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REQUIREMENTS OF POLICE MANAGERS AND LEADERS FROM SERGEANT TO COMMISSIONER

John Casey and Margaret Mitchell

Senior officers in Australian police agencies are responsible for complex organisations that function within an increasingly uncertain environment in which law and order politics have taken on an even greater salience (Edwards 2004; Findlay 2004). This chapter considers the skills, knowledge and attitudes required by police managers and leaders at each level of the hierarchy of responsibility. Each level of promotion provides new challenges for frontline officers moving into management roles as they begin to deal with more complex responsibilities, greater ambiguities, and the increased public exposure that goes with senior management and leadership in police organisations. The brief of police managers and more senior police officers can be particularly difficult due to a relative lack of comparable experience in other work settings, since they are likely to have spent their entire careers in one policing organisation. Moreover, these organisations have only recently sought to shake off a long tradition of command and control structures and, due to this working culture, aspiring managers and leaders may not have been overtly encouraged or rewarded for the skills needed to manage and lead large contemporary policing organisations (Murray 2002; Lee & Punch 2004).

Management and leadership are conceptually different, but senior officers need to be adept at both in order to effectively deliver the range of policing programs and strategies and to steer their organisations through the dual dynamics of close scrutiny and constant change that typify contemporary Australian policing. In an attempt to categorise the expectations of managers, individual jurisdictions have defined what officers at each level would be expected to do. In addition, as a foundation to allow more cross-jurisdictional permeability, the Australasian Police Professional Standards Council (APPSC) a coordinating entity created by the Australian and New

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Zealand police agencies, has also developed a taxonomy of levels of management and leadership (APPSC 2006a; 2006d). To augment our understanding of police management and leadership in its wider context, we will also examine the Australian Public Service Integrated Leadership System (Australian Public Service Commission 2006), which provides a highly detailed taxonomy through which to understand the management and leadership capabilities expected at each level of responsibility in public organisations. But first we will look at the wider context of contemporary Australian policing, and the changes that have occurred in its functioning and culture which are of relevance to the work of its managers and leaders.

Australian police organisations

Police agencies in Australia are relatively large organisations when compared with other Australian government departments and police agencies overseas (see Table 1.1, below, Australian State and Territory police personnel and expenditure). Public order and public safety accounts for some 10 per cent of public spending in Australian States although the percentage allocated to policing varies between States. Typically public order and safety is the third largest expense after education and health, which each account for about 20 to 25 per cent (Australian Productivity Commission 2006). Australian police agencies are smaller than many overseas national and metropolitan agencies, for example the French *Gendarmerie* has 93,000 officers and the London Metropolitan Police has 30,000, although are considerably larger than most regional and local agencies in the US and UK where policing is based on small and overlapping territorial jurisdictions.

Table 1.1: Personnel and expenditures in Australian policing

	ACT*	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Total personnel including sworn and civilian staff	802	18,503	1340	11,950	4861	1504	13,035	6172
Total expenditure in \$millions	92.6	1940.9	158.7	1053.3	480.8	138.8	1332.9	676.9

* Australian Capital Territory (ACT) local policing only; figure does not include Australian Federal Police which has approx 3500 staff (in national and international posts).

Source: Authors, based on figures from Australian Productivity Commission (2006) & AIC (2006)

Unlike other public and private organisations of a similar size, police agencies are still almost like ‘artisan’ entities (Lee & Punch 2004), relatively isolated from outside influences to the ‘craft’ of policing. Indeed the Royal Commission into whether there has been Corrupt or Criminal Conduct by any Western Australian Police Officer (Kennedy 2004) observed that policing operates in a ‘vacuum ... cloistered from the wider public service’

(Vol II, p 170). While civilianisation of some positions has brought into the organisation staff with experience in other agencies and professions, more than 70 per cent of employees of police agencies are sworn officers, and the relatively few civilians generally occupy administrative positions.

Sworn officers enter as young recruits and then stay in one agency throughout their policing career. Despite efforts to create lateral entry systems between Australian jurisdictions it has not yet been achieved. The picture is, however, changing. In Western Australia for instance, there are multiple entry pathways to join the organisation, for example through the cadet program and, through the new University degree pathway created in partnership with Edith Cowan University. Further, during 2006, officers at different levels of seniority joined directly from a range of English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish police organisations and became sworn officers of Western Australia Police after 12 weeks of Academy training in State legislation and Western Australia Police systems and standard operating procedures. This same pathway into policing has been adopted in New Zealand and in South Australia. The recruitment and retention crisis in Australian policing which has affected some States more than others requires both lateral entry and lateral thinking to create solutions.

