

KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT IN POLICE OVERSIGHT

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POLICE OVERSIGHT**

**LAW ENFORCEMENT INTEGRITY AND
ACCOUNTABILITY**

PETTER GOTTSCHALK



BrownWalker Press
Boca Raton

*Knowledge Management in Police Oversight:
Law Enforcement Integrity and Accountability*

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BrownWalker Press
Boca Raton, Florida • USA
2009

ISBN-10: 1-59942-504-1 (*paper*)
ISBN-13: 978-1-59942-504-7 (*paper*)

ISBN-10: 1-59942-505-X (*ebook*)
ISBN-13: 978-1-59942-505-4 (*ebook*)

www.brownwalker.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gottschalk, Petter, 1950-

Knowledge management in police oversight : law enforcement integrity and accountability / Petter Gottschalk.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN-13: 978-1-59942-504-7 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 1-59942-504-1 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Police--Complaints against. 2. Police administration--Citizen participation. 3. Knowledge management. 4. Police corruption. I. Title.

HV7936.C56G678 2009

363.2'2--dc22

2009032725

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INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations (UNODC, 2006a), the great majority of individuals involved in policing is committed to honorable and competent public service and is consistently demonstrating high standards of personal and procedural integrity in performing their duties. Still more would probably do so if the appropriate institutional and training was given. However, in every policing agency there exists an element of dishonesty, lack of professionalism and criminal behavior.

The prevalence of police deviance is a much-debated statistic and one that is often rife with problems, according to Porter and Warrender (2009). While some researchers suggest that corruption is endemic to police culture across the globe, others argue that incidents are rare. Despite such statistical problems, incidents of police deviance do surface from time to time all over the world. Some examples in the UK involve suppression of evidence, beating of suspects, tampering with confidential evidence and perjury.

The police shall protect the society against threats, and detect, stop and pursue crime. To meet new security challenges and fight more complex crime than before, the police in many countries have been given comprehensive powers. For those mandated to monitor the police, these comprehensive powers and the development of police organizations from bureaucratic to knowledge organizations, means new challenges. Inadequate control with the police could make the police power monopoly a threat to the rule of law and democracy. It is also a fact that amongst employees in the police service, are individuals who abuse the powers of their office to commit criminal acts, in some cases even take part in organized crime (Presthus, 2009).

Klockars et al. (2000) find that the history of virtually every police agency attests that policing is an occupation that is rife with op-

portunities for misconduct. Policing is a highly discretionary, coercive activity that routinely takes place in private settings, out of the sight of superiors, and in the presence of witnesses who are often regarded as unreliable.

According to UNODC (2006a), key drivers in the institutionalization of police integrity include the selection, education and training of police officers, their salaries, working conditions, discipline and supervision, and the need for mechanisms for the receipt and processing of complaints by members of the public.

The organizational culture of the police service—the shared assumptions, beliefs, and most important, behavior of individual officers and the service as a whole—is critical if the public is to trust the police to do their job in an honest, fair, efficient and lawful manner. And if that trust is there the public is far more likely to cooperate fully with the police (Graham, 2006).

United Nations has adopted the code of conduct for law enforcement officials, which expects and requires that police officers fulfill their duty, respect human dignity, not tolerate torture, not tolerate corruption and keep confidential matters confidential. The code is to be implemented into national legislation and practice. The code can be applied in benchmarking the oversight capacity and integrity of a police system. In addition to developing an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of a nation's approach to ensuring the integrity and accountability of the police services, the study of code implementation in a nation will also enable to identify opportunities for reform and development (UNODC, 2006a).

There are many ways in which supervisory mechanisms for complaints may be structured. They may be managed by a branch of the central command structure or by a regional department. They may be entirely separate from the command hierarchy, or they may report directly to it. There may also be independent non-government organizations or interest groups that monitor police activity and measure it against international standards of behavior. Often there will be a different set of procedures for minor procedural or administrative misconduct on the one hand and serious malfeasance or criminal behavior on the other. The former may remain at an internal local level whilst the latter will be dealt with by formal tribunals and prosecution (UNODC, 2006a).

The existence of a legislative structure for complaints is an important step towards police integrity and accountability, but that system must be more than a legislative expression of intent. Any system

must be readily accessible to members of the public and user friendly. It must protect complainants against negative consequences and offer a responsible, professional and timely resolution. Without such qualities, the public will soon label the complaints system as a waste of time and will not support it (UNODC, 2006a).

