like to see further information that demonstrates your understanding of grounded theory. Will the method be used fully or partially? Does a small sample size result in limitations in successfully using this method?

3 We would like to see more detailed research questions and topics that would be covered in the interviews, to confirm that the interviews will be in the scope of the research objectives.

4 You have given a somewhat confused explanation of recruitment of the sample and the sample frame in the additional information you provided. For example you state that 'officers holding a rank of inspector or above will be ruled out of selection', and later that frontline constables will be eligible to participate. As well as incorporating this information clearly into the proposal, we suggest that you provide us with a draft letter to Area Commanders which explains clearly the purposes of the research, how you intend to recruit your sample, and requests their co-operation.

5 The basis for the three sizes of Police station is not clear. It would be important to stratify your sample using actual information relating to the numbers of personnel in existing Police stations.

6 We believe potential participants should be provided with information sheets explaining, for example, the purpose of the research, the recruitment and interviewing process, how the information will be handled and reported and giving your and your supervisor's contact details. We suggest that you provide us with a draft of such an information sheet.

7 We suggest that participants be provided with a copy of their transcript to review and change should they so wish.

8 We would like to see detail on the security of electronically stored information.

9 Note that if you wish to have access to Police personnel for your research:

(a) you will be required to complete a confidentiality deed and undergo a security clearance.

(b) you will need the approval of the relevant District Commanders.

We will assist with these requirements should your proposal be approved.

10 We would appreciate being given the opportunity to review your draft thesis and to receive a copy of the final thesis.

11 Would you please provide further details of your own background and that of your project supervisor, including her contact details so that our comments can be forwarded to her?

Contact: Alison Chetwin
Evaluation Manager
NZ Police
Police National Headquarters
180 Molesworth St
PO Box 3017
Wellington

Email: [redacted]
DDI: [redacted]

31 October 2006

APPENDIX I

Whangarei Heads Rd,
RD4, Parua Bay,
Whangarei

6th March 2007

Dear District Commander Superintendent Rusbatch,

I am writing to you with regards to my MSc (Hons) Psychology Thesis Research project.

Allow me first please to introduce myself. My name is Corinne Fowler, and I am currently studying for my MSc (part-time) at Massey University, Albany campus. My Massey supervisor is Mei Williams, and my secondary supervisor is Dr John Buttle (AUT). Dr Buttle has a significant interest in policing, and rural crime, and Mei Williams has worked with the Department of Corrections, and specializes in Forensic Psychology.

I have lived in Whangarei for over 6 years, and am very interested in the area of policing, especially community policing, and would like to explore the perspectives of 'rural' and 'urban' policing from the officers viewpoint. Please find attached the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee proposal explaining the relevance of the study I wish to undertake.

The subsequent findings would enable me to establish what is important, to NZP officers in the areas of 'rural' and 'urban' policing in Northland, with respect to roles, limitations, rewards and expectations. The information gained could be used to improve the policing experience for the individual, not only enhancing the working environment for current officers, but also assisting and preparing new officers who have moved into these areas.

To be able to implement this research it is essential for me to gain consent, from yourself, to access potential participants currently working in Northland NZP. I have been in contact with, and gained provisional approval for my research through, the NZP's Research and Evaluation Steering Committee. In addition, approval from Massey University's Human Ethics Committee has be gained, based on subsequent approval by the NZP. Confidentiality of the participants, and subsequent interviews, will be respected, under these agreements. Furthermore, in line with the MoU between the NZPRL and Massey University a copy of the thesis will be made available to the NZP. This research may also be used in further publication.

If you have any further questions or queries with regard to this research, please contact myself [redacted] or Dr Buttle ([redacted]

I appreciate your time and consideration of this request, and look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully,

Corinne Fowler

APPENDIX J

Dear Constable X,

Please let me introduce myself, my name is Corinne Fowler, and I am completing my final year of my MSc (Hons) Psychology Thesis.

I have chosen to explore the experience of policing for officers in rural and urban placements in Northland. Please find attached an information sheet explaining my research.

This research has been sanctioned by the New Zealand Police, through approval from the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee, and Northland's District Commander Superintendent Rusbatch.