Commissioners can be appointed from other jurisdictions and, in recent years, some senior cross-jurisdictional appointments have been made, and some have also been appointed from overseas. The home page of the APPSC website prominently displays a link to an Australasian Police Vacancies webpage which promotes cross-jurisdiction mobility. This has not yet been embraced by jurisdictions and a search of the listings on the webpage reveal that all the managerial positions advertised since the page was launched in early 2004, are from either the Western Australia Police or the Australian Federal Police (APPSC 2006a). Even within one jurisdiction, it can be difficult for a sworn officer to occupy a civilian public service position within law enforcement, crime prevention or corruption investigation without resigning from their police rank and losing many of the acquired benefits. This relative lack of permeability of policing severely restricts the scope for exchange of ideas and experiences between police and other organisations, and curtails the opportunity for managers and would-be managers to learn in other work settings.

Despite their relative isolation, police agencies have been the focus of the same changes as have other public agencies, and the past 20 years has seen constant reform of the public sector. Public sector agencies have moved from a public *administration* framework, emphasising inputs and the correct implementation of rules using bureaucratic processes, to a *New Public Management* approach focusing on outputs and on the tacit contract between government and the public to provide efficient and effective services. More recently public sector reform has moved to a *governance* approach focusing on outcomes, accountabilities and on providing public goods through networks of public, non-profit and private sector organisations (Long 2003; Fleming & Rhodes 2004). Although policing in Australia has not experienced

the same level of funding constraint or outsourcing as have most other public agencies, many of the fundamental organisational concepts of public sector reform have been adopted, as reflected in the emergence of new operating discourses such as the 'governance of security' (Wood & Dupont 2006).

Change in Australian policing has also been driven by cycles of scandals, investigating inquiries and commissions with substantial recommendations for reform. Major inquiries or royal commissions have taken place in at least one of the Australian States every five to eight years (McDonnell 2001). In fact the propensity for expensive and far-reaching royal commissions, not only in policing, could be thought of as a characteristic of the Australian political landscape. Each inquiry or commission has focused on policing in that one jurisdiction, however, the outcomes and recommendations have influenced and driven reform in other States. The Fitzgerald Inquiry in Queensland (1989), the Wood Royal Commission in New South Wales (1997) and the Kennedy Royal Commission in Western Australia (2004) have each made recommendations unique to their particular jurisdictions. They are, however, also based on general public sector reform frameworks and have relevance for organisational structures and operational directions throughout Australian police agencies. The royal commissions and inquiries are both a cause and a symptom of the greater external scrutiny, oversight and accountability that contemporary policing must respond to under contemporary governance regimes. They have also been instrumental in moving police management away from traditional command and control structures.

Each of these profound changes in the internal and, importantly, the external environment of policing in Australia have implications for the skills, knowledge and style of management and leadership that are appropriate to contemporary policing – as former New South Wales Commissioner, Peter Ryan called it, creating and managing an organisational context of 'dynamic stability'.

The skills and capacities required of police leaders and managers

[Senior staff in the public sector] require a mixture of technical and management expertise as well as leadership capabilities ... the precise balance will depend on the level of seniority (Australian Public Service Commission 2004, p 7).

The skills and capacities needed to manage agencies operating within new governance and accountability frameworks are very different than those required under the traditional command and control structures. There is now more of an emphasis on the social skills of communication, cooperation across the agency and externally, on the ability to motivate staff, on the critical thinking skills required for operating in a complex work environment, and on democratic styles of leadership that promote trust and consultation (Murray 2002; Lee & Punch 2004). New Public Management had tended to

place primary emphasis on the more narrowly focused outputs management elements of senior police responsibilities (Long 2003), but the broader scope of governance has again brought to the foreground the need for operational leadership. Police managers and leaders at all levels are subject to far greater pressure to deliver high-level performance in a context of conflicting priorities, and one could argue that the stakes are particularly high for management and leadership in policing. Externally, the level of political and community concern over public order and crime ensures close and continual scrutiny of what the organisation is achieving. Dupont's (2006) observation that the role of police commissioners has evolved from that of 'caretakers' to 'innovators and change implementers' can be applied equally to all managerial ranks. As Edwards (2004) notes:

At the same time as command has been devolved downwards so that local senior officers have far more responsibility for the manner of policing in their area, their actions are more tightly constrained than ever and inspectors and superintendents are subject to far more accountability procedures than even before (Edwards 2004, p 310).