Oversight and accountability of the police becomes credible and valid only by reference to the society it serves. Partnership with other agencies or organizations helps to ensure that the monitoring of police action has both depth and breadth. However, it is also conceivable that some partnerships may be based on the expectation of preferential treatment or more favorable levels of service. Whilst there may be national arrangements for oversight and inspection of the activities of the police, those at a local level may be crucial to the practical delivery of police services (UNODC, 2006a).

According to Smith (2009), police refers to traditional police forces or services and other publicly authorized and/or controlled services granted responsibility for the state, in full adherence to the rule of law, for the delivery of policing services. Policing services refers to the responsibilities and duties performed by the police to protect the public, including preserving the peace, enforcing the law, preventing and detecting crime, and protecting human rights. Such services should be delivered in accordance with principles of fairness, equality and respect for human rights.

There seems to be a tendency to consider police crime as a result of bad practice, lack of resources or mismanagement, rather than acts of criminals. However, examples illustrate that criminal acts are intentionally carried out by police officers on duty. Police crime does not only occur in countries such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Mexico and Nigeria. It is common in the UK, USA, Australia and Norway as well—although on a smaller scale. Police crime tends to be discovered when investigating police complaints. Police crime is here defined as intentional crime committed by police officers on duty. Policing police crime is defined as enforcing law on potential and actual criminal employees in the police organization. Earlier we would say who might watch the watchman, or who is guarding the guardian—now we say who is policing the police. What kind of knowledge management is needed for policing the police? What kind of investigation management is needed for policing the police? What kind of intelligence management is needed for policing the police? What kind of change management is needed to fight police crime?

What kind of agency management is needed in policing-the-police organizations? These are questions addressed in this book.

Knowledge management has emerged as a critical success factor in law enforcement (Dean et al., 2008; Centrex, 2005b; ERA, 2008; Jaschke et al., 2007). Knowledge management is concerned with simplifying and improving the process of sharing, distributing, creating, capturing and understanding knowledge. Police agencies are transforming from bureaucratic organizations into knowledge organizations. Bennet and Bennet (2005a) define knowledge organizations as complex adaptive systems composed of a large number of self-organizing components that seek to maximize their own goals but operate according to rules in the context of relationships with other components. In an intelligent complex adaptive system the agents are people. The systems (organizations) are frequently composed of hierarchical levels of self-organizing agents (or knowledge workers), which can take the forms of teams, divisions or other structures that have common bonds. Thus while the components (knowledge workers) are self-organizing, they are not independent from the system they comprise (the professional organization).

This book makes a contribution to the emerging academic discipline of police science. According to Jaschke et al. (2007: 23):

Police science is the scientific study of the police as an institution and of policing as a process. As an applied discipline it combines methods and subjects of other neighboring disciplines within the field of policing. It includes all of what the police do and all aspects from outside that have an impact on policing and public order. Currently it is a working term to describe police studies on the way to an accepted and established discipline. Police science tries to explain facts and acquire knowledge about the reality of policing in order to generalize and to be able to predict possible scenarios.

Core topics of police science include strategies and styles of policing, police organizations and management, and policing specific crime types. This book is at the core of police science by studying integrity and accountability in police forces.

INTEGRITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN POLICING

Integrity is defined as the quality of being honest and morally upright. Practices that impugn the integrity of the police range from obtaining or maintaining evidence without following proper procedure, to direct violations of the rights of suspects. This includes the coercion of confessions (sometimes through torture), plating and fabricating evidence, or giving false testimony in court (perjury). This latter situation can often arise where an otherwise conscientious officer loses faith or trust in the criminal justice system and acts through a misplaced sense of duty or zeal in seeking to secure a conviction against someone of whose guilt the officer is convinced (UNODC, 2006a).

Integrity in public office demands open and transparent decision-making and clarity about the primacy of a public official's duty to serve the public interest above all else. Conflict between this duty and a person's individual interests cannot always be avoided but must always be identified, declared and managed in a way that stands up to scrutiny. This particularly applies to police officers who are sworn to uphold the law (OPI, 2007).