There are only a limited number of rural, 1-2 person stations in Northland, including the one that you police. I was hoping that you may be able to spare a little over half an hour of your time, at a date and time convenient to you, to speak to me about your experiences. Your input would be gratefully received.

In addition I have forwarded this email to your area commander to keep him informed of my request.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me via e-mail or on my mobile [redacted] In addition my supervisors contact numbers are included in the attachment.

Thank you for your time and consideration of this request.

Kind regards

Please note: The e-mail sent to rural officers contained the sentence in the fourth paragraph in italics. For the urban officers this sentence was removed.

APPENDIX K

Policing New Zealand: Perspectives of Rural and Urban Police Officers

INFORMATION SHEET

Thank you for your interest in my research. I am Corinne Fowler and this is my Psychology Master's thesis, which I am completing through Massey University, Albany. However I am conducting my principal research in Northland, as this is my present base. My primary supervisor for this research is Dr John Buttle (AUT, Auckland University of Technology), and my Massey University supervisor is Mei Williams, who is based at the Albany campus.

This study aims to explore the viewpoints of police officers with respect to the roles, expectations, limitations and rewards experienced in their working environment, specifically comparing rural and urban areas. I am interested in looking at policing from your perspective; to highlight areas of importance to you. This will increase the understanding of rural and urban policing in the New Zealand Police (NZP), and be used in improving these areas of policing for potential and current officers.

I am looking for approximately 16 officers (8 from Whangarei Station, 8 from Peripheral stations based in Northland) who are currently working on the 'frontline' of the NZP. Frontline officers are chosen as the designated sample, as they are faced with the current day-to-day concerns of being an officer, working for the community and being part of the community.

You will be invited to participate in an interview, conducted either on your work premises or at a location of your choice. This interview will take approximately 30 to 90 minutes of your time, and will be audio taped (unless otherwise requested).

Once the transcription of the interview has been completed by myself, the tape will be erased, and your identity will be concealed through a coding system. Your identity will be concealed under a pseudonym. A transcript of the interview can be viewed before initial analysis starts at your request. Analysis of the data collected will be undertaken by myself, under the guidance of supervision. Any raw data, will remain confidential, and be stored securely and only be accessible to myself, as the researcher, and my supervisor. All written reports are submitted through my supervisor first. After the completion of the thesis, the transcript data will be stored securely by the supervisor, and then destroyed after 5 years.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. However, if you would like to participate, you have the right at all times to decline to answer any particular question(s), withdraw from the study, to ask any questions about the research, to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview and to have access to a copy of the transcript to review and edit, at your request. A copy of the master's thesis will be accessible to the NZP. Tapes will be used for transcribing purposes specifically for this research. Information provided by yourself will be given on the understanding that your name will not be used, your confidentiality is guaranteed.

If you have any questions surrounding this research project, prior to, or post, interview please contact Corinne [redacted]

Alternatively, my supervisor Dr John Buttle is available to help with any queries. His contact number is ([redacted]) In addition, Mei Williams is available on (09) 414-0800 extn 41222, or e-mail M.W.Williams@massey.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 06/061. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Kerry Chamberlain, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09-414-0800 extn 41226, e-mail humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

APPENDIX L

Policing New Zealand: Perspectives of Rural and Urban Police Officers

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree/ do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree that the data from the transcripts can be used for future research.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: Date:

Full Name (printed):

APPENDIX M

Policing New Zealand: Perspectives of Rural and Urban Police Officers

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Please complete the details below:

Age:	
Sex:	
Ethnicity:	
Marital Status:	

Current NZP rank:	
No. of years employed as NZP officer:	

Please list in column 1 the stations that you have worked in from your current station to your first placement, & answer the questions in columns 2-4.

Station	Would you consider this Urban or Rural?	How many years have you worked here?	Primary Role / duties

Any information collected is strictly confidential and will not be divulged to third parties.

APPENDIX N

Interview Prompts

General:

- Tell me, from your point of view, the difference between rural and urban policing. Can you explain them both to me?
- Why did you choose to work in this station? Compare w different types of rural (ie, 1 vs 2 man) & urban stations
- Describe the differences between when you started as an a officer and now
- What would you say is the main advantages / drawbacks between rural and urban policing?