In the following we will try to draw out the distinction between the roles, skills and capacities of managers and leaders. On the surface, managers and leaders share a goal of achieving the objectives of the organisation, although their primary focus will differ. Managers, it could be said, emphasise the efficient and effective allocation and control of resources – importantly human resources – to achieve objectives, while leaders have the capacity to influence others and to combine individuals and resources to determine strategic directions. Management is task-oriented and focuses more on administering existing policies and procedures, while leadership is more people-oriented and seeks to innovate by developing the policies and procedures of the future and by motivating and inspiring staff (Macdonald 1995; Long 2003).

While management and leadership are different, most of those in positions of responsibility tend to possess a combination of the capabilities and expertise of both (National Institute for Governance 2003, p 4). We can conceive of a manager without leadership qualities – one who effectively organises resources to deliver determined outputs, but lacks the aptitude to lead others; and a leader without the capabilities of a good manager – the charismatic visionary who boldly moves the organisation in new directions, but is not a 'details person'. In practice it is unlikely that a good manager does not display leadership qualities and that a good leader does not have a mastery of managerial skills. Many authors emphasise the differences between management and leadership – and some even regard managers and leaders as separate individuals within an organisation – but in fact mastery of both facets is needed for a successful career in most organisations.

Both management and leadership have behavioural and functional dimensions: the behavioural dimension encompasses the innate and learned qualities of managers and leaders, while the functional dimension involves the technical skills and capabilities related to the tasks that must be performed at each level. Management theories tend to emphasise the functional

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dimension, and the focus has been on developing inventories of managers' responsibilities and roles that answer the question: what does a manager do? Adams and Beck (2001) in their study on the critical behaviours needed by police managers in Australia used the classification of managerial functions developed by Luthan (1995 in Adams and Beck 2001, p 2) and the definition of managerial roles developed by Mintzberg (1973 in Adams and Beck 2001, p 5) to construct a framework which describes the dimensions of police management behaviours. Table 1.2 compares the inventories of Adams and Beck, Luthan and Mintzberg.

Table 1.2: Comparison of Adams & Beck, Luthan and Mintzberg

Adams & Beck's Dimensions	Luthan's Managerial Behaviours	Mintzberg's Managerial Roles
Traditional Management	Planning; coordinating; decision-making; problem solving; controlling; monitoring	Resource allocator; entrepreneur; disturbance handler; monitor
Human Resources Management	Motivating; reinforcing; disciplining; managing conflict; staffing; training; developing	Leader
Routine Communication	Exchanging information; handling paperwork	Disseminator
Networking	Interacting with outsiders; socialising; politicking	Spokesman; negotiator; figurehead; liaison

Source: Authors, based on Adams and Beck (2001)

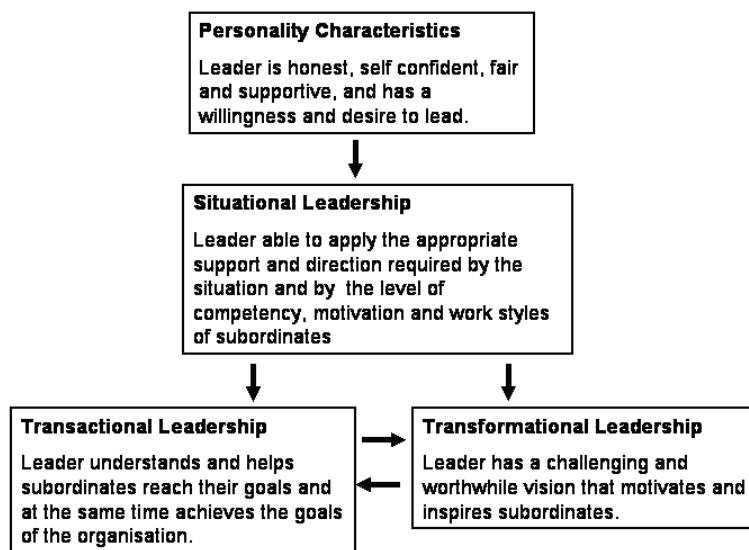
In contrast, leadership theories emphasise behavioural qualities and analyse how these qualities can be used to drive effective practice in an organisation. There has been an evolution from early theories that focused only on cataloguing the personality characteristics of leaders to current theories that emphasise the situational and contingency nature of leadership and how these impact on the behaviours required by leaders (Cacioppe 1998; Centrex 2006). Leadership theories can be classified as follows:

- **Trait theories** – lists trait or qualities associated with leadership. They describe the traits, some innate some learned, of those destined to lead.
- **Behaviourist theories** – translate traits into patterns of behaviour that are categorised as 'styles' (eg autocratic, delegative, and democratic).
- **Situational and Contingency theories** – leadership is specific to the situation in which it is exercised. Analysing situational variables, such as the competency of subordinates, the organisational culture, etc, can assist in predicting the most appropriate leadership style for a given circumstance.