Police integrity is an important element of what is called public integrity. According to Fijnaut and Huberts (2002), public integrity denotes the quality of acting in accordance with the moral values, norms and rules accepted by the body politic and the public. A number of integrity violations or forms of public misconduct can be distinguished: corruption including bribery, nepotism, cronyism, patronage; fraud and theft; conflict of interest through assets, jobs and gifts; manipulation of information; discrimination and sexual ha-

rassment; improper methods for noble causes; the waste and abuse of resources; and private time misconduct.

Integrity is sometimes defined as the absence of misconduct, where misconduct is generally understood as being an attempt to deceive others by making false statements or omitting important information concerning the work performed, in the results obtained by or the sources of the ideas or words used in a work process. According to Cossette (2004), the intention to deceive, even if difficult to determine, is a key element in this conception of misconduct.

Accountability refers to situations in which someone is required or expected to justify actions or decisions. It also refers to situations where an officer bears the responsibility to someone or for some activity. Accountability has been called “the mother of caution,” and as such it has a prophylactic and deterrent effect (UNODC, 2006a).

Accountability is a feature of systems, social institutions as well as individuals. It means that mechanisms are in place to determine who took responsible action and who is responsible. Systems and institutions in which it is impossible to find out who took what action are inherently incapable of ethical analysis or ethical action, according to Laudon and Laudon (2010).

Civilian accountability of the police has been one of the critical issues facing the transformation of the police in countries like South Africa. Emerging from a totalitarian past and a legacy of hostility, a police service accountable to the people through strong oversight mechanisms was seen as one of the cornerstones of the new democracy. The danger of complacency, together with an ever present and natural resistance to accountability, can erode the effectiveness of oversight mechanisms and the democratic gains made in emerging democracies. A strong and robust system of accountability has been consistently shown to be key in developing trust between police and communities (OSJI, 2005).

Police officers may be held accountable in a number of different ways. They may be accountable in management or business terms for their performance and productivity, perhaps against government or community-set targets and objectives. They must be accountable for the way in which they exercise the powers entrusted in them (UNODC, 2006a).

Walker (2006) conducted research on police accountability by identifying current issues and research needs. Accountability is a vital element of American policing. Both individual officers and law enforcement agencies are held to account for their actions. Accountability includes both what the police do and how they perform.

Effective accountability is often vital to the achievement of police goals. Law enforcement agencies that reduce problematic officer behavior will enjoy greater trust among citizens and thus receive greater cooperation from citizens in programs and actions designed to reduce crime and investigate crime. In the US, the most important area in this regard involves the perceived legitimacy of the police and relations with racial and ethnic minority groups. Walker (2006) argues that racial and ethnic tensions have beset the American police for many decades and persist despite the introduction of many different reforms.

A distinction can be made between agency accountability and police officer accountability. Agency-level accountability involves the performance of law enforcement agencies with respect to controlling crime and disorder and providing services to the public. Individual level accountability involves the conduct of police officers with respect to lawful, respectful, and equal treatment of citizens. Walker (2006) argues that it is a fundamental principal of a democratic society that the police should be held to account for their actions.

Individual-level accountability procedures fall into two general categories according to Walker (2006): internal and external. Procedures that are internal to law enforcement agencies include controlling officer conduct through written policies, routine supervision, regular performance evaluations, and the investigation of allegations of misconduct, and early intervention systems. External accountability procedures include citizen oversight agencies.

Chan (1999) argues that accountability is a term that has two competing meanings in the context of policing. On the one hand, accountability is seen as ultimately concerned with control over the police. On the other hand, it is said to be fundamentally about requirements to give accounts or explanations about conduct. These competing meanings are found in the subordinate and obedient model versus the explanatory and co-operative model. While the subordinate model seeks political and democratic control, the explanatory model requires decision makers to provide reasons or information about their decisions without any obligation to take into consideration any challenges regarding their accounts.

Integrity and Accountability Issues

There are a number of integrity and accountability issues in policing. Typical categories of misconduct issues are discussed by UNODC (2006a):

- a) **Physical Abuse.** Indiscriminate and careless use of powers delegated to police officers is a major factor in alienating the public. When and where police apply their powers is usually a matter of individual discretion. Because officers often are required to make people do something, or refrain from doing something, police action may be met with resistance, conflict, or confrontation. Under such circumstances, members of the public may wish to complain. The validity of such complaints will depend on the context and will be judged against standards of police conduct enshrined in law or regulation.