Expectations

- What in your opinion are the expectations of working as an officer in a rural/urban area?
- How does this/do these compare with management / community views?
- Have you as an officer changed your approach / attitude due to these expectations? If so in what way?
- Describe your role as an officer – skills / abilities (& have these changed?)

Limitations

- What would you say in your experience are the main boundaries / obstacles in your job?
- Do you feel that these may effect you achieving your goals / expectations? In what way? Can you give me an example?

Rewards

- Which part of policing gives you as an officer the most satisfaction?
- Describe the last positive experience you had whilst on duty

Balance

- What affect does policing have on your free time & home life? Friends?
- How do you think this could be improved?

APPENDIX O

Dear X

Thank you very much for participating in my thesis project.

I realize that time is precious, especially in your job, and am grateful for allowing me to interview you.

Analysis will be completed by the beginning of next year, and I am hoping that the final thesis will be completed mid year 2008. A copy of my thesis will be given to Northland NZP at this stage.

Thanks again.

Your time and assistance was much appreciated.

Kind regards

APPENDIX P

Analysis Table

Broad Categories	Sub Categories / Themes	Verbatim Coding	Final Categories	Core Social Process
Administration	- Quality of files - Quantity of files - Paperwork not being dealt with - Priority of work - Need for information - Consequences of administration		Job Role	BOUNDARIES – The lack of boundaries, and the need for implementation of boundaries, in the daily life of a police officer.
Job Position	- Career decisions - Change in the role - Diversity - Guidelines - Job satisfaction - Support - First position / newbies - Promotion / moving job - Skills / Training - Tailoring to job		Job Role	
Job Role	- Miscellaneous - Recruitment - Accountability - Attitude - Challenge - Learning / deep end - Duties / shifts - Expectations - Follow through - Independent vs. Team - Known vs. unknown - Limitations - Measures of work - Save the world vs. realism - Skills (talk vs. action) - Support		Job Role	

Broad Categories	Sub Categories / Themes	Verbatim Coding	Final Categories	Core Social Process
Traffic	- Effect on the community - Part of the job / or not - Allowances - Quota		Job Role	BOUNDARIES – The lack of boundaries, and the need for implementation of boundaries, in the daily life of a police officer.
Community	- Attitudes of the community - Boundaries in the community - Communication skills - Expectations - Gratitude - Information / education - Our cop - Ownership - Building relationships - Safety - Size of stations / areas - Support - Visibility		Community Relations	
Resources	- On call / shifts - Station - Staff (relievers and new) - Tools - Pay - Budgets		Safety	
Justice	- In house justice - Court - Bargaining pleas / deals - Youth crime - Complaints		Judicial System	
Criminal/s	- Un / catchable - Talking to the police - Gauging the criminal - Dealt with fairly / doing deals - Pro-activity - Crime		Judicial System	

Broad Categories	Sub Categories / Themes	Verbatim Coding	Final Categories	Core Social Process
Family	- Talking to you off duty / 24-7 - Safety - Shifts - Non / hassle of family - Leisure / lifestyle - Support - Integration - Boundaries - Friends - Study		Personal and Family Life	BOUNDARIES – The lack of boundaries, and the need for implementation of boundaries, in the daily life of a police officer.
Management	- Accountability - Expectations - Feedback (including appraisals) - Support - Listening - Changes - Power / authority		Management	
Media	- Swaying the public - Exception to the rule -Examples - Damage (positive & negative)		Community Relations	
Safety	- Force vs. talk - Isolation - Toys / tolls - Back up - Knowledge - Attacks / incidents - Community - Debrief - Women		Safety	
Personal	- Job choice - Being your own boss - Own style - Safety - Team		Personal and Family Life	

Broad Categories	Sub Categories / Themes	Verbatim Coding	Final Categories	Core Social Process
Police	- Police culture - War stories - Camaraderie - Arse covering / defensive - Evidence - Back up - Support - Interaction - Job satisfaction - Policy - Attitudes - 24/7 - Respect - Development / growth of officers		Police Culture	BOUNDARIES – The lack of boundaries, and the need for implementation of boundaries, in the daily life of a police officer.
Procedures	- Evidence - Intelligence driven - Paperwork - Confrontation - Complaints - Experience - New acts / policies		Job Role	