Current contingency theories focus more on the outcomes of leadership. *Transactional* leadership seeks to ensure effective outcomes of current goals, by maximising efficiency and reinforcing the bottom line, while *transformational* leadership creates future visions and drives organisational change by releasing potential and transcending daily affairs (Cacioppe 1998; Densten 2003; Long 2003; Centrex 2006). Figure 1.1 shows the relationship between the different elements of leadership theories.

A comparison of Table 1.2 (page 9) and Figure 1.1, below, demonstrates that, despite the conceptual differences, there is considerable crossover between management and leadership theories. For example in Table 1.2, one of Mintzberg’s managerial roles is that of leader, and some of the Luthan’s managerial behaviours, such as motivating and politicking, are more commonly associated with leadership. It may be that the point of inflection between management and leadership is this shift from transactional to transformational leadership. While senior officers focus primarily on the transactional aspects of effectively administrating within the current parameters of the organisation, they are more managers than leaders, but when the focus shifts to the transformational and to the implementation of change, then an officer becomes more explicitly a leader. The need for more transformational leadership in policing has become a central theme of current police leadership dialogues, and the development of transformational culture is seen as crucial element in ensuring that policing continues to reform

Figure 1.1: The relationship between the elements of leadership theories



Source: Author, adapted from Cacioppe (1998)

itself in response to the changing social and political realities (Murray 2002; Negus 2002; Long 2003; Centrex 2006).

Both management *and* leadership capabilities, along with the requisite technical expertise, are necessary throughout an officer's career. However there are differing views as to how they relate to each other. One view is that as one rises up the hierarchy, the technical skills of the front-line officer gives way to a need for the managerial skills of middle ranking officers, which then give way to the need for leadership skills in senior officers. In contrast to this orderly sequence, is the recognition that leadership is necessary at all ranks and so officers need to demonstrate leadership early in their career. Equally, technical and managerial skills continue to be important at all levels of seniority. In fact, the Australian Public Service Integrated Leadership System (Australian Public Service Commission 2006) emphasises the integration of leadership and management at each of the professional level of Public Service (PS), the middle-management level of Executive Leaders (EL) and for roles in the Senior Executive Service (SES). Figure 1.2 (over the page) shows how the skills are combined at each level.

In the same vein, the model used by the English and Welsh police leadership program at Central Police Training and Development Authority (Centrex), is based on a concept of 'cradle-to-grave' leadership, on the basis that policing at all ranks confers a responsibility to lead. As one Director of Leadership at Centrex has stated:

We need to accept the reality that senior ranks have significantly less direct contact with staff. The person who has the most contact may be a personnel manager, control room operator or perhaps the station sergeant. The positive implications from developing leadership skills in these colleagues would be dramatic (Police Professional 2005).

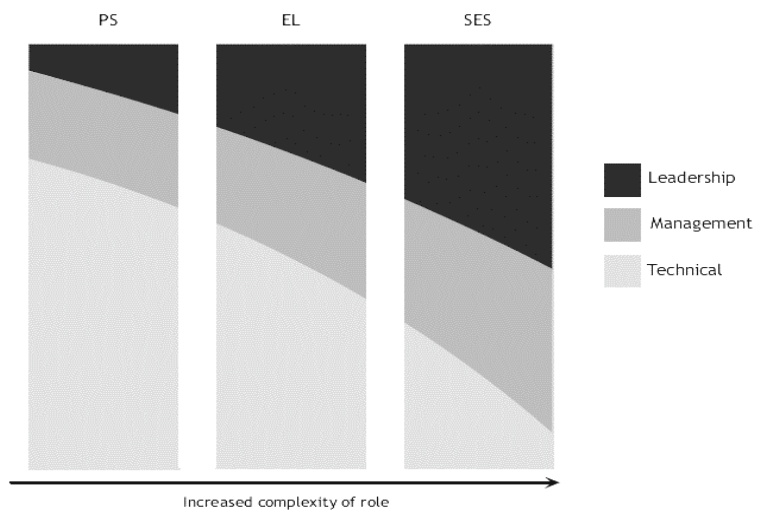
Leadership skills are therefore considered to be equally necessary early in early career while more responsibility with increasing rank requires management skills to complement them. Figure 1.3 (page 12) depicts how Centrex conceptualises the relationship between supervision, management and leadership.