Use of excessive force is an abuse of police power. However, as argued by Johnson (2005), appropriate use of force can, in many cases, be very difficult to discern, especially since the line that separates brave from brutal is thin. In the police world, the bravest are sometimes the most brutal, and they tend to be the ones most admired by other police officers.

- b) **Prisoner Mistreatment.** Persons are sometimes held in police custody. Experience has shown that the conditions under which suspects make confessions or admissions can be related to their treatment in custody before the confession or admission has been made. This may be because of the threat or direct use of violence (i.e. torture), because of other indirect intimidation or menacing behavior on the part of the interviewers or because the experience is otherwise physically and mentally distressing.

People in police interviews are normally anxious and find themselves in an unequal dynamic in favor of the interviewer(s). There is ample evidence to show that certain people are predisposed to answering police questions in any way that will help to shorten the interview and, as a result, they will wrongly confess to offences they did not commit. In some countries, the risk of a “false” confession is perceived as so great that confessions of guilt made solely to a police officer are not admissible in court.

- c) **Evidence Manipulation.** There can be at least two motives driving the falsification or destruction of evidence. Firstly, an officer may wish to make the case against a suspect

stronger than it already is. For example, the officer has forgotten to do something or has failed to find sufficient evidence to prove an important element of a case, or may be hiding something that appears to show the suspect is not guilty. Secondly, an officer may have been paid by a suspect to ensure that the evidence is lost or tampered with in order to sabotage the prosecution case.

- d) Corruption.** Personal gain is a primary motivation for all criminal behavior. Because of the special trust and responsibilities placed in police officers, the opportunities for them to abuse that trust to obtain money or advantage are considerable. At the same time, because police officers have inside information, understanding and influence over the criminal justice system, they are also often in a position to shield themselves from detection.

Using public office for private gain is common in police forces in many parts of the world. The most publicized example of police bribery is the New York police department in the 1960s and early 1970s. Police officers used their positions to extract money and gifts (Johnson, 2005).

- e) Unauthorized Disclosure of Information.** Police organizations collect, hold, or have access to a significant amount of information, some of it of a private nature about victims, witnesses, crimes, and suspects, and much of it is confidential. That same information will have a market value for criminals, journalists and private investigators that can be realized by unscrupulous police staff with access to it (UNODC, 2006a).

To counter this risk, strong and effective information security measures need to be implemented. Good practice in many countries requires access to any information to be logged, timed and dated with the name of the officer and the reason for access. Regular spot checks can then be made on officers (and their supervisors) as to why they accessed that particular data and what they did with it (UNODC, 2006a).

Information about operations or investigations can also be sold. Where police activities or investigations are targeting a particular person or location, that information can be invaluable not only to any criminal involved, but also to

journalists who may be looking for an interesting scoop (UNODC, 2006a).

Further difficulties arise where information has been incorrectly logged or inaccurately filed. A simple typing error can lead to people with similar names being detained unnecessarily; wrong addresses being raided or suspects escaping arrest because of inaccurate or incomplete records. These issues may well be due to a lack of diligence or laziness rather than malice, but the resulting impact can still be significant. Such risks can be reduced, though perhaps not eliminated, through proper training, clear procedural safeguards and supervision (UNODC, 2006a).

- f) **Extortion.** A common abuse of integrity in some countries relates to the enforcement of road traffic regulations (or other minor infractions) where informal on-the-spot fines (or bribes) are negotiated with the alleged offender, rather than pursuing a formal prosecution or other legal process. In extreme circumstances, this can be regarded by some as the normal way of doing business. Assessors may experience this first hand.

- g) **Sexual Misconduct.** Sexual misconduct of law enforcement personnel with witnesses, suspects or informants has also been known to lead to corruption or other integrity failure. For example, an officer may ignore a sexual partner's criminal activity, alter evidence that implicates him or her, or even provide that partner with confidential information. Such misconduct also leaves the officer open to extortion.

Police misconduct can harm both individuals and the society. Figure 1.1 illustrates how the different categories of misconduct can have different negative impact on individuals and the society. The figure is only conceptual in nature to stimulate discussion rather than representing a validated picture.

Haarr (1997) explored the link between organizational commitment and police occupational deviance in a police patrol bureau. He found that organizational commitment is a significant distinguisher or mediating variable for explaining patrol officers' work related behaviors.

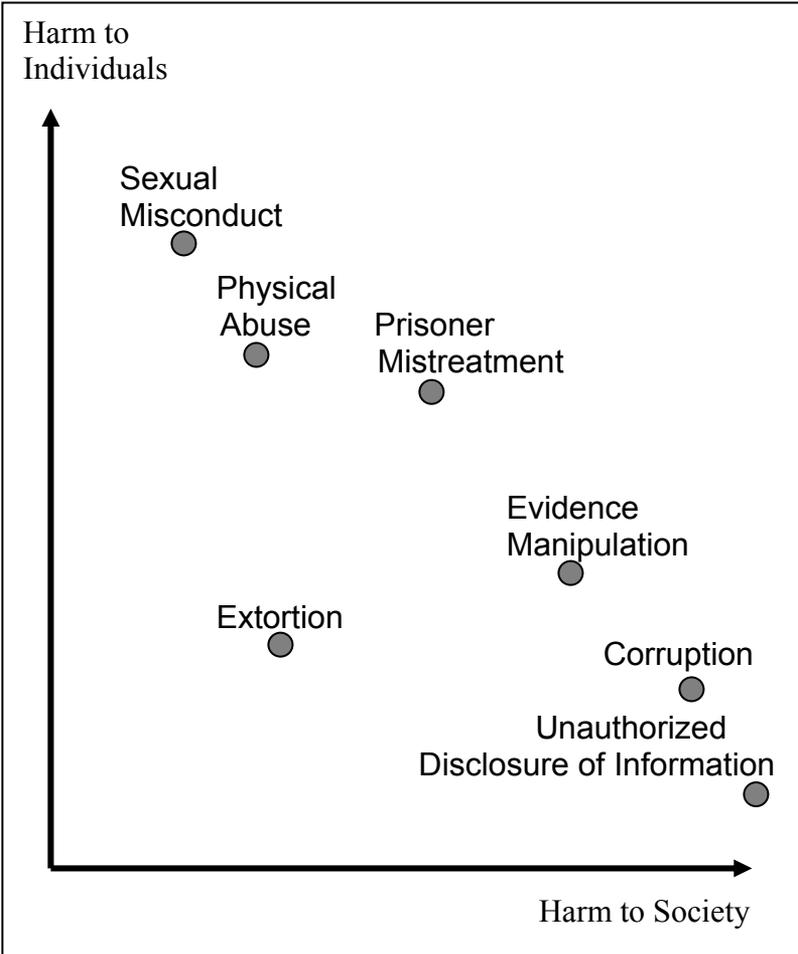


Figure 1.1. Police misconduct on scales for harm to individuals versus harm to society

His study demonstrated that the different levels of organizational commitment and opposing attitudes toward and participation in the different types of police deviance that emerged among patrol officers accounted, in part, for the divisions and segmentation that existed in the patrol bureau.

Living on Both Sides of Law

This case was downloaded from www.badcops.org in March 2009. The case is based on a CNN series.

ATLANTA, Georgia (CNN)—“I thought I was invincible. I thought I would never get caught,” said Michael Thames. He believed he was the man of steel. But now, this former New Orleans police officer is serving 11 years without parole in a Kentucky federal prison for betraying the trust of the people he swore to protect and serve.

Thames wasn’t always bad. Like most cops, he embarked upon his career with idealistic visions. He wanted to make a difference, to change the world and to win respect. But before he was even sworn in, Thames said, he learned police were expected to have a primary allegiance: to each other.

Thames: You were taught that in the academy.... It’s us against them.

Anderson: Who’s them?

Thames: The people. The public. And if we don’t stick together, nobody will. ... If you don’t pull together amongst your peers, they’re going to eat you alive.

Anderson: Is this part of the basis for the code of silence?

Thames: Oh, yes, no question. There’s no question about it.

Anderson: How strong is that code?

Thames: Ah, it’s as strong as anything. It’s been going on for years. Finally, I think America’s starting to realize what’s going on. With the O.J. Simpson case ... with these cases, people are starting to realize, ‘Hey, the policemen are covering up things.’ And it’s like, ‘How rare is it?’ How rare? It’s not rare at all! It’s all the time.