The lack of a clear separation between manager and leader is particularly evident in the context of policing organisations, in which senior staff were themselves once frontline officers, and where middle and senior managers are likely to have spent their careers in one agency. Senior police officers are concurrently managers and leaders (and also administrators, supervisors, commanders, and executives). Densten (1999; 2003) from a leadership perspective and Adams and Beck (2001) from a managerial perspective analysed the work of senior police in Australian police agencies and, despite the different conceptual approach of the studies, they all ultimately emphasised the importance of similar leadership 'behaviours'. Adams and Beck (2001) focused on the behaviours required by managers and recommended that managers engage in 'directive leadership ... balanced by a willingness to include staff in the process and provide rewards for a job well done' (p 29), while Densten (2003) analysed leadership requirements at senior levels and

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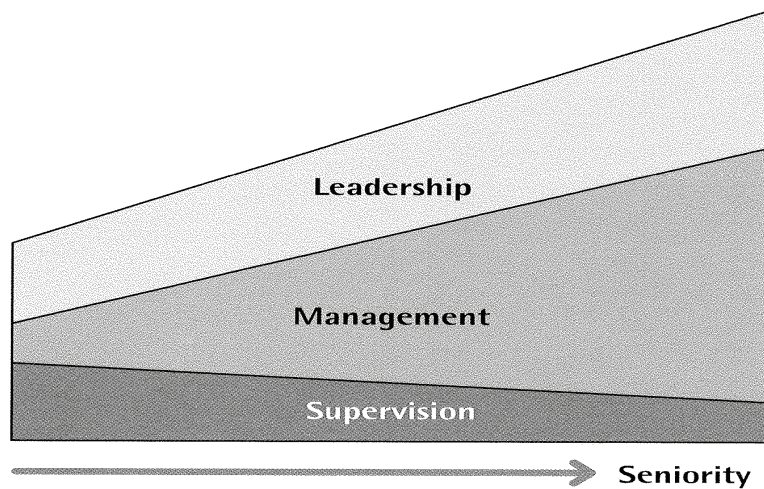
concluded that there was a need for more transformational leadership that motivates staff and drives change.

Figure 1.2: Australian Public Service, Integrated Leadership System



Source: Australian Public Service Commission (2006)

Figure 1.3: Centrex: relationship between supervision, management and leadership



Source: Centrex (2006, p 9)

New rank, new responsibility

Top quality leaders are crucial to any successful organisation. Leadership is particularly important in the police service, not only for chief constables and their senior teams, but also for junior officers, who have to act as leaders on a daily basis – either for their colleagues or for members of the public (Home Office 2001, p 124).

In addition to having to deal with more organisational responsibilities, as officers move into the most senior ranks they move into employment based on performance contracts. They are also subject to intense media scrutiny, criticism from police associations and their own officers, and may face the possible withdrawal of support by their own executive. Contracts are often not renewed, some senior officers are dismissed, and others are ‘encouraged’ to take early retirement. A recent study of Canadian senior police (Biro et al 2001) found that they had become more like executives of other organisations – having to balance competing interests, experiencing multi-layered accountability, being accountable for achieving value for money, politically astute, and prepared to manage under scrutiny. Many senior police comment on the steep learning curve when they begin any new more responsible, duties, and that they have to learn quickly on the job. They also comment that there is almost no available education or training that is able to fully prepare them for the pressure of achieving results in a climate of constant change (Macdonald 1995; Dupont 2006).

As we have seen, both management and leadership capabilities are required by police officers from very early on in their careers. As they rise up the ranks they are faced with more complex situations and decisions requiring enhanced knowledge and skills as well as different attitudes and approaches. Each police agency describes the roles and responsibilities, and the required skills of each level through specific position descriptions. To denote increasing levels of responsibility, police agencies in Australia use the traditional police ranks of Constable, Sergeant, Inspector, Superintendent and Commissioner (there is some variation between States in the use of these ranks), interspersed with some civilian public service positions. Only the Australian Federal Police eschews this rank structure, using the designation of Federal Agent for a wide range of operational positions. Table 1.3 (over the page) presents the Australasian Police Professional Standards Council generic designations compared with an example of rank role definition (based on various Victoria Police position descriptions and APPSC level descriptions) and illustrates how increasing responsibility at managerial levels is defined. The APPSC, in an attempt to allow comparability across ranks and jurisdictions, uses generic categories of practitioner, specialist, supervisor, manager and executive when developing competency standards and policies on qualifications.