Thames, who was a police officer for nearly six years, claims he was introduced to corruption shortly after graduating from the police academy. In time, he said, the peer pressure weakened him.

Thames: You know, to be accepted you had to join. And I just started to join in with the stealing, ripping off the drug dealers. Within a year on the job, I became one of them. And I was looked up to because I was a go-getter, and I’d go chase these

drug dealers and get this money, and I'd split it amongst my peers.

Anderson: How much money do you think you ripped off over your tenure as a police officer?

Thames: Whew ... through illegal payoffs and things like that ... and ripping off drug dealers ... over \$300,000.

But his corruption went even further: Thames admitted falsifying incident reports to gain convictions. He said the justice system forces lying.

Thames: Let's say if you stop a drug dealer, they never carry the money or drugs on their person. ... If they're standing on a street corner, they might have the money underneath a rock a few feet away. They might have the drugs hidden in a pole, whatever, you know, a few feet away. And then you find each item. ... What you're going to do is you're going to make up a story and say, 'I found the white rock substance in his right front pocket. I found the money in his left pocket.' And you lie. But that's the only way you can make the case. And so that lie leads to bigger lies and it just, it snowballs from there.

Indeed, Thames is not behind bars because he stole from drug dealers or took what burglars left behind or for even lying in court. He's in prison because his greed, driven he said, by a gambling addiction, drove him to bigger stakes. He was arrested for robbing a New Orleans bank of \$40,000. He confessed, and admitted he also had robbed the same bank 11 months earlier for \$50,000.

Thames said that, given the corrupt life he was leading, it didn't seem like a big deal.

Thames: I know for a fact there's police officers out there murdering people. So, I'm just robbing a bank. You know, that's the way you look at it. And I mean, it sounds pitiful, but it's true.

Anderson: Do you end up living in a world that isn't real?

Thames: Oh, yeah. ... That's what the badge does to you. It makes you feel like, you know, some sort of superman. And it's not like that at all.

Anderson: If you were to make an estimate, how many times you broke the law while you were a police officer, give me a ballpark figure.

Thames: We had a saying, 'Every day you come on the job, always leave with more than you come with.' That was a good day's work. So, I'd say, at least 80 percent of the time that I went on a job, I left with more than I went on the job with.

Anderson: More money?

Thames: More money, whether it's money, or a camcorder, VCRs, cameras, television, jewelry, you name it.

Anderson: How widespread was this?

Thames: Oh, it's unbelievable. It's unbelievable. Everybody I knew, everybody I knew was more or less corrupt in one way or another. There's two people I could say that were not.

Anderson: Two people in the entire police department?

Thames: — that I know. And I was on the job approximately six years.

New Orleans officials refused to be interviewed, but in recent months the new mayor and new police chief have claimed their housecleaning has resulted in more than 65 officers being fired, suspended or reprimanded. And that doesn't count those sent to prison. But Thames said it's too little, too late.

Anderson: Should the public trust police?

Thames (sighs): It's a tough question. It's not SHOULD they, you've GOT to. It's going to continue.

Anderson: Police corruption is not going to stop?

Thames: No way.

Anderson: No matter what efforts cities and police department take? They can't stop it?

Thames: No way.

Anderson: Why not? Why is it so pervasive?

Thames: It started, started from years ago, years ago. ... It's called institutionalized corruption. Institutionalized corruption.

The cop-turned-criminal said that when he gets out of prison, he wants to help recruits try to reform the system.

Thames: If you see any kind of corruption, man, turn it in. Let them know. Let your supervisor know. And believe me, a lot of people will — it's going to be hard.

He admitted he wasn't strong enough before to take the advice he gives now.

Thames: If I had to do it over again, I would never have joined the police department. Never. Because I'm the type person that I want to take control and to take control, I went —

Anderson: Overboard?

Thames: Overboard. Way overboard. ... I can't change what I've done. I wish I could. There's no way. I've got to live with what I've done now.

The Case of Victoria Police Integrity Office

The Office of Police Integrity (OPI) in Victoria, Australia is an independent police anti-corruption and oversight body. OPI's role is to make sure that Victoria Police maintains the highest ethical and professional standards. OPI detects, investigates and prevents police corruption and serious misconduct (www.opi.vic.gov.au).

OPI also looks at police practices and procedures to make sure they are effective. To ensure Victoria Police continues to meet community expectations, OPI monitors and reviews the way Victoria Police investigates or conciliated complaints. OPI reports direct to Parliament. Through education, research and working with Victoria Police, OPI develops and implements corruption resistant strategies to reduce the risk of corruption and serious misconduct. An independent statutory officer, the Special Investigations Monitor, oversees OPI's use of investigative powers.

The Victorian Armed Offenders Squad Report

One of the recent reports produced by the Office of Police Integrity concerns issues arising from an OPI investigation into the allegations of assaults against citizens in custody of the now defunct Victoria Police Armed Offenders Squad. As criminal justice proceedings became finalized, the OPI (2008a) report was tabled in the public interest.

The OPI investigation into the Armed Offenders Squad took place in the context of concerns about the number of complaints received by OPI about police assaults and police use of excessive

force on citizens. A statistical analysis of recorded complaints from 1999 to 2006 indicated that the Armed Offenders Squad had a disproportionate number of complaints compared to all other areas of the crime department, including squads that deal with offenders of similar profile. While many of the complaints could not be proven to the requisite standard, when viewed as a whole they appeared to indicate an alarming pattern of improper behavior (OPI, 2008a).

The report suggests that the Armed Offenders Squad should be regarded as a cultural relic within Victoria Police. Too many of its members believed that “the end justified the means” and that bashing a “crook” was a community service. The Squad, through a lack of appropriate monitoring and accountability within Victoria Police, was allowed to develop its own culture, out of step with the organization’s direction. Its members drew comfort from the strong support they received from the Police Association.

Conformity to the code of silence was found in the Squad. The code created an impenetrable barrier to prevent outsiders from scrutinizing or challenging the conduct of the group or its individual members. The code of silence was reinforced by those in the “brotherhood” through implied or explicit threats of reprisals, exploiting fears of being shunned or labeled by the peer group, and feeding anxieties about an individual’s career prospects. Individuals in the Squad were called upon to sacrifice their autonomy and personal interests for sake of the brotherhood.

The code of silence is commonly found in police forces all over the world. Individual police officers belong to the occupational group consisting of police. Members of this group possess specialized knowledge and expertise and characteristic skills that are developed and transmitted within the group. The individual police practitioner draws on the special skills and knowledge of colleagues (Miller et al., 2006: 11):

Unsurprisingly, members of such occupational groups tend to develop a high degree of solidarity, and this is particularly true in the case of police, who depend on each other to a great extent.

Squad members became renowned for wearing black suits, white shirts, dark sunglasses and a team-issue black tie. The “men in black” regalia (also adopted by the sole female Squad member) created an image of an unyielding clique or band, united together, separate and

apart from the broader Victoria Police organization. The outfits imitated the costumes worn by a network of violent criminals in a famous movie. The Squad tie that formed part of the uniform was embossed with two gold, intersecting revolvers.

The report identifies significant reforms Victoria Police have made to protect the rights of suspects and to address other issues exposed by the OPI (2008a) investigation. Victoria Police acted swiftly to disband the Armed Offenders Squad once evidence that appeared to substantiate allegations of assault emerged. Replacing the Squad with a task force model has produced positive outcomes. Not only has there been a significant reduction in complaints against detectives working in the area, but arrest and conviction rates have also improved.

The Corruption Prevention and Education Unit

OPI's Corruption Prevention and Education Unit (CP&EU) identifies corruption and misconduct risks and works with Victoria Police and other agencies to develop practical solutions for building police integrity. Focusing on policies, practices and other systemic factors, CP&EU provides recommendations to Victoria Police on what it can do to reduce the potential for corruption and misconduct to occur.

In a corruption investigation, the objective is to determine what happened. Prevention takes this one step further by asking questions like (www.opi.vic.gov.au):

- How did the corrupt conduct occur?
- What were the circumstances surrounding it?
- What measures does Victoria Police have in place to ensure that this type of conduct does not occur again?

By identifying the factors that enable corruption and misconduct, it is possible to intervene early to stop the behavior occurring in the first place. Prevention, then, is not a simple task. It requires a detailed understanding of what has gone wrong in the past and why. It also requires a careful consideration of how the working environment can be changed to prevent the same thing happening in the future.

The CP&EU undertakes a range of activities, including (www.opi.vic.gov.au):

- Advice and consultancy to Victoria Police;
- Applied research;