Taking this taxonomic approach further, the Australian Public Service Commission has developed the Integrated Leadership System (ILS), referred to earlier, providing detailed descriptors of the different levels of responsi-

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Table 1.3: Roles of Supervisors, Managers and Executives

Level (APPSC)	Rank (Victoria Police)	Definition of role
Supervisor	Senior Sergeant	Manages personnel and prepares, promotes implements and evaluates local level action plans. Promotes and contributes to the corporate management planning process.
Manager	Inspector	Strategically manages, supports and coordinates the delivery of services with accountability for the effectiveness quality cost and standard of outputs. Performs a leadership role within the District/Regional portfolio to achieve cultural change
Manager – Executive	Superintendent	[Managerial roles as above] and participates in and provides informed contributions to the design and implementation of divisional and department- wide management plans. Represents the division or department by way of authoritative oral and written presentation
Executive	Assistant Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner Chief Commissioner	Leads the development and implementation of organisational polices, practices and services. Warrants the effective and efficient delivery of services. Leads and develops an effective team.

Source: Authors, based on various Victoria Police position descriptions and APPSC level descriptions

lity in the public service. As we have seen earlier, the ILS assumes a mix of technical, managerial and leadership ‘components’ in the work of senior staff grouped in five ‘capability clusters’ of the expertise required by staff at Executive Leader level and in the Senior Executive Service (Table 1.4, page 15). The ILS provides a detailed analysis of the new capabilities required and the increasing complexities of already acquired capabilities at each of five senior levels in the Australian Public Service: Executive Leader 1 and 2, and Senior Executive Service 1, 2 and 3.

The ILS describes that as a public servant rises through the levels of employment, greater complexity is encountered in four key aspects (APSC 2006, p 45) which most managers and leaders would recognise immediately:

- **Future focus** – Focus shifts from considering the longer-term implications of actions to developing a vision and direction for the future. This is most evident in the *Shapes strategic thinking* capability cluster.

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Table 1.4: ILS clusters and corresponding capabilities

Cluster	Capabilities
Shapes strategic thinking	Inspires a sense of purpose and direction Focuses strategically Harnesses information and opportunities Shows judgment, intelligence and common sense
Achieves results	Builds organisational capability and responsiveness Marshals professional expertise Steers and implements change and deals with uncertainty Ensures closure and delivers on intended results
Cultivates productive working relationships	Nurtures internal and external relationships Facilitates cooperation and partnerships Values individual differences and diversity Guides, mentors and develops people
Exemplifies drive and integrity	Demonstrates public service professionalism and probity Engages with risk and shows personal courage Commits to action Displays resilience Demonstrates self awareness and commitment to personal development
Communicates with influence	Communicates clearly Listens, understands and adapts to audience Negotiates persuasively

Source: Author, based on Australian Public Service Commission (nd)

- **Breadth of contact** – Stakeholder interactions become more frequent and the range of stakeholders increases. This is most evident in the *Cultivates productive working relationships* capability cluster.
- **Breadth of impact** – Shift occurs from an impact on one’s self and the team, to an impact on a business unit, the whole organisation and then an impact on the whole of government. This is most evident in the *Shapes strategic thinking* and the *Achieves results* capability clusters.
- **Breadth of responsibility** – Shift in responsibility that develops from individual and team outcomes to responsibility for achieving organisation wide outcomes. This is most evident in the *Achieves results* capability cluster.

While various police jurisdictions have statements of the capabilities required of senior ranks, so far there has been no direct comparison of Aus-

tralian police ranks with their equivalents in the ILS. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to do that, but by comparing police and general public service wage structures it can be deduced that the Executive Leaders corresponds roughly to Senior Sergeant to Inspector ranks, and the Senior Executive Service corresponds to Superintendent rank and above. The English and Welsh police, through Centrex, have recently developed a Police Leadership Qualities Framework which in effect links police leadership with broader public sector leadership requirements. The objective of the Framework was to 'set out, for the first time, what the Police Service believes about leadership in terms of its constituent elements of styles, values, ethics, standards and competences' (Centrex 2006, p i). These elements are analysed at five levels: leading by example, leading others, leading teams, leading units and leading organisations.

The business of promotion

Much of what has been said in the previous sections has implied an individual's orderly progression up the ranks based on merit and on having demonstrated the capability, or at least the potential, to manage and lead. Being promoted implies that the person has displayed the necessary management and leadership qualities for success in meeting higher responsibilities. Sometimes this is demonstrated through 'acting up' in higher positions, such that most individuals who are promoted will have had some experience in the role before achieving it through application and promotion.

In police organisations where many have joined from school, there are additional problems associated with promotion, however, as officers must compete with people they have worked with and known for a long time. It is also, as many senior police note, 'lonely at the top'. The study by Biro et al (2001) of Canadian senior police, found a growing gap between operational police and senior police. Many commentators have described the cultural and conceptual divide between 'street cops' and 'management cops' first identified by Reuss-Ianni and Ianni in 1983 (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 2005) and further described by Foster (2003) and Lee & Punch (2004). Sir John Stevens (quoted in Orr-Munro 2005, p 20) said:

Officers and support staff will follow people who have got credibility and know what they are talking about. Do not underestimate leadership in this service. You only get good morale and proficiency when people think they are being led by those who know the business and have done the business.

In a survey by Rowe (2006) of police constables' opinions of senior officers, salient was the view that they [the senior officers] were 'divorced from the reality of police work and did not appreciate the difficulties faced by junior ranks'. Rowe also found that this problem seemed to be exacerbated in constables' minds by schemes such as 'accelerated promotion' on the basis that the promoted officers could not have developed the necessary experience in 'real' police work.

Officers need also, as they rise further up the hierarchy, to jettison previously acquired attitudes and behaviours as they now manage and supervise those with whom they previously were equals. Newly promoted officers need to resolve how to manage the divide between the two, and the social aspects of their rise in the context of a working environment where everyone 'knows you'. Given the emphasis on reform and change in Australian policing, it can be a real challenge for those being promoted to develop critical distance from the learning and socialisation of their earlier careers.

Promotion, however, is not always orderly and merit-based – there is also the element of luck and timing. Even a good promotion system is no guarantee of success and it is not always the best candidates who are promoted. It is sobering to recall that the Peter Principle states that managers in hierarchical organisations are promoted to their level of incompetence. An oft-quoted observation usually attributed to Groucho Marx may be relevant here: 'the secret of success is honesty and fair dealing ... if you can fake that, you've got it made'. Successful management and leadership is situational and contextual and an officer may display all the potential qualities for senior management duties only to then 'crash and burn' or prove to be a disaster for the organisation. Senior officers can succeed in one situation, yet fail in another apparently similar situation. Or they may simply have the misfortune to be presented with a series of insurmountable events and challenges beyond their control.

The senior executive positions to which officers aspire, and the entire context of promotion, have also become more complex because of changes in the demographic make-up of police organisations, and a major challenge facing police managers is that of working with diversity in all its forms. Gender and ethnic-racial balances dominate discussions about diversity, but there are other dimensions that must also be addressed. Civilianisation of some senior positions has meant that executive positions can become an arena for the tensions between sworn and civilian staff. Within the Australian Federal Police, for example, management responsibilities can alternate between sworn and civilian staff and civilians can expect to take on both operational duties and exercise a management function over sworn officers. Moreover recent changes in 'rank lock step' provisions in some States have meant that officers can now apply for positions which are more than one step up. Merit is increasingly as important as seniority and senior police generally no longer work only within the comfort zone of the cohort with whom they started their career. Additional dimensions of diversity in policing are the result of the participation of police in collaborative projects with other agencies, the role of volunteers and even ideological diversity as policing shakes off its reputation as a bastion of conservatism.

The UK Home Office has suggested that the quality of police leadership could be improved by giving officers with 'potential' the opportunity through secondment to work in public or private organisations, and in the voluntary sector (Home Office 2003). However, succession planning and providing opportunities to develop capable officers continues to be a chal-

lenge in the face of time pressures at work and cost which prevents officers from taking advantage of opportunities to develop their skills. Given the fact, alluded to previously, that most police stay in the one organisation and find it relatively difficult to move from one jurisdiction to another, or to move out of the organisation and return after experiencing another work context, opportunities to develop can only take a range of predictable forms. Officers are instead moved around the organisation, taking on new roles, projects and responsibilities sometimes with surprising frequency and suddenness in order to develop skills. If they have been in non-operational roles, or working on a special project, officers will invariably be placed again in an operational role to demonstrate their operational capabilities before being considered for promotion.

Higher education

Gradually, the impact of higher education is infiltrating the organisation and is being considered more in promotion decisions (see Lanyon and Pierce in this volume). Tertiary education for managers and leaders has been an expectation for a number of years in Australia. In 1993, the Australasian Police Ministers' Council entered into an agreement with Charles Sturt University to establish the Australian Graduate School of Police Management (now the Graduate School of Policing) at the former Australian Police Staff College at Manly, New South Wales, and in 1995, the Staff College became the Australian Institute of Police Management. Around the same time, a number of jurisdictions created their own leadership programs and secured certification agreements with several tertiary institutions. With the impetus of these initiatives, many senior officers now have graduate education, in management or other disciplines. In the UK too, in 2004, the Home Office proposed that officers who hoped to become superintendents should have a 'formal qualification' (Home Office 2003).

More junior officers are now undertaking study (not only in management subjects) and many now enter the organisation already with at least a TAFE qualification and increasingly a tertiary university degree. They also attend courses and seminars – and perform well – so can be more quickly considered for higher positions. Education and training for the development of managers and leaders continues to be a significant strategy. A current project of the APPSC is examining the appropriate education standards for the various levels within policing (APPSC 2006d). A preliminary proposal suggests that the appropriate level for supervisors would be a Graduate Certificate, for managers a Graduate Diploma and Masters for executives, but given that the considerable differences between jurisdictions it has not yet been adopted as a framework at the national level. The appointment of Dr Karl O'Callaghan in Western Australia, the first police commissioner with a doctorate degree, may be symbolic of the new educational standards in Australian policing.

But there continues to be considerable controversy about what sort of education and training will best prepare officers for management and leadership responsibilities. In the recent Report of the Kennedy Royal Commission in WA (Kennedy 2004) the main thrust of the education recommendations is that police management education should help break the isolation that often characterises policing. These recommendations echo those in earlier Australian police enquiries such as the NSW Wood Royal Commission (Wood 1997) and in overseas reports such as the UK Home Office's *Policing a New Century* (Home Office 2001). Essentially, all the reports state that police management education must become more outwardly focused, and the reports highlight the need for greater involvement of civilians in police education. Kennedy, for example, recommended that the position of the head of the Police Academy in WA be opened up to civilian appointment and more civilian educators appointed (Kennedy 2004).

Kennedy (2004) also directly enters into the pedagogical debate over whether to develop 'skilled technicians' or 'reflective practitioners'. He notes that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, but that policing has traditionally placed a greater emphasis on skills training. Kennedy suggests that this now needs to be balanced with educational approaches that require officers to also reflect on the nature of their occupation, its place within society and the techniques for performing their work. Police managers should be in a position to contrast their own experiences with the practices of a wide range of agencies, and this can be achieved through both course content and by encouraging police to seek education outside the confines of the profession.

Despite the prevalence of such recommendations, there are continued tensions between education and training (Lee & Punch 2004). Australian police agencies have built alliances with universities and have funded external education by officers, but they have also built up their own internal capacities to provide leadership education in each jurisdiction. As a result police officers most often end up together in the same classroom with other police and are taught primarily by police, or former police now working in education institutions. This approach can often preclude contact with other professions and with the wider range of inputs recommended by the reports cited above. A challenge for the future will be to strike a workable balance, between the need to provide management and leadership education that is relevant and authentic to policing, and the need to stretch current organisational and cultural boundaries.

Conclusion

A decade ago, in Etter and Palmer's 1995 volume on police leadership in Australasia (Etter and Palmer 1995) the then New Zealand Police Commissioner concluded his chapter on the skills and qualities of future police leaders by stating:

For many years it has been recognized that crime is no longer the province of the police alone. Harnessing and coordinating the goodwill for the public and developing partnerships ... remains the best option as we strive to create safer communities. The individuals selected to lead ... will be intelligent, articulate, creative, innovative, visionary ... and employees will be empowered to make decision in an environment of teamwork and cooperation (MacDonald 1995, p 232).

The decade since then has shown that this vision of policing and of the leadership environment required to move it forward is not uncontested. The current heightened security climate has seen a swing back to a seemingly more hard-line combative approach from what some now deride as the 'softly-softly politically correct policing approach' (*Sydney Morning Herald* 2006). The representational evidence of this has been the May 2006 decision of the New South Wales Government to revive the name NSW Police *Force*, reversing a 15-year trend in which the concept of *Service* was foregrounded (the Queensland Police Service is now the only *service* left in Australia, with Western Australia recently changing from Western Australia Police Service ('WAPS') to simply Western Australia Police ('WAPol'). The service approach is now often portrayed as something imposed on police from outside by progressive and woolly-headed academics and politicians, yet an analysis of the statements of police leaders over the past decades, including John Avery's seminal *Police: Force or Service* (Avery 1981), shows that it has equally come from within policing and from internal police decisions about effective operational strategies.¹

In his recent review of policing in Australia, Findlay (2004) noted the continued need for the improvement of the service function, but also noted that such initiatives are usually sacrificed in the name of tougher crime control programs. He warned that the outcome could be the 'reinvention of feudal police organisations' (p 172). It is worth speculating whether in fact it is possible to reinvent the feudal police organisations given the changes over the past decades and the subsequent new requirements expected of officers in managerial and leadership ranks. As officers may ascend the ranks from Sergeant to Commissioner in today's public sector climate, their prospects of success are directly linked to their capacity to understand and embrace the skills and capabilities needed to lead a 21st century law enforcement agency.

1 For example see Seltmann (2